

REMARKS ON THE CONFIGURATIONALITY-ISSUE

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One of the major typological distinctions traditionally drawn between languages is the distinction between "fixed-word-order" languages vs. "free-word-order" languages. In the generative literature of recent years, there has been increasing interest in trying to incorporate this observational dichotomy into the theory of grammar. More specifically, based on studies of some "free-word-order" languages such as Warlpiri and Japanese, a cluster of properties was identified which seemed to go together with freedom of constituent order (such as the use of discontinuous expressions, free "pronoun drop", lack of (overt) pleonastic elements -- such as it, il, there --, etc.), and various proposals have been put forward attempting to identify some parameter within UG that might be the source of the superficial contrast observed between the above language-type and languages such as English (see e.g. Hale (1979; 1980; 1982), Farmer (1980)). The traditional device of "scrambling" rules applying in the PF-component has been argued to be inadequate to account for "free-word-order" phenomena (cf. Hale (1982), Huang (1982, Ch. 3)). This left the assumption that in some sense, the relevant distinction has to do with a difference in the phrase structure configurations utilized by these two language-types. In this way, there emerged the current terminology classifying languages into "configurational" and "non-configurational" types, the former referring to languages with a rich, multileveled hierarchical phrase structure, such as English, and the latter referring to languages with a "flat", hierarchically undifferentiated phrase structure, the canonical example of which is the case of Warlpiri. This descriptive, typological distinction between configurational vs. non-configurational languages immediately raises a number of important issues.

The most basic one, of course, is whether the set of phenomena pointed out e.g. in Hale (1982) as characteristic of "non-configurational" languages indeed constitute a cluster that should be attributed to a single parameter of UG; in other words, whether there is sufficient empirical justification to try to postulate a unitary "configurationality-parameter" to underlie some set of superficial phenomena observed in the couple of "free-word-order" languages studied from this point of view. (A parallel question has been raised, and answered negatively with respect to the "Pro-Drop Parameter" by Safir (1982), which in earlier versions of the GB-theory subsumed both the property of "missing subjects" and the phenomenon of free subject postposing.) The answer to the above question is by no means trivial, since the properties under discussion occur also independently of one another, in a variety of language-types. Just to give one concrete example, Chinese, as discussed in Huang (1982), exhibits extensive "free pronoun drop", as well as absence of standard subject-object asymmetries (i.e. lack of standard ECP-effects) -- both of which properties are supposed to be characteristics of "non-configurational" languages, yet this language is convincingly argued to have a fixed SVO-type configurational clause-structure (for further details, cf. Huang (1982)). In fact, Hale himself points out that "... languages of all sorts, configurational and non-configurational alike, often display some subset of these characteristics" (Hale (1982, p.87)). In spite of this open issue however, the idea of a single "configurationality"-parameter is an attractive one from the point of view of explanatory adequacy, and has some intuitive appeal, at least when we consider the extreme cases such as English vs. Warlpiri. So, for purposes of the present discussion, I will accept the position that UG indeed contains a unitary parameter that derives (some of) the contrasts observed between the "configurational" and the "non-configurational" language-types.

The next question arising at this point has to do with the exact nature of the "configurationality-parameter", and with its "location" within UG. A number of relevant proposals have been made in recent years to account for this dichotomy,

such as for instance the presence vs. absence of a phrase-structure rule component in particular grammars (Hale (1979)), the hypothesis that the base component of non-configurational languages -- in contrast to that of configurational ones -- is category-neutral (Farmer (1980)), the postulation of a difference in the definition of the notion of government in the two language-types (Huang (1982)), or a current suggestion based on a relaxation of Chomsky's (1981) Projection Principle (Hale (1983)).

A third type of related problem involves the formation of a hypothesis as to whether a specific language is configurational or non-configurational, more precisely, the question of how the value of the "configurationality"-parameter of UG is fixed on the basis of the actually available data. This latter problem might seem, at first glance, trivial, at least in the case of languages exhibiting superficially free ordering between subjects and objects, or for languages with an apparently basic VSO order. Both of these cases might seem to directly imply a "flat", non-configurational phrase structure. But the situation in fact turns out to be far from that simple. There is quite substantial empirical evidence indicating that the "free-constituent-order" Japanese, in fact, has a VP, and consequently, a configurational (SOV-type) phrase structure (for specific arguments, cf. e.g. Haiğ (1980), Saito and Hoji (1982), Saito (1983)). Similarly, even languages traditionally analyzed as having a VSO base -- such as Arabic or Irish -- seem to manifest phenomena (cf. Kayne (1983, fn. 16)) suggesting that their VSO order is derived, by V-preposing, rather than basic, and that they too have a VP, as implied by Emonds' (1980) theory of "word order". So the issue of setting the "configurationality"-parameter (if there is such at all) remains an interesting problem to investigate.

In the present paper, I will adopt one particular well-articulated proposal for capturing the "configurationality"-distinction within UG, namely that presented in Hale (1982), and explore its consequences with respect to the

grammar of Hungarian, hoping to shed some light on the above issue.

1. The Configurationality of Hungarian: Two Hypotheses

Hungarian is a language that impressionistically speaking, seems to be quite close to the non-configurational end of the "scale of configurationality", however is still not as extreme in this respect as e.g. Warlpiri. Based on its most striking property, namely the fact that the order of the major constituents in Hungarian clauses is remarkably free, the language has been claimed to be non-configurational, by É. Kiss (1981), (cf. also related work adopting this model, such as Szabolcsi (to appear), and papers by É. Kiss, Komlósy (in this volume)). Beyond the freedom of constituent order observable, another, more theory-internal, type of argument for a non-configurational phrase structure is presented in É. Kiss (1982), which I will discuss later in this paper.

On the other hand, in Horvath (1981) and also Horvath (forthcoming), it is argued that Hungarian has a configurational, SVO-type, phrase structure, and the apparent "non-configurational" properties should be attributed to the interaction of several other processes/properties of the grammar. (For additional arguments to the effect that Hungarian has a VP, see also Farkas (to appear).)

Before turning to the actual discussion, first we should make precise what É. Kiss's (1981) "non-configurationality" hypothesis claims, and how it differs from the phrase structure postulated in Horvath (1981).

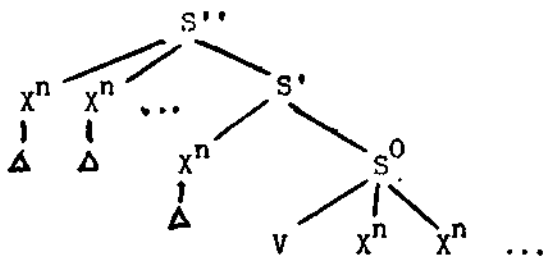
In a sense, É. Kiss's hypothesis is different from the completely "flat" phrase structure normally postulated for "non-configurational" languages; in fact, she does assume some hierarchical depth for Hungarian clauses. What she claims is that although Hungarian has some configurationality in its PS, these structural relations are exclusively used to express "communicative functions", rather than predicate-argument relations. So it is in this latter, narrower sense that Hungarian is assumed to be "non-configurational". Notice the following set of PS rules postulated for Hungarian clauses in É. Kiss (1981):

- (1) a. $S'' \rightarrow X^{n*} S'$
 b. $S' \rightarrow X^n S^0$
 c. $S^0 \rightarrow V X^{n*}$

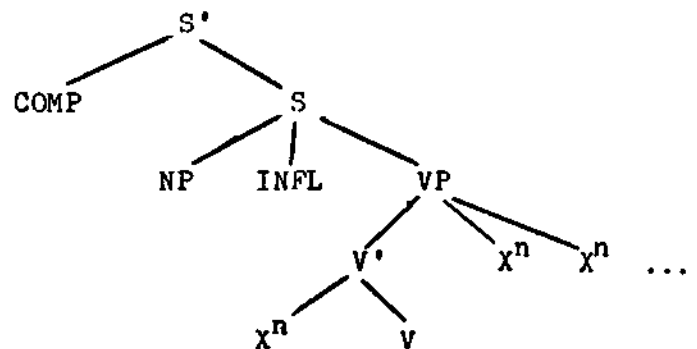
(where X^{n*} means an arbitrary number of maximal projections)

The levels of S'' and S' contain base-generated operator-positions, namely, positions that É. Kiss designates as T and F, standing for "topic" and "focus", respectively. These positions get filled, optionally, by application of the transformation 'Move α '. What is crucial for the present discussion is the rule in (1c), which makes the claim that all the argument-positions of Hungarian clauses occur in a V-initial non-configurational phrase structure. More specifically, notice that in contrast to Horvath's (1981) configurational hypothesis, within É. Kiss's model, all arguments are generated as sisters to V (at the level of S^0 , which in fact equals V' in terms of the X-bar theory), and hence GF's such as "subject" or "object" are not determined configurationally. The contrast between the two proposals is illustrated below:

(2) Based on É. Kiss (1981)



(3) Based on Horvath (1981)



Under the analysis of Horvath (1981), "Focusing" involves movement into the pre-verbal X^n node (i.e., a substitution operation by 'Move α '), and "Topicalization" involves, potentially multiple, adjunctions to the left of S .² In the present paper, we will not be concerned with the analysis of the above two processes, since they do not directly bear on the issue of configurationality. However, one point relevant in this context is that there seem to be no empi-

rical or theoretical reasons for base-generating the "topic" and "focus" positions, and for the corresponding assumption of substitution operations, within É. Kiss's model; the same processes can be accounted for by the independently needed mechanism of adjunctions.

In the following section, I will outline a specific view of the "configurationality"-parameter, based on Hale's (1982) proposal, and in subsequent sections, I will discuss its compatibility with and implications for the (non)-configurationality of Hungarian phrase structure.

2. "Configurationality" as a Parameter of X-bar Theory

According to the general perspective on configurationality presented in Hale (1982), the base component of a "non-configurational" language has two fundamental characteristics that give rise to its special properties, each corresponding to one of the basic dimensions of the X-bar theory of the categorial component. The first one has to do with the lack of hierarchical depth of X-bar structure -- hence the term "non-configurational". Specifically, Hale (1982) claims that while the grammar of the familiar "configurational" language-type makes use of the core PS rule schemata given in (4) and (5) below, the grammar of the "non-configurational" language-type contains just one single PS rule schema, generating only one-bar structures, namely, rule-schema (5).

(4) $X'' \rightarrow \dots X' \dots$

(5) $X' \rightarrow \dots X \dots$

So while in configurational languages, subjects and other specifiers occur at higher levels of projection than subcategorized complements of lexical categories do, in non-configurational languages, no such structural, i.e., hierarchical, distinction is available between specifiers and subcategorized complements.

The other property associated with the "non-configurational" language-type in Hale (1982) involves reference to the categorial features $[\pm N]$, $[\pm V]$ by

the phrase structure rule component. It has been proposed by Hale (1980) and Farmer (1980) that "non-configurational" languages, such as Japanese (under their analysis), have a category-neutral base. What this means is that the PS rules of such languages may not make use of any categorial features, and must be formulated exclusively in terms of the categorial variable X of X-bar theory.

The category-neutral base hypothesis implies that lexical insertion is necessarily context-free, since such PS rules are unable to specify categorial identity and linear order for the complements they generate. This, in turn, derives automatically the effects of "scrambling". So the hypothesis accounts for the phenomenon of free constituent order observed in "non-configurational" languages by directly base-generating all possible surface orderings.

Crucially for our following discussion, the category-neutral base hypothesis has a further interesting consequence. It implies that within a particular grammar, hierarchical structure will be constant across categories.

Hale (1982) seems to consider both lack of hierarchical depth -- i.e., absence of PS rule schema (4) -- and the property of a category-neutral base as distinctive characteristics of "non-configurational" languages, as opposed to "configurational" ones. However, there are good reasons to assume that in fact it is only the first one of these that functions as the actual parameter yielding the configurationality/non-configurationality distinction, whereas the second one, namely the category-neutral base, is a general feature of all grammars.

Notice first that the hypothesis of a category-neutral PS component represents an extremely restrictive, and hence, highly desirable, theory of the base from the point of view of explanatory adequacy, because it excludes the possibility of a wide variety of language-particular stipulations inherent in conventional PS rule formulae. An additional significant advantage of such a theory of the base is that it eliminates a conceptually problematic redundancy between PS rules

and strict subcategorization frames listed in the lexicon that was inherent in previous versions of the theory (for a discussion of this point, see Chomsky (1981), Stowell (1981)). From the point of view of descriptive adequacy, the category-neutral base hypothesis may seem, at first glance, somewhat difficult to adopt for languages such as English, which (a) appear to exhibit some cross-categorial asymmetries in terms of the internal structure of their various phrases, and (b) manifest considerable rigidity of constituent order. Yet, Stowell (1981, 1982) argues, very convincingly, that the extension of this hypothesis to "configurational" languages, like English, is not only feasible, but in fact, it leads to descriptively superior analyses in a number of areas, in addition to the significant conceptual advantages referred to above. It is shown by Stowell that the rigidity of constituent order in such languages, as well as the apparent cross-categorial asymmetries, can be accounted for in terms of independently motivated principles of UG, in particular, in terms of principles of the theories of abstract Case, and thematic role (θ -role)-assignment, and the theory of Binding of the GB framework.

So it seems reasonable to adopt the category-neutral base hypothesis as a property of UG -- following Stowell (1981, 1982) --, rather than limiting it to the grammars of "non-configurational" languages. However, it has to be noted here that no matter whether we do or do not extend this hypothesis in the way suggested, the points to be made in the following sections remain unaffected.

3. The Structure of Clauses vs. NP's in Hungarian and the Category-Neutral Base Hypothesis

In light of the above discussion of the "configurationality"-parameter and the hypothesis of a category-neutral base, let us return to the case of Hungarian phrase structure. Recall that the extreme freedom of constituent order observable at the sentential level has led É. Kiss (1981) to propose the set of PS rules

given in (1), generating structures such as (2) above.

The complement structure X^n in PS rule (1c),

and more generally, the idea of accounting for the free constituent order of "non-configurational" languages without invoking a component of "scrambling" rules -- a position implicitly adopted in É. Kiss's work -- necessarily imply that the phrase structure component of Hungarian must be assumed to be category-neutral, in the sense discussed above. Notice now that, as we pointed out before, a category-neutral base component entails that hierarchical structure will be constant across categories. (Note that with respect to the "head-initial" vs. "head-final" parameter, we leave the issue open here (on this point, cf. Horvath (1981, forthcoming).) Within this framework of assumptions, any analysis maintaining that Hungarian clauses have a non-configurational phrase structure necessarily predicts that all the other phrase-types of Hungarian will be non-configurational, as well (in the sense of the term adopted here from Hale (1982)). In other words, analyses like that of É. Kiss (1981) make the implicit claim that all phrases of the X-bar system in Hungarian will have only a single level of projection (apart from some possible peripheral operator-positions), so there will be no hierarchical distinction between specifiers and subcategorized complements of lexical categories.

However, this prediction is arguably false, in view of the case of Hungarian NP's. In a recent paper by A. Szabolcsi (to appear), it is argued, persuasively, that the category NP in Hungarian has a configurational phrase structure, in the same sense as clauses do in a language like English. Below, we will briefly summarize the major facts that have led Szabolcsi to the above claim, and then we will discuss the implications of Szabolcsi's analysis for the phrase structure to be postulated for Hungarian clauses.

The ~~con~~clusions of Szabolcsi (to appear) regarding the internal structure of Hungarian NP's are based primarily on the following observations.

- (6) a. NP's in Hungarian exhibit subject-agreement, namely, the head noun agrees in terms of inflection for person and number with the subject of the phrase. It is this INFL element containing AGR, generated within the NP, that assigns Case (in the sense of Chomsky (1981)) to the subject. Since N's are not Case-assigners, this explains the fact that no (lexical) subject-NP can appear within an NP, unless the latter contains INFL with AGR in it. The Case assigned by INFL to the subject of NP's is nominative Case.
- b. The subject of NP's -- i.e., the "possessor"-NP -- occupies a fixed position, to the left of the head noun and its subcategorized complements. No other ordering of this NP is possible.
- c. No direct movement of the subject out of the NP is possible; it can be extracted only through a peripheral non-argument position, which Szabolcsi refers to as "KOMP", located to the left of the subject-position. This KOMP node is the position where Wh-possessors must appear within the NP. (Any subject that moves into this peripheral position gets marked by the dative-marker, namely, by the agglutinated postposition -nak/nek 'to'.)

The striking parallelism between the structure of NP's in Hungarian and the structure of clauses in a "configurational" language such as English is expressed by the following set of PS rules, given in Szabolcsi (to appear).

(7) Hungarian NP's:

a. $\bar{N}P \rightarrow KOMP NP$

b. $NP \rightarrow \bar{N}P INFL \bar{N}$ where $INFL = [[_{\pm}poss], (AGR)]$

vs.

(8) English clauses:

a. $\bar{S} \rightarrow COMP S$

b. $S \rightarrow NP INFL \bar{V}$ where $INFL = [[_{\pm}tense], (AGR)]$

According to Szabolcsi's analysis, in both cases, the AGR element within INFL governs and assigns nominative Case to the subject-NP, but does not properly govern it (in the sense of Chomsky (1981)). Both S in English and NP in Hungarian have a peripheral non-argument position that serves as an "escape hatch" for movement. Based on the evidence presented in the above paper, it seems reasonable to adopt the hypothesis that NP's in Hungarian are configurational, in the same sense as English clauses are.

Recall now that (a) in order to account for the phenomenon of free constituent order without resorting to the inadequate device of scrambling rules (as well as for independent reasons discussed previously), it is crucial to assume a category-neutral base, and (b) a category-neutral base implies that in any given grammar, all category-types will have uniform hierarchical structure, i.e., either all of them will be configurational, or all of them will be non-configurational (in Hale's (1982) sense). But if this is right, and É. Kiss's non-configurational analysis of Hungarian clauses is right, then we cannot accommodate the case of the configurationality of NP's, convincingly established in Szabolcsi (to appear).

To see the problem more clearly, consider the following contrasting sets of examples:

(9) a. Mari győzött.

Mary-nom. won

'Mary won.'

b. Győzött Mari.

won Mary-nom.

vs.

(10) a. Mari győzelme

Mary-nom. victory-3sg.poss.

'Mary's victory'

b. *győzelme Mari

victory-3sg poss. Mary-nom.

- (11) a. János fél a rendőrségtől.
John-nom. fears the police-from
'John is afraid of the police.'
- b. Fél a rendőrségtől János.
fears the police-from John-nom.
- c. Fél János a rendőrségtől.
fears John-nom. the police-from

vs.

- (12) a. János félelme a rendőrségtől
John-nom. fear-3sg.poss. the police-from
'John's fear of the police'
- b. *félelme a rendőrségtől János
fear-3sg.poss. the police-from John-nom.
- c. *félelme János a rendőrségtől
fear-3sg.poss. John-nom. the police-from

The above contrasts in grammaticality between clauses and their "derived nominal" counterparts seem to represent a serious problem for a framework incorporating the category-neutral base hypothesis: the clauses apparently motivate a non-configurational hypothesis, whereas the corresponding NP's seem to require a configurational hypothesis.

We are left with the following three options to resolve the apparently paradoxical situation.³

- (a) We give up the category-neutral base hypothesis with all of its desirable consequences, and return to the account of free complement order based on "scrambling".
- (b) We claim that Szabolcsi's analysis of NP's is wrong, and argue that in fact, not only S, but also NP is a "flat", non-configurational category in Hungarian.
- (c) We argue that not only NP's, but also clauses have a configurational

phrase structure in Hungarian, contrary to the claim of É. Kiss (1981) and related work.

Alternative (a) is undesirable on both theoretical and empirical grounds. (Cf. our preceding discussion of the advantages of the category-neutral base hypothesis, and references cited there.) Alternatives (b) and (c) involve no theoretical problem, so a priori, either of them could be adopted. However, given the discussion of Szabolcsi (to appear) and the phenomena pointed out above in connection with it, alternative (b) does not seem viable, since there appear to be no general, independently motivated processes and/or principles available in UG that could plausibly "create" properties characteristic of a configurational phrase structure in a phrase-type that actually is non-configurational at the level of D-structure, i.e., whose phrase structure has only a single level of projection. In other words, there are no non-ad hoc mechanisms that could be assumed to make the allegedly non-configurational NP of Hungarian behave as if it was a configurational category. So the only way to account for the "configurational" characteristics of NP's (such as demonstrated by the examples in (10) and (12)) is to assume that they actually have a configurational phrase structure -- as claimed by Szabolcsi (to appear).

These considerations leave us with the last alternative mentioned above, namely, (c), which maintains that all phrase-types in Hungarian, i.e., crucially, clauses too, have a configurational phrase structure. What this choice implies, of course, is that the phenomena associated with Hungarian clauses that appear to be characteristics of a non-configurational phrase structure will have to be accounted for in ways other than by the postulation of a non-configurational phrase structure for S. In Horvath (1981), and in Horvath (forthcoming), I have argued that this is not only feasible, but in fact, the analysis we are led to also ~~turns~~ turns out to have some independent empirical advantages over theories positing a non-configurational phrase structure for Hungarian clauses. The arguments favoring the hypothesis of a configurational, SVO-type phrase structure presented in the

above works have to do with phenomena such as differences in the discourse function/interpretation of various non-V-initial clauses, the distribution of S-adverbs, a difference between preverbal subjects and preverbal non-subjects with respect to "weak crossover", and cases of "quantifier float". It seems quite remarkable that these purely clause-internal empirical phenomena converge precisely on the conclusion that we reached in the present paper on completely independent grounds, namely based on the category-neutral base hypothesis of UG, Hale's (1982) conception of the configurationality-parameter, and the consideration of the internal structure of NP's in Hungarian.

return

Now let us to the issue of how to actually account for the phenomena that at first glance, appear to suggest a non-configurational structure for Hungarian clauses, without appeal to "non-configurationality". The most prominent characteristic of the language that has motivated analyses postulating a non-configurational phrase structure for S is the fact, pointed out before, that virtually any ordering among the major constituents of a clause gives a well-formed sentence. This striking freedom of constituent order, however, need not necessarily be attributed to a non-configurational clause structure. As I have argued elsewhere (cf. Horvath (1981, forthcoming)), UG contains several, independently motivated, rules and principles the interaction of which can yield the phenomena observed in Hungarian clauses within a configurational analysis, and without resorting to the arguably inadequate device of "scrambling". Here I will mention the two central processes creating the impression of "free constituent order" in the configurational, SVO-type clauses, both being instances of the core transformational rule 'Move α '. The first one of these is the process of free subject postposing, familiar from analyses of the Romance "pro-drop" languages such as Italian and Spanish (cf. Chomsky (1981) and references therein). I am assuming that the process of (Chomsky)-adjunction to the right of VP postulated for these languages applies also in the grammar of Hungarian. The possibility of the

occurrence of subject-NP's in post-verbal but non-VP-final positions is automatically given by the maximally general formulation of this adjunction rule, as an instance of the 'Move α ' schema, since this way it will apply not only to subjects, but to any phrasal category, thus yielding, by multiple applications, the full range of orders observable among arguments in post-verbal position. The second process relevant in this context is "Topicalization", which I propose to analyze as potentially multiple (Chomsky)-adjunction of any major category to the left of S. (Notice that subject-NP's, just like any other argument, may undergo this rule.⁴) Recall that a movement process achieving exactly this is needed in any case within \acute{E} . Kiss's non-configurational hypothesis, too. Our proposal accounts for the possible occurrence of any number of arguments (in any order) to the left of V within Hungarian clauses.

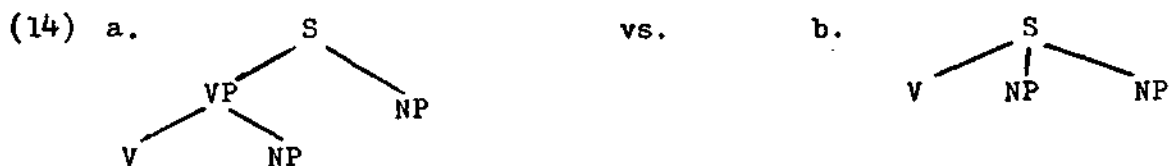
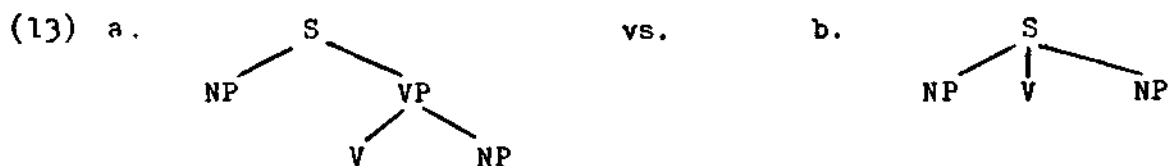
Before turning to the discussion of another type of phenomenon cited sometimes as evidence in favor of a non-configurational clause structure, we have to note an immediate advantage of the claim that S's as well as NP's have a configurational phrase structure that we have not pointed out before. As mentioned also in Szabolcsi (to appear), there is some obvious parallelism between NP's and S's within Hungarian; namely, (a) both the subject of NP's and the subject of S's have a morphologically \emptyset Case-marking, and (b) both NP and S exhibit inflection for person/number of their subject, with a substantial overlap between the forms of AGR within NP's and within S's. Under the view that S as well as NP are configurational categories, this state of affairs would follow automatically. In both categories, the AGR element within INFL would be assumed to assign the morphologically null nominative Case to the subject-NP under the structural condition of government. But under a hypothesis postulating a configurational phrase structure for NP (cf. Szabolcsi's rules given in (7)), and a "flat", non-configurational V-initial structure for S (cf. \acute{E} . Kiss's rule in (1c), adopted also by Szabolcsi (to appear)), the morphological parallelisms between S's and

NP's pointed out above would have to be considered accidental. In particular, adopting the claim of Hale (1982) that the notion government is inoperative in non-configurational categories, there is no reason to expect the subject-NP of clauses to exhibit Case-marking identical to that assigned to the subject-position of NP's by the governing INFL element.

4. Subject-Object (A)Symmetries: A Potential Test of Configurationality

The effects of the ECP (cf. Chomsky (1981) and related work), in particular, a variety of "subject-object asymmetries", seem at first glance to provide the perfect test for configurationality (at least in the case of clauses). The reason is that a configurational subject-position within S is governed only by the AGR element in INFL, which is not a proper governor (in the sense of Chomsky (1981)). In contrast, in a "flat", non-configurational clause structure, such as the one postulated by É. Kiss for Hungarian, all argument positions -- including the subject-position -- will be properly governed (by V), hence it is predicted that the ECP will be satisfied both in the case of subject and in the case of non-subject arguments. It is this type of evidence that is drawn upon in É. Kiss (1982) to support her non-configurationality hypothesis for Hungarian clauses, and argue against a configurational analysis.⁵ An (alleged) argument based on the ECP against Horvath's (1981) analysis has been proposed also in Szabolcsi (to appear), which will be discussed in the present section.

What we will show below is that although ECP-effects do indeed choose between some configurational and non-configurational hypotheses, in the particular case at hand, namely É. Kiss's (1981) analysis vs. Horvath's (1981) analysis, the ECP cannot provide a test, i.e., ECP-effects do not distinguish between the two hypotheses. Standard ECP effects (i.e., subject-object asymmetries) can in fact be used to choose between alternative structures such as e.g. the ones below.



However, the two hypotheses about Hungarian are more complex from the point of view of applying the above type of configurationality test. In order to have a concrete case to demonstrate our claim on, consider the following sets of data relevant for such a test.⁶

- (15) a. ?Nem k¹értem, hogy hozz semmit a f²őnöknek.
 neg. asked-1sg. that bring-subjunct.2sg. nothing-acc. the boss-for
 ("for no x, I asked that you bring x for the boss")
- b. ?Nem k¹értem, hogy beszéljen senki a f²őnökkel.
 neg. asked-1sg. that talk-subjunct.3sg. nobody-nom. the boss-with
 ("for no x, I asked that x talk to the boss")
- (16) a. *Nem k¹értem, hogy semmit hozz a f²őnöknek.
 neg. asked-1sg. that nothing-acc. bring-subjunct.2sg. the boss-for
 ("for no x, I asked that you bring x for the boss")
- b. *Nem k¹értem, hogy senki beszéljen a f²őnökkel.
 neg. asked-1sg. that nobody-nom. talk-subjunct.3sg. the boss-with
 ("for no x, I asked that x talk to the boss")

The phenomenon demonstrated by the above data is essentially parallel to that discussed first by Kayne (1979) with respect to French. Such data can be accounted for under the assumption that the LF-rule moving the negated argument to the clause which is marked by the negative particle acting as a "scope-marker" leaves behind a variable that is subject to the ECP (applying at LF). The fact

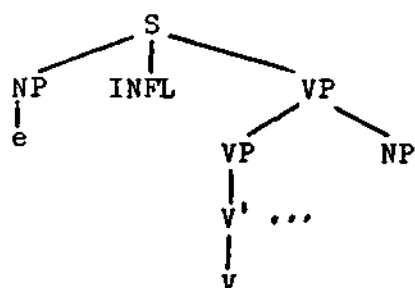
that the negative particle indeed acts as a scope indicator for negation and the fact that examples (16) are ungrammatical not due to some prohibition in Hungarian against the occurrence of negated arguments to the left of the verb are both shown by the grammaticality of examples (17) below, having exclusively a narrow scope interpretation.

- (17) a. Kértem, hogy semmit ne hozz a főnöknek.
asked-1sg. that nothing-acc. neg.(imp.) bring-subjunct.2sg. the boss-for
("I asked that for no x, you bring x for the boss")
- b. Kértem, hogy senki ne beszéljen a főnökkel.
asked-1sg. that nobody-nom. neg.(imp.) talk-subjunct.3sg. the boss-with
("I asked that for no x, x talk to the boss")

Adopting the analysis for negation sketched above (based on Kayne (1979) and Chomsky (1981)), let us examine now how the pattern of wide scope interpretations shown in (15) and (16) can be accounted for within the two alternative theories regarding the phrase structure of Hungarian. The grammaticality of sentences (15a) and (15b) might, at first glance, seem to support É. Kiss's non-configurational analysis vs. a configurational one, since we see that LF-movement is possible, without resulting in an ECP violation, no matter whether the moved argument is a subject, as in (15b), or a non-subject, as in (15a). Indeed, É. Kiss's analysis can correctly predict the possibility of such movement, since in both cases the post-verbalempy category left behind will be properly governed by V (see structure (2) in section 1 above), so the ECP is satisfied. The minimally contrasting ungrammatical sentences (16a,b) can also be accommodated under É. Kiss's hypothesis, provided that we assume that her S^0 category is a maximal projection, hence a barrier to government. If so, the empty categories resulting from the LF-movement of phrases to the left of V (being outside of this maximal projection) cannot be properly governed by V, and consequently, sentences (16a) as well as (16b) violate the ECP. But what is crucial to notice here is that the same set of data is perfectly

consistent with the particular configurational analysis presented in Horvath (1981), too. First of all, the contrast between the grammaticality of (15a) and the ungrammaticality of (16a) follows in this framework in exactly the same way as it does under É. Kiss's hypothesis. More interestingly, the cases involving a subject-argument, i.e., the grammaticality of (15b) vs. the ungrammaticality of (16b), are accounted for under our configurational hypothesis in the following way. Recall that our configurational SVO-type analysis derives clauses with post-verbal subjects by means of an instance of the transformation 'Move α ' adjoining any phrasal category to the right of the VP. Schematically, the derived structures look like the following:

(18)



Given Chomsky's (1981) definition of government -- and hence proper government, the VP-adjoined position of postposed subjects in "pro-drop" languages is properly governed ^{by V,} and consequently an empty category in this position satisfies the ECP. This choice has originally been motivated by the case of Italian, in particular, ^{by} evidence presented in Rizzi (1980) which makes it clear that empty categories in the position of postposed subjects should not be ruled out by the ECP. Thus, in Hungarian too, the VP-adjoined position of postposed subjects -- shown in (18) -- is properly governed by V. Notice that the empty category in the pre-verbal subject position in diagram (18) need not be properly governed, since following Chomsky's (1982) analysis, it is considered a pure pronominal, namely "pro", which does not fall under the ECP.

So in light of the above discussion, it becomes clear that sentences such as (15b) do not violate the ECP under our configurational SVO hypothesis either, and are correctly predicted to be grammatical. The ungrammaticality of (16b) also follows straightforwardly within our analysis, since the pre-verbal subject position is governed only by INFL, which is not a proper governor, and therefore the variable left by LF-movement in this position is ruled out by the ECP.

A specific argument of the kind discussed above, namely, one based on the absence of some ECP-induced subject-object asymmetry in Hungarian, is proposed in Szabolcsi (to appear). The paper provides an analysis for the extraction of possessive NP's from noun phrases, involving movement through the $\bar{N}P$ -internal "KOMP" position referred to in section 3 above. Thus, consider the following examples corresponding to Szabolcsi's (to appear) example (14) and (17), respectively.

(19) Ki-nek_i ismer-té-tek [$\bar{N}P$ t_i [NP a t_i vendég-e- ϕ -t]] ?
 who-dat know-past-2pl the guest-poss-3sg-acc
 'Whose guest did you know?'

(20) Ki-nek_i alsz-ik [$\bar{N}P$ t_i [NP a t_i vendég-e- ϕ - ϕ]] ?
 who-dat sleep-3sg the guest-poss-3sg-nom
 'Whose guest sleeps?'

Regarding the issue of the proper government of the trace in KOMP, Szabolcsi points out that we find no subject-object asymmetry in this case, as demonstrated by (19) and (20), and proceeds to interpret this observation as an argument in favor of a non-configurational phrase structure for Hungarian clauses, i.e., as evidence against a configurational hypothesis. Specifically, she notes that this state of affairs is "... expected under the non-configurational hypothesis in É. Kiss (1981): in [$_S$ V X^{max} *] the subject is as properly governed by V as the object ..., and hence movement out of the KOMP

of the subject should be no problem". So far, this is obviously correct.

However, Szabolcsi goes on to make the following questionable claim: "... (17) [i.e., our example (20), J.H] is a nuisance to the theory according to which the subject in Hungarian has a distinguished INFL-governed position as in English".

The problem with this alleged counter-argument to a configurational theory is that it holds only with respect to a hypothesis postulating a VOS-type configurational structure shown below:



If that were our hypothesis for Hungarian, then we would indeed face a problem, given the grammaticality of sentences like (20). But, as far as I know, no one has proposed such a structure for Hungarian. The crucial point to notice is that the particular configurational hypothesis developed in Horvath (1981, forthcoming), namely, one with a pre-verbal INFL-governed D-structure subject position, and with the option of a transformationally derived post-verbal VP-adjoined subject position (as in diagram (18)), can predict the grammaticality of sentences such as (20) just as well as a non-configurational hypothesis can. As in the case of wide scope negation of post-verbal subjects, the reason here is that the subject adjoined to the right of VP is properly governed by V. Therefore, the trace in the KOMP of this \bar{NP} -- which presumably is assumed by Szabolcsi to be the head of \bar{NP} -- in fact satisfies the ECP the same way as a trace would within the KOMP of a non-subject argument.

In sum, what we can conclude from the discussion in the above section is that ECP-induced subject-object asymmetries -- or rather the lack of those -- actually fail to provide evidence against our configurational SVO-base hypothesis for Hungarian.

5. Configurational "Free-Word-Order" Languages and the Problem of Acquisition

At the outset, we have raised the issue of how the value of the "configurationality"-parameter gets fixed in the course of language acquisition. Referring to some recent work on Japanese, we pointed out that "free constituent order" -- i.e. say, the interchangeability of subject and object-NP's in linear order -- in itself, apparently, does not act as an automatic "trigger" for the child to hypothesize a non-configurational phrase structure. The conclusion we have reached in the present paper, and argued for on independent empirical grounds in earlier work (cf. Horvath (1981, forthcoming)), with respect to the phrase structure of Hungarian strengthens the claim that freedom of constituent order should not lead automatically to the postulation of a non-configurational phrase structure. Specifically, the case of "free-constituent-order" languages like Japanese -- if the evidence of studies such as Haig (1980), Saito (1983), and Saito and Hoji (1983) is valid -- and Hungarian show that such languages too may have a configurational phrase structure. This immediately raises a legitimate question with respect to the task of acquisition. If "free-word-order" configurational languages may exist, how does the language learner know whether to postulate a configurational or a non-configurational phrase structure for the particular free-constituent-order language he/she is exposed to? To put it slightly differently, the question is what leads the child to hypothesize a configurational phrase structure rather than a non-configurational one in spite of the striking freedom of constituent order that he/she encounters in languages like those referred to above. Notice that the subtle and complex data that linguists base their arguments on with respect to configurationality of phrase structure, such as e.g. certain restrictions on "quantifier float", or some asymmetries with respect to weak crossover (cf. references above), can hardly be assumed to serve as "triggers" for setting the configurationality-parameter;

fact, it is highly implausible that such phenomena are represented at all in the data available to the child. I have no general answer to this question, and actually, there might not be one at all; i.e., it is quite possible that individual languages "reveal" their configurational nature in different ways. However, our previous discussion does give us a clue as to how the value of this parameter might be fixed in the particular case of Hungarian.

Let us assume that "free constituent order" -- specifically, free ordering between subject and object-NP's -- in fact leads the child to the initial hypothesis of a non-configurational phrase structure. If nothing "turns up" in the course of acquisition that contradicts this choice, the grammar acquired will be non-configurational. But in the case of Hungarian, some facts turn up that are inconsistent with this non-configurational base hypothesis (given particular properties of UG), and hence the child is forced to revise his/her grammar, namely, to change the value of the parameter, and end up with a configurational phrase structure. More specifically, recall our discussion (in section 3) of the rigid subject-initial, transparently configurational structure of NP's in the language. Once the internal structure of this category is acquired by the child, a paradoxical situation arises. UG permits only a category-neutral base, which implies uniformity of phrase structure across categories, so a grammar with a non-configurational S and a configurational NP -- in the sense of Hale (1982) -- is a priori ruled out. Consequently, a revision becomes necessary: either the category NP has to be assigned a non-configurational phrase structure, and its superficial apparently "configurational" characteristics have to be derived in some other way, or S has to be reanalyzed as a configurational category with a phrase structure parallel to that of NP, and its superficial "non-configurational" characteristics -- most prominently, its free constituent order -- must be assumed to be derived. The first option could be chosen by the child only if UG provided some processes/principles that could yield the impression of a

configurational structure in NP's even though they actually are a non-configurational category. However, as we noted earlier, no such processes seem to be made available by UG. This makes the acquisition task easier in the sense that there is only one option left to resolve the paradox, namely, the revision of the primary analysis of clauses. In this latter case, UG clearly provides the means for an alternative configurational analysis for the child, since the property of "free constituent order" -- which led to the non-configurational hypothesis in the first place -- can in fact be derived by independently existing processes of UG, primarily by the transformation 'Move α ' (cf. end of section 3 above for details).

Thus, the case of Hungarian seems to provide an instance of a plausible scenario for how a "free-constituent-order" language can be assigned a configurational phrase structure in the course of language acquisition, which in turn can explain the availability of more subtle phenomena in the language indicative of such a structure (as those pointed out in Horvath (1981, forthcoming)).

NOTES

¹Due to limitations of space and time, I have omitted in this paper the second part of my presentation given at the 6th GRONINGEN GRAMMAR TALKS. This latter part of my talk dealt with the logically independent topic of the incorporation of certain structural restrictions on FOCUS-interpretation in Hungarian into the restrictive framework of the GB-theory, and with the development of a "FOCUS-parameter" for UG, specifying two alternative options for the status of the feature "FOCUS" in particular grammars. (For a detailed discussion of this issue, cf. Horvath (1981, forthcoming).)

²Notice that under this analysis of "Topicalization", involving Chomsky-adjunctions, the moved phrases are not sisters to one another in the derived structure, unlike under É. Kiss's proposal (cf. structure (2) in the text). This difference has some empirical consequences, e.g., with respect to the relative scope of topic-phrases. In particular, the adjunction analysis seems to be empirically superior in this respect, since it is able to correctly specify the asymmetrical scope relations among topicalized phrases in the usual way, namely, in terms of c-command domains. Motivation for the existence and position of the pre-verbal X^n node in (3) is provided in Horvath (1981). Finally, it has to be noted that even if analyzing the process of "Focusing" as substitution into this pre-V node turned out to be incorrect, this would not affect the arguments/conclusions reached in the present paper.

³In fact, there is a fourth option, which we eliminated by assumption at the outset. Namely, the paradoxical state of affairs might not arise if we chose a different type of "configurationality"-parameter, specifically, one that does not imply a hierarchical difference between "configurational" and "non-configurational" categories induced by the base component.

⁴I am aware of no evidence from Hungarian as to whether "topicalization" of subject-NP's is possible also directly from the pre-verbal subject position, or only from the VP-adjoined position, where the empty category left by it would clearly satisfy the ECP (cf. Chomsky (1981) on the latter notion). In the case of Wh-movement in Italian, only the second option is available, as argued by Rizzi (1980). However, whatever the answer to this question is in Hungarian, the relevant sentences, namely sentences with "topicalized" subjects, can be generated under our assumptions.

⁵Unfortunately, É. Kiss (1982), which is an unpublished manuscript at this point, has not been made available to me, so I have only indirect, and informal, information as to the type of arguments presented in it, through remarks and references appearing in other works, and through personal communication.

⁶Notice that sentences (15a,b) have to be read with a primary stress on the negated argument in order to sound acceptable. As indicated by the question mark next to each, even so they are somewhat less than fully acceptable. However, there is a strong, clear-cut contrast between the grammaticality of sentences (15a,b) and the totally unacceptable sentences (16a,b). It is this crucial contrast in grammaticality that we are concerned with here.

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