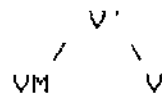


Focusing on Focus in Hungarian

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This paper deals, primarily, with the interpretation of Hungarian Focus found in É. Kiss (1984 in press) and its interaction with a syntactic phenomenon called 'sentence intertwining'. In the first portion of this paper I will enumerate several ways in which É. Kiss' treatment of Focus phenomena is problematic. I will suggest that, in several instances, this treatment can be improved by postulating the sort of lexical and syntactic V' constituent which was proposed in Földes and Ackerman (1983). This constituent has the following structure:

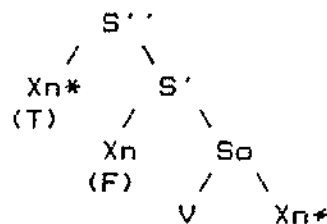


where VM = verbal modifier

Next, I will address myself to the phenomenon of sentence intertwining in Hungarian. Sentence intertwining is the sole instance of a syntactic phenomenon which makes crucial reference to É. Kiss' F position. I will demonstrate that there is an important difference between elements that appear 'neutrally' in the left sister position of V and elements that cannot appear there 'neutrally'. This is a distinction, obviously, facilitated by the postulation of a V' and hindered by the absence of a similar assumption in É. Kiss' framework. As will be seen, the postulation of a V' constrains some of the overgeneration entailed by É. Kiss' framework and as a consequence one can, dispense with certain of the questionable solutions proposed by É. Kiss e.g. a second cycle of Focus movement.

In order to make my observations understandable it is necessary to introduce some of the relevant aspects of É. Kiss' framework. On É. Kiss' interpretation Hungarian is a 'non-configurational' language with the following PS rules:

- S' --> Xn* S'
- S' --> Xn So
- So --> V Xn*



In her framework lexical insertion takes place only in the So

(or, propositional) portion of the tree. Positions T and F are left empty and filled only as the result of optional applications of move WH type rules. (She assumes that T and F are COMP-like categories.) There is a major difference between the positions T and F: T can be filled by any number of maximal major categories in any order while F can be filled by, at most, a single maximal major category. The positions T and F are, in certain ways, connected with the discourse notions Topic and Focus. Their actual relation to these notions is somewhat obscure and, in fact, the present paper will concentrate on some of the divergencies between the F position and the discourse notion of Focus.

It is important at this time to remark on what sorts of elements are encompassed by the symbol X_n in É. Kiss' framework. X_n refers both to ordinary maximal major categories as well as to a set of various kinds of elements called 'reduced complements' in É. Kiss' earlier work. A common characteristic of these latter elements is that if Focusing does not move a "regular" complement into F then one of the 'reduced' complements is, generally, moved there: if F remains empty the sentence assumes special aspectual interpretations. The actual categorial status of 'reduced' complements is, however, by no means obvious. This is especially true of verbal prefixes which can be naturally interpreted as affixes in much the way that German prefixes can be interpreted as affixes implicated in verbal derivation processes. The locative flavor of numerous V' collocations lead Komlósy and Aclerman to postulate that a broader class of elements than É. Kiss' 'reduced complements' called verbal modifiers (VMs) are actually sub-maximal categories. This is the position taken by Szabolcsi in her paper From the Definiteness Effect to Lexical Integrity.

If É. Kiss is correct then we have here a very simple set of PS rules and move-wh type rules which will, in conjunction, yield all and only the grammatical constructions of Hungarian. Moreover, there is a claim that the surface string generated by such rules reflects the communicative functions of the constituents:

"[a Hungarian sentence] associates the invariant semantic-communicative functions identified in the Hungarian sentence with grammatical relations: the Focus function with the relation $[X_n, S']$ and the Topic function with the relation $[X_n, S'']$ p. 50

In my opinion the relation between the proposed rules and Hungarian syntax is somewhat more complicated than one is lead to expect by É. Kiss' proposals. This is especially true of the relation between the F position and any substantive, communicative notion of Focus. In the following I will concentrate on this relation. Along the way I will demonstrate the utility of assuming the existence of a syntactic V' constituent.

In this discussion I will ignore so-called 'corrective sentences' where it is possible to find numerous Focused elements. I will also ignore the interesting sentence types described by László Varga in which a single Focused element appears either post-verbally or precedes É. Kiss' F position. These sentences

have as yet received no theoretical treatment. I will limit my discussion, in other words, to those constructions which contain only a single Focused element and which are generated by the rules already mentioned.

The following table represents the sorts of sentences generated by É. Kiss' rules. It should be mentioned that this table encodes the stress distinctions predicted by É. Kiss. According to her the main stress falls on the constituent in F position if there is one and falls on the V otherwise.

Table 1

T (Xn*)	F <u>Xn</u>	V	(Xn*)
1	JÁNOST John-ACC	látta saw	(a kertben) the garden-INE
2	<u>ÁLMÁT</u> apple-ACC	eszik eats	(a kertben) the garden-INE
3 (Mar1) Mary	<u>BE</u> into	ment went	(a kertbe) the garden-ILL
4	<u>ÚSZNI</u> to swim	akar wants	(a kertben) the garden-INE
5	<u>BETEG</u> sick	volt was	(tegnap) yesterday
(Xn*)	O	V	(Xn*)
6		LÁTTA saw	(Jánost a kertben) John-ACC the garden-INE
7 (Mar1) Mary		ESZIK eats	(almát a kertben) apple-ACC the garden-INE
8		MENT went	(be a kertbe) into the garden-ILL
9		AKAR wants	(úszni a kertben) to swim the garden-INE
10		VOLT was	(beteg tegnap) sick yesterday

This table should be interpreted in the following way. The CAPITALS indicate the location of main stress as predicted by É. Kiss. The underlining indicates a phenomenon not accounted for by É. Kiss, namely, that Focus interpretation may be extended to both the CAPITALIZED element and the V. It should be noted that this is a phenomenon which is easily accounted for under the assumption that Hungarian possesses a V': the Focus interpretation extends over the entire constituent. The fact that the VM

receives stress can be interpreted as reflecting the ordinary stress pattern for constituents in Hungarian: the leftmost constituent bears the stress for the entire constituent. In É. Kiss' system these simple relations appear difficult to express since the F and V never constitute a constituent.

There is a correlative point worth making here concerning the Focus of V. We have just seen that there are certain cases where both the 'reduced' complement and the V share a Focus interpretation. In saying this we are suggesting that Vs can, in fact, be Focused. However, on É. Kiss' account, Vs can neither appear in F position nor, consequently, receive Focus interpretation. This latter consequence is intimated in the passage previously quoted: since the Focus function is identified with a syntactic position and V cannot occupy this position it would seem to follow that V cannot receive Focus interpretation. Although the assumption that Vs cannot be Focused clearly runs contrary to the facts of Hungarian É. Kiss (in a move which acknowledges the counter-intuitiveness of such an assumption) prefers this position for its alleged theoretical advantages. (cf. É. Kiss, in press, p. 156) If Vs can, however, be given Focus interpretations then the role of É. Kiss' F position is, accordingly, narrowed: the position would have to be relativized as being the location for nonverbal Focus.

Observing sentences 2,3,4,5 and 6 in table 1 we find a peculiar phenomenon: the sequence of constituents can either receive a Focus interpretation or not. When they don't the sentence is, ordinarily, understood as being contextually neutral. In other words, sentences 2,3,4,5 and 6 can represent the so-called 'unmarked' order for these constituents. It should be mentioned that although É. Kiss is aware of the fact that certain identical orders yield different interpretations her rule of Focusing does not differentiate between these two interpretations. An important distinction between 'unmarked' and 'marked' constructions is undifferentiated in É. Kiss' system. A practical consequence of neglecting the distinction between these sentence types is that É. Kiss hypothesizes certain invariant properties of Hungarian sentence structure which, in fact, typify only 'marked' sentences. In particular, her assertion that any number of maximal major categories can appear in any order within T and without 'meaning' difference is, in fact, only valid for sentences which bear Focus interpretations. This observation must be qualified in the following manner: it appears that whereas ADJ(uncts) of the V may appear in any order within T in 'unmarked' sentences this cannot be said for arguments of the V in 'unmarked' sentences. This distinction between ADJs and arguments is not clear in É. Kiss' framework since the relevant movement rules are simply assumed to operate on Xns. The following sentences are instructive with respect to this phenomenon: (words in CAPITAL letters indicate elements in É. Kiss' F position while underlining indicates Focus interpretation for all subsequent examples)

- 1a. Tegnap Péter BENT maradt a Könyvtárban
Yesterday Peter inside remained the library-IN
'Yesterday Peter remained in the library'

b. Péter tegnap BENT maradt a könyvtárban
Peter yesterday

c.*Tegnap a könyvtárban Péter BENT maradt
yesterday the library-IN Peter inside remained

d. Tegnap a könyvtárban Péter BENT maradt
yesterday the library-IN Peter inside remained
"Peter really remained in the library yesterday"

In sentences 1a and b we see that T can be filled by ADJs in any order. In contrast, the unacceptability of 1c is as striking as the acceptability of 1d. It has been, independently, argued elsewhere that a constituent such as a könyvtárban here is best regarded as a selected function of the V as this is understood in the theory of Lexical Functional Grammar. (cf. Aclerian 1984) The difference in acceptability between 1a/b vs. 1c/d, then, could be interpreted as following along the lines of ADJ vs. selected function of the V. On such an interpretation, the inadmissibility of 1c is connected with the inability of selected functions (excepting SUBJs) to appear in T in sentences without Focus interpretation.

Earlier we saw that if Vs can bear Focus interpretation it is unclear how they receive it since É. Kiss limits Focus interpretation to Focus position and Vs cannot appear there. With the so-called 'unmarked' sentences represented by 2,3,4,5,6 in Table 1 and 1a and b we see the reverse problem entailed by the assumption that F position is associated with Focus interpretation: these sentences have elements in Focus position or an empty F position (cf. 6) and yet there is no Focus interpretation assignable at all.

To sum up the consequences of these two exceptions to the relation between Focus position and Focus interpretation we find the following: Focus interpretation is not limited to Focus position (e.g. the case of Focused Vs) while Focus position does not necessarily entail Focus interpretation (e.g. the case of 'unmarked' sentences with constituents in V). Finally, there are certain sentences where F is entirely empty (cf. 6) which can be either 'unmarked' or 'marked' so that the role of F in such sentences is hard to determine.

So far we have concentrated, essentially, on the F position and its interaction with Focus interpretation. This position is hypothesized as a landing site for movement. Unlike standard landing sites, however, (e.g. COMP) we have witnessed no independent syntactic justification for the postulation of this position. We have simply seen that if we stipulate a Focus position and assume a Focus movement rule, the moved constituent has a place to go. We have accepted É. Kiss' stipulation that some single constituent can be moved into F position. We have, also, simply accepted the assumption that such a position is, indeed, a syntactic position. However, we have yet to see a syntactic rule that crucially refers to this position. On É. Kiss' analysis there is a single syntactic phenomenon which finds explanatory

treatment by appealing to an F position. This phenomenon is referred to as 'sentence-intertwining' in the traditional literature. This term, generally, covers all instances where constituents from an embedded sentence appear in the matrix sentence. This phenomenon is licensed by only certain matrix predicates. For present purposes, I will only investigate those instances of this phenomenon which can be interpreted as involving Focused constituents. Consider the following as an example of a Focused intertwining sentence:

2. János MÁRIÁI akarja, hogy MEG hívjuk
John Mari-ACC wants that pfx-invite
'It's Mary that John wants us to invite'

In sentence 2 the focused constituent MÁRIÁI is the OBJ of the embedded sentence although it, allegedly, occupies the F position in the matrix clause.

É. Kiss (in press) devotes considerable attention to the analysis of this phenomenon. She argues that any number of embedded constituents can be moved up into the F positions of embedding sentences as long as such movement respects the condition that all Fs are exhaustively filled by, at most, a single constituent. As can be seen from sentence 2, the movement of some constituent from an embedded clause is not precluded by the fact that the F position might be filled in the source clause. Recall that on É. Kiss' account the verbal prefix e.g. meg is moved into F position as a function of applying F-movement. Actually, the previous description represents somewhat of an oversimplification: the moved constituent can pass through an unlimited number of embedded clauses containing Fs filled with local constituents. É. Kiss concentrates on working out the technical details for this aspect of intertwining which she refers to as Focus raising. She proposes two sorts of movement, namely, clause-to-clause movement and long distance movement and attempts to delimit the empirical domain for each.

In the remainder of this paper I will focus on the empirical facts of Hungarian which É. Kiss' theoretical treatment is supposed to account for.

First of all, É. Kiss asserts that certain instances of intertwining contain multiple cases of Focused elements distributed throughout the embedding clauses of the sentence:

3. János MÁRIÁHOZ mondta, hogy EGY LÖNYVET ígért meg hogy EL visz
John Mary-ALL said that a book-ACC promised pfx: that pfx:take
'John said that he promised to take A BOOK to MARY'

If such sentences are acceptable in Hungarian at all - and there is reason to believe that they are highly suspect - their acceptability appears to depend on their interpretation as being corrective sentences. By this I intend that such sentences are not instances of multiple focus but rather of corrections directed at misheard or misunderstood previous utterances. If such intertwined sentences do exist they correspond to unexceptionable non-intertwined sentences of the following sort:

4. János AZI mondta, hogy AZI ígérte meg, hogy MÁRIÁHOZ visz el EGY
John it-ACC said that it-ACC promised pfx that Mary-ALL take a

LÖNYVET
book-ACC

It should be observed that even if such a sentence as e.g. 4 served as the source for the questionable sentence in 3 that we are still faced with a problem: É. Kiss' rules do not generate single clauses with multiple foci such as found in the lowest embedding in 4. However, as mentioned earlier, we will not investigate corrective sentence types.

Among the non-corrective sentence types focus raising can only effect a single constituent. Even in these sentences there are interesting restrictions. (cf. Kenesei 1980 for similar observations) First of all, with most so-called bridge verbs (i.e. verbs which permit intertwining) verbal prefixes are not able to be raised:

5. *Péter LE mondta hogy ül
Peter down said that sits
'It's down Peter said he'd sit'

Second, in the event that a constituent is moved into an embedding clause the F position in any interceding clause (including the source clause for movement) can be filled only by a VM (where this includes verbal prefixes). In addition, the VMs which occupy F in this instance receive neutral interpretation i.e. they are not interpretable as being Focused. Consider the following sentence in this connection:

6. János FÉTERHEZ mondta hogy EL viszi a könyvet
John Peter-ALL said that pfx-take the book-ACC
'John said that it's Peter whom he'll take the book to'

There is an exception to the claim that VMs cannot be moved out of their own clauses. This concerns a sub-class of bridge verbs which É. Kiss calls 'modal' verbs. Relying on the fine descriptive analysis of Fálmán et al. (1983) I will refer to these elements as auxiliaries. This class contains such predicates as akar 'want', szeretne 'would like', kell 'must' etc. Contrary to all other instances of so-called Focus raising the VMs raised in such constructions need not receive Focus interpretation. Consider the following sentences:

7a. János EL kell, hogy menjen
John away must that go-3sg/SUBJUNCTIVE
'John must leave'

- b. János FÁT kell, hogy vágjon
John tree-ACC must that cut-3sg/SUBJUNCTIVE
'John must cut the tree'

An important thing to observe about sentences 7a and b is that they represent a convergence of the 'unmarked' and 'marked' sequences of these constituents: the different interpretations are differentiable as a function of stress.

There are certain facts which seem to suggest that we may not be dealing with focus raising here. In particular, the subclass of verbs which is exceptional with respect to Focus raising is identical to the class of verbs which are interposed between VMs and their infinitival stems in unmarked variants of infinitival constructions:

- 8a. Jánosna! EL kell mennie
John-DAT away must go-INF-3sg
'John has to go away'
- b. Jánosna! FÁT kell vágnia
John-DAT tree-ACC must cut-INF-3sg
'John has to wood-cut'

In 8a. and b. we see examples of the auxiliary verb kell co-occurring with its infinitival argument. Elsewhere (Fomlósy & Acterman 1983) it has been argued that the relevant infinitives here are elmenni and fát-vágni. Accordingly, auxiliaries appear 'surrounded' by the components of complex infinitives in neutral/unmarked sentences.

Auxiliaries whether they appear in constructions such as those in 7 or 8 require PROP(ositional) thematic arguments. Such arguments can appear either as INF(initives) or as clauses with tense/mood. (In LFG, the PROP argument would function as either XCOMP or SCOMP, respectively.) A characteristic feature of these auxiliaries is that, in neutral/unmarked constructions, the VM of either the INF or the finite subordinate verb appears immediately before them. There is one peculiar restriction concerning the 'raising' of VMs from subordinate clauses embedded under auxiliaries: the VM can only be 'raised' when, in É. Kiss terminology, the T position of the subordinate clause is empty. Consider the following sentence:

9. *János EL kell, hogy holnap menjen
John away must that tomorrow go-3sg/SUBJUNCTIVE

In 9, the subordinate clause contains a constituent in T, namely, holnap. It is possible to attribute the unacceptability of 9 to the presence of a filled T since in 10 we see that a similar sentence is admissible when T is empty:

10. János holnap EL kell, hogy menjen
John tomorrow away must, that go-3sg/SUBJUNCTIVE
'Tomorrow John must go away'

The reader has surely wondered why János precedes the VM in sentences 7, 9 and 10. Moreover, He has probably also wondered why holnap appears before the VM in 10. It appears that both János and holnap appear in the T position of the matrix predicate. Earlier we observed that constituents in T can appear in any order without affecting the meaning of the sentence. Observe that this holds true for the constituents János and holnap:

11. Holnap János EL kell, hogy menjen
tomorrow John away must that go-3sg/SUBJUNCTIVE

On É. Kiss' terms the presence of these constituents in the matrix clause reflects a different aspect of intertwining, namely, Topic raising. As already mentioned, I will not investigate this phenomenon. On the other hand, I must mention some peculiarities of Topic raising in its interaction with auxiliaries and the alleged Focus raising of VMs.

Obviously one needs to explain the difference in acceptability between 9 vs. 10 and 11. Descriptively, it appears to be the case that when VMs are 'raised' all constituents in T must also be 'raised'. This is clearly a peculiar stipulation. First of all, this does not occur with any other sorts of matrix predicates. Secondly, Topic raising does not, ordinarily, depend on Focus raising: in all other instances they are entirely separate phenomena. Thirdly, the stipulation of obligatory Topic raising (for all constituents in T) is only in effect, even with auxiliaries, when VMs are 'raised'. With respect to this latter point consider a sentence where a constituent remains in T while some constituent other than VM is Focus 'raised',

- 12a. JÁNOS kell, hogy holnap EL menjen
John must that tomorrow away go-3sg/SUBJUNCTIVE
'It's John who must go tomorrow'

- b. HOLNAP kell, hogy János EL menjen
tomorrow must that John away go-3sg/SUBJUNCTIVE
'It's tomorrow that John must go away'

As expected, both János and holnap receive Focus interpretation here, in contrast, to the VM in 7, 10 and 11.

I believe that the differences we have observed here between the behavior of VMs vs. other constituents entitles one to hypothesize that examples such as 7 do not represent the same phenomenon as that found in e.g. 12.

In summary, we have seen some instances where Focus interpretation and Focus position do not appear to be in one to correspondence with each other. In particular, VMs were seen to be elements which allegedly appear within F but do not necessarily receive Focus interpretation. This contrasted with other cons-

stituents which obligatorily receive Focus interpretation when in F. In addition we have seen that the single syntactic rule which refers to F position encounters difficulties both syntactically and interpretively, precisely, when we are dealing with VMs vs. other constituents. The interpretation which VMs receive in so-called intertwining constructions parallels their interpretation in simple sentences while the interpretation received by other constituents, similarly, parallels the interpretation they receive in simple sentences.

In conclusion, É. Kiss' Focus position and Focus rule lump together constituents which to all appearances seem to represent quite distinct categories. Although the postulation of both the position and the rule that gets constituents there is admirably simple the complications entailed by such simplicity keep pointing in the same direction: two different phenomena have been treated as one and they resist being treated this way. VMs appear to be different from other constituents and we need a theory which respects this difference.

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