

Syntactic configuration, discourse features and information structure

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1. Introduction

- Current mainstream syntactic account discourse-related movements:

(i) discourse-related functional heads, determining syntactic positions for the moved elements as a function of their own location in the clausal hierarchy,

(ii) discourse-related uninterpretable features, triggering movements to these positions.

(iii) positions determined by (i) and (ii) are correlated with some special discourse status

- Hungarian:

rich left periphery routinely targeted by overt discourse-related movements → one of the languages where the descriptive success of an account in terms of (i) and (ii) has been best demonstrated (e.g., Szabolcsi 1997, Puskas 2000).

- Structure:

Section 2:

Brief review of some key problems with an account in terms of (i) and (ii).

Section 3:

Sketch of an alternative approach to the syntax of A-bar movements in Hungarian that dispenses with both (i) and (ii), and relies crucially instead on property (iii), formulated in terms of interpretive rules applying in the mapping from the syntactic to the semantic representation (see Neeleman and Koot 2008), and on independent syntactic and prosodic properties of the language

(iii):

locally compositional interpretive rules ('modes of composition'), based on relative syntactic configurations (as opposed to absolute syntactic positions)

- The questions addressed here:

– how much of the rather complex A-bar/discourse syntax of Hungarian falls out from a very limited number of such discourse-related interpretive rules when formulated in their barest form

– how do they interact with independent properties of the language

– to what extent they need to be enriched

2. Absolute uninterpretability of features and absolute positions

- Issues with the “cartographic” approach (CA):

– it substantially expands the range of *lexical primitives*:

– postulated functional elements

– syntactic features of these elements

> c-selectional, determining its position,

> Agree-features, restricting the range of associated elements

→ descriptive power is gained → sufficient (independent) empirical evidence needed

– word order flexibility

→ substantially weakens the empirical motivation for the postulated FPs

– reintroduces ‘movement rules’ (specified for their operands, landing sites, interpretive effect)

→ issue of restrictiveness

– uninterpretable discourse features (like [u.top] and [u.foc])

> systematic redundancy in the (narrow) syntactic representation → a fronted topic phrase is identified by at least three aspects of the structure:

(i) it carries an interpretable [i.top] feature,

(ii) it is in a specifier/head relation with a Top head,

(iii) and it is in a local configuration (of, say, minimal c-command) with some interpretable feature on Top (assuming that the mutuality of checking in the phi-system is generalized to the C-domain, as suggested in Chomsky (2001) for *wh*-movement).¹

→ topic/comment interpretation is overdetermined → representational redundancy (and the same applies, mutatis mutandis, to focus)

> the notion of uninterpretable feature (uninterpretable in the absolute sense) is conceptually problematic (some of the crucial deficiencies remain in Chomsky’s feature valuation based account (see Brody 20xx, Epstein and Seely 20xx, cf. also Pesetsky and Torrego 2004).²

– practically unrestricted → no particular insight is gained into the nature of the movements

e.g., [q(quant)]: it is obscured that GQs are interpretable only in certain syntactic positions (i.e., the interpretability of their q(uant)-feature is not an absolute property of GQs, independent of syntactic context (in contrast to the interpretability of phi-features of DPs).

¹ And (iv) also by being in a local configuration with a [top] feature (on Top) valued as part of Transfer (cf. Chomsky 2004 et seq.), in case the interpretive component should be sensitive to the *presence* of features valued as part of Transfer. This is possible if such “just valued” features are not literally *deleted* in Transfer, but are merely not mapped to the semantic representation. This would not only be more in line with Inclusiveness technically, but it would also permit a simple account of the fact that “just valued” features may receive a PF interpretation, dispensing with the ordering of the mapping to PHON before the mapping to SEM, see Chomsky 2004).

² The valuation model of checking still has to rely on the stipulations that (i) an unvalued feature that has been valued is distinguishable for the computational system (in particular, its Transfer operation) from a feature that was valued from the start, and (ii) a valued unvalued feature gets to PHON but not to SEM (see Epstein and Seely 20xx).

In sum:

The crucial difficulties for the CA in the area of discourse-related movements apparently stem from the two key types of syntactic primitives it postulates:

- discourse-related functional heads (like Top, Foc) that define absolute positions as landing sites,
- uninterpretable discourse features triggering the movements themselves

→ The simplest way out: dispose of both

N.B.

Nothing that has been said speaks against *interpretable* [top] of [foc] features as such → remains an empirical issue whether interpretable [top] or [foc] should be assumed

3. Relative configurations and discourse interpretation

3.1 The plan

- dispense with (i) and (ii) for discourse-related movements
 - locally compositional interpretive rules (see Neeleman and Koot's (2008) "discourse templates"; cf. also Diesing 1992, Diesing and Jelinek 1995, Yoon 2000).
- Ideally, these rules should only be able to inspect strictly local aspects of the syntactic configuration, i.e., nothing beyond the two elements undergoing Merge and their labels (heads)...

Roadmap:

- review of the core aspects of standard CA analyses of the "discourse syntax" of Hungarian
- highlighting some of the major problems they face
- a "configurational" account
 - > the syntactic analysis I adopt of basic clauses
 - > an account of discourse-related movements

3.2 Problems for a cartographic account of A-bar movements in Hungarian

- (1) a. [_{TopP}* [_{AlsoP}* [_{DistP}* [_{NegP} [_{FocP} [_{NegP} [_{AspP}...]]]]]]] (Puskás 2000)
b. [_{RefP}* [_{DistP}* [_{FocP/CountP} [_{AgrSP} V [...]]]]] (Szabolcsi 1997, Brody and Szabolcsi 2003)
c. [_{TopP}* [_{DistP}* [_{FocP} [_{TP} [_{PredP} ...]]]]] (É. Kiss 2002 + É. Kiss 2008)

Complications:

– In an extended empirical domain, we need to allow for a freely ordered and optional generation of (any number of) the three functional projections of RefP, DistP and FocP in the post-verbal region of the clause (a domain within which the scope of iQPs and identificational foci is free

→ this freedom of the presence and of the order of functional projections, paradoxically, diminishes the core motivation for a CA analysis

– Even if we allow the multiple iteration of the whole of the fixed series of projections RefP* > DistP* > CountP* (as done by Brody and Szabolcsi 2003), some basic facts remain unexplained, or require stipulations.

> whereas a preverbal focus/counter is unique, (pre- or postverbal) topics/iQPs and postverbal foci/counters are not.

> whereas (in the absence of another focus/counter or negation) a focus/counter must occupy a "surface" scope position by overtly raising to the preverbal field, an iQP may remain postverbal, taking "inverse" scope over any other scope-sensitive element, irrespectively of the presence or absence of other iQPs.³

> while movement to pre-verbal FocP is uniformly overt, movement (of a "secondary" focus) to post-verbal FocPs (i.e., FocP projections generated below AgrSP in (1b), and below PredP in (1c)) is not (see Suranyi 2002, 2004 for relevant data and discussion).

> elements in putative postverbal RefPs and in preverbal RefPs are fundamentally different: it is only the latter, but not the former, that are interpreted as aboutness topics

3.3 The structure of the basic clause

(2) [_{TP} XP_{VM} [_T V] [_{PredP} ~~XP_{VM}~~ [_{Pred} V] [...]]]

(3) [_{TP} El [_T küldte] [_{PredP} el_{VM} [_{Pred} küldte] [...]]]

El küldte János a cikket Dávidnak
PRT sent-3sg John-nom the paper-acc David-to
'John sent the paper to David.'

– PredP = core proposition

– TP = tensed sentence (a proposition 'anchored' by tense, in the sense of Enc 1987; or in other terms, a sentence in which the tense variable is properly quantified over, e.g., existentially closed).

– The clausal negation particle (a truth-functional operator):

> can only apply to a tensed sentence (as only a tensed sentence can have a truth value)

> Merges into Spec-TP

(4) [_{TP} nem [_T V] [_{PredP} XP_{VM} [_{Pred} V] [...]]]

Nem küldte el a cikket
not sent-3sg PRT the paper-acc
'He didn't send the paper.'

Negation makes the movement of VM superfluous:

(5) a. Be/i kell már ___/i fejezni
PRT must already finish-inf
'You must finish now.'

b. Nem kell még be fejezni
not must yet PRT finish-inf
'You don't have to finish yet.'

c. *Nem kell be/i még ___/i fejezni
not must PRT yet finish-inf

³ É. Kiss (2002) (also in her prior work) suggests that inverse scope of post-verbal iQPs over any pre-verbal scope-bearing element is due to an optional stylistic (PF) reordering rule that postposes pre-verbal iQPs to the post-verbal domain (a view adopted in Szabolcsi 1997). Taking the above scope possibilities for post-verbal iQPs at face value, however, the simplest analysis within the frame of (1a), (1b), or (1c) is to take iQPs to move to their respective Spec,DistP positions either in overt or in covert syntax (see Suranyi 2002).

Adopting a very different frame of assumptions, B&Sz (2003) explain basic inverse scope, adopting Brody's Mirror Theory representation of phrase-structure, as a combined effect of feature-sharing between adjacent heads and a feature-domination account of (c-command based) scope, hence without covert movement.

3.4 Configurations for focus interpretation

3.4.1 Focus movement and semantic partitioning

(6) The culprit is John

3.4.2 Identificational focus and specificational predication

- (7) a. John is a doctor → *A doctor is John
 b. John is the one thing I have always wanted a man to be (namely, honest) →
 *The one thing I have always wanted a man to be is John.
- (8) a. Is the mayor Sam?
 b. No, the mayor is Pete.
 c. *No, the FIRE CHIEF is Sam. (from Williams 1997)
 d. No, Sam is the fire chief

(9) $\lambda x.x=j$

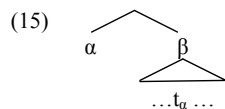
(10) $\lambda P[\text{tx}.P(x)=j]$

3.4.3 Focus movement and the configuration for identificational predication

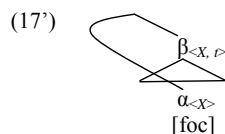
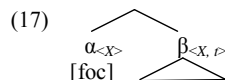
(12) János [érkezett meg ___]
 John [arrived PRT ___]
 'It is John who arrived.'

(13) [[john] [λx .arrived(x)]]

- (14) a. JÁNOS a legjobb barátom
 JOHN the best friend-my
 b. A legjobb barátom JÁNOS



(16) Identificational focus interpretation is possible for α in the movement configuration (15) if α bears [foc], and α moves just outside a β s.t. β is a full proposition prior to the movement of α .



Movement configuration obtaining independently of 'focus-movement':

(18) El EMAILEZTE a dokumentumot, nem el FAXOLTA
 PRT emailed-3sg the document-acc not PRT faxed-3sg
 'He EMAILED the document, he didn't FAX it.'

• Is focus-movement triggered by EPP on T?:

(19) DAVIDNEK emailezte el a cikket
 David-to emailed-3sg PRT the paper-acc
 'He emailed the paper to DAVID.'

(20) putative structure of (19): [TP FOC V [PredP VM ...

But:

Overt focus movement can take place above negation+V:

(21) [FOC nem V... (FOC)]:
 A CIKKET nem emailezte el
 the paper-acc not emailed-4sg PRT
 'It's the paper that he did not email to David.'

Focus movement to above negation+V cannot be covert:

(22) *[(FOC) nem V ... FOC]:
 Nem emailezte el A CIKKET
 not emailed-3sg PRT THE PAPER-acc
 'It's the paper that he did not email to David.'

• Alternative:

Focus movement is 'triggered' by interpretability needs, and its overtness is determined by a prosodic factor: viz. that in Hungarian, the default nuclear pitch accent (NPA) falls on the leftmost phonological phrase within the intonational phrase containing the verb.

– Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) (Dutch; see also Zubizarreta 1998, Spanish):

Syntactic movements may be motivated by the prosodic need that the (primary) focus of the clause should bear the NPA.

– Szendrői (2001):

overt focus movement to the preverbal position in Hungarian is motivated by this need, but more directly: by undergoing overt movement to this position, the focus phrase will receive the default NPA.

– This talk:

Focus movement is 'triggered' by interpretability needs, and it is its overtness (i.e., the PF realization of the higher occurrence) that is determined by default NPA (which falls on the leftmost specifier of TP).

Stress shift in the case of post-verbal 'information focus':

(23) El emailezte (például) A CIKKET
 PRT emailed-3sg (for example) THE PAPER-acc
 'He emailed the PAPER, for example.'

- Why doesn't focus movement not take the focused XP to outer SpecPredP?:

Primary focus:=

the focus whose domain (or background) is not contained in the domain (background) of another focus.

- (24) a. A primary focus has “maximal scope” in a clause.
 b. A primary focus is the main predicate in the clause.
 (25) A primary focus in a clause has “scope” over the tensed proposition.

- EPP satisfaction in a clause containing a fronted focus:

The fronted focus XP can apparently satisfy T[EPP] by itself (just like negation can):

FOC V VM...

**FOC VM V...*

Negation can be Merged in an outer SpecTP, above focus (cf. focus+background make a proposition, whose main predication is identity):

(26) *nem FOC V ...:*

Nem a CIKKET emailezte el
 not the paper-acc emailed-3sg PRT
 'It's not the paper that he emailed.'

- Multiple foci:

True multiple foci (MF):

- (27) a. Only Bill introduced Susan only to his mother.
 b. A: Who didn't introduce you to who?
 B: BILL didn't introduce me to SUSAN.

Complex focus (CF) (focus on pairs/n-tuples) (Krifka 1992):

(28) $\lambda P[\lambda(x,y).P(x,y)=(\mathbf{b},\mathbf{s})]$

As [focus+background] yields a proposition, multiple focus movements to TP are not ruled out as uninterpretable (could be either MF or CF). Yet:

(29) **FOC FOC V ... (FOC)... (FOC)...*:

A CIKKET DAVIDNEK emailezte el
 the paper-acc David-to emailed-3sg PRT
 'It's the paper that he emailed to DAVID.'

→ Uniqueness of default NPA (Szendrői, *ibid.*) + economy prefers covert movement⁴

As the NPA falls on the left edge of the comment part (syntactically, the TP), the focus movement that will have to be overt is the one that displaces the focus phrase to the left edge, i.e., to the outermost specifier, of TP.⁵

⁴ Moved focus XP Merges with propositional constituents. As PredP is propositional, the covert movement of a second FOC may target PredP as well.

⁵ The availability of long focus movement (see (i)) (including cases where the embedded clause has a fronted focus, see (ii)) suggests that a focus phrase may be removed from an IP by (successive cyclic) movement to an intermediate phase edge, before moving on to a higher clause.

- (30) FOC1 V ... FOC2 “FOC1 > FOC2” / *“(FOC2 > FOC1)”⁶

A CIKKET emailezte el DAVIDNEK
 the paper-acc emailed-3sg PRT David-to

'It's the paper that he emailed to DAVID.'/*'It's David who he emailed the PAPER to.'

- Each intonational phrase (IP) – NPA

One focus:

→ if an embedded clause is not part of the IP of the main clause → FOC-fronting inside embedded clause is obligatory:

- (i) a. PRT V ... [FOC Vinf PRT...] (two IPs) cf. *PRT V ... [PRT Vinf FOC...]

→ if an embedded clause is part of the IP of the main clause → FOC-fronting from the embedded clause to the main clause:

- b. FOC V PRT [... PRT Vinf...] (one IP)

Multiple foci:

→ if separate IPs → FOC-fronting in both clauses

- (ii) a. FOC V PRT... [FOC Vinf PRT...](two IPs)

→ if they form one IP → FOC-fronting only in main clause, but not in embedded clause

- b. FOC V PRT... [PRT Vinf FOC...] (one IP) cf. *PRT V ... [FOC Vinf...]

VM-movement from embedded into main clause → requires merging of IPs →

- (iii) *PRT/i V ... FOC V ... (PRT/i)

- Recall that V is raised to T for reasons independent of focusing → focused V in T falls under configuration (17') → two predictions:

– an XP FOC may be postverbal if V is primary FOC:

- (31) Naponta mosogatsz, de mi az amit HETENTE csinálsz?

'You do the dishes DAILY, but what is it that you do WEEKLY?'

V_{FOC} ... XP_{FOC} ...:

PORSZIVOZOK HETENTE

vacuum-1sg weekly

'It is vacuuming that I do WEEKLY.'

– if an XP FOC co-occurs with a V FOC in a clause, and V FOC is a second(ary) focus, then XP FOC will raise to Spec-T:

- (32) Who do they TORTURE?

Csak az ELLENSÉGET KINOZZÁK

[_{TP} [only the ENEMY] [_T TORTURE-3sg] [_{PredP} ...]]

Note: (31) and (32) are a potential problem for an account based on feature-checking movements to FocP.

- (i) MARIT akartam, hogy bemutasd nekem

M-acc wanted-1sg that PRT-introduce-subjc-2sg to.me

'I wanted you to introduce MARY to me.'

- (ii) MARIT akartam CSAK ANYAMNAK bemutatni

M-acc wanted-1sg only mother.my-to PRT-introduce-inf

'I wanted to introduce MARY to only MY MOTHER.'

⁶ The sister of an identificational focus must be Given. As a consequence, the propositional unit made up of a second focus in an MF construction and its background must also be Given. As expected, second focus in an MF construction is normally 'second occurrence focus.'

- Closeness effects:
As no probe/attractor is involved, no Closeness/RM effects are expected (disregarding any semantic weak island effects, discussed a.o. by Szabolcsi and Zwarts 1993).
→ both in MF and in CF, the choice of which focused phrase is raised overtly to a Spec-T position is independent of how high an A-position it occupies prior to focus movement
→ either one of two postverbal foci can take ‘scope’ over the other (cf. Section 3.2)
- As generalized quantifiers, universal quantifiers like *every*-NPs undergo QR. They too raise out of a propositional category, turning it into a one-place predicate.
Ident.focus+background create a propositional unit.
→ as a consequence, foci and *every*-QPs are able to intersperse scopally quite freely (see Section 3.2)
- Mismatches between semantic IF/prosodic focus and the moved element (α) in configuration (17’):
– IF can be smaller than α (every other part of α is Given) (although the set of alternatives projected correspond to α (here: [the P boys])
→ either A-bar reconstruction (Chomsky 1993, Fox 2000)? → does not extend to focus in English specificational clauses, if they involve no movement of the post-copular NP (=focus)
→ or syntactic [foc] feature on α ’ contained in α in (17’) (or on a LI + IF must dominate [foc])

(33) a. Mari a SZÖKE fiúkat szereti
Mary the BLOND boys-acc likes
‘The property P such that Mary likes P boys = blond.’

b. Who Mary likes are (the) BLOND boys.

– The IF may also be larger than α (an inverse of the “pied-piping” type cases, dubbed *pars pro toto* movement by Fanselow 1993) (see Kenesei 1996 for examples and discussion): IF is a constituent C containing α prior to the movement of α to a pre-verbal position. (N.B. On a Re-Merge approach to movement, C dominates α at any stage where α has been moved, as in focus-fronting.)
→ IF must dominate [foc]

(34) A FÖLDSZINTI ajtó csapódott be, vagy a PADLÁSON lévő ablak tört be
the ground-floor door got.slammed prt or the attic-on being window got.smashed prt
‘Is it the case that the door on the ground floor got slammed, or that the window in the attic got smashed?’

- É. Kiss (1998): IF requires movement, information focus does not (→ hence, it remains postverbal). But:
– postverbal focus does not have the *pars pro toto* property (35a).
– postverbal focus may not be New, but must involve alternatives (35b).

→ if [foc] does not appear inside α in (17’), its contribution is the projection of alternatives

(35) a. Be csapódott a FÖLDSZINTI ajtó (például)
PRT got.slammed the ground-floor door (for example)
‘The door on the ground floor was slammed.’

- b. A: Hogy tudod, kit hívott meg a fiúk közül?
‘As far as you know, who did she invite from among the boys?’
B: Meghívta JÁNOST, de nem hívta meg PÉTERT
‘She invited JOHN, but didn’t invite PETER.’

4. Configurations for topical DPs

4.1 Post-verbal scrambling

- Freedom of constituent order after the verb
– É. Kiss (1987, 1994, 2002; and 2008): this is a consequence of the fact that the relevant domain of the clause does not have a hierarchical structure)
– Surányi (2006, 2007): Japanese-type scrambling⁷

- scrambling the object above the subject does not enforce a discourse-linked interpretation for the object:

(36) Szeretne egy ügyvédet a gyanúsított
would.like an attorney-acc the culprit-nom
‘The culprit would like an attorney.’

- if a DP is scrambled within the post-verbal domain to the left of the VM element, then it is likely to be interpreted as discourse-linked⁸

(37) Although it was widely advertised in the newspapers, surprisingly [...] I found out later that our advertisement had a typo in the address.

- a. nem jelent meg senki az általunk szervezett eseményen
not appeared PRT noone-nom the by.us organized event-on
b. ??nem jelent meg az általunk szervezett eseményen
not appeared noone-nom PRT the by.us organized the event-on

– de Hoop (1992) (Dutch), Haider and Rosengren (1998) (German) argue, (A-)scrambling does not replace interpretational options for DPs, but instead, it merely reduces them: the interpretational possibilities available to a scrambled DP is also available to the same DP in an un-scrambled position. This holds for Hungarian as well:

⁷ In a VOS order (V is raised out of vP), the scrambling of the object above the subject feeds the binding of anaphors in the possessor position of the subject; feeds pronominal variable binding within the subject; neither feeds nor obviates Condition C; does not induce WCO effects, but obviates WCO violations; and introduces O>S/S>O scope ambiguity (where without object scrambling only an S>O scope reading is available).

⁸ The VM element surfaces post-verbally only in non-neutral sentences, including clauses with a pre-verbal focus (or a wh-phrase, loosely speaking, an interrogative variety of focus). One confounding factor in this sentence type is that the clausal constituent that is sister to the pre-verbal focus must be Given (see above). Another issue is that the presence of a pre-verbal focus (or wh-phrase) allows a second identificational focus phrase to surface post-verbally (as only the primary focus raises overtly), which is why such an identificational focus is not detectable on the basis of word order. The presence of an ordinary (non-identificational) focus in the post-verbal domain is also difficult to detect, as the NPA must fall on the pre-verbal (identificational) focus in the clause. The difficulty lies in the fact that focus interpretation of a DP easily blurs its status with respect to a discourse-linked/discourse-new distinction. Third, in many cases ‘weak’ indefinites of the English/Dutch type correspond in Hungarian to bare nominals, which cannot appear to the left of the VM position, but must occupy the VM position (i.e., Spec-PredP) itself. The examples presented below are constructed so that these confounding factors can be controlled for. In none of them is the relevant DP intended as (identificational or ordinary) focus.

- (38) She has given three different interviews to that newspaper, but finally ...
- nem jelent meg semelyik benne
not appeared PRT none.of.them in.it
 - nem jelent semelyik meg benne
not appeared none.of.them PRT in.it

– PPI indefinites:

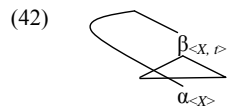
- (39) Hogyan engesztelhetném ki szerinted?
‘How do you think I could make it up with her?’
- Tanulj meg egy szerelmes verset és szavald el neki
learn-imp PRT a love poem-acc and recite-imp PRT to.her
 - ??Tanulj egy szerelmes verset meg és szavald el neki
learn-imp a love poem-acc PRT and recite-imp PRT to.her
 - Here’s a good anthology of poems

– when an idiom chunk DP is scrambled to the left of the post-verbal VM, the idiomatic interpretation is lost:

- (40) a. Kit húztak be a csőbe?
who-acc pulled-3sg PRT the tube-into
OK ‘Who was pulled into the tube?’ / OK ‘Who was tricked?’
- Kit húztak a csőbe be?
who-acc pulled-3sg the tube-into PRT
OK ‘Who was pulled into the tube?’ / ?? ‘Who was tricked?’

– Indefinites preceding the VM after the verb are preferred to be interpreted as prepositional, whereas indefinites following the VM may or may not be:⁹

- (41) a. Nem lőhetsz le egy unikornist
not shoot-mod-2sg PRT a unicorn-acc
‘You cannot shoot a unicorn.’
- #Nem lőhetsz egy unikornist le
not shoot-mod-2sg a unicorn-acc PRT



- (43) In (42), if β is a proposition prior to the movement of α , then interpret α as Given.¹⁰

⁹ Only fully non-compositional idioms are appropriate to be used in this test. In “compositional” idioms, where the DP idiom chunk can be assigned some metaphorical interpretation on its own, the metaphorical meaning of the DP chunk may interfere.

¹⁰ Sauerland (2005) defines Givenness for elements of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ (which I assume weak indefinites to be, see a.o. McNally 1998, van Geenhoven 1999, van der Does and de Hoop 1998) as presupposing its own existential closure (i.e., if $f_{\langle e, t \rangle}$ is Given, then it is presupposed that $\exists x.f(x)=1$). An element of type $\langle e \rangle$ is Given if it presupposes that it is the value of some index of the assignment function g (i.e., if $x_{\langle e \rangle}$ is Given, $\exists i.g(i)=x$). The latter is close to Schwarzschild’s (1999) proposal, since Sauerland assumes that only individuals that are salient are stored in the assignment. For Schwarzschild, if an expression E of type $\langle e \rangle$ is Given, then it must have a salient antecedent E' of type $\langle e \rangle$ such that E co-refers with E' .

4.2 Topicalization and scrambling

- É. Kiss (1987, 1994, 2002): aboutness topic, i.e., logical subject of predication, where the predicate corresponds to the comment.

- (44) In (42), if β is a finite tensed proposition prior to the movement of α , then interpret α as a logical subject of β .¹¹

- (45) Topic recursion: *TOP TOP VM V*:
Két cikket egy kollégámmal meg vitattam
two paper-acc a colleague-with PRT discussed-1sg
‘I discussed two (of the) papers with a colleague of mine.’

- If Spec-TP is filled by a pre-verbal focus (or wh-phrase), or negation (or both), DPs to the left of these elements are interpreted as topics, again, by (44). In difference to neutral clauses, in such non-neutral clauses DPs to the left of the VM position and to the right of the verb (in T) are not interpreted as topics: they do not fall under (44), as PredP is does not contain tense.¹²

- Infinitival clauses:

- They cannot simply be analyzed as vPs (cf. Wurmbrandt 1998), as they have a VM V as a neutral order (implicating at least a PredP, on the present account), and they allow for overt focus movement (see Section 3.4.3, esp. Fn. 30) (implicating a TP).
- As these clauses do not involve finite tense, a DP raised to the left of the VM in a neutral clause will not be interpreted as an aboutness topic, as (44) predicts.
- As predicted by (43), the same DPs must be interpreted as Given:

- (46) a. Megpróbáltam [egy ufót le fényképezni]
PRT-tried-1sg a UFO-acc PRT photograph-inf
‘I tried to take a photo of a UFO.’ (commitment to the existence of UFOs)
- Nem próbáltam meg [semmit elmondani]
not tried-1sg PRT nothing-acc PRT-say-inf (existential presupposition)
 - #Nem akartunk [a csőbe be húzni] (unavailability of idiomatic reading)
not want-1pl the tube-into PRT pull-inf
‘We didn’t want to trick you.’

Schwarzschild (1999) interprets Givenness as a notion of discourse-anaphoricity/discourse-old status, but as he subscribes to the view that discourse antecedents can also be accommodated (if the explicit discourse lacks one), his definition of Givenness for individual type elements is in effect identical with Sauerland’s (granting Sauerland’s restriction of the assignment function to salient elements)

¹¹ Which notion of (semantic) finiteness is to be adopted (e.g., one based on the notion of assertion, or one based on anchoring to speech time) is of no direct relevance at this descriptive level, hence I will leave this choice open here. If finiteness is represented as some kind of operator, it may be useful to think of it as attaching to, and applying to, TP. This would make the domains of application of focus and (the) finiteness (operator) correspond to their respective hierarchical positions in clausal composition. This would also provide a trivial answer to why a topic cannot satisfy T’s EPP feature: simply because it is not structurally adjacent to T, as a covert finiteness operator intervenes. (Alternatively, a topic is an adjunct to TP, not its specifier; assuming a structural difference between the two that affects possibilities of feature checking). A finiteness operator would also neatly mark the right edge of a field available for topics (the positions above it), which is also the field not available for foci (which require tensed propositions, but not finite tensed propositions to Merge with). For related discussion of the restriction *[FOC [TOP [...]]], see Hajicova, Partee and Sgall (1998).

¹² Note that a topicalized DP falls not only under (44), but also under (43): (44) covers a superset of the cases (43) covers, as (44) is more specific. This is correct, as all topics must be Given.

– These DPs are not interpreted as topics. For instance, the fronted indefinite below does not need to be understood as specific (which aboutness topics must; specificity is understood here in the sense of Enc 1991).

(47) Engem meghívtak [egy verset fel olvasni]
 I-acc PRT-invited-3sg a poem -acc PRT read-inf
 ‘I was invited to read out a poem.’

– Infinitival clause TP is tensed (see Stowell 1982, 1995, etc), but not finite.

(48) In (42), if β is a tensed proposition prior to the movement of α , then interpret α as specific.

→ DPs fronted to the left of VM in the preceding set of examples should be interpreted as specific. As (47) above shows, this is not the case. → this is because the verb and the VM element may be lower in neutral infinitival clauses than in their finite clause counterparts: Brody (1995): verb-movement to T (from Pred, in our case) is optionally overt in infinitivals → verb inversion with focus is optional:

(49) a. Jó lenne [MARIT ki rúgni]
 good would.be M-acc PRT fire-inf
 b. Jó lenne [MARIT rúgni ki]
 good would.be M-acc fire-inf PRT
 ‘It would be good to fire MARY.’

→ “Strong” T (finite clauses only have “strong” T): attracts the verb overtly and bears “EPP”
 “Weak” T: does not attract the verb overtly, and lacks an “EPP” feature

→ neutral clauses are structurally ambiguous:

(50) a. [TP VM [T V] [PredP (VM) [Pred (V)] ...]]
 b. [TP [T] [PredP VM [Pred V] ...]]

→ prediction:
 an indefinite DP fronted to the left of VM in a neutral infinitival clause must be Given (due to (43), verified above), and in addition to being Given, it may also be specific (this is the case in structure (50a)).

→ prediction:
 in a non-neutral infinitival clause, where Spec-TP is occupied by focus or negation, a DP fronted to the left of focus/negation not only can be, but it *must* be interpreted as specific.¹³

(51) Megpróbáltam [egy verset [MARINAK szavalni el/ el szavalni]]
 PRT-tried-1sg a poem-acc M-to recite-inf PRT/ PRT recite-inf
 ‘I tried to recite a poem to MARY.’

¹³ The prediction is the same in a ‘DP VM V’ word order, i.e. the word order of neutral clauses, if the clause involves predicate focus. This is because I have assumed primary focus to have to raise to TP (Merge with a category corresponding to a tensed proposition).

(i) Megpróbáltam [egy verset ELSZAVALNI Marinak]
 PRT-tried-1sg a poem-acc PRT-recite-inf M-to
 ‘I tried to RECITE a poem to Mary.’

(52) Megpróbáltam [egy verset ELSZAVALNI Marinak]
 PRT-tried-1sg a poem-acc PRT-recite-inf M-to
 ‘I tried to RECITE a poem to Mary.’

- (privative) topic-feature? → No → focus VS. aboutness topic:
 - aboutness topics can only ever arise in Hungarian through overt syntactic movement (see É. Kiss 1987, 2002 etc; in situ elements can be topics in various other senses of the term, e.g. Lambrecht’s (1994) role-oriented topics, but they cannot be aboutness topics).
 - aboutness topicalization has no truth-conditional impact, and the dependency it creates is not quantificational
 - on the PF side, aboutness topicalization has no salient prosodic marking (contrastive topicalization does)
 - no mismatches (in either upward or downward direction) between moved phrase and element interpreted as aboutness topic: the displacement itself directly defines the phrase to be interpreted as an aboutness topic.
 - the same considerations extend to “Scrambling”
- no formal features on moved element

5. Conclusion

The account of discourse-related movements in Hungarian outlined here:

- relies neither on functional projections dedicated to specific discourse functions/statuses, nor on a feature-checking mechanism to trigger, and determine various properties of, the different types of movements examined.
- identifies syntactic configurations that are mapped to given “discourse” interpretations.
- retains a privative focus feature, but no topic feature
- a simple clause structure for the Hungarian clause (above the ν P), within which the relevant configurations can obtain
- interaction with prosodic properties of the language (NPA, IP structure)

References

[omitted]