

CHRISTOPHER J. PIÑÓN

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In this study, I describe and contrast two types of approaches to the syntax of focus in Hungarian. The first is what I call the *adjunction theory* of focus, best represented by Horvath (1986), Farkas (1986), and É. Kiss (1987), in which the focussed constituent is located in a syntactically adjoined position immediately left of the verb. The second approach, named the *projection theory* of focus, advances the idea that focus occupies the specifier position of another projection and that the verb moves to the head of this projection from the VP to produce the adjacency effect. Versions of this approach are advocated in Brody (1990) and Marácz (1990).

I defend the Projection Theory in this paper, proposing that an 'extended projection' called the Σ (igma) P(hrase) plays a crucial role in Hungarian. DP is not Brody's (1990) F(ocus) P(hrase), though; it is rather much more akin to TP, and yet it can be extended to accommodate the negative marker and the emphatic particle *is* 'also' as well. The FP analysis, which postulates a non-extended projection with a single head position, cannot successfully account for the patterning of these elements. Finally, the FP approach has difficulties in accounting for verb movement effects when no overt focus is present. I argue that these difficulties are circumvented in the more generalized DP approach.

Contrary to Brody's (1990) usage, I employ the term 'focus field' in a more restricted sense. As is well documented in the literature on Hungarian (cf. É. Kiss (1987)), the basic order in the preverbal field is 'topic < quantifier < focus < verb'. Brody (1990, 95–96) takes the 'focus field' to designate everything right of the topic to the verb. In so doing, he effectively assimilates the syntax of quantifier phrases to that of focus. I, however, keep the 'focus field' distinct from the 'quantifier field'.¹ In this paper, my concern is essentially the focus field in this narrower sense, and I will investigate its basic structure within the DP approach.

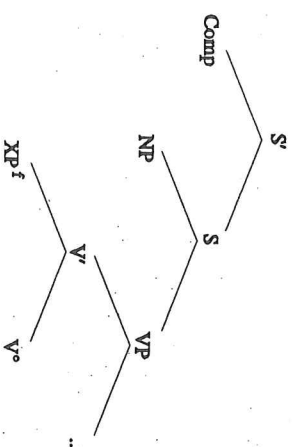
¹This work was supported by a Dorothy Danforth Compton dissertation fellowship. Thanks to Tibor Laczkó for checking my Hungarian examples. I received Kenedesi (1992) after a draft of this paper was already written, so I was unfortunately not able to incorporate a comparison of his approach to focus with the one advocated here. I follow É. Kiss (1987, 1990, this volume) in keeping the two apart, and I believe that there is good reason to do so. Although this issue is partly raised in §2.2.2., it is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss it in any detail.

1. Locating focus

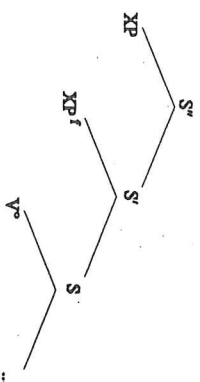
One influential approach to the syntax of focus in Hungarian is what I will call the adjunction theory (AT) of focus. It is what brings Horvath (1986) and É. Kiss (1987) together, their many points of divergence notwithstanding. In this version of the AT, the focussed constituent occupies the position linearly left-adjacent to the preverb-less verb. For example, Horvath (p. 73) posits the basic (configurational) clause structure in (1a) and É. Kiss (p. 44), the (non-configurational) one in (1b). In (1) and elsewhere I use the 'XP^f' node to designate the focussed constituent.

(1)

a. Horvath's structure



b. É. Kiss's structure



In the AT, the XP^f position maintains a dual function. The one is to serve as the location of focus; the other is to serve as the preverb (PV) position. For Horvath, the PV is base-generated in this position, and 'FOCUS-movement' of a constituent into XP^f causes the PV to be right-adjointed to V'. É. Kiss, in contrast, base-generates the PV as a complement under S, freely moving it into XP^f if the latter remains empty. While XP^f is linearly adjacent to V° in both analyses, Horvath and É. Kiss differ as to where XP^f is

located structurally: in (1a) it is sister to V°, but in (1b) it is hierarchically superior to V°, c-commanding the S projection.

By attributing a dual function to XP^f, the AT elegantly explains the well-known paradigm illustrated in (2). Indeed, the dual function hypothesis for XP^f makes the fundamental prediction that focus and the PV will be in complementary distribution.

(2)

- a. Mari el-jött tegnap.
Mary PV-came yesterday
'Mary came yesterday.'
- b. MARI jött el tegnap.
Mary came PV yesterday
'It is Mary who came yesterday.'
- c. *Mari jött el tegnap.
Mary came PV yesterday
(Bad on neutral reading)
- d. *MARI el-jött tegnap.
Mary PV-came yesterday

The ungrammaticality of (2d) follows from the claim that a single position is available for either focus or the PV. Thus, one of these can occupy it, but not both. Ruling out (2c) is a bit trickier: for Horvath, given that there is no 'FOCUS-movement' in this case, nothing ever 'pushes' the PV out of XP^f, while for É. Kiss some mechanism is needed to ensure that the PV will move into XP^f in a focus-less sentence.²

The idea that XP^f is a dual position, while intuitive in terms of explaining (2), is also a bit perplexing. As (2a) shows, the PV need not be focussed in this position, though in other examples it certainly can be. (3a) exhibits the emphatic use of the PV, and (3b), the contrastive use.

(3)

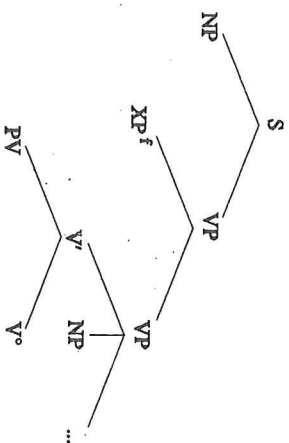
- a. Mari EL-jött tegnap.
Mary PV-came yesterday
'Yesterday, Mary did (indeed) come.'
- b. Mari FEL-ment a lépcsőn, és nem LE.
Mary up-went the stairs and NEG down
'Mary went UP the stairs (and not DOWN).'

²The effects this by requiring each operator to c-command and precede its scope (p. 55) and by endowing the PV with an operator function (pp. 66-67).

What is perplexing is that only the PV is privileged in this way (now focussed, now not); other XPs in this position (e.g., *Mari* in (2b, c)) do not countenance this duality in interpretation: they must receive a focus reading. So, the XP^f position has a dual role, but only for the PV. Deriving this asymmetry in the AT is not a straightforward matter, for it is not explained why both focus and the PV should share the same canonical position.

Farkas (1986) is the clearest exposition of how one can profitably integrate Horvath's approach with É. Kiss's. She convincingly criticizes Horvath's 'lowering' account of focus, arguing that XP^f must be hierarchically superior to the VP or S. In this, she effectively agrees with É. Kiss (cf. (1b)). On the other hand, she differs from É. Kiss by retaining Horvath's V' structure (cf. (1a)), but—unlike Horvath—reserves the position sister to V' for the PV. In this version of the AT, focus is located to immediate left of V'. The basic structure she posits (p. 85) is shown in (4).³

(4) Farkas's structure



Farkas's analysis has the virtue that it no longer faces the puzzle posed by Horvath's and É. Kiss's accounts with respect to the dual nature of XP^f. Here, XP^f is no longer a dual position, hence the PV is focussed iff it appears in XP^f; otherwise, it is unfocussed, remaining in V'. Thus, the PV behaves like all other XPs in the focus position, and the asymmetry mentioned above disappears.

Nevertheless, something gets lost in Farkas's account. Whereas both Horvath and É. Kiss have little problem in accounting for the facts in (2b, d), Farkas needs a special mechanism to handle this contrast. In particular, she stipulates that the V^o must linearly

³ An unfortunate artifact of Farkas's theoretical (GPSG) analysis together with her assumption of configurationality is that she needs two XP^f positions, the one Chomsky-adjoined to VP (as shown), the other Chomsky-adjoined to S. While her analysis precludes both positions from being filled at once, she offers no independent support of this claim that there really are TWO such focus positions.

HEADS IN THE FOCUS FIELD

precede the PV iff XP^f is filled; otherwise, the PV precedes the V^o. The complementary distribution noted in (2) is thus stipulated.

But this connection between focus and the linear order of the PV remains obscure and arbitrary; in this view, it would be more natural if Hungarian grammar lacked this stipulation. Nothing would prevent the facts from being reversed.

I now turn to a further criticism of the AT. It is not sufficient to locate focus in an adjoined position, for the theory must locate two other common elements as well. The first is the (predicate) negative marker *nem*; the second, the particle *is* 'also'. Consider in this light the following examples:

(5)

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| a. | Holnap | nem | utazom | el. | [Predicate negation] |
| | tomorrow | NEG | depart-1SG | PV | |
| | | | 'Tomorrow I'm not leaving' | | |
| b. | Holnap | EL | nem | utazom. | |
| | tomorrow | PV | NEG | depart-1SG | |
| | | 'Tomorrow I won't leave' | | | |
| c. | *Holnap | nem | el-utazom. | | |
| | tomorrow | NEG | PV-depart-1SG | | |
| d. | *Holnap | el | nem | utazom. | |
| | tomorrow | PV | NEG | depart-1SG | |
| | | (Bad on neutral reading) | | | |
| e. | Mari | el | is | jött. | [The particle <i>is</i> 'also'] |
| | Mary | PV | also | came | |
| | | 'And Mary did come' | | | |
| f. | *Mari | jött | el | is. | |
| | Mary | came | PV | also | |
| | | 'It is Mary who also came' | | | |
| | 'And it is Mary who did come' | | | | |
| g. | *Mari | el-jött | is. | | |
| | Mary | PV-came | also | | |
| h. | *Mari | el | is | jött. | |
| | Mary | PV | also | came | |

Of the data in (5) we might ask two simple questions: Where is *nem*? Where is *is*?

Although the negative marker *nem* is not treated explicitly in any of the aforementioned works, the AT suggests two possibilities as to its location. As (5a, c) show, *nem* behaves like a focussed constituent in that it triggers the postverbal order of the PV. Nonetheless, as (5b, d) show, the PV can appear before *nem*, but only on the emphatic focus reading.

How should such facts be derived? If *nem* occupies XP', then it is not clear how we account for (5b), where the PV is presumably in that position as well. Thus, the negative marker cannot also be in XP'.⁴ Suppose, then, that *nem* is left-adjoined to V°. This latter analysis is in fact suggested by the following examples from É. Kiss's book (1987, 91):

- (6)
- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|---------|----------|-------------------------------|
| a. | [-s János [-s [-s | nem | ijed | meg]]]] |
| | John | NEG | frighten | PV |
| | | | | 'John doesn't get frightened' |
| b. | [-s János [-s | meg [-s | nem | ijed]]]] |
| | John | PV | NEG | frighten |
| | | | | 'John doesn't get frightened' |

Given her structure in (1b), it is clear that *nem* is located within S in (6), and not in XP'. Even if we assume the appropriate adjunction analysis of *nem* to V°, it is still puzzling why sentences like (5b, 6b) prohibit a neutral reading (or alternatively, why (5d) is bad) under É. Kiss's version of the AT, in which XP' has a dual function. Nothing rules out the neutral reading when the sentence is positive (cf. (2a)), so why should XP' no longer have this dual role under negation?

Farkas's analysis may fare a bit better in this respect, although she also does not analyze negation. One solution would be to left-adjoin *nem* to V' (cf. (3)). This is not sufficient, however, for the correct linear precedence between V° and PV in V' must also be ensured, the required order being V° < PV. Yet given such a rule, Farkas avoids É. Kiss's duality problem, for the PV can appear to the left of *nem* only when it occupies XP', the focus position.

It is evident that the AT thrives on adjunction possibilities. Generalizing over both É. Kiss's and Farkas's versions of the AT, the central thesis about *nem* is given as follows:

- (7) The (predicate) negative marker *nem* is left-adjoined to the verb.

As mentioned, É. Kiss has the difficulty that XP' loses its dual function for the PV under negation. Farkas, on the other hand, must add a linear precedence rule sensitive to the presence or absence of the negative marker.

Turning now to the particle *is*, as exemplified in (5e-h), the same issue of where to locate it again arises. And here again, while no version of the AT analyzes *is* explicitly, É. Kiss offers a suggestive structure (p. 66), as seen in (8).

- (8) [-s János [-s be is [-s ment az egyetem]]]]
 John PV also went the university-onto
 'John also went to the university'

This structure suggests that both *is* and the PV are located in XP', presumably this is possible if they form a constituent. Exactly how this constituent would be created is unclear. Either [PV *is*] is basically a PV, hence base-generated in postverbal position under S, or the PV adjoins to *is* in XP', thereby forming a branching constituent of whatever category *is* projects.

Whichever solution É. Kiss might opt for, the bad examples in (5f-h) would have to be avoided. The ill-formedness of (5h) would follow because the two constituents *Mari* and *el is* occupy XP' and yet this is a single position, permitting only a single focussed constituent. (5f), contrastingly, suggests that *is* would be an inherently focussed item, akin in this regard to Wh-words, so it would not be able to remain in postverbal position. Finally, I am not sure how (5g) is to be ruled out in her approach; much depends on whether verbs themselves can appear in XP'.

Similar remarks can be made about Farkas's AT approach. For (5e, 8), she would presumably locate both *is* and the PV in XP', as an adjunction structure (cf. (3)). The only other solution would be to place *is* in or adjoined to V'. I suspect that the former option would be preferable, if only because it would state quite directly that *is* is a focus particle. The latter option of adjoining *is* to V' would obscure this claim.

To summarize, we can infer the following fundamental thesis about the particle *is* in the AT:

- (9) In the AT, [PV *is*] forms some kind of constituent in XP'.

Given (7, 9), I point out that there is an asymmetry between the syntax of *nem* and that of *is*. I state this asymmetry as in (10):

- (10) The negative marker *nem* is not located in focus, hence it does not form a constituent with a focussed constituent. The emphatic particle *is*, contrastingly, is located in focus, hence it does form a constituent with the focussed constituent.

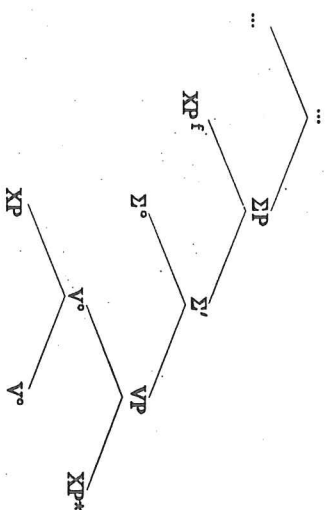
Adopting the AT nearly forces the conclusion in (10) as a consequence. But we might ask whether (10) embodies the generalization we wish to capture. I will argue that it does not.

More generally, though, it is evident that the AT does not very naturally accommodate the elements *nem* and *is*. Both are claimed to be adverbial in nature, and they survive by adjunction to the appropriate item in some fashion. Although there are details to be spelled out, I have little doubt that the AT can be made to work. But as I am not in the business of fixing up the AT, I leave my critique as it stands and now turn to a fundamentally different way of treating these elements.

⁴In Hungarian, the negative marker always immediately precedes what it negates (Rácz (1971)).

2. Surviving in ΣP 2.1. ΣP as TP

In what follows, I will adopt what I call the projection theory (PT) of focus. In this approach, the focus position is identified with the specifier of an independent syntactic projection and is therefore not merely an adjoined position. More specifically, I name this projection the $\Sigma(\text{igma})P(\text{hrase})^5$, and the general structure I posit for Hungarian is given in (11). A salient difference between the AT and the PT is that only the latter, in virtue of its added projection, introduces a new head position into the structure.

(11) The ΣP version of the PT

I follow both Horvath and Farkas (among others) in analyzing the PV + V° sequence as a constituent in the VP, although I differ from them in that I consider the PV to be a base-adjoined XP to V° , with the resulting constituent also a V° .⁶ Focus is located in XP^f , i.e. [Spec, ΣP], hierarchically superior to the VP, following É. Kiss, Farkas, and others. I also assume, taking É. Kiss's (1987, 1990, this volume) lead, that the subject is not distinguished configurationally from other arguments in the VP, i.e., Hungarian is non-configurational.

⁵The idea of ΣP in name is not new with me. Laka (1990) introduces it in her analysis of Basque, claiming that it is an abstract projection which has both Neg(ative)P and Aff(irmation)P as instantiations. I do not follow Laka in the details; for me the crucial idea is that ΣP is a functional projection whose head may contain (at least) tense and negation and whose specifier is an A³ position. This will contrast with Brody's (1990) F(ocus)P, which I believe is simply too narrow a construct.

⁶The base-adjunction analysis is intended to capture the intuition that the PV + V° sequence is both a syntactically analyzable word and yet generally not a fully compositional unit semantically. See Piñón (1992) for more on this matter.

Although I am not the first to propose the PT for Hungarian, both Brody's (1990) and Marác's (1990) PT analyses differ considerably in the details from mine. Brody, for example, locates focus in the specifier position of a special F(ocus) P(hrase), while Marác maintains that focus occupies [Spec, CPl]. In this paper, I will restrict myself to drawing several critical comparisons with Brody's analysis, referring the reader to É. Kiss (1990) for a good critique of Marác's approach.

As seen in (11), the focus position is by no means located to the immediate left of the base-generated verb: both Σ° and the PV intervene. What, then, is the nature of Σ° ? The first hypothesis that I make about ΣP is that it is fundamentally a projection for tense. More concretely, the following is claimed to hold:

- (12) Σ°
|
[± tense]

Given (12), ΣP is equivalent to TP. Suppose, though, that unlike TP, ΣP is an optional projection. This has the consequence that the feature [± tense] must be generable in another head position as well. I will take this position to be V° . To summarize:

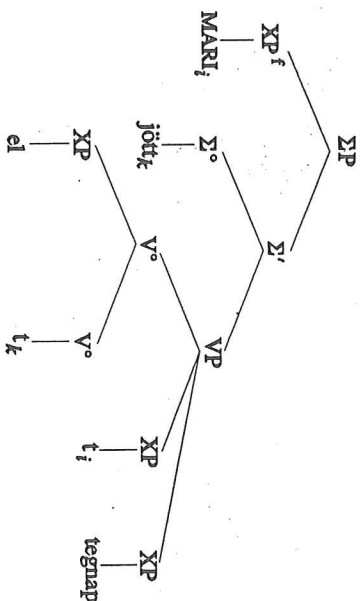
- (13) If Σ° , then Σ° ; else V°
| |
[± tense] [± tense]

(13) is consistent with Chomsky's (1991) view that a verb is inserted fully inflected and therefore needs only to have its inflectional features 'checked' in the appropriate position. What (13) in effect states is that the 'checking' of [± tense] occurs in Σ° , if it is projected, and otherwise in V° .

Finally, insofar as the specifier 'closes off' its projection, if the specifier position is filled, then its head must be filled as well (Speas (1990)). In the case of ΣP , this means that if XP^f is projected, then Σ° is also projected.

To see how this analysis gets off the ground, recall the paradigm of complementary distribution noted in (2). There it is shown that a focussed constituent induces postverbal order of the PV. Consider the essential postulated structure for (2b), given in (14).

(14) Structure of (2b)



To ensure that this is the derived structure and to prevent the ungrammatical (2d), the verb must raise to Σ^o . (If it did not, (2d) would result.) But if Σ^o is projected, then by (13) the feature [\pm tense] is generated in it, and the verb must move to Σ^o to have its tense feature 'checked' in that position. In (2d), the verb does not raise to Σ^o , hence it violates (13) and is bad. In (2a), where there is no focussed constituent, nothing requires DP to be projected, hence the feature [\pm tense] is generated in V^o and the verb does not raise.

An apparent problem with the DP approach is that the sentence in (2c) is predicted to be good, and yet it is ungrammatical on the neutral (focus-less, perfective) reading. Here, DP is projected, XP^f remains unfilled, and the verb has moved to Σ^o to have its tense feature 'checked'. In the present approach, however, nothing forces [Spec, DP] to be filled, for the verb raises to Σ^o in order for its tense feature to be checked and not in order to assign a 'focus feature' to the specifier position.⁷ The difficulty with (2c) is not that it is syntactically ill-formed, but rather that it cannot be interpreted in the perfective aspect. As É. Kiss (1987, §2.3.4.) points out, imperfective aspect in Hungarian is expressed by V-PV structures without overt focus. This structural correlate of imperfective aspect works best if the PV retains its concrete directional sense. This is illustrated in the following example:

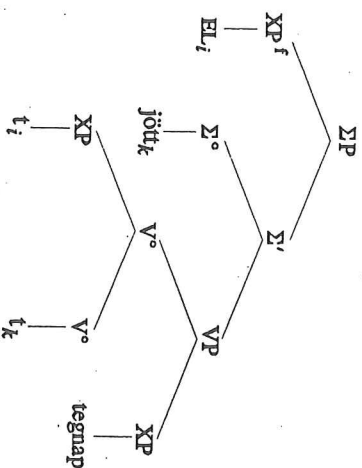
- (15) Mari (épp) [s_i jött] be t_i a szobába, amikor János fel-hívta.
 Mary just came PV/in the room-into when John PV-called-DEF-DO
 'Mary was just coming into the room when John called her.'

⁷Brody (1990, 101): 'At S-structure and LF the Spec of an FP must contain a +f-phrase.' For Brody, if the verb raises, then [Spec, FP] must be filled, for the verb raises in order to assign its 'focus feature' to the focussed constituent. The derivation of (15), then, is problematic for Brody, for it is not evident that such structures contain a 'focussed item in XP'

Sentences like (2c), then, are unacceptable for reasons of interpretation, but not because of their syntax. Indeed, the present account requires them to be syntactically well-formed, for DP is freely projectable even if [Spec, DP] should remain unfilled.

The PV may also be focussed. It will then appear in XP^f, having moved from its base-generated position. The partial structure for (3a) is shown in (16). Here, the sentence expresses an emphatic proposition.

(16) Structure of (3a)



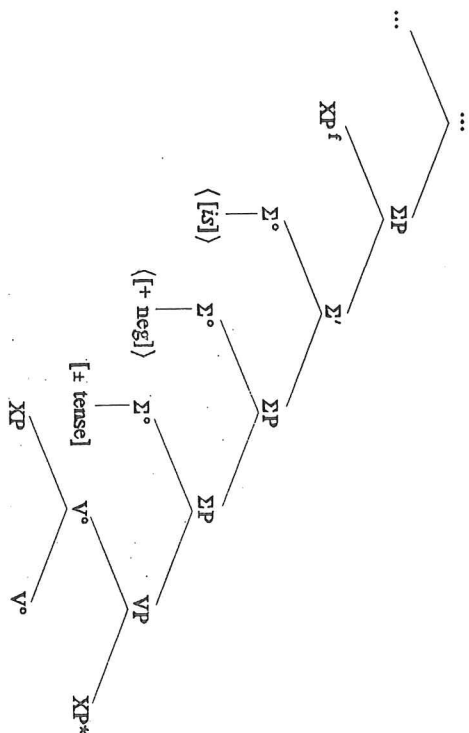
This analysis is also proposed for (3b), where the focussing of the PV is contrastive. The exact semantic effect of placing the PV in XP^f (whether one of contrast or emphasis) depends on whether or not there is a contrast set available for the PV.

2.2. The extended structure of DP

In section 1., I criticized the AT for not being able to straightforwardly accommodate the negative marker *nem* and the emphatic particle *is*. In order to meet my own criticism, I must now show how the SP analysis more successfully accounts for the behavior of these elements.

I hypothesize that DP can take the form of an 'extended projection', i.e., it may have the more articulated structure shown in (17). The intuition behind the idea of an extended projection is that a number of functional heads may contribute to the articulation of a single projection with a unique specifier position.⁸

⁸The two lower DPs lack specifier positions. Since they are complements of a head, they must be maximal for X'-theory, and yet neither one is the highest DP in the projection sequence. If we accept Speas' (1990, 44) definition ('X = X_{max} iff "G which dominate X, G ≠ X"'), then clearly only the highest DP counts as maximal. However this formal issue is to be resolved, the desired result should be that the specifier cannot interrupt a sequence of heads in an extended projection. This would follow if only the highest projection is considered to

(17) ΣP as an extended projection

In positing a structure like (17), I seek an analogue to the analysis of auxiliary verb constructions in Hungarian, as proposed in Farkas & Sadock (1989). The simple idea, known elsewhere in the literature, is that complex auxiliary verb constructions may be represented as a multiply embedded VP. Analogously, I propose that two or more Σ° 's reflect a multiply embedded ΣP .

2.2.1. Negation

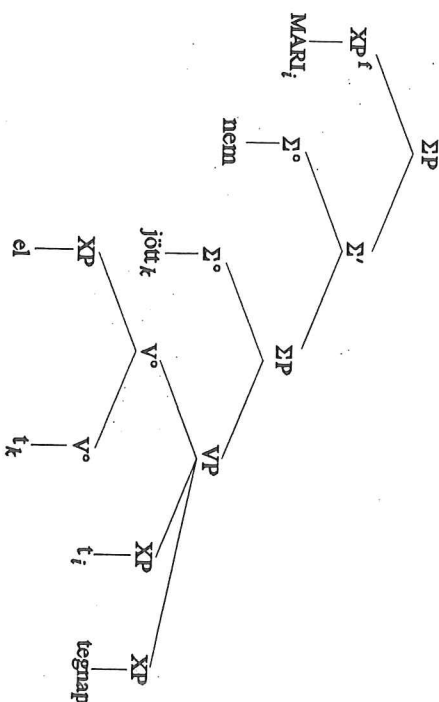
The structure in (17) incorporates the following conjecture about the negative marker in Hungarian:

(18) The (predicate) negative marker *nem* is of category Σ° .

To give a concrete illustration, consider the example in (19) and its corresponding structure. Recall that if ΣP is projected, then by (13) Σ° must contain the feature [\pm tense]. In addition, if *nem* is to be inserted, then an extended projection must be used, for otherwise there would be no head position for it.

HEADS IN THE FOCUS FIELD

(19) MARI *nem* *jött* *el* *tegnap*.
 Mary NEG came PV yesterday
 'It is Mary who didn't come yesterday.'



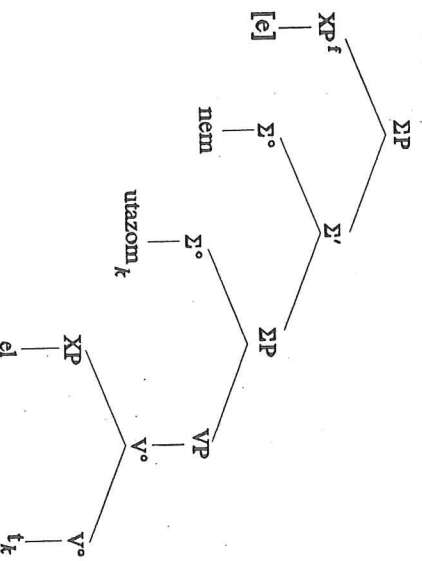
In (19), XP^f is occupied by the focussed NP, the higher Σ° is filled by *nem*, and the verb has raised out of the VP into the lower Σ° .

The counterpart of emphatic affirmation (cf. (3a, 16)) is emphatic negation (cf. (5b)). Here, too, there is an embedded ΣP containing the tensed verb, the PV appearing in [Spec, DP]. This contrasts with ordinary negation, where the PV remains in its base position and [Spec, DP] is empty (cf. (5a)). I exemplify this in (20).

If (20) is correct, then a striking difference between Brody's FP and my DP approach comes to the fore. For Brody, the relevant projection is the FP, i.e., a projection which is inherently specified for focus. DP, on the other hand, is not inherently a focus projection, i.e., it is a composite functional projection whose specifier is an A'-position. Given the A'-nature of the specifier, DP can indeed act as a focus projection, as was seen in (15, 16), but it need not, as shown in (20). In (20), there is no focussed constituent in XP^f and (5a) would count on all standard analyses as a neutral sentence. (5a) exhibits 'flat prosody' (cf. Kálman et al. (1989)); in this respect it differs radically from the 'eradicating prosody' characteristic of non-neutral sentences. In this way, DP is also a projection for negation, and Brody's FP is too narrow a construct.

⁹Why can the verb not occupy the higher Σ° and *nem*, the lower one? Relativized Minimality (Rizzi (1990)) ensures that the verb will not be able to move past an intervening head governor, in this case *nem*. Hence only the lowest Σ° will be available as a landing site.

(20) Structure for (5a)



A piece of evidence against analyzing *nem* as left-adjoined to the verb (cf. (7)), as a version of the AT would have it, is that no problem arises in deleting the lower ZP.

- (21) Mari el-utazott tegnap, de Péter nem.
 Mary PV-departed yesterday but Peter NEG
 'Mary left yesterday, but Peter didn't.'

While the very natural ellipsis exhibited in (21) may have some account in the AT, the idea that *nem* is adjoined to the verb precludes a straightforward explanation. In the PT, on the other hand, the possibility of ellipsis after *nem* requires no further comment.

2.2.2. The story of *is*

The proper analysis of the emphatic particle *is* necessitates a clear recognition of (at least) two types of *is* in Hungarian. The one is what I call 'quantificational *is*'; the other is 'emphatic *is*'. Confusion can result from the fact that both quantificational *is* and emphatic *is* can be translated as 'also, too'. Needless to say, even more confusion results when the two are not properly distinguished.

I point out that Brody (1990, §3.5.) treats only quantificational *is*, which most typically modifies NPs. Consider the following examples, similar to Brody's (33-34):

(22)

- a. Mari is be-ment a szobába.
 Mary also PV-went the room
 'Mary also went into the room.'
- b. *Mari is ment be a szobába.¹⁰
 Mary also went PV the room
 (Bad on neutral readings.)
- c. Mari is be-ment a szobába is.
 Mary also PV-went the room also
 'Mary also went into the room as well.'
- d. *Mari is a szobába is be-ment.
 Mary also the room also PV-went

As (22a, b) show, quantificational *is* does not and indeed may not trigger postverbal order of the PV. Moreover, only one *is*-phrase may appear before the verb in the sentence; if two are present, then the second must be placed after the verb.

Brody's analysis, elegant at first glance, accounts for these facts by hypothesizing that *is* occupies the head of FP, i.e., F°, and that the modified NP appears in [Spec, FP]. If correct, then the impossibility of verb raising follows, as demonstrated in (22b). Furthermore, if it is stated that only a single FP is allowed, then (22d) is also predicted to be bad, for two *is*-phrases would necessitate two *is*-headed FPs. Curiously, Brody is not explicit about how he derives (22c).

If quantificational *is* were really the head of FP, then two simple predictions would be made. The first is that an *is*-phrase should not co-occur with another focused constituent in the preverbal field because there is a single specifier of FP. The second is that the *is*-phrase should always occur preverbally, for no FP (a functional projection) can appear within the VP.

Neither of these two predictions is borne out, however. It is possible for an *is*-phrase to co-occur with a focused constituent, as Brody himself recognizes:

- (23)
- a. Mari is A SZOBÁBA ment be.
 Mary also the room went PV
 'It is into the room that [Mary also] went.'
- b. *A SZOBÁBA Mari is be-ment.
 the room Mary also PV-went

¹⁰This sentence has a good reading in the imperfective aspect (cf. (15)). In this case, the verb raises to Z° and [Spec, ZP] remains empty.

In order to derive (23a), two FPs have to be countenanced, and yet (23b) shows that only one order is possible: the *is*-phrase must precede the other focussed constituent. Brody (p. 116) ensures this by stipulating that '*is* can take as its complement an ordinary FP but not vice versa.' Nor, for that matter, can *is* take as its complement an FP headed by *is*, for otherwise (22d) could be derived.

The other problem is with (22c). If FP is a functional projection dominating the VP, as Brody takes it to be, then it is not at all evident how an *is*-phrase is to be generated in the VP. Brody, unfortunately, does not resolve this issue.

I believe that Brody is wrong to claim that quantificational *is* is the head of FP. Similarly, I do not claim that it can be head of DP. The *is* represented in (17) is in fact the emphatic particle *is*.

Although I do not intend to pursue a treatment of quantificational *is* in this paper, much is simplified if we follow É. Kiss (1987) in separating the 'quantifier field' from the 'focus field'. Quantificational *is* creates a quantifier phrase out of an NP; as such, the resulting constituent shares its syntax with other quantifier phrases, strictly preceding XP^f when appearing preverbally. Since quantifier phrases may also occur postverbally, no problem arises in accounting for examples like (22c).

Since DP as presented in (17) is not the landing site for quantifier phrases, any such constituent must either precede it (in the 'quantifier field') or follow the verb (in the VP). (23b), then, can never be derived, for XP^f appears right of the quantifier phrases.

(22b) is ruled out because quantificational *is* does not occur in DP, hence no DP is projected and no verb raising takes place. (22d), on the other hand, remains puzzling, especially given that there is independently no prohibition against quantifier phrase stacking in Hungarian:

- (24)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|------------|---------------------------------------|------------|----------|
| a. | Mari | is | mindenkit | mindenhova | el-vitt. |
| | Mary | also | everyone-ACC | everywhere | PV-took |
| | | | *Mary also took everyone everywhere.' | | |
| b. | *Mindenkit | mindenhova | Mari | is | el-vitt. |
| | everyone-ACC | everywhere | Mary | also | PV-took |

Recall that Brody accounts for (22d) and (24) by stipulating that an *is*-headed FP is not an appropriate complement of a zero-headed FP. This option is unavailable in the present account, where quantificational *is* does not appear in DP. Of course, the correct order in the quantifier field can always be stipulated, the analogue of Brody's solution. Although I can offer no fully satisfactory answer to this problem here, it seems that a more interesting account of this ordering phenomenon might attribute to the quantificational *is*-phrase the property that it must have wide scope when occurring in the quantifier field. Since we know that linear order in the quantifier field reflects scopal order, it is plausible that the

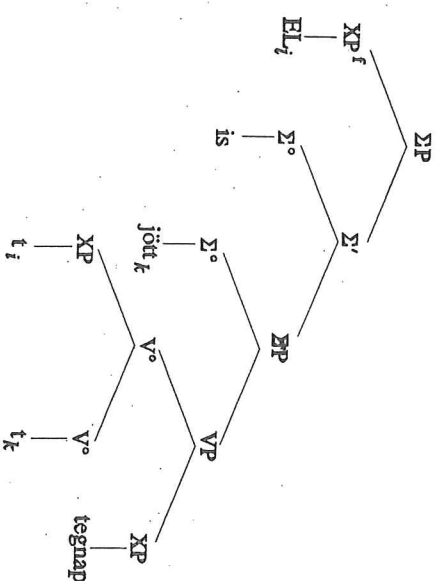
is-phrase must (for some reason) have the widest scope when in this field. If so, then the prohibition against two *is*-phrases in the quantifier field would follow, since only one of them could have the widest scope.¹¹

In what follows, I am concerned with emphatic *is*. As was seen already in (17), I claim that it has the following property, in this respect akin to *nem* (cf. (18)).

- (25) Emphatic *is* is of category D°.

If (25) is correct, then the facts in (5e-h) can be accounted for unproblematically. The structure for the classic instance of *megszakított szörend* ('broken order'; cf. Rácz (1971)), as exemplified in (5e), is given in (26).

- (26) Structure for (5e)



In (26), the PV has moved to XP^f and the verb, to D°. DP must be projected because emphatic *is* is a D° element.

The ungrammaticality of (5h) follows because there is only a single focus position and this is occupied by the PV. If emphatic *is* is a D° element, then it cannot appear in the VP, and so (5f) is ruled out. (5g) is trickier to prevent, for it depends on *is* appearing higher than the verb in DP. In (17), for example, we must guarantee that the order of *is* and the

¹¹ I realize that this statement remains highly tentative. Nonetheless, where I crucially differ from Brody is that quantificational *is* does not head a functional projection. Thus, I predict that such an *is*-phrase should be able to appear in the VP, which is correct, whereas Brody predicts this possibility to be out, which is incorrect.

verb is not reversed, for otherwise (5g) would result. Since emphatic *is* must always immediately follow an XP, it is reasonable to suppose that *is* must always stand in a Spec/head relation to [Spec, ZP]. I propose that this is ensured by the following property of emphatic *is*:

- (27) Emphatic *is* assigns a focus feature [+f] leftwards to its specifier.

If this is correct, then emphatic *is* must appear in the highest Σ° , for otherwise it would lack a specifier to its immediate left, contradicting (27).

Note that it is crucial in my ZP approach that emphatic *is* not form a constituent with its specifier. This contrasts decisively with the inferred conclusion about *is* in the AT, as stated in (9). Recall that this conclusion reached on the basis of (8) was that *is* forms a constituent with the focussed item in XP'. Indeed, given the lack of an extra head position in the AT, this was the most reasonable conclusion about the location of *is*. I believe that the AT is wrong here, however. Three considerations argue in favor of my PT analysis.

- (28)
- Emphatic *is* never appears inside the VP (cf. (5g)).
 - Emphatic *is* cannot be repeated in affirmative answers to yes/no questions.
 - Emphatic *is* can appear only with lowest Wh-phrase in multiple Wh-fronting.

Whereas (28a) is immediately accounted for in the present approach (cf. (13)), emphatic *is* is stipulated to be an inherent focus (XP) particle in the AT, over and above its syntactic category' specification. No such stipulation is necessary in the PT. Emphatic *is* thus crucially contrasts with quantificational *is*, which can appear in the VP (cf. 22c)).

It is well-known that the PV can be repeated as an affirmative answer to a yes/no question in Hungarian. Note, however, that emphatic *is* cannot be repeated in such an answer, thereby indicating that it does not form a constituent with the PV to its left. Quantificational *is*, in contrast, can and indeed must be repeated in such answers, motivating its constituency with the preceding PV.

(29) QUESTION

- a. És Mari el-jött?
and Mary PV-came
'And Mary came?'
- [Emphatic *is*]
- b. És Mari el is jött?
and Mary PV also came
'And Mary did (indeed) come?'

ANSWERS

- Igen. 'Yes.'
El. 'Yes.'
Igen, el. 'Yes.'
- Igen. 'Yes.'
El. 'Yes.'
*El is.

[Quantificational *is*]

- c. Tudom, hogy János ki-vitte a szemetet.
know-1SG COMP John PV/out-took the trash-ACC
'I know that John took out the trash.'
- És be is vitte?
and PV/in also took-DEF.DO
'And he took it in as well?'
- Igen. / Be is. / Igen, be is. / *Be.
'Yes.'

As (29a) shows, the PV can be repeated in an affirmative answer to a yes/no question. In (29b), we see that if emphatic *is* intrudes between the PV and verb, then it cannot be repeated in the answer. On the other hand, in (29c), where quantificational *is* is present, just the opposite is true: it must be repeated along with the PV.

Other examples in which the PV is not in focus lead to the same result: only quantificational *is* is repeated in such answers. (30) exemplifies an NP before *is*.

- (30) [Emphatic *is*]
- a. Mari mondta, hogy Ő jön el.
Mary said COMP she comes PV
'Mary said that she would come.'
- És Ő is jött el?
and she also came PV
'And she also came?'
- Igen. / Ő. / Igen, Ő. / *Ő is.
[Quantificational *is*]
- b. Épp látam Mari!
just saw-1SG Mary
'I've just seen Mary!'
- Ő is el-jött?
she also PV-came
'She also came?'
- Igen. / Ő is. / Igen, Ő is. / *Ő.

While there are no doubt many imaginable ways of accounting for (29, 30), the one I propose is very simple. Emphatic *is*, a Σ° element, does not form a constituent with the XP' specifier, hence it can not be repeated with its specifier as a positive answer to yes/no questions. Quantificational *is*, not of category Σ° , is different in that it does form a constituent with the XP' it modifies, hence it is repeatable. In the AT, however, where emphatic *is* forms a constituent with the focussed element, it is puzzling why it is not repeatable in positive answers. This fact remains unexplained in the AT. This divergence in behavior between emphatic *is* and quantificational *is* also lends further support to my

claim that Brody is wrong in supposing that the latter heads the FP projection, for if he were correct, then it too would not form a constituent with its specifier.

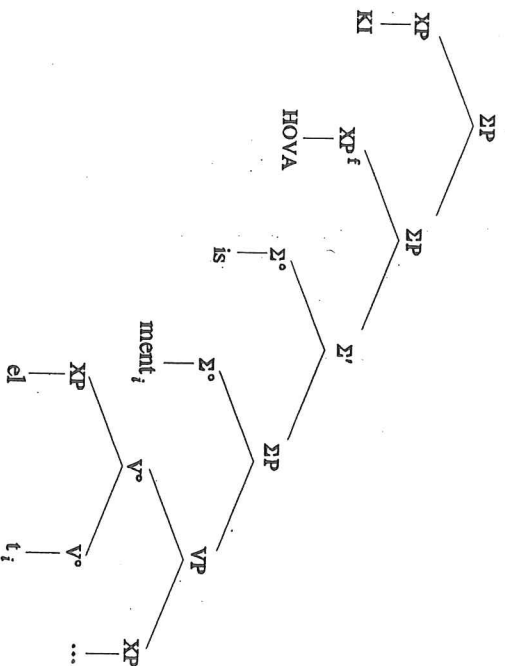
Finally, with respect to multiple Wh-fronting as stated in (28c), consider the following paradigm:

- (31)
- a. Ki hova ment el?
who where went PV
'Who went where?'
 - b. Ki hova is ment el?
who where also went PV
'Where now did who go?'
 - c. *Ki is hova is ment el?
who also where also went PV
 - d. *Ki is hova ment el?
who also where went PV

[particle now]

The ungrammaticality of (31c, d) would be quite mysterious if emphatic *is* formed a constituent with the Wh-focussed constituent, as it does in the AT. In the latter approach, there is nothing to prevent *is* from combining with more than one Wh-phrase. Some additional stipulation is needed to rule this possibility out. In the PT, contrastingly, this paradigm is expected, for multiply adjoined Wh-phrases do not create new head positions. Consider the structure of (31b), as given in (32). Since there is no Σ^0 between the two Wh-phrases, it follows that there is also no possibility for emphatic *is* in that position.¹²

(32) Structure for (31b)



Why are (31c, d) not good with quantificational *is*? While (31c) may be ruled out by the constraint against two *is*-phrases in the quantificational field (cf. 22d), this constraint would not apply to (31d). If quantificational *is* attaches to XP to derive a quantifier phrase, then it is not immediately clear what would rule out (31d), where *is* is attached only to the first Wh-phrase. But there is really no problem here, for I do not locate quantificational *is* in the focus field, hence if some item must appear there, then quantificational *is* should be incompatible with it. This is precisely the case with Wh-phrases, for if we make the basic assumption that they must move to XP^f, then the prediction is that quantificational *is* should not be able to combine with them. This prediction is borne out, as shown in the following simpler example:

- (33) Ki is ment el Magyarországra?
who also went PV Hungary-to
MEANS: 'Who now went to Hungary?'
CANNOT MEAN: *'Who also went to Hungary?' [particle now]

In (33), only the emphatic reading of *is* is possible. Thus, in both (32) and (33) only emphatic *is* can be at stake.

I note that Brody's account leads us to expect that quantificational *is* should be perfectly good in examples like (33), which is incorrect. This is because he takes quantificational *is*

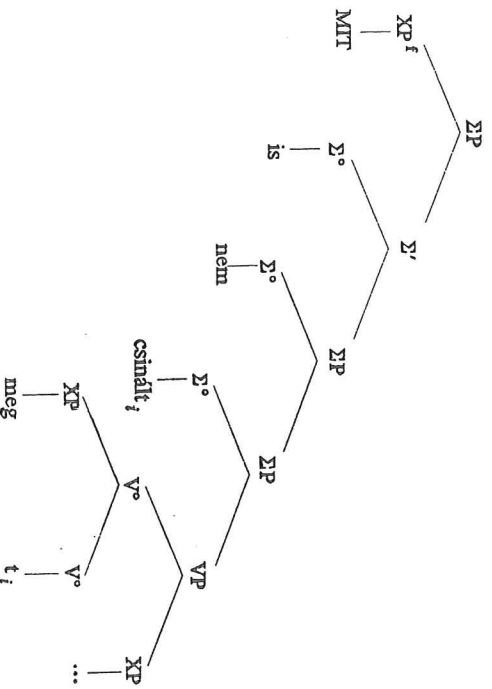
¹² analyze multiple Wh-movement as multiple adjunction to ZP. This type of analysis is taken from É. Kiss (1987).

to be of category F° , and nothing then prevents a *Wh*-phrase from moving to [Spec, FP]. But this is exactly the analysis of quantificational *is* that I have argued against.

In conclusion, my DP approach in the PT provides a more explanatory account of emphatic *is* than the AT does. Note that crucial to the PT is the extra head position which is lacking in the AT. This, in turn, follows from the claim that the focus field is not merely an adjoined position but rather an independent projection.

As a closing note, a final contrast between emphatic *is* and quantificational *is* is that the (linear) sequence [emphatic *is* + *nem*] cannot be contracted to yield *se(m)*, whereas the sequence [quantificational *is* + *nem*] obligatorily must be. We see this in (34), where emphatic *is* immediately precedes *nem*. In fact, substituting *se(m)* for [*is* + *nem*] in (34) results in essential ungrammaticality.¹³

- (34) *Mit is nem csinált meg?*
 what also NEG did-3SG PV
 'What now didn't she do?' [particle *now*]



(34) also exhibits the full articulation of ZP, as presented in (17).

3. Conclusion

Many issues in Hungarian syntax remain unaddressed in this paper, due to lack of space. Some of these concern further extensions of the DP approach, such as to imperative structures and 'exclusive adverbs', both of which induce postverbal order of the PV. For example, it is plausible to analyze the imperative morpheme as a Z° element, thereby causing the verb to raise to Z° , resulting in inversion. The 'exclusive adverbs' may well occupy [Spec, DP], which is an A° -position in any case. If so, then DP would be projected and verb raising would follow. In neither of these cases do we have to say that the verb raises in order to assign a focus feature to the specifier position, an important difference between my perspective and Brody's. Indeed, a central thesis of this study has been that DP cannot be identified with his FP, the latter being too narrow a construct.

The essence of the present paper has been to argue, on the basis of the negative marker *nem* and the emphatic particle *is*, that the PT approach to the syntax of focus in Hungarian is more explanatory than the AT approach. More specifically, I maintain that the extra head positions provided by the extended DP projection are necessary for an adequate treatment of *nem* and *is*. The AT, in contrast, lacks such positions, and therefore fails to accommodate these items insightfully, for they survive only as head elements in head positions.

¹³The question *Mit se csinált meg?*, the parallel structure with quantificational *is*, is only interpretable as an echo-question in response to a statement like *A leckét se csinálta meg* (lit.) 'The lesson also she didn't do'.

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1. Introduction

In a series of papers I have argued that Hungarian noun phrases have a clause-like structure. Within the framework of Chomsky (1986), it can be represented as (1a). Compare (1b), the structure attributed to English clauses. DP is parallel to CP, and (N+I)P to IP. As a minor point of deviation, I am assuming that the inflected noun, N+I, forms a complex head.

