SOME REMARKS ON THE FOCUS FIELD IN HUNGARIAN

Michael Brody

Abstract

In Hungarian focus is syntactically marked, focussed categories must move to a preverbal position. Sentences that contain a focussed element have a number of syntactic, semantic and phonological characteristics that differentiate them from sentences without a focussed category. Following Kalman et al (1986) we shall call the sentence type that contains no focus 'neutral' sentence. Our main aim in this paper will be to attempt to explain the numerous complicated restrictions that prescribe the order of preverbal elements in non-neutral sentences.

0 Introduction

As is well known, in Hungarian focus is syntactically marked, focussed categories must move to a preverbal position.[1] Sentences that contain a focussed element have a number of syntactic, semantic and phonological characteristics that differentiate them from sentences without a focussed category. Following Kalman and al. (1986) we shall call the sentence type that contains no focus 'neutral' sentence. We shall be interested here primarily in the numerous complicated   restrictions that prescribe the order of preverbal elements in non-neutral sentences. Part of these restrictions can be succintly stated in a box-format along the following lines (cf. e.g. Kenesei (1986), Kalman (1985) for schemas similar to (1)). Note that thematic roles, Cases or grammatical relations play no role here.

(1)   *S if the word order does not conform to the following schema:

is-phrase/neg-phrase, uq-phrase, c-focus/$csak$-phrase, VM, V, etc.

Kenesei calls the preverbal positions in (1) the 'quantifier field'. We shall use the expression 'focus field' as a descriptive term to emphasize that these elements all receive an identificational, focus interpretation. (By identificational meaning we understand the characteristic interpretation assigned to clefts in English, this may but need not involve contrast.) The focus field may be preceeded by topicalized constituents. In principle any number of constituents

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may be topicalized in a Hungarian sentence. Topicalized elements will of course receive a different, non-identificational interpretation.

Our main aim in this paper will be to attempt to explain the restrictions on the order of the elements in the focus field. Let us first of all clarify the subset of these constraints that (1) is meant to represent.

In (1) *VM* stands for verbal modifier. Hungarian has a large number of verbal modifiers that form a lexical unit with the verb (*V* in (1)), cf. Ackerman and Komlosy (1983). We shall refer to the VM+V complex as V+. For example *leszol* contains *le* (*down*) and *szol* (*calls*) --'speaks ill of somebody' or *kiharcol* contains *ki* (*out*) and *harcol* (*fights*), --'obtains by fighting'. In such cases the V and the VM clearly form a lexical unit: the meaning of the whole is not compositional. Furthermore the VM can modify the thematic and Case frame of the V. Eg. *szol* takes a dative goal while *leszol* takes a direct object accusative theme. We should mention here also that the VM position may be filled also by elements that clearly do not belong there lexically: embedded small clause and infinitival predicates, designated subcategorized complements, adverbials and indefinite expressions being the central cases.

Continuing now from the left *is* means *also*, thus '*is-* phrase' stands for categories followed by *also*, eg. 'Peter is' ('Peter also'). (The terminology here is not quite appropriate: we shall argue below that *is* in fact does not form a constituent with the category preceding it.) 'Neg-phrase' stands for phrases containing a negative polarity item, eg. *senki* (*nobody*), or *semelyik fiu* (*none of the boys*), --these are in complementary distribution with *is*-phrases. Both *is*-phrases and neg-phrases in the focus field must precede uq-phrases. Uq-phrases are categories that contain a *universal* quantifier, like eg. *mindenki* (*everybody*) or *minden fiu* (*every boy*). (Note that categories that include other quantifier types behave differently.)

'c-focus' stands for focussed categories that are neither universally quantified categories nor negative polarity items nor '*also*-phrases'. This is also the position where the '*csak-* phrase' ie. a category preceded by *csak* (*only*) appears when it is present in the focus field. Hence our term of c-focus, where *c* is meant as a reminder to *csak*. In what follows, when the distinction between pure c-focus and a *csak*-phrase is not relevant we shall subsume the latter under the former term. As indicated by (1) c-foci must always follow *is*-phrases, neg-phrases and uq-phrases and must immediately precede the verb.

A number of authors have suggested that the ordering restrictions of the Hungarian sentence are best treated by postulating a template like (1) as part of the grammar. This seems a rather unpromising avenue for at least two very strong reasons. First of all it would make the achievements of children acquiring Hungarian nothing short of miraculous: a language particular filter would have to be learnt by a hypothesis formation and confirmation mechanism. Given the general lack of negative evidence in language learning it seems unclear if even the existence of a filter like (1) is discoverable in this way, not to mention determining its rather complicated fine details.

Secondly the ordering constraints expressed in (1) are only a small subset of the relevant restrictions, many of which are not even expressible in a template format. Here are few examples, others will be discussed in later sections.

(2)   (a)   In finite clauses VM can be preverbal iff a c-focus is not
                present (but cf. d. below).
        (b)   There can be more than one uq-phrase in a focus field.
        (c)   There can be only one *is*-phrase and only one c-focus in a focus
                field.
        (d)   If a uq-phrase is preceeded by negation, it must not be followed
                by a preverbal VM.
        (e)   There is a class of adverbs that is in complementary
                distribution with c-focus, but allows a preverbal VM.
        (f)   Interrogative wh-phrases in the focus field are like uq-phrases
                in that more than one of them may appear in a focus field, but
                they are like c-foci in that one of them must be adjacent to the
                V and (a) above holds of them also.

Before going on to the main subject of this paper, the treatment of the
syntactically, ie. positionally marked focus in Hungarian we shall first discuss
in a rather sketchy fashion the structure of the Hungarian neutral sentence, ie.
of the sentence that contains no focussed element, no category in the focus
field.

1 Organization of the neutral sentence

1.1 Some asymmetries. Hungarian has principle C asymmetries as noted by
Maracz (1989):

(3)   (a)   Janos anyja   szereti Janost
                J   mother-his likes   J(acc)
                J's mother likes J

        (b)   *Janos szereti Janos anyjat
                J   likes   J   mother-his(acc)
                J likes J's mother

Weak Crossover is also operative in Hungarian, cf Kenesei (1988):

(4)   (a)   Mindenki/x felismerte a   ferfit   aki benyitott
                everybody recognized the man(acc) who into-entered

                a   pro/x szobajaba.
                the   room-his
                Everybody/x recognized the man who entered his/x room

        (b)   *Mindenkit/x   felismert a   ferfi aki benyitott
                Everybody(acc) recognized the man   who into-entered

                a   pro/x szobajaba.
                the   room-his
                The man who entered into his/x room recognized everybody/x

Let us then assume that the subject (the nominative in a tensed sentence) is

hierarchically higher than the (other) complements of the verb.

We shall leave open why the WCO violations do not show up in simple sentences where pro/pronoun is the specifier of the subject NP, e.g. in (5). Cf. E Kiss (1987) for this type of example.

(5)   Az pro/x anyja   szeret mindenkit/x
        The   mother-his likes everybody(acc)
        His/x mother likes everybody/x

Although we have no solution for the peculiar behaviour of (5), it seems reasonable to assume that it represents the exception while examples like (4), where weak crossover is observed, exhibit the normal situation. Anaphoric elements in NPs in a wide variety of languages appear to be allowed a much wider choice of antecedents than their counterparts in sentential domains (cf. picture noun reflexives etc.)

As Kenesei notes with 'non-agentive subjects' the WCO effect disappears also: (4) improves if we substitute *zavart(a)* (*disturbed*)   for *felismert(e)* (*recognized*). We shall assume a Belletti and Rizzi (198x) type ergative analysis of psych verbs where the nominative theme is a sister complement of the verb in D-structure and becomes the surface subject via the application of NP-movement. Since WCO applies at LF the grammaticality of the psych version of (4) will have to be attributed to an LF reconstruction process. The fact that (3) cannot be similarly improved by the substitution of a psych verb is expected. Since principle C holds at S-structure, reconstruction will have no effect.

The conclusion that subjects and objects are not sister nodes is reinforced by other evidence that has accumulated recently in the literature. For example parasitic gaps behave as expected if subjects are in a hierarchically higher position than objects (cf. Horvath 1986). Other subject-object asymmetries show up in a number of areas. For example only the subject of the infinitive can be PRO, only nonsubjects can be designated verb-incorporated elements cf. Maracz (1989). Verbs systematically show selectional asymmetries: the interpretation of the subject is dependent on the complements of the verb, but the interpretation of the complements is not contingent on the subject, see Horvath (1986). Since such asymmetries can receive a natural account if we postulate a constituent that contains the verb and its complements but not the subject, we can consider the evidence from assorted subject-object asymmetries as further corroboration of this claim.

1.2 Symmetries, and a resolution. E-Kiss (1987) argues that Hungarian lacks ECP type subject- nonsubject asymmetries. We shall ignore her discussion of the (equivalent of the) *that-t*-effect partly because recent research appears to show that this phenomenon does not fall under the ECP (Cf. eg. Koopman and Sportiche 1987, Stowell 1986), and partly because, as noted by Maracz (1989), lack of *that-t*-effects is attested also in a number of languages where subjects and objects are uncontroversially non-sisters. Thus lack of ECP effects in Hungarian is instantiated only by the claimed lack of superiority effects.

In Hungarian interrogative wh-phrases must move to immediately preverbal position. In the case of multiple questions at least one wh-phrase must move to immediately preverbal position. The others may (but do not have to) move there. When they do they must move immediately adjacent to each other. Their

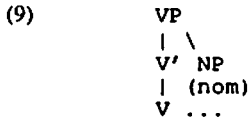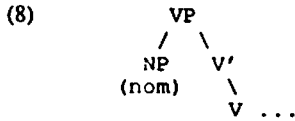order however is free, and reflects the intended scope relations between them:

(6)   (a)   Ki   kit   szeret
                Who(nom) who(acc) likes
                Who likes who

        (b)   Kit   ki   szeret
                Who(acc) who(nom) likes
                Whom who likes

Assuming that ECP is universal, there could still be at least two different explanations of why Hungarian does not show ECP-type effects here. It might be that in Hungarian not only complements but also subjects are theta governed. Alternatively it might be that in configurations like (6) subjects can be antecedent governed. There is some reason to think that the former alternative is the correct one. Consider (7) where we have multiple questions with adjuncts:

(7)   (a)   (Kivancsi vagyok hogy) melyik konyvet   hogyan/miert
               (Curious am   that) which book(acc) how/why

               irtad
               wrote-you
               (I'm curious) which book you wrote how/why

        (b)   *(Kivancsi vagyok hogy) hogyan/miert melyik konyvet
                  (Curious am   that) how   /why   which book(acc)

               irtad
               wrote-you
               (I'm curious) how/why you wrote which book

Note that the judgements on the examples in (7) are the opposite of the corresponding English translations. As (7a) shows the adjuncts *hogyan* (*how*) and *miert* (*why*) can appear in multiple questions. Assuming that these adjuncts are not theta governed the ungrammatical example (7b) strongly suggests the conclusion that in a multiple question antecedent government is possible only from the verb-adjacent position. If this is correct then it follows that in (6a) the trace of the subject is not antecedent governed either, hence it must be theta-governed.

Thus for the basic structure of non-ergative neutral sentences we arrive at the following hypothesis: the subject is in the VP (in order for it to be theta-governed) but in a hierarchically higher position then the other categories selected by the verb, so that we can account for the subject object asymmetries sketched above. Ignoring the possibility of virtual categories, i.e. a virtual V', we have then the two options in (8) and (9), the former an SVO the latter a VOS structure.

(8)
```
              VP
             /  \
           NP    V'
          (nom)    \
                    V . . .
```

(9)
```
              VP
             |  \
            V'   NP
             |  (nom)
             V . . .
```

The fact that there seems to be no evidence for a separate Inf node in Hungarian (no su-aux inversion, no modals, etc) is consistent with (8)/(9). In fact if VP-rules like VP-deletion and VP-fronting are contingent on a [+Aux---] (i.e. [+Inf---]) environment then the fact that Hungarian has no VP-rules (E-Kiss 1987) is evidence not against the existence of a VP in Hungarian but against that of a separate Inf node. We shall assume then, that Hungarian has no I node and consequently no I' and IP. The inflectional morpheme is generated directly on the verb (or in the case of the nominal inflection on the noun) and no syntactic mechanism is needed to join them.

2 Focus Phrase

2.1 Verbal focus.

(10) I like JOHN

(11) JANOST szeretem
    J (acc) like-I
    I like JOHN

In the Hungarian sentence structure there is a designated preverbal position P. A sentence like (10) in English which contains a focussed NP can only be expressed in Hungarian as (11), where the focussed category appears in P. It has been argued that P forms a constituent with the main verb of the sentence (Horvath 1986). Alternatively E-Kiss (1987), who presents a theory where the Hungarian sentence is V-initial, claims that P is an S-adjoined position. A problem with both of these proposals is that they provide no natural way to capture the fact that the verb itself can also be focussed as in e.g. (12):

(12)   (a)   (Nem utalom   hanem) SZERETEM   Janost
                  not hate-I-him but   LIKE-I-HIM   J (acc)
                  (I don't hate John,) I LIKE him

        (b)   Lejott   a   lepcson?   Nem, FELSZALADT
                  down-came-he the stairs-on no   UP-RAN-HE
                  Did he come down on the stairs? No, he RAN-UP.

In examples like these the verb has the contrastive-identifying interpretation and

stress pattern characteristic of focussed elements. Although this stress pattern is shared with the emphatic construction where no identificational meaning is intended, the interpretation of (12) clearly involves the element of contrast that would be absent from the emphatic construction 'FELSZALADT' ('He DID run up').

We shall assume that in Hungarian F(ocus) is a formative, usually without a phonetic realization, that has the ability to create its own X'-projection. (The idea that Hungarian has a Focus Phrase appears in Choe 198x, but her theory is designed to capture different facts and generalizations from the ones we shall be interested in. Her assumption that the Focus Phrase is present at D-structure but ceases to be a separate category by S-structure makes her theory radically different from and incompatioble with ours.)

Let us assume then further that F, and thus F' and FP, are present only in sentences that contain a focussed element. We take the complement of F to be identical to the constituent that would dominate the corresponding neutral sentence. The structure of a sentence with a focussed category will be as in (13), where VP is the node that dominates the corresponding neutral sentence. Thus in (11) JOHN is in spec of FP position while the verbs SZERETEM and FELSZALADT in (12a,b) will be under F. Since we wish to relate the corresponding neutral and non-neutral sentence to each other we shall assume further that these elements moved into FP from under VP.

(13)   FP
            |
            F'
            | \
            F VP
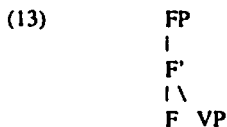
In section 1. we suggested that there is no separate I node in Hungarian. Thus in (13) we claim in effect that the special fact about Hungarian is that instead of a nominative- assigning, agreeing I projecting an IP sentence we have an (optional) F projecting an FP sentence. Since F is not involved in Case-assignment and agreement not only the subject (ie. the nominative marked NP) but any NP, in fact any XP can appear as spec of FP.

Since the presence of an F-projection in root clauses unlike that of an I-projection in English is optional we predict that Hungarian sentences come in two varieties. Those without a focussed category will be dominated by whatever category dominates neutral sentences, those that have a focussed element will be dominated by an FP and will necessarily involve movement into FP. We shall thus be able to account for the observations of Kalman et al (1986) who argue that there are two basic types of Hungarian sentences that differ in a number of syntactic semantic and phonological respects.

2.2 The analogy with Wh-movement. In Hungarian sentences that contain only a single focus, the focussed category must move to preverbal position as in (11), it cannot stay in place as in English:

(14)   *Szeretem JANOST
        like-I   J
        I like JOHN

Should we say that at S-structure a focussed category must move to FP or that at this level FP must contain a focussed category? Sentences with multiple foci decide the issue in favour of the latter alternative. In sentences with multiple contrast one of the foci must move to preverbal position, i.e. FP, while the others in general will remain in situ:

(15)   Nem MARIVAL beszeltem JANOSROL (hanem ...)
         Not M-WITH talked-I J-ABOUT (but...)
         I did not talk with MARY about JOHN (but...)

The situation is rather reminiscent of the well known behaviour of multiple wh-constructions in English: the spec of a +WH CP must be filled at S-structure, but it is only at LF that all interrogative wh-phrases must move to a +WH CP. Let us make this parallel explicit. We assume that there is a feature +f, that indicates 'identificational' interpretation, i.e. focushood. We shall assume that the conditions on +wh and (+WH) CPs generalize to +f and FP so that they will entail (16):

(16)   (a)   At S-structure and LF the spec of an FP must contain a +f-phrase.

         (b)   At LF all +f-phrases must be in an FP.

We assume that (16a), just like the corresponding condition on +WH CPs is parametrized, it may or may not hold in a given language. (16b) like the condition on +wh-elements should be universal.

Note that we need to take (16a) to be satisfied by a +f V+ raised to F as in the examples in (12) in the previous subsection. Presumably the same mechanism is at work here that is responsible in English for allowing the complementizer *whether* to satisfy the requirement that the spec of a +WH CP must contain a wh-phrase. We might appropriately relax the condition in (16a) and its WH counterpart, or we may arrange by movement or coindexation between F and spec of F for the head to be able to satisfy the requirement on the spec under certain circumstances. Although English *whether* does not appear to provide evidence for choosing between these alternatives, the case of the Hungarian FP will be more informative in this regard (cf. below, Section 3.1).

The S-structure presence of the +f feature usually shows up as heavy stress at PF. The stressed +f-marked category is of course not necessarily the same as the focussed phrase, but the focussed phrase will always include a +f-marked element. To determine the relationship between +f marking and being a focus phrase, is the problem of focus projection in the sense of Chomsky (1971) and later work. From our perspective this problem is tightly related to that of the relationship between +wh marking and being a wh-phrase.

Suppose that focus should be treated universally as creating an X'-projection. We might assume then that the LF structure of the English sentence in (10) above is (17):

(17)   FP
                    |
                    F'
                    | \
                    F IP

        JOHN   I like t

English and Hungarian now differ in two respects. As we have noted in Hungarian FP when present takes the place of IP while in English FP is additional to IP. Secondly in Hungarian spec of FP must be filled at S-structure while in English no such condition holds for FPs at this level, i.e. (16a) holds at S- structure in Hungarian but not in English. Perhaps in English and universally (16a) holds at LF. This would entail that FP is present only if the sentence contains a focussed, i.e. +f category.

On the basis of the evidence from weak crossover and other phenomena for focus movement at LF (cf. Chomsky 1981) we might assume that (16b) holds also in English at the level of LF.

2.3 Interrogative wh-movement in Hungarian. In Hungarian interrogatives are formed by obligatorily moving the wh-phrase into preverbal focus position, in our terms into spec of FP. (Relative wh-phrases do not move to FP; --on the different positions of interrogative and relative wh-phrases cf. E-Kiss (1987), Horvath (1986).)

(18)   (a)   KIT   szeretsz?
                WHO(ACC) like-you
                Who do you like?

        (b)   * Szeretsz KIT?
                like-you WHO(ACC)
                -same

(19)   (a)   Kivancsi vagyok hogy KIT   szeretsz
                Curious   am-I   that WHO(ACC) like-you
                I'm curious who you like

        (b)   * Kivancsi vagyok hogy szeretsz KIT
                  Curious am-I   that like-you WHO(ACC)
                -same

    Again we can ask if it is the case that all interrogative wh-phrases must be in an FP at S-structure or the ungrammaticality of (19b) is due to the fact that 'kivancsi vagyok' ('I'm curious') selects a +WH FP, and such an FP just like a +WH CP in English must be filled by a wh-phrase at S- structure. Looking at multiple questions we find that multiple questions can be formed not only by moving all wh-phrases to FP as in (20b) but also by using   wh-in-situ constructions like (20a) where only one of the wh-phrases moved to FP.

(20) (a) KI szeret KIT?
           WHO likes WHO(ACC)
           Who likes who?

      (b) KI KIT   szeret
           WHO WHO(ACC) likes
           -same

Thus we cannot say that all wh-phrases must be in FP at S- structure. We need to assume a distinction between + and - WH FPs and a we need a constraint like (21), that will presumably instantiate again the same universal rule that constrains +WH CPs in English:

(21) a +WH FP must contain a wh-phrase at S-structure and LF

3 An analysis of the Hungarian FP and related phenomena

3.1 Adjacency. The analyses of Hungarian focus cited above differed in that they postulated different positions for the focussed element. But they agreed in that both assumed that the focussed category occupies the same position as the verbal modifier (VM) since these two elements are usually in complementary distribution. But as has been pointed out in eg. Kenesei (1986), the complementary distribution holds only in finite clauses. Compare (22)-(24) to (25)-(26).
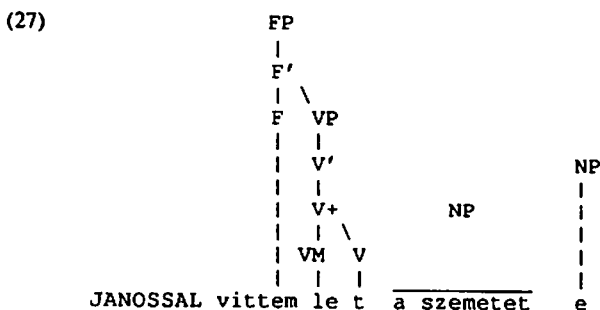
(22) JANOSSAL vittem le   a   szemetet
      JOHN-WITH took-I down the rubbish(acc)
      I took down the rubbish with JOHN

(23) * JANOSSAL levittem   a   szemetet
        J-with   down-took-I the rubbish
        -same

(24) Levittem   a   szemetet Janossal
      down-took the rubbish J-with
      I took down the rubbish with John

(25) Nehez   lenne   JANOSSAL vinni le   a   szemetet
      difficult would-be JOHN-WITH take down the rubbish
      It would be difficult to take down the rubbish with JOHN

(26) Nehez   lenne   JANOSSAL levinni   a   szemetet
      Difficult would-be JOHN-WITH down-take the rubbish
      -same

As (24) shows in a neutral (non-progresssive) sentence the VM (here *le*) generally appears in a preverbal position. In the finite case, when a category is focussed, the VM necessarily becomes postverbal, --cf. (22),(23). This however is not true of infinitives, where the VM can but does not need to become postverbal if the clause contains a focussed category. It appears then that two

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different positions must be countenanced for the focussed category and for the VM, and some other explanation must be found for why there is an adjacency requirement between the bare (VM-less) verb and the focussed category, and why it becomes void in nonfinite environments. Notice that our approach in terms of an FP taking a neutral sentence VP as its complement entails precisely this conclusion. VMs appear in neutral sentences but by hypothesis focussed categories do not, hence their position cannot be the same.

Let us now look at the question of why there is an adjacency requirement in finite clauses between the bare verb and the focussed category. We have been assuming that a category in the spec of FP must have a +f feature. We also know that +f differs from +wh in that categories in general do not have it inherently. Thus the minimal hypothesis is that in principle this feature is assigned freely. Let us assume that the minimal hypothesis in fact holds in the domain of the propositional part of the sentence (VP in Hungarian, IP in English). We shall assume further that in Hungarian +f can also be assigned to a category outside the propositional part of the sentence, i.e. outside the VP by the verb.

Suppose that +f assignment by the verb operates under the same structural conditions as Case assignment does, in fact we may consider it a special instance of slightly generalized Case assignment mechanism (Cf also Horvath 1986). Thus we take +f to be assignable by the verb under the twin conditions of government and adjacency. Let us reconsider then (22) and (23). If the verb in (23) stays in the VP, then it will not govern the spec of the FP whose complement the VP is. In other words the putative focus in spec of FP, *JANOSSAL* will not receive its +f feature and the structure will be ungrammatical. In the grammatical example (22) the bare verb precedes the VM, so it appears natural to assume that it has moved into the F node, leaving its VM behind in its base generated position in VP. Once the verb has moved into F it will govern the spec of FP. Since adjacency is also satisfied, +f can be assigned and the requirement that spec of FP must contain a +f category will be met. Thus we analyse (22) in the following fashion:

(27)
```
                        FP
                        |
                        F'
                        |  \
                        F   VP
                        |   |
                        |   V'              NP
                        |   |               |
                        |   V+       NP      |
                        |   |  \             |
                        |   VM  V            |
                        |   |   |   _____  |
          JANOSSAL vittem le t   a szemetet   e
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Note that for this analysis to work, we have to say that a +f verb can satisfy (16a) only if the spec of FP is empty (ie. we have a structure with a verbal focus like (12) above). If the spec of FP is nonempty the +f verb must not be taken to satisfy (16a), otherwise nothing would force +f assignment to the spec of FP in a structure like (22).

Quite strong evidence that it is in fact the verb that assigns +f to the category in spec of FP is provided by the following fact. As we have noted multiple focus sentences are acceptable in Hungarian (see eg. (15) above), and both spec of FP (as eg. in (22)) and the category in F (as eg. in (12)) can be focussed. However we do not find sentences where both spec of FP and F contain a focussed element. Thus (28) and (29) are ungrammatical:

(28)   * Nem JANOSSAL VITTEM le a szemetet (hanem...)
           Not J-WITH   TOOK-I down the rubbish (but...)
           I didn't TAKE down the rubbish with JOHN (but...)

(29)   * Nem JANOSSAL LEVITTEM a szemetet (hanem...)
           Not J-WITH   DOWN_TOOK-I the rubbish (but...)
           -same

(30)   Nem JANOSSAL vittem le a   SZEMETET (hanem...)
           Not J-WITH   took down the RUBBISH (but...)
           I didn't take down the RUBBISH with JOHN (but...)

(31)   Nem JANOSSAL vittem LE a   szemetet (hanem...)
           Not J-WITH   took DOWN the rubbish (but...)
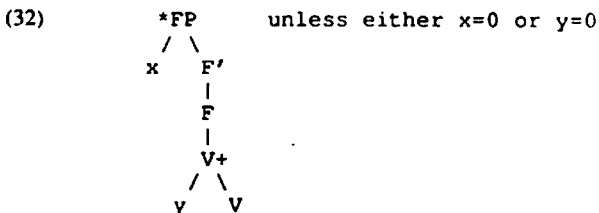   I didn't take DOWN the rubbish with JOHN (but...)

Note that (30) and (31) where the second focus is due to the free +f assignment in VP are grammatical and felicitous in an appropriate contrastive context. We can account for the ungrammaticality of (28), (29) if we assume that the verb assigns *its own* +f feature, ie. once it has assigned +f, it ceases to be +f. Since we have no evidence that Case assignment operates differently, we are free to assume that it does not.

Thus if the bare V moves to F as in (22) the structure can be grammatical. In such a case the V had a +f, which we assume it may optionally have, and assigned it to the category in spec of FP. On the other hand if the VM+V complex, that we have indicated as V+ in (27) stays in the VP then we have an ungrammatical structure underlying the string in (23). Here no +f assignment can take place, the V+ does not govern the spec of FP.

However, there remains yet another possibility to consider: what happens if V+, the VM+V complex moves to F. We have assumed that in a sentence where the V is focussed it moves to F. If this is correct, then an example like (12), where not just the bare V, but the V+ is focussed (as shown by the interpretation), indicates that it must in principle be possible for the V+ to move to F.

Could we say that only the bare (VM-less) verb has the ability to assign +f, and that the VM intervening between the category in spec of FP and the bare V prevents the necessary +f assignment and is thus responsible for the ungrammaticality? But this would be incorrect. In the infinitival clause (26) the VM also intervenes between these two categories, but no ungrammaticality results. Thus it appears that both the bare V and (perhaps derivatively) V+ have the ability to assign +f. We have the following situation: we want to prevent V+ from having the ability to raise to F when spec of FP is not empty to exclude (23), but on the other hand we have to allow verb raising when spec of FP is empty for the case of focussed V+ in (12).

This situation is reminiscent to the 'doubly filled COMP filter': either the VM or the spec of FP must be empty. We could state the constraint as an S-structure filter:

```
(32)          *FP        unless either x=0 or y=0
             / \
            x   F'
                |
                F
                |
                V+
              / \
             y   V
```

Thus in (12) where the FP spec is empty V+ raises to F. Now reconsider again (23). As we have seen, if the V+ stays in the VP, +f assignment is impossible due to lack of government of spec of FP by the verb. But V+ cannot raise to F since FP has a nonempty spec and thus tolerates only a bare V. In consequence the category in spec of FP will not be marked +f and thus the structure will be excluded by (16a).

A somewhat different, and perhaps more interesting account of the contrast between the grammaticality of (12) and the ungrammaticality of (23) might be the following. We could assume that V+ can move to F only at the level of LF but not at S-structure, in other words we adopt the simplified S-structure filter (33):

```
(33)      *  F
             |
             V+
```

Since all +f marked categories must be in FP at LF V+ in (12) will move there at that level, but not before S-structure, given (33). Likewise in (23), V+ cannot move to F before S- structure, but here this will result in ungrammaticality given (16a), the requirement that the spec of FP must be marked +f at S-structure.
As we have seen, if the V+ stays in the VP, it does not govern the spec of FP, hence no +f assignment is possible.

Let us summarize the main claims of this subsection. We have proposed that the feature +f has a dual nature. It behaves like +wh in that it obeys the conditions in (16). On the other hand +f is not an inherent property. In Hungarian +f can be assigned freely in the VP and it can also be assigned like Case by the verb (V or V+) under government and adjacency, to a category in a position outside the VP. We also postulated the filter (33), which allows V+ to move to F only after S- structure. A bare V however is not prevented from moving to F by this level, in fact in general it must move to this position if the spec of FP is filled in order to assign +f.

3.2 Infinitivals. Why is it not necessary in infinitivals for the bare V to be adjacent to the focussed category, i.e. why is (26), in contrast to (23), grammatical? Note importantly, that the adjacency requirement is still present in infinitives: nothing apart from the VM (and the negative particle) can intervene between the focussed category, or more precisely the c-focus and the

V:

(34)   * Jo   lenne   AJANDEKOT   Marinak adni
        good would-be PRESENT(acc) M (dat) give
        It would be good to give a PRESENT to Mary

Given the filter in (33), the infinitival V+ in (26) can only be in the VP. We
then have to explain how the adjacency and government conditions can be
satisfied in (26) between the category in spec of FP and the V+ in VP.
    Let us consider first the adjacency requirement. If the structure of the
neutral sentence is V-initial then there is no problem with this condition since
no subject/nominative NP intervenes between V(+) and spec of FP. We assume
that an empty F does not block adjacency, that is that the relevant notion is
string- and not structure-adjacency. Suppose that the structure of the VP/neutral
sentence is SVO. Given this structure we would say that the empty infinitival
subject PRO does not block adjacency either.
    Now consider the government condition. How come that a V+ in an
non-finite VP, and only there, is able to govern the spec of the F whose
complement the VP is? This seems rather strange. One way around this problem
might be the following. Suppose that we drop the government requirement
altogether and attempt to rely solely on the adjacency condition. If we adopt the
SVO structure, the subject in the finite clause will intervene between the V(+)
of the VP and the category in FP spec making V-movement to F obligatory.
Hungarian is a pro-drop language, but this will not cause problems if we
assume, as usual, that a Case-marked category can block adjacency whether or
not it is phonetically empty (cf. 'wanna' contraction etc.). Assuming that the
requirement that all sentences have subjects should be interpreted for Hungarian
(and perhaps universally (cf Koopman and Sportiche 1987) as referring to
VP-spec's, in tensed clauses there will always be a Case-marked category in
spec of VP position intervening between spec of FP and V+ in VP making V
raising to F obligatory. Since in infinitivals there will be no Case-marked spec
of VP, the V(+) in VP will not be separated by a Case-marked category from
spec of FP. Thus V-raising to F will be optional and if it does not apply the
VM will stay in preverbal position.
    Another approach might be to maintain the government condition for +f
assignment but assume that the F node in infinitivals is for some reason 'weak',
in the sense that it does not prevent the verb in the VP from governing the spec
of FP position. We could instantiate this idea as a rule that deletes an empty
unfilled infinitival F:

(35)   F(inf)
                    | ====> Ø
                    e

    Once a rule like (35) deletes the empty infinitival F node, the FP remains
without a head. If so then the spec position of an infinitival FP into which no
verb raising has taken place becomes essentially indistinguishable from positions
adjoined to the VP. It will thus be accessible to government by the verb. Hence
we can maintain that +f assignment is like Case-assignment: it requires both
government and adjacency. Note also that the choice between SVO and VOS
VP is open again: the infinitival verb in VP will govern and be adjacent to the

spec of FP under both structures.

3.3 V-raising and interrogatives. In examples like (36) the wh-phrase appears to behave like an ordinary, c-focus:

(36)   (a)   KIT   vittel   fel?
               WHO(ACC) took-you up
               Who did you take up?

        (b)   * KIT   felvittel
                 WHO(ACC) up-took-you
                 -same

In (36), where the wh-phrase *KIT* is in FP spec, a preverbal VM is not allowed: only (36a) where raising of the V into F left the VM in a postverbal position is grammatical. On the basis of this example we shall suppose that wh-phrases are essentially like ordinary c-foci and should be treated in the same way. That is we say that in spec of FP they need a +f feature, which they can only get from a verb that has raised to F, --under government and adjacency. Multiple wh-constructions however show that this picture is at least incomplete. As shown by the multiple questions in (20b) above or in (37), the wh-phrase in the focus field does not need to be adjacent to the verb.

(37)   KI KIT   vitt fel?
        WHO WHO(ACC) took up
        Who took who up?

(38)   * JANOS MARIT vitte fel
          J   M(ACC) took   up
          JANOS took MARI up

(39)   (Kivancsi vagyok hogy) JANOS kit   vitt fel
        (curious am-I   that) J   who(acc) took up
        (I am curious) who JOHN took up

(40)   * (Kivancsi vagyok hogy) JANOS MARIT hova   vitte fel
          (Curious   am-I   that) J   M(ACC) where took   up
          I am curious where JOHN took MARY up

Consider first the contrast between (37) and (38). (38) is unsurprising: a c-focus must be adjacent to the verb, --hence there can be only one such element for each focus field. We have accounted for the unicity and the adjacency to the verb of the c-focus by the mechanism of +f assignment: a verb has only one such feature to assign and must do so under adjacency.

Let us turn to (37) and the question of how to permit more than one wh-phrase in a focus field. One logical possibility might be to say that the first of the two wh-phrases in (37) is in a special position where it does not need +f to be assigned to it. This position might be the spec of some higher 'special' FP or it might be simply an FP-adjoined position. We can reject this approach right away on the grounds that it would provide no help in explaining the difference between the multiple wh construction in (37) and the ungrammatical

multiple focus structure in (38) where more than one c-foci are present in the focus field. If there existed such a special position where +f marking is not necessary why could it not be filled by an ordinary c-focus?

Another alternative that we can quickly reject is the following. Suppose that interrogative wh-phrases are +f-marked inherently. This would explain why more than one of these elements can appear in a given FP. One immediate problem with this is that some reason would have to be found to explain why V-raising has to take place, since if the wh-phrase is inherently +f-marked, the need for such a feature cannot be what necessitates this movement in interrogatives. More importantly, as (39) shows (thanks to Anna Szabolcsi) a wh- phrase in the focus field may be preceded not only by another wh-phrase but also by a c-focus. Of course this example represents also an exception to the generalization that we made so far, namely that a c-focus is always adjacent to the verb.

The contrast between (38) and (39) suggests that the special property of wh-phrases is not that they do not need or inherently have +f, but rather that they are able to licence an adjacent focus field element that precedes them. We take focus field licencing to consist in the assignment of the +f feature. Thus we are led to say that the special property of wh-phrases is that they are able to assign +f to an immediately preceding element. Thus (37) and (39) are grammatical since *KI* and *JANOS* receive +f from the wh-phrase that follows them, and this wh- phrase in turn receives +f from the verb. (38) and (40) are ruled out since the putative c-focus *JANOS* receives no +f in them: it is neither adjacent to the verb nor to a following wh- phrase. We predict further that although a wh-phrase may be preceded by (a single) c-focus, a c-focus cannot be preceded by a wh-phrase since this latter would receive no +f, cf. (41):

(41)   * KIT   JANOS szeret
         WHO(ACC) J   likes
         Who does JOHN like?

3.4 The position of the uq-phrase. As noted in the introduction, universally quantified categories are usually taken to appear in a position immediately preceding that of the nonquantificational focus. This is because when such a phrase appears in the focus field it allows not only a preverbal VM, but also the a focussed category to appear to intervene between verb and itself:

(42)   (a)   MINDENKINEK felmondtam a   verset
               EVERYBODY-TO up-said-I the poem(acc)
               I recited the poem to EVERYBODY

        (b)   MINDENKINEK a   verset   mondtam fel
               EVERYBODY-TO the poem(acc) said-I   up
               I recited the POEM to EVERYBODY

In (42a) *MINDENKINEK (EVERYBODY-TO)* precedes the preverbal VM *fel* (*up*), while in (42b) the focussed NP *a verset (the poem(acc))* intervenes between it and the verb.

Since the uq-phrase *mindenkinek* does not have to be adjacent to the verb, it is clear that it cannot receive a +f feature from it, since we know that the verb assigns this feature under adjacency only. But as the stress pattern and the identificational interpretation shows, *mindenkinek* is clearly in the focus field.

As we have seen in the previous section it would not do to say that the uq-phrase can appear in the focus field in a special position without a +f feature. This proposal could not account for why this position is available for uq-phrases but not for c-foci.

Thus it appears that we should maintain that all categories in the focus field, ie. in FP spec or perhaps also in FP adjoined positions need to be +f marked. Let us assume that the special property of uq-phrases is that they are +f marked inherently. But +f marking can only be optional for uq- phrases. Given the universal condition that all +f categories must be in an FP at LF, +f categories can only appear in sentences with FP's, ie. non-neutral ones. Since uq-phrases can also appear in neutral sentences they cannot alway be +f.

Consider now the behaviour of uq-phrases when there is no c-focus in the sentence:

(43) (a)   MINDENT   felmondtam
            EVERYTHING up-said-I
            I recited EVERYTHING

      (b)   * MINDENT   mondtam fel
            EVERYTHING said-I up
            -same

As (43a) shows verb raising is not necessary when the spec of CP is filled by a uq-phrase. This is as expected, since if this type of category can be inherently +f marked, then it does not need an adjacent and governing verb to acquire this feature. (43b) is somewhat more surprising: this example shows that that verb raising to F in this construction is not only not necessary it is not even allowed. We shall assume that this is due to some version of a least effort principle (cf. Chomsky 1989): carry out an operation only if some principle of grammar forces this.

Note that we have to ensure that (43b) is ungrammatical also if we have inserted a uq-phrase that happens not to be +f marked inherently. Suppose that such a uq-phrase receives a +f feature from the raised verb. Why is the resulting structure ungrammatical? We can attribute this also to the least effort principle. Let us construe the least effort principle as in Chomsky (1989) to favour shorter derivations over longer ones. Inserting a +f uq-phrase results in a shorter derivation than inserting one without +f, which entails the two extra steps of raising the verb and letting it transmit +f. Hence the least effort principle will exclude (43b), if the uq-phrase is not inherently +f since this results in a longer derivation than choosing a +f one. The principle will also exclude (43b) with a +f uq-phrase since if the spec of FP is inherently +f then no condition requires the verb to raise, and so it is not allowed to.

Our analysis of uq-phrases in the focus field has the interesting consequence that it provides evidence that bears in the issue of basic word order in the VP/neutral sentence. Consider (45):

(44)   * MINDENKIT   Peter felvitt
         EVERYBODY(ACC) P   up-took
         Peter escorted EVERYBODY up

If the VP had an SVO underlying order then (44) should be grammatical: the

uq-phrase *MINDENKIT* in spec of FP is inherently +f, thus verb raising to F is unnecessary (and therefore also impossible). Given an SVO VP there should be nothing wrong with the subject, ie. spec of VP, intervening between the FP spec and the verb.

Given a V-initial VP, the only way (44) can arise is a derivation in which the subject *Peter* has been made a neutral topic by adjunction to VP. The ungrammaticality of (44) will follow immediately if we assume that such topicalized structures are not appropriate complements to F.

3.5 'Inclusive' and 'exclusive' adverbials. There is a class of adverbials in Hungarian that trigger verb raising when they are in the focus field. These are often called 'exclusive' adverbials and they include *ritkan* (*rarely*), *hiaba* (*in vain*), *hibasan* (*faultily*), etc. Another class is that of 'inclusives' that never force the VM to follow the verb, ie. do not cause the verb to raise, these include *nagyon* (*very much*), *biztosan* (*undoubtedly*), *allandoan* (*all the time*), etc. Cf. E-Kiss (1987) and references cited there for the distinction and a description of the two classes.

Exclusive adverbials appear to behave exactly like c-foci in that they can occur only in a V-adjacent position. As a consequence of this there can be only one exclusive adverbial in the focus field and they cannot co-occur with a c-focus:

(45)　(a)　* RITKAN hibasan　csinaltam ezt
　　　　　RARELY faultily did-I　　this(acc)
　　　　　I RARELY did this defectively

　　　(b)　* RITKAN Janos csinalta ezt
　　　　　RARELY J　　did　　this(acc)
　　　　　John did this RARELY

We see that exclusive adverbials in the focus field are unlike wh-phrases that can be stacked in FP and unlike uq- phrases that may precede a c-focus. Thus they require verb raising because they need a +f feature and like c-foci they can receive it only from the verb under adjacency and government. If these adverbials are indeed like c-focus then we expect them to co-occur with uq-phrases. Recall that as (42) above shows uq-phrases can precede a c-focus in the focus field. Indeed, we find parallel examples with exclusive adverbials, eg:

(46)　MINDENKINEK　ritkan mondtam fel ezt
　　　EVERYBODY-TO rarely said-I　up　this(acc)
　　　I recited this rarely to EVERYBODY

Suppose that adverbials are always in adjoined position. If this is correct then exclusives must be able to adjoin to F' since they can follow uq-phrases as eg. in (46).

As A. Szabolcsi notes (p.c.), exclusives adverbials can only appear postverbally in a sentence that contains some other element in the focus field:

(47) (a) * Felmondtam ezt   ritkan
           up-said-I this(acc) rarely
           I rarely recited this

      (b) EZT   mondtam fel ritkan
           THIS(ACC) said-I up rarely
           It was this that I rarely recited

Here exclusives contrast with other elements that may function as c-focus: when focus interpretation is not intended such elements ordinarily may be left behind in the VP. We observe here however that exclusive adverbials must receive a focus interpretation. In our terms this means that they must receive a +f feature. For concreteness we can think of this requirement as an LF filter: '*excusive adverbial unless +f'. The contrast between (47a) and (47b) now follows: exclusives here show the same beahviour as wh-phrases. Since *ritkan* in (47a) must be +f by the LF filter, it must be in an FP at LF by the presumably universal requirement in (16b). But then (47a) must contain an FP also at S-structure whose spec is empty violating the requirement in (16a). Thus the violation in (47a) is analoguous to the case of 'I wonder Mary saw who'.

Consider now the other type of adverbials, the inclusives that do not trigger verb raising. Although they can co-occur with a preverbal VM as (48a) exemplifies, when they are in the focus field they do not tolerate a c-focus between the verb and themselves, as the ungrammaticality of (48b) shows:

(48) (a) NAGYON   elszomorodott
           VERY MUCH away-became sad
           S/he became VERY sad

      (b) * NAGYON   Peter szomorodott el
           VERY MUCH P   became sad away
           P became VERY sad

If we substitute a c-focus or an exclusive adverbial for the inclusive in (48a) then as we have seen earlier, the structure becomes ungrammatical: no +f assignment by the verb is possible here. Thus (48a) shows that inclusive adverbials do not need to receive a +f feature from the verb under adjacency and government. Again we do not want to assume that there is a position in the focus field in which non +f categories can appear so that we can ensure that multiple c-foci, and now also multiple exclusive adverbials are excluded. This means that inclusives are also inherently marked +f.

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (48b) then cannot be the lack of +f marking on the inclusive *nagyon* due to its non-adjacency to the verb. We have already suggested that exclusives can appear adjoined to F'. Let us now strengthen this hypothesis and assume that both exclusive and inclusive adverbials in the focus field are always adjoined to F'. This entails that these adverbials will always follow any other maximal category in the focus field. Furthermore since exclusives need to be adjacent to the verb to receive a +f feature, inclusives will precede the exclusive adverbial when these co-occur. For the same reasons a focus field may contain more than one inclusive but only one exclusive adverbial. These predictions seem correct.

3.4 *is* (*also*) as a head. Consider now the categories modified by *is* as eg in (1):

(49)   (a)   PETER is   felvitte ezt
                P   also up-took this(acc)
                PETER also took this up

        (b)   PETER is   ezt   vitte fel
                P   also this(acc) took up
                P also took THIS up (ie. 'The set of people such that it was this that they took up included also P')

(50)   (a)   PETER is   felvitte a   konyveit is
                P   also up-took the books-his also
                P also took up his books also (ie. 'The set of people who also took up their books included also P')

        (b)   * PETER is   a   konyveit is felvitte
                 P   also the books-his also up-took
                -same

(50a) exemplifies that in an apropriate pragmatic context there can be more than one category modified by *is* in the sentence. But as shown by (50b), there can be only one category modified by *is* in a focus field. Given our theory so far, this seems to indicate that these phrases, like c-foci are dependent on +f assignment by the verb. This hypothesis however is immediately contradicted by the examples in (49) where the element modified by *is* appears to behave like uq-phrases. It allows a c-focus or a VM to intervene between the verb and itself, ie. it does not make verb raising necessary. We could say at this point that a category modified by *is* is inherently +f marked. This would explain the lack of verb raising in (50) and we could brush aside the contrary evidence in (50b) as reflecting some accidental peculiarity of this type of elements.

    There are other problems however with this approach that suggest that it might be better to look for an alternative. As the template (1) in the introduction indicates *is* in the focus field must always precede not only the c-focus but also any uq- phrase that may be present. Simply marking these elements +f would be of no help to explain these ordering relations:

(51)   * EZT   Peter is   vitte fel
           THIS(acc) P   also took up
           -same as (1b)

(52)   (a)   PETER is   mindenkit   felvitt
                P   also everybody(acc) up-took
                PETER also escorted EVERYBODY up (ie. 'The set of people such that for everybody/y they escorted y up included P')

        (b)   * MINDENKIT Peter is   felvitt
                EVERYBODY P   also up-took
                -same

Let us try to find a better hypothesis by comparing the interpretation of a sentence like (49a) with an element modified by *is* in the focus field to that of a sentence with an ordinary c-focus, like (53) for example.

(53)   PETER vitte fel ezt
        P   took up this(acc)
        PETER took this up (ie. 'It was Peter who took this up')

In the case of a c-focus we find a straightforward identificational meaning, (53) means something like 'Peter = the (set of) person(s) such that they took this up'. This neatly corresponds to the structure we have postulated: *Peter* in spec of FP, the head of this phrase F provides the identity relation and the complement of the F, the VP determines the other member of the equation. Thus the outlines of the focus interpretation are optimally simple.

How can we fit into this picture the interpretation of sentences where the focus field contains an *is*-modified phrase? If we assume that *is* forms a constituent with the preceding category then a trivial application of the focus interpretation algorithm will result in the nonsensical '(Peter also) = the (set of) person(s) such that...'. 'Peter also' as a constituent if meaningfully interpretable at all, will not have a denotation of which we can predicate identity with a set or an individual. One rather plausible approach to the interpretation of these sentences is take *is/also* as modifying not the arguments of the identifying equation, but the equation itself. That is the correct bracketing for the interpretation is: 'Peter (also=) the (set of) person(s) such that...' This means in effect that we take *is/also* to change the identity relation into one of inclusion.

Since we would like to maintain the simplest possible algorithm for interpretation, optimally we would like the LF structure to be isomorphic to the semantic bracketing. So *is* should not form a constituent with the category that precedes it, rather it is most closely related to the F node. Suppose it is in fact in this node, ie. it is a possible lexical realization of F. We now interpret an empty F, or one filled by a raised verb as predicating an identity relation between the its spec and its (VP) complement, and an F filled by *is* as the relation of inclusion between these two arguments. (This will of course need to be appropriatly extended for interrogatives, for cases of multiple FP spec's etc.)

The assumption that *is* in the focus field is an F will solve our two earlier problems. Consider first the question of why there can be only one *is* in the focus field? We shall assume that this is due to the fact that an FP headed by *is* is not an acceptable complement for *is*. Let us also assume that *is* can take as its complement an ordinary FP but not vice versa. That is an FP headed by *is* is not an appropriate complement of a zero-headed FP, this only takes VP complements. Consider now the question of why *is* must precede c-focus and uq-phrases in the focus field. Partly this follows already: c-focus and uq-phrases are spec's of zero-headed FPs and these cannot precede a focus field *is* since the zero F cannot take an FP headed by *is* as its complement.

However, we must be more careful since a new question arises, namely what prevents c-focus and uq-phrases from moving to spec of the *is* FP? Consider first the question of the nonquantificational phrase. If such a category precedes *is* it must be the spec of the *is* FP, hence it receives not an identificational interpretation like the c-focus, but one where its inclusion in some set is predicated of it. Hence c-focus cannot precede *is*. Now consider (51)

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where two nonquantificational NPs precede *is*. This is exduded under any interpretation. The situation seems to be parallel to the case of multiple c-foci. Such constructions were excluded by the requirement that FP specifiers must be +f marked, --but the verb provided only one such feature. We can give the same analysis for (51). Thus suppose that *is* has the ability to assign +f under adjacency and government. Its spec like all FP spec's (and FP-adjoined elements) must be +f. It follows that *is*, just like the zero, identificational F, can have only one 'nonquantificational' specifier.

How do we explain the ungrammaticality of (52b) where a uq-phrase precedes the phrase adjacent to *is*? It seems that uq- phrases are generally disallowed from spec of *is* FP:

(54)   * MINDENKIT is   felvittem
            EVERYBODY also up-took-I
          I took up EVERYBODY also

(54) suggests that there is a semantic incompatibility between the universal quantification and inclusion, hence a uq-phrase cannot serve as the spec of an *is* FP. But since any category that precedes *is* in the focus field is necessarily a spec of *is* the ungrammaticality of (52b) will also follow.

3.5 Negative polarity items (neg-phrases). Phrases containing negative polarity items like *senki* (*nobody*), *soha* (*never*), *semelyi fiu* (*none of the boys*) etc. must precede c-focus, uq-phrases and *is*:

(55)   SENKIT   nem/sem   szeretek
          NOBODY(ACC) not/also not like-I
          I don't like anybody

(56)   (a)   * PETER senkit   nem/sem   szeret
                    P   nobody(acc) not/also not likes
                  P doesn't like anybody

          (b)   * MINDENKI senkit   nem/sem   szeret
                    EVERYBODY nobody(acc) not/also not likes
                  EVERYBODY doesn't like anybody

          (c)   * PETER is   senkit   nem/sem   szeret
                    P   also nobody(acc) not/also not likes
                  P also doesn't like anybody

The ungrammaticality of (56a) follows from our theory of +f assignment, the FP spec *PETER* remains without this feature since it is not adjacent to the verb. But what is wrong then with (56b)? An answer is suggested by the two alternative negation in these sentences: instead of the usual negative particle *nem* (*not*) it is possible to substitute *sem* (*also not*). We may safely assume that *sem* is a contracted form of *is+nem*. This suggests that negative polarity phrases are *is* FP specifiers, and when they are not followed by (the contracted form of) *is* ie. *sem*, this is due to a minor rule optionally deleting *is* in the context '[neg-phrase--]'. If neg-phrases in the focus field are always in spec of *is* FP position it follows that sentences like (56b) are on a par with the examples in

(54) and (52b): in all of these the ungrammitacility is due to the fact that there is an illegitimate uq-phrase in *is* FP spec position. Similarly, (56c) will be now excluded for the same reason as (50b): there can be only one *is*-phrase (i.e. *is*-headed FP) in a given focus field.

We now predict correctly a contrast between (57a) and (57b). The former example is parallel in relevant respects to (49b), where we have an *is*-phrase followed by a c-focus. The latter on the other hand is like (56c) and (50b) where there are two *is*-phrases in the focus field resulting in ungrammaticality.

(57)   (a)   PETER is   Marit   nem szereti
               P   also M(acc) not likes
               P also is such that it is M that he doesn't like
               •

        (b)   * PETER is   Marit   sem   szereti
               P   also M(acc) also not likes
               P also is such that it is also M that he doesn't like (the set of people that he doesn't like includes also M)

The inverse ordering of the elements in the focus field in (56) produces a grammatical result in the case of (56a,b) but does not improve (56c):

(58)   (a)   SENKIT   nem/sem   Peter szeret
               NOBODY(ACC) not/also not P   likes
               -same as (56a)

        (b)   SENKIT   nem/sem   mindenki szeret
               NOBODY(ACC) not/also not everybody likes
               -same as (56b)

        (c)   * SENKIT   nem/sem   Peter is   szeret
               NOBODY(ACC) not/also not P   also likes

This is as expected. (58a,b) contain an *is* FP followed by an ordinary FP with a c-focus spec in the former example and a uq- phrase spec in the latter. (58c) with two *is* FPs remains just as ungrammatical as (56c).

We still need to ensure however, that neg-phrases in the focus field can only appear in spec of *is* position, and not in the spec of zero-headed, non-*is* FPs. Suppose that we assume that there is a feature +s, similar to +wh and +f in that it is constrained by the requirement that all phrases marked +s must be in the spec of an *is* FP at LF. Assuming that neg-phrases are marked +s, it follows that they can only appear as spec of *is* at LF. We shall assume that like wh-phrases they cannot satisfy this LF requirement if they move to some inappropriate A'- position at S-structure and then move further at LF. Thus it will not do to move to the spec of a non-*is* FP and then move further at LF.

Consider the question of whether *is* FPs are like +WH CP's in English and FP's and +WH FP's in Hungarian in relation to the requirement that their spec position be filled at S- structure by a +s marked category:

(59) (a) Nem (is) szeretek SENKIT
          Not (also)like-I NOBODY(ACC)
          I don't like ANYBODY

       (b) PETER nem (*is) szeret SENKIT
          P   not (also) likes NOBODY(ACC)
          PETER doesn't like anybody

In (59) we have a +s marked neg-phrase hence there must be an *is* FP into which this element can move at LF. But it is not clear if there is an element in the spec of this *is* FP. In (59a) we might take the negative partice to occupy this position under the assumption that the *is* in (59) which expresses perhaps only emphasis is the same element as the *is* of the previous examples. In (59b) however where *Peter* is a c- focus not preceded by any category it is clear that no element can occupy the spec of the (invisible) *is* FP. Thus we conclude that the spec of an *is* FP need not be filled by a +s marked category at S-structure: *is* FPs are like +WH CPs in languages like Chinese and Japanese in that only the analogue of the LF condition (16a) holds for them.

The assumption that neg-phrases are marked +s entails that they cannot appear in neutral sentences since they must always move to the focus field, to spec of *is* FP at LF. This seems correct, in fact neg-phrases are always stressed in postverbal position: we have taken this throughout as indicating LF movement. Since these elements are +s marked inherently we expect that they can be stacked just like the inherently +f marked uq-phrases. Again this seems correct: as long as there is only one *is* in the focus field, it may be preceded in principle by any number of neg-phrases:

(60) SENKI (*sem)   sehol (*sem)   semmit sem csinalt
      NOBODY (also not)nowhere (also not) nothing also not did
      NOBODY did anything anywhere

   This creates a problem: we now expect that (61a) will be grammatical:

(61) (a) * SENKI Petert is/sem   szereti
             NOBODY P(acc) also/also not likes
          NOBODY likes P either

       (b) SENKI nem/sem   szereti Petert sem
          NOBODY not/also not likes   P(acc) also not
          -same

As shown by (61b) a sentence can contain two negative *is* as long as only one of them is in the focus field. Thus there seems to be nothing wrong with the meaning of (61a). Given our assumptions so far it should be fine also syntactically if both *SENKI* and *Petert* are *is* FP specifiers. The latter of these will be marked +f by *is*, the former is +s inherently, so the structure should not be any worse than (60). Suppose then that *is* FPs can be +/- S, like CPs in English and zero-headed FPs in Hungarian can be +/-WH. categories marked +s can then only move into a +S *is* FP, from which elements without a +s feature are excluded. The ungrammaticality of (61a) follows: if the *is* FP is -S then the +s *SENKI*, if it is +S then the NP *Petert* should not be present in its spec.

Lastly we must ensure that an S-structure like (62) where no category has moved to spec of *is* cannot surface. Since we argued that empty *is* FPs are necessarily present at S-structure to host later movement to their spec's we shall achieve this by a rule that obligatorily deletes *is* when its spec is empty.

(62)   * Is   PETER nem szeret senkit
          also P   not likes   nobody(acc)
        -same as (59b)

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