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ON WHAT REALLY FIGURES IN A NON-CONFIGURATIONAL LANGUAGE

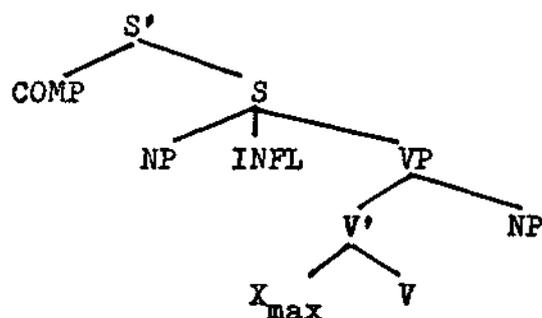
1. Introduction

This article has grown out of the dissatisfaction of a few linguists in Hungary with the two widely known analyses of Hungarian in general, and word order phenomena in it in particular. Katalin É. Kiss and Julia Horvath have indeed broken the ice and opened up new channels. But the more we can see along the way, the rougher the passage seems to be.

Whether we consider Hungarian to be configurational with Horvath (1981) or non-configurational with É. Kiss (1981a, 1981b), a number of difficulties crop up that result from ill-demonstrated assumptions of movement rules, hierarchical syntactic configurations, and from concomitant misinterpretations of linguistic data. If the configurationality parameter is associated with a set of properties (such as freedom of word order, the extent of pro-drop, the occurrence of pleonastic NPs, the richness of case system, discontinuity of constituents) as was suggested by Hale (1978, 1983) and, at least in part, accepted by others (eg. Chomsky 1981), we shall have to follow É. Kiss and treat Hungarian as a non-configurational language (NCL). However, since grammars for NCLs are rather scarce, we must use caution in proposing one and carefully weigh arguments and possible counterarguments.

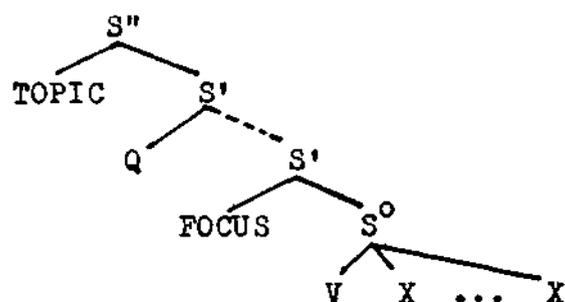
I will try to show here that by failing to do that Horvath and É. Kiss both jumped to conclusions and that we can make do with a largely simplified syntax supplemented by interpretive rules and principles in the LF-component that are necessary for independent reasons.

(1)



É. Kiss, on the other hand, insists that Hungarian is a NCL and proposes "the invariant structure" (2), in which Topicalization, Q-Phrase Preposing and Focusing move arbitrary constituents under S" or S' basically in the fashion of wh-movement, since according to her T, Q and F are operator positions comparable to COMP in CLs.

(2)



As Farrell Ackermann (in prep.) points out, both of them make use of an argument which they each regard as counterevidence to the other's analysis, but whose combined effect is detrimental to both. Horvath has shown that sentence adverbials like naturally, probably etc.¹ cannot be inserted in between the constituents of V' in (1), whether the X_{max} is the original complement of the verb or some other category that has ended up there as a result of Focusing. Undoubtedly a reliable test for constituency, this calls the choice of a separate F node in (2) into question.

E. Kiss, in turn, demonstrated that the same sentence adverbials can occur between the verb and any of its complements,

In the first section I will review Horvath's and É. Kiss's relevant statements and criticize them from two points of view: (i) the complementary distribution of Focus and Verbal Modifier, and (ii) the status of move *d* rules. Then I will propose a set of PS rules and a "flat structure" for Hungarian sentences and will outline the taxonomy of the constituents that have a central role in word order. Since, as is clear from the linear order in that scheme, word order phenomena are a function of the logical properties of the phrases it will be suggested that word order be analyzed in such terms. When a couple of logical functions have been characterized, surface sequential order can be interpreted as determining scope relationships. Semantic principles will serve to block impossible readings (ie. instances of ordering). Finally, problems of the constituency of Focus and the verb will be dealt with.

2. Points of disagreement

The two current proposals for Hungarian sentence structure, Horvath's and É. Kiss's both rely on rules of the type of move *d*.

In Horvath's analysis a Focused construction can emerge if the X_{\max} in V' is removed and its place is filled by some other maximal major category (MMC) chosen freely from the constituents of the sentence.

including the object, thus refuting the constituency of VP in (1).

Horvath has the advantage over É. Kiss of handling complex verbs (eg. meg-érkezik 'perf.-arrive', büszke volt 'proud was') in the single V' category, and can thus assign them their actual lower-than-Focus stress, an option not available to É. Kiss, for she is forced to regard them as true Focus. (Note that É. Kiss positioned the Focus node originally on the basis of stress phenomena.)

Notwithstanding their polemy, Horvath and É. Kiss in effect agree in claiming that the Verbal Modifiers² (VM for short, eg.

verbal prefixes like meg, predicative adjectives like büszke above) are in complementary distribution with Focused constituents, ie. that there is a single slot available for Focus and VMs.

However, neither Horvath, nor É. Kiss can distinguish in a principled way between a VM that has Focus stress and interpretation and one that has not, cf. (3a-b):

(3) a. János almát vett.

John apple-acc. bought

'John bought apples.'

b. János ALMÁT vett. (Upper case letters indicate strong accent.)

'It's apples that John bought.'

If the verb is not (immediately) preceded by the VM either the constituent immediately in front of it or the verb itself must receive strong accent, or else the sentence will be ill-formed:

(4) a. JÁNOS vett almát.

'It's John that bought apples.'

b. János VETT almát.

'John did buy apples.'

c. *János vett almát.

Moreover, since evidence from non-finite clauses show that Focus and VM can cooccur in adjacent positions, the thesis of their complementary distribution is no longer tenable, cf. (5a,b), in which Focus is marked by upper case letters and VMs by underlining:

(5) a. A [_{AP} csak MÁ SOKAT durvának tartó] játékosok
 the only others-acc. rough-dat. considering players
 'the players considering only others rough'

b. Nem lehet mindig [_S csak MÁ SOKAT durvának tartani.]
 not may-be always only others-acc. rough-dat. to-consider
 'It's not always possible to consider only others rough.'

I will not pursue this argument further but assert that the foregoing is in accordance with Ackermann's (in prep.) and Komlósy's (1983) investigations into the lexical integrity of complex verbs.

What I will do instead is concentrate on another view that Horvath and É. Kiss share, that of the existence of move α in Hungarian. Neither of them shows that such a rule is independently needed to account for syntactic regularities. It is in effect presented by both linguists as a convenient (and of course theoretically possible) device.³ One set of evidence, however, may invalidate both linguists' claims.

Although the literature on cross-over is not unequivocal (Chomsky 1976, 1981, Koopman and Sportiche 1981), it is certain that in (6) coreference between the relative pronoun who and the personal pronoun he is blocked because it would have to be established via the wh-trace e_i, which by all accounts is a variable.

- (6) *The man [_S, who_i [_S [_{NP} the claim [_S, that he_i was a fraud]]] infuriated e_i] left.

And variables, but not names, block coreference in similar structures:

- (7) The claim that he_i was a fraud infuriated { *everybody_i.
John_i. }

In Hungarian, structures parallel to (7) behave identically:

- (8) a. *Az az állítás, hogy (σ_i) szélhámos, felháborított mindenkit_i.
that claim that he fraud infuriated everyone-acc.
b. Az az állítás, hogy (σ_i) szélhámos, felháborította Jánost_i.
John-acc.

However, the structure analogous to (6) is as grammatical as can be:

- (9) A férfi [_S akit_i [_{NP} az az állítás [_S hogy (σ_i) szélhámos]]]
the man whom that claim that he fraud
felháborított e_i] elment,
infuriated away-went

'The man who was infuriated by the claim that he was a fraud left.'

If the relative pronoun akit indeed underwent movement from its putative position marked by e, whether the subject NP is generated in place, as Horvath suggests, or is moved there, as in É. Kiss's grammar, it could not be coreferent with the personal pronoun ő. But since the coreference goes through there can be no variable in the position of the trace, consequently there is no trace there, i.e. the relative pronoun is not moved, or at least not moved from that position.

3. Another proposal

The considerations outlined so far converge on the assumption that the constituents of the Hungarian sentence are not moved

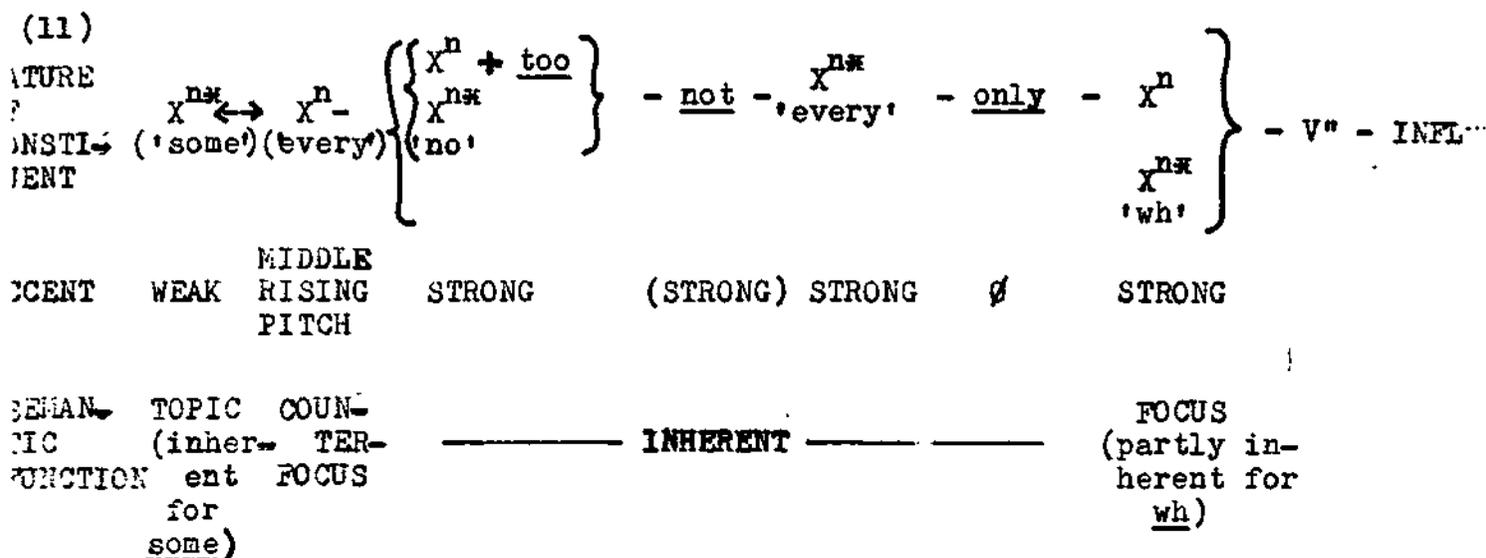
into their surface positions within some invariant structural configuration but are generated in place. I will claim therefore that Hungarian is a NCL on the level of the sentence, has a category-neutral PS rule expanding S, but differs from Hale's W^* languages in that it has configurational categories below the S level (see eg. Szabolcsi (1984a)), Hungarian can then be called an X^{n*} language and supposed to have base rules like (10):⁴

- (10) a. $S \rightarrow X^{n*} \text{ INFL } X^{n*}$
 b. $\text{INFL} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Mood} \\ \text{Tense} \end{array} \right] (\text{AGR})$
 c. $X^n \rightarrow X^n X^{n-1}$
 d. $V^n \rightarrow \text{Spec } V' \quad V'$
 e. $\text{Spec } V' \rightarrow \underline{\text{nem}}$ 'not', alig(ha) 'hardly', igen 'yes, very (mu
 ...
 f. $V' \rightarrow X^n \quad V^0$

The ensuing flat sentence structure pulls the rug from under É. Kiss's (1981b) only actual counterargument against the occurrence of arguments in preverbal positions, viz. that they could not be governed by the verb (or INFL) in her hierarchical "invariant structure". Note also that she has never attempted to refute the possibility of (10a) as a rule for Hungarian.

Now that we cannot have recourse to syntactic positions to determine the various semantic or communicative functions of Topic, Quantifier and Focus, how are we to assign these interpretations to the appropriate constituents? According to the proposal I will offer here, these properties can be defined exclusively by the relative order, the accent and the inherent (compositional) meanings of the individual constituents.

To give a general overview for a start, I will illustrate the linear order of the various constituents on the following, largely simplified, chart:



where * stands for multiplicability, the subscripts every, some, no and wh signifies the occurrence of the corresponding quantifiers (optional if in parentheses), only the positions separated by the arrow \leftrightarrow are interchangeable, every one of the elements is optional (though all of them can hardly ever be found in a single sentence), and, except for not, all and only the constituents that have inherent (compositional) lexical meanings can occur post-verbally as well. This scheme is best treated as a descriptive taxonomy and a guideline for what is to follow here.⁵

4. A couple of non-inherent logical functions.

I will now proceed to characterize the non-inherent functions.

There is not very much to be said about Topic, It is basically of communicative importance and contributes to the logico-semantic characterization of the sentence at most by specifically determining

the (otherwise limited or unlimited) universe of discourse.

Focus is a function associated with a single constituent (loosely speaking) immediately to the left of the verb. It is interpreted as expressing identity, or rather exclusion or negation through identity as shown in (12):⁶

(12) the x^F ($F x^F$) = a, where $x^F \in R$, the relevant domain of discourse.

The restricted quantification in (12) serves to represent the idea that a Focused sentence contains an operator that ranges over a set of variables restricted to the relevant domain of discourse. In other words, by asserting the identity of John and the one that slept on the floor in (13), the identity of the latter with anyone else in the domain of discourse is negated. And that is exactly what a Focused sentence conveys.

(13) a. Tegnap JÁNOS aludt a padlón. (... és nem { Péter vagy Éva ... }
valaki más. }

yesterday John slept the floor-on and not Peter or Eve
someone else

'It was John that slept on the floor yesterday.'

b. the x^F (SLEPT (x^F , on the floor, yesterday)) = John,
 $x^F \in \{ \text{John, Peter, Eve, ...} \}$

Whether the contrast is explicit (with the parentheses erased) or not, all the other members of the set R are excluded.

The negation of (13a) has a similarly straightforward interpretation, which incidentally justifies the native speakers' intuition as to the existential presupposition of Focused sentences:

(14) a. Tegnap nem JÁNOS aludt a padlón (... hanem { Péter.
valaki más. })

yest. not John slept the floor-on but Peter
someone else

'It wasn't John that slept on the floor yesterday.'

b. the x^F (SLEPT (x^F , on the floor, yesterday)) \neq John,
 $x^F \in \{ \text{John, Peter, Eve, ...} \}$

Observe that the proposed logical reading for Focus will automatically cover wh-questions and account for their interpretation and presupposition, cf:

(15) a. Tegnap KI aludt a padlón?

yesterday who slept the floor-on

'Who slept on the floor yesterday?'

b. for which x^F , $x^F \in R$, x^F slept on the floor yesterday

Since any well-formed answer to (15a) must have the form of (13a), ie. must be Focused, wh-questions can only be interpreted as requests for an identity statement that excludes everything in the domain to which the ^{internal} proposition (ie. 'x slept on the floor yesterday' in our case) does not hold true.

Counterfocus is a peculiar function whose exact nature is being hotly debated. Anna Szabolcsi, who was the first to describe it (1981a, 1981b), called "contrastive Topic" and assigned it a double role. On the one hand, it was said to narrow the scope of the quantifier every (16a), and, on the other, to help establish possible contrast in phrases containing no quantifier (16b).

(16) a. Mindenki_{Tc} NEM aludt a padlón. (Tc is short for
everyone not slept the floor-on contrastive Topic)

'Not everyone slept on the floor.'

b. Tegnap_{Tc} JÁNOS aludt a padlón.

Yesterday John slept the floor-on

'as for yesterday, it was John that slept on the floor.'

Relating this function to Topic in general, and the name contrastive Topic in particular, is justified only if it can be

demonstrated to have no truth-conditional role. That is exactly what Szabolcsi intended to show with respect to examples like (16b).

However, that is not the case. But before the function of this ill-understood element can be dealt with, I have to delve into other problems. First of all (and in order to vindicate my term Counterfocus, or CF for short) I will call attention to the fact that no CF-constituent can occur in a 'neutrally stressed' sentence, ie. in a sentence that does not contain any constituent with a strong accent, cf. (17a-c)

- (17) a. *János tegnap_{CF} aludt a padlón.
John yesterday slept the floor-on
- b. *A padlón_{CF} tegnap aludt János.
- c. *Mindenki_{CF} tegnap aludt a padlón.
everyone

That CF has nothing to do with Topic is further corroborated by their formal dissimilarity: CF has an accent and pitch quite distinct from that of Topic. In addition, a CF-element cannot be placed between two constituents in Topic, and finally, whereas there may be more than one constituent in Topic, only a single MMC can have CF-accent in a sentence.

Turning now to the "translation" of CF-expressions, not only is their scope (if any) rendered below that of any strong accented preverbal operator, but they make a definite contribution to the truth conditions of the sentence. In the case of the universal quantifier in CF, as in (16a), the surplus it adds to the overall meaning of the sentence is a conjunctional

existential proposition. Thus the full (representation of the) meaning of (16a) can be given as (18a, b):

(18) a. Mindenki_{CF} NEM aludt a padlón.

everyone not slept the floor-on

'Not everyone slept on the floor, but there was someone who left on the floor.'

b. for not every x, x slept on the floor, and for some x, x slept on the floor

It is this semantic surplus of CF-interpretation that accounts for the impossibility of, for example, constructions like (19a, b), in which a universal in CF is followed by the 'excluder' only or a 'negative pronoun' is in CF:

(19) a. *Mindenki_{CF} csak A PADLÓN aludt.

everyone only the floor-on slept

'only for x = floor, for every y, y slept on x, and for some y, y did not sleep on x.'

b. *Senki_{CF} NEM aludt a pailón.

noone not slept the floor-on

'for no x, x slept on the floor, and for some x, x slept on the floor'

Returning to the case of non-quantified phrases in CF, as (16b), repeated below, at least on one reading a similar regularity is observed:⁷

(20) a. Tegnap_{CF} JÁNOS aludt a padlón.

yesterday John slept the floor-on

b. for x = John, x slept on the floor yesterday, and for some y, y ≠ yesterday, for x ≠ John, x (may have) slept on the floor at y.

- c. 'It was John that slept on the floor yesterday, but someone other than John (may have) slept on the floor at some other time.'

These readings are constructed on the basis of the incompatibility of the negated final conjunctions with the CF-sentences (and on the basis of their compatibility with the non-CF versions).

5. Functions galore

Having now sketched the non-inherent logico-semantic functions in Hungarian sentences, I will begin discussing the question of how the linear order of the constituents in (11) can be accounted for. Note first of all that the devices I will make use of are, at least in part, necessary for independent reasons for any analysis of Hungarian.

As was said above in Section 3, Hungarian is regarded to be a non-configurational language with a 'flat' sentence structure. Neglecting the problems of movement for the time being, the structures thus generated will have to undergo Strong Assignment (SA), which will mark them for high stress. Recall that on the Ackermann--Komlósy hypothesis Focus and VM are not in complementary distribution, therefore SA cannot automatically select the constituent immediately before the verb. Moreover, the verb itself, whether complex (ie. VM + V) or simple, can also carry Focus function and be stressed accordingly. In addition to Focus, at the stage where SA applies, every maximal major category is capable of undergoing SA, whether pre- or postverbally placed. Thus we may posit an optional iterable rule (21):

(21) Strong Assignment

$$X^n \longrightarrow \underset{[s]}{X^n}$$

This rule will assign strong accent at random to any MMC, including the verb.

Counterfocus assignment must apply to a single constituent in a specific position: in front of some other MMC marked for s. Whether this condition is built into the rule proper or is deferred to the semantic component is immaterial here. I will take the former option without further ado.

(22) CF Assignment (optional, non-iterable)

$$X^n \dashrightarrow \underset{[cf]}{X^n} / \text{---} (\overset{[s]}{X^n}) X^n$$

These S-structures will be the input to semantic interpretation. The LF-component will furnish each structure its logical form by means of the familiar rules of Quantifier Raising, so that the synonymy of, for example, (23a, b) might be accounted for:

(23) a. Valaki NEM alszik.

someone not sleeps

'Someone doesn't sleep.'

b. NEM alszik valaki.

'Someone doesn't sleep.'

Apart from QR, individual 'translation rules' are necessary for the non-inherent functions Focus and CF. The rule for Focus can be informally given as

(23) Focus

In the string $\underset{[s]}{X^n} - Y - \text{INFL}$, where s stands for strong,

Y can be null, or (not \neq) V or the VN of a null copula,

assign X^n the feature [+lf] (for logical function) and render it as 'the x^F ($F x^F \dots$) = X^n ', where $x^F \in R$, R the relevant domain of discourse.

This formula, loose as it is, captures the following generalizations: (i) Focus function can be assigned at most to a single MMC per clause, (ii) Verbs can also be Focus, whether or not they are simple, (iii) Focus must have strong accent, (iv) it is related to INFL rather than to the verb (to be discussed), (v) the nature of the function F is subject to other factors (to which I will also return), and (vi) Focus may precede certain VMs.⁸

Since CF is interpreted relative to some other strongly accented constituent bearing a logical function (which, I presume, is marked on it), the informal rule for CF could take the form of

(24) Counterfocus

In the sequence $X_i^n \dots X_j^n \dots$ INFL add the feature [+lf] to X_i^n , order it in logical form as

Scope (X_j^n) > Scope (X_i^n) and supply the following additional proposition to the logical form of the sentence: 'and for some x , ($x \neq X_i^n$) x (may) not X_j^n '.

Since all the inherent logical functions are supposed to be lexically marked for [+lf] and the features percolated to the dominating category symbol, the 'rules' (23) and (24), apart from assigning Focused and Counterfocused sentences their approximate logical forms, will complete the set of expressions

b. *KI mondott mit?

c. *MINDENKI MIT mondott?

everyone what-acc. said

d. MIT mondott MINDENKI?

'What did everyone say?' (Only narrow scope available for everyone)

Another similar "scope filter" could exclude the sequences in which every has wide scope over not, always ill-formed in Hungarian:

(28) a. *MINDENKI nem alszik.

everyone not sleep_a

b. NEM mindenki alszik.

'Not everyone sleeps.'

c. NEM alszik MINDENKI.

'idem'

Two principles suffice to handle the scope properties of some in Hungarian. One would capture the observation that the scope of some is insensitive to its sequential position, cf.:

(29) a. Valaki MINDENKIT látott.

someone everyone-acc. saw

'Someone saw everyone' or 'Everyone was seen by someone.'

b. MINDENKIT látott valaki.

'idem'

(30) a. Valaki PÉTERT is látta.

someone Peter-acc too saw

'For some x, for also y = Peter, x saw y' or

'for also y = Peter, there is some x, x saw y.'

(33) Contiguity requirement

$$* \left[\begin{array}{c} X - X \dots \text{INFL} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} S \\ +1f \end{array} \right] \left[-1f \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(33) will serve to . . . exclude examples like (34a, b):

(34) a. *JÁNOS is tegnap MINDENKIT látott.

John too yesterday everyone-acc saw

b. *MINDENKIT TEGNAP JÁNOS látott.

I am of course not under the illusion that it will be all very smooth along these lines; clearly a lot of difficulty will hinder working out these principles in detail. But at least in theory there may be no obstacle to, for example, assigning all the remaining non-logical preverbal constituents the function Topic, or classifying the relationships between every, some and no; expressions containing numerals and quasi-numerical determiners (eg. a few, many, etc.) in Hungarian.

6. Two final problems (out of a host)

Although I am quite certain that more questions are now left unanswered than can be asked within the confines of this article, I will address this final section to two problems implicit in what had been said so far.

The first one is concerned with the question of why INFL seems to have such a central role in analyzing certain logical functions. To begin with, here I have accepted the assumption that S is an extension of INFL. In this sense, anything semantically related to INFL is taken to "modify" S. The requirement that for example, negation always precede INFL is in conformity with this view; negation simply cannot be proposition-internal.

On the other hand, negation (whether explicit as in the case of not or implicit as in the cases of Focus, wh-question, only, few, hardly, seldom etc., none of which can be identified in syntax as negatives) always 'removes' the VM of a complex verb, unless the VM is (part of) Focus, and thus conjoins INFL with the semantically negative term. Note that the requirement that INFL be attached to some V was supposed to be handled by some syntactic filter.⁹

All this falls into place if we regard (unmarked) INFL as representing the proposition the constituents convey that are devoid of logical functions (including the unfocused verb as well).¹⁰ In this sense Focus, negation, etc. are all operations performed on and related to some proposition, ie. they are sentential - as is expected.

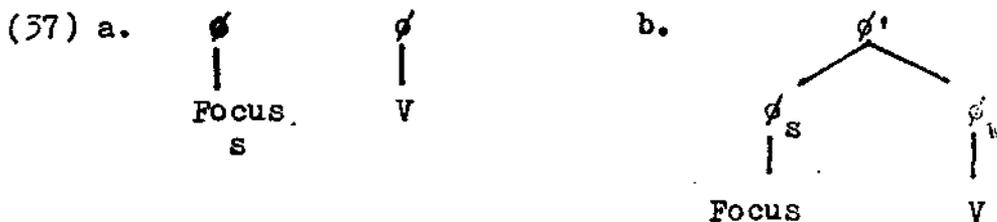
The other problem arises from the fact (first observed by Horvath) that nothing can be inserted between the Focus and the verb, exactly as if they were constituents of some phrasal node, cf. (35), in which persze 'of course' can occur in the positions indicated by the slant lines, but it cannot appear where an * is placed:

(36) /A * feleségem / A * LEGJOBB * BARÁTOMMAL * szökött / meg/tegnap.
 the wife-my the best friend-my-with ran away yesterday
 'It was my best friend that my wife ran away with yesterday.'

As was reviewed in Section 2, while É. Kiss takes no cognizance of problems like this, Horvath resolves it by contending that in S-structure the Focused phrase is in the position of the VM, and, owing to its constituency with the verb, in consequence

it will block anything occurring in between them. This 'constituency assumption' will now become unnecessary for the purposes of Focus interpretation, and the combined effect of the Focus rule (23), the Scope ordering principle (25) and the Contiguity requirement (33) will predict the ill-formed cases in which a would-be Focus is separated by some other phrase from the INFL.

I have argued that Focused phrases act as some kind of modifiers with respect to INFL (rather than the verb), thus it is perhaps legitimate to consider them as parts of a semantic construction. On the other hand, they also seem to be in a solid phonological construction with whatever is allowed to follow them (ie. V or certain VMs). In terms of metrical phonology, Focused constituents form phonological constructions through restructuring in the following way (cf. Nespor and Vogel 1982):



where INFL is incorporated into V.

The resulting left-branching tree conforms to the structural configurations found in all endocentric phrases, as well as to the fact that word stress is strictly initial in Hungarian. Note that according to both É. Kiss and Horvath, Hungarian sentences are right-branching, an assumption that would entail

sentence-final stresses, and which runs counter to the generally left-branching nature of this language.

In conclusion, it seems that Hungarian is, in many respects, an exemplary non-configurational language in which the order of the syntactic constituents is completely free as far as grammatical functions are concerned, but it is strictly regulated in as much as logical functions are involved. It appears that according to the present proposal, the movement of MMCs is at least uninteresting, if not uncalled for, though the movement of minor categories can and has to be accommodated.

If research along these lines were to be extended to other NCLs that have "positions" for logical expressions, it would undoubtedly contribute to our knowledge of the variation of the complexity of levels in grammar.

I am particularly grateful to Farrell Ackermann, László Kálmán, András Komlósy and Anna Szabolcsi for reading earlier versions of this paper and patiently discussing problems sometimes far outside their interests.

NOTES

1. Throughout this paper I will omit the original Hungarian examples from the text whenever they are unnecessary and the idea can be adequately illustrated with their English equivalents only.

2. That is Ackermann and Komlósy's term and I will use this throughout in place of É. Kiss's "reduced complement" and Horvath's " X_{max} ".

3. Horvath needs it because she claims Hungarian to be an S-O-V language. É. Kiss, in turn, believes that both S" and S⁰ are bounding nodes. I criticized this view in another paper (Kenesei 1984).

4. One relevant and necessary syntactic restriction (or filter?) must require that INFL be attached to a verb or in certain cases to a VM of a null copula.

5. To illuminate some of the apparent excentricity of the chart in (11) if rendered into English, it might be mentioned that Hungarian makes use of "double negation" in the case of "negative pronouns", eg.

(i) SENKI nem látta Pétert
noone not saw Peter-acc.
'Noone saw Peter.'

If too and not cooccur, they coalesce into a single word, eg.:

(ii) PÉTER is látta Jánost.
Peter too saw John-acc

(iii) PÉTER (is + nem →) sem látta Jánost.

Peter too not neither saw John-acc

'Peter didn't see John either' (ie. Peter is also one of those that didn't see John)

Note finally that the negative pronouns can be optionally followed by is 'too', which explains why they occupy the place they do in (11).

6. Here I will forgo reasoning against Szabolcsi's position (1981a, 1981b), according to which Focus is interpreted as "exhaustive listing". In another paper (Kenesei, forthcoming) I argued that she overlooked a consistent accentual and semantic differentiation between sentences like (13a) and those with a 'wide' interpretation like (i) below:

(i) Tegnap nem JÁNOS aludt a PADLÓN {^{*}hanem PÉTER.
hanem a HÁZIGAZDA költözött SZÁLLODÁBA.
yest. not John slept the floor-on but

{ Peter
the host . . . went . hotel-to }

'What happened yesterday was not that John slept on the floor but { Peter.
that the host went to a hotel. }'

Szabolcsi has since accepted this and even furnished a crucial example that makes a distinction between identity and exhaustive listing in terms of grammaticality (Szabolcsi 1984b).

To simplify exposition, I will sometimes abbreviate the formula in (12) as 'for x = a, x does F'.

7. At the core of the ongoing debate on CF is the question of the modality of, and in particular, whether there is conversational implicature in, the existential proposition. I will not discuss it here but will adopt a 'permissive' attitude as suggested by

the options in (20). Note that the above treatment can be conveniently extended to other cases Szabolcsi mentioned, eg.:

(i) Dicsérni_{CF} DICSÉRTEM a könyvet.

to-praise I-praised the book-acc.

'Praise the book I did, but there was something I didn't do
(in relation) to the book.'

(ii) Olvasni_{CF} TUDOK.

to-read I-can

'I can read, but there is something I can't do.'

8. É. Kiss and Horvath encounter serious technical, if not theoretical, difficulties in handling Focus in sentences which have nominal predicates with zero copula, eg.:

(i) JÁNOS büszke a fiára.

John proud the son-his-on

'It's John that's proud of his son.'

(ii) *Büszke JÁNOS a fiára.

9. To present the reasons for this view would lead us far outside the scope of this paper. The idea behind it relies on the observation that complex verbs as a whole have the logical or communicative role that is assigned to their VMs, wherever these may be in the sentence. For our purposes here, it is presumed that the VM is moved some place behind the verb by some optional syntactic transformation.

10. 'Marked' INFL behaves in a different way. Some subsection of INFL, notably Mood, may have scope over other logical functions, cf. Kiefer's (1984) example:

- (i) Péter ÉVÁVAL találkozik [_{INFL} -hat-ott]
Peter EVE-with meet may past+AGR
'May be it was EVE that Peter met.'

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