Operator projections moving as remnants in Hungarian

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Not only "argument-size" δP constituents (APs, AdvPs, or most typically DPs) can appear in the specifier position Spec,α of an operator head α in the cartographic syntactic structure of Hungarian sentences (see É. Kiss–Kiefer 1994, Piñón 1995, Alberti–Medve 2000, É. Kiss 2002, Brody–Szabolcsi 2003) where α is a Qunatifier, (Identificational) Focus or Aspectual head (see the schematic "deep structure" in (1a)). We claim that such "sentence-size" βP constituents can also appear there (in the above-mentioned Spec,α operator position) as an FP, NegP, AspP, among others, as is shown in (1b) below. As is also shown in (1b), however, the "sentence-size" βP constituent can only move as a remnant (Koopman–Szabolcsi 2000, Alberti 2004), presumably due to its extra size. Semantically, the content of δP is interpreted in Spec,α; while phonetically, a γP part of βP should be extracted so that only an "argument-size" δP constituent appear in the Spec,α position (but it is not the content of δP itself which is interpreted as a filler of Spec,α).

(1a) [\[\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\] \[\{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\}]  
(1b) [\[\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\] \[\{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\}] 

Examples (2-3) below serve as illustrations of our claim, with two different "evaluations" of the quadruple of head categories (α,β,γ,δ). Note that the phonetic material of δP is interpreted, indeed, as the representative of a phrase βP, since δP in (2) cannot be interpreted as a clause-level quantifier at all (fel is 'up also') whilst δP in (3) can be interpreted as a clause-level quantifier only if the word order is as follows: Marit is felhívítam 'Mari.Acc also up, called.1Sg' ("It also holds for Mari that I called up her.").

(2) \(a.\) \(\{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\}] \)  
(3) \(b.\) \(\{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\}] \)  

Example (5) shows that if a noun phrase is "sentence-size" in the sense that a pre-D operator zone appears in it (in Giusti's (1996) spirit), the huge noun phrase (\(\{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\}] \)) as a clause-level quantifier at all (\(\{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\}] \)) occupies the clausal Spec,Foc (Spec,α) as a remnant whose phonetic material is practically a DP (δP), with an extracted part which is also a DP (γP).

(5) \(a.\) \(\{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\} \{\alpha_\beta_\gamma_\delta_\}] \)  

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References

Table 1. Cases that our whole paper discusses (besides cases (2-4), discussed above)

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