

Operator projections moving as remnants in Hungarian¹

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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 Quantifier, (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 βP 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).

- (1) a. $[\alpha_P \alpha [\beta_P \beta [\gamma_P \gamma \dots [\dots V \dots \delta P \dots]]]]$
b. $[\alpha_P [\beta_P \delta P_i \beta \emptyset_j]_k \alpha \emptyset_k \dots [\gamma_P \dots \emptyset_i \dots]_j]$

Examples (2–3) below serve as illustrations of our claim, with two different "evaluations" of the quadruple of head categories $\langle \alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \rangle$. 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 felhívtam* 'Mari.Acc also up.called.1Sg' ('It also holds for Mari that I called up her.').

(2) $\langle \alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \rangle = \langle Q, \text{Asp}, V, \text{Adv} \rangle$: $[\text{QP} [\text{AspP} \text{AdvP}_i \text{Asp} + \emptyset_t \emptyset_j]_k \text{Q} + \text{V}_t \emptyset_k [\text{VP} \dots \emptyset_i \dots]_j]$

(A: '[_{AspP} Fel akartad hívni Marit.]') B: 'És[_{QP} [_{AspP} fel] is [_Q hívtam Marit]]!')
up wanted.2Sg call.Inf Mari.Acc and up also called.1Sg Mari.Acc

(A: 'You wanted to call up Mari.') B: 'And I did call up her.'

(3) $\langle \alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \rangle = \langle Q, F, \text{Asp}, D \rangle$: $[\text{QP} [\text{FP} \text{DP}_i \text{F} + \emptyset_t \emptyset_j]_k \text{Q} + \text{V}_t \emptyset_k [\text{AspP} \dots \emptyset_i \dots]_j]$

(A: '[_{FP} Marit akartad felhívni.]') B: 'És[_{QP} [_{FP} Marit] is [_Q hívtam fel]]!')
Mari.Acc wanted.2Sg call.Inf and Mari.Acc also called.1Sg up

(A: 'It is Mari that you wanted to call up.') B: 'And it is Mari, indeed, that I called up.'

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 ($\beta P = \text{Q}_{\text{Pos}}P$) 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) $\langle \alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \rangle = \langle F, \text{Pos}, D, D \rangle$: $[\text{FP} [\text{Q}_{\text{Pos}}P \text{DP}_i \text{Q}_{\text{Pos}} \emptyset_j]_k \text{F} + \text{V}_t [\text{VP} \dots \emptyset_t \dots \emptyset_k \dots [\text{DP} \dots \emptyset_i \dots]_j \dots]]$

[_{FP} Csak [_{PosP} mindkét kollégának] [_F ellenzem az elküldését]]!
only both colleague.Dat oppose.DefObj.1Sg the away.send.Nmn.Poss.3Sg.Acc

'It is only the option according to which both colleagues would be sent away that I am definitely against [as for me, one of them can be sent away].'

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

	(2)	(3)								(4)
α	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	F	F	Asp	F	F
β	Asp	F	Asp	Neg	Neg	F _{Inf}	T _{Inf}	Asp _{Inf}	Asp	Q _{Pos}
γ	V	Asp	–	Asp	F	Asp _{Inf}	Asp _{Inf}	Inf	V	D
δ	Adv	D	V	V	Asp	D	AdvD	Adv	Adv	D