Long-distance split focalization in Hungarian: movement or base-generation?

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Introduction and main claim:

Although long focus movement has received continuous attention in the Hungarian generative literature over the past decades (É.Kiss 1987, Puskás 2000, Lipták 1997), it has recently become a highly debated issue. Based on new data, Gervain (2007) and Den Dikken (2010) show that in addition to the movement derivation of long focus constructions, a group of speakers derives such structures by base-generating the focused DP in the matrix clause. This paper takes yet another set of data, namely long focus constructions involving split bare NPs (henceforth LSF), and argues that these structures are also derivable in two ways, i.e. movement and base-generation.

The data:

In this talk I argue that Hungarian has four different subtypes of LSF. This classification is based on the following three factors:

1. *The case of the higher DP*

There are two options for case-marking the higher DP (i.e. *AUTÓT* in (1)): case is either assigned by the matrix verb (1) or by the embedded verb (2). Note that *hall* 'hear' takes an accusative complement and *örül* 'be pleased' a dative one.

(1) **AUTÓT**$_{Foc}$ hallott   hogy   **ÚJNAK**$_{Foc}$ örülnének.
   Car.ACC   heard.3Sg.**Indef.**   that   new.DAT   be.pleased.Cond.3Pl.
   '(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

(2) **AUTÓNAK**$_{Foc}$ hallotta   hogy   **ÚJNAK**$_{Foc}$ örülnének.
   Car.DAT   heard.3Sg.**Def.**   that   new.DAT   be.pleased.Cond.3Pl.
   '(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

2. *Object definiteness agreement in the matrix clause*

A transitive matrix verb can either agree in definiteness (i.e. 'indefinite agreement' (3)) or not agree (i.e. 'definite agreement' (4)) with the higher DP in LSF.

(3) **AUTÓT**$_{Foc}$ mondott   hogy   **ÚJAT**$_{Foc}$ vett.
   Car.ACC   said.3Sg.**Indef.**   that   new.ACC   bought.3Sg.Indef
   '(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'

(4) **AUTÓT**$_{Foc}$ mondta   hogy   **ÚJAT**$_{Foc}$ vett.
   Car.ACC   said.3Sg.**Def.**   that   new.ACC   bought.3Sg.Indef
   '(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'

Correlation between factor 1 and factor 2:

Indefinite agreement correlates with a case ending on the higher DP that is assigned by the matrix verb (see (1) and (3)) while definite agreement correlates with a case ending that is determined by the embedded verb (see (2) and (4)).

3. *The case of the lower DP*

The case of the lower DP is always determined by the embedded verb (i.e. ACC in (3)/(4) and DAT in (1)/(2)).

The 4 patterns of LSF with a transitive matrix verb

The above facts yield a fourfold classification of LSF structures with a transitive matrix verb. The four patterns are summarized in *table 1*.

Analysis: I argue that

1. LSF constructions in which the higher DP does not agree with the matrix verb (i. e. line 1 and line 4 in *table 1*) are derived by successive cyclic A'-movement.

2. LSF constructions in which the higher DP agrees with the matrix verb (line 2 and line 3 in *table 1*) involve two DPs base-generated in their own clause along the lines of the 'concordial scope marking dependency' introduced in Den Dikken (2010).

Table(s)

Table 1. The 4 patterns of LSF with a transitive matrix verb

	Case of the higher DP	**Obj.agr on the matrix V**	**Case of the lower DP**
Transitive embedded verb	ACC	definite	ACC
	ACC	indefinite	ACC
Intransitive embedded verb	ACC	indefinite	OBL
	OBL	definite	OBL

References

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