

## A Note on Hungarian Quotative Inversion

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It is shown that Hungarian quotative inversion (QI) does not impose exhaustive interpretation on the reported clause, in contrast to the effect of "focus inversion" on focus-moved constituents. Two analyses of QI are sketched. One takes QI to involve movement of a quotative operator,  $Op_Q$ , to Spec,F(oc)P and derives non-exhaustivity from a constraint on focus induced by "narrative force." The other assimilates  $Op_Q$  to a "verbal modifier" (VM) in Spec,PredP of a "neutral sentence" (in the sense of Kálmán 1985a) and derives non-exhaustivity from the fact that focus is absent from such sentences. It is further argued that the second analysis possesses advantages over the first one in blocking long-distance movement of  $Op_Q$ .

### 1. Introduction

It is fair to say that the analysis of focus has taken center stage in research on Hungarian grammar (for an overview and references, see Gyuris to appear). This is largely due to two factors. First, focus can be identified structurally insofar as there is a designated position for focal constituents immediately preceding the finite verb. Second, constituents located in focus position are standardly interpreted as exhaustively identifying the "object" the remainder of the sentence – if it is a declarative – is true of. A reasonable minimal assumption would be that movement of the finite verb into a VP-external head  $F^\circ$  and placement of a focused constituent in Spec,FP captures the basic configurational aspects of the facts. This is shown in (1) (VM = "verb modifying particle") (cf. Brody 1990:104; Piñón 1992:108).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) [FP *PÉTER* [F' *mutatta* [VP *be János Marinak* ]]]  
       Peter.ACC introduced VM John.NOM Mary.to  
       'It is Peter that John introduced to Mary'

What remains controversial is whether other kinds of "inversion construction" – i.e., constructions that trigger the inversion of  $V^\circ$  and VM – should be treated in terms of the structure in (1). The possibility of such a unified analysis has at least been envisaged for the following class of "inversion triggers:" *wh*-phrases, *csak*-(‘only’)-phrases, negative existential quantifiers, and negative adverbs of frequency, degree, and manner (É. Kiss 2002: chapter 4). The hope for unification is driven by the intuition that – somehow – Spec,FP can "be associated with an invariant interpretation" (ibid.:83). Although an approximation of that interpretation can clearly be arrived at in terms of exhaustivity – in the sense defined originally by Szabolcsi (1981)<sup>2</sup> – a full-fledged interpretive theory that covers all cases is still outstanding. One intensively debated point concerns the division of labor between semantics and (neo-Gricean) pragmatics (cf. Gyuris to appear).

In the following, we will explore the question as to whether – whichever way the above controversies are going to be resolved – a more flexible approach to Hungarian inversion constructions may eventually be unavoidable. Our object of study will be quotative inversion (QI), which – to our knowledge – has not yet been considered in this connection.<sup>3</sup> As shown

<sup>1</sup> There is a considerable number of alternative approaches (cf. É. Kiss 2008; Horvath 2009; Surányi 2004, for some recent proposals and references to the literature). Close inspection of different predictions derivable from them, however, is orthogonal to the purposes of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Szabolcsi (1981:527) actually does not require *wh*-phrases in Spec,FP to impose exhaustive interpretation on congruent answers.

<sup>3</sup> Fónagy (1986), who presents only rough outlines of the structural properties of QI, is mainly concerned with lexical and stylistic matters.

in (2), Hungarian QI occurs when direct reported speech precedes or encloses the reporting clause.<sup>4</sup>

- (2) a. *"Kedden sikerült a vizsgám" mondta el János*  
 Tuesday.on succeeded.3SG the exam.my said.3SG VM John  
 "On Tuesday I passed my exam" said John'  
 b. \**"Kedden sikerült a vizsgám" elmondta János*  
 c. *"Kedden sikerült," mondta el János, "a vizsgám"*  
 d. \**"Kedden sikerült," elmondta János, "a vizsgám"*

As (2b) and (2d) indicate, QI is obligatory in this case. Now, crucially, Hungarian QI does not come with the above mentioned exhaustivity effect associated with Hungarian focus. Consider (3):

- (3) *"Betörtem a házba" ismerte be János,*  
 VM.broke.1SG the house.into admitted.3SG VM János  
*"és," tette hozzá, "elloptam az ékszereket"*  
 and added.3SG to.it VM.stole.1SG the jewels.ACC  
 "I broke into the house" admitted John, "and," he added, "I stole the jewels"

Under exhaustive interpretation of the direct quote in the first clause, the only thing admitted by John should be that he broke into the house. Intuitively, however, stealing the jewels is equally admitted, in violation of this. Intuitions can be sharpened further by contrasting QI with preverbal focusing. (4) illustrates the exhaustivity effect of standard focus.<sup>5</sup>

- (4) # *A parlament a médiatörvényt szavazta meg, és az alkotmányt is megszavazta*  
 the parliament the media.law.ACC voted.3SG VM and the constitution.ACC also VM.voted.3SG  
 (#) 'It was the media law the parliament voted for and it also voted for the constitution'

According to the characterization by Krifka (2007:33), exhaustive focus "indicates that the focus denotation is the only one that leads to a true proposition, or rather more general: that the focus denotation is the logically strongest that does so." Logical strength is definable in terms of entailment:  $p$  is logically stronger than  $q$  iff  $p$  entails  $q$  and  $q$  does not entail  $p$ .<sup>6</sup> Thus, (4) is odd because its first conjunct presents  $VOTE.FOR(p, ml)$  as the logically strongest truth about parliamentary voting (in that situation), while the overall sentence asserts the logically stronger  $VOTE.FOR(p, ml) \& VOTE.FOR(p, c)$ . By contrast, perfect acceptability of (5) shows that no such effect arises under QI.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> English has the stylistically highly marked additional option of combining QI with "extraposition" of the quote (Collins & Branigan 1997:1):

(i) *Reported the Daily Telegram: "Fish stocks are declining"*

As shown in (ii), this is ruled out in Hungarian, i.e., inversion of verb and VM cannot take place under such circumstances:

(ii) \**Mondta el János: "Kedden sikerült a vizsgám"*

The Dutch and German counterparts of (i) are indistinguishable from so-called "narrative inversion," a V1-construction independently used for relating anecdotes and jokes (cf. de Vries 2006; Önnersfors 1997; Sigurðsson 1990).

<sup>5</sup> Onea & Beaver (2011) present evidence that this effect is not equally strong for all speakers of Hungarian. We believe that this can be accounted for by assuming that speakers who allow (4) allow the alternative set induced by focus in the first conjunct to be "widened" as a kind of accommodation step when processing the second conjunct.

<sup>6</sup> Krifka (1995) provides a generalized version and applications.

<sup>7</sup> Due to the "transitivity constraint" on QI in English (\**told Grandfather us* / \**told us Grandfather*) (cf. Collins & Branigan 1997), the translation has to use the uninverted form.

- (5) *"Tizenöt éves koromban elmentem otthonról," mesélte el a nagyapa,*  
 fifteen years age.my.in VM.went.1SG home.from told.3SG VM the grandfather  
*és azt is elmesélte, hogy egy gyárban kezdett el dolgozni*  
 and that.ACC also VM.told.3SG that a factory.in started.3SG VM work.inf  
 "When I was fifteen years old I left home," Grandfather told us,  
 and he also told us that he (then) started to work in a factory.'

Of course, this striking difference between standard focus and QI raises the wider issue of how to account for the two types of inversion construction in a consistent manner. One possibility, which we will not pursue here, is to postulate some additional functional projection dedicated to specifically to QI and to endow it with exactly those syntactic and interpretational properties QI possesses. A second possibility is to assimilate QI to focus syntactically and to work out a way of blocking exhaustive interpretation. This will be sketched in Section 2. A third option is to treat QI as involving what has been called "neutral sentences" (Kálmán 1985a; 1985b). Crucially, these "focus-less" sentences do not induce exhaustivity on any of their constituents. This option will be discussed in Section 3. Although we will not be able to unravel all the details in this note, our conclusion will be that the third option possesses advantages over its focus-based rival.

## 2. Quotative Inversion and Operator Movement to Spec,FP

In order to assimilate Hungarian QI to focus, we can follow Collins & Branigan (1997:10f.) in suggesting that QI involves an A'-moved operator,  $Op_Q$ , and, following Suñer (2000:541f.), we can assume that  $Op_Q$  moves to the specifier of a focus projection, i.e. to Spec,FP, of the reporting clause. This is shown for (3) in (6), modeled on the minimal structure in (1).<sup>8</sup>

- (6) [<sub>FP</sub>  $Op_Q$  [<sub>F'</sub> *ismerte* [<sub>VP</sub> *be János t<sub>Op</sub>* ]]]

One obvious advantage of this approach is that inversion of  $V^\circ$  and VM comes for free. It is an obligatory consequence – in Hungarian – of filling Spec,FP.

Another advantage of the operator approach is that reporting clauses such as (6) can be treated as (one kind of) parenthetical (cf. Banfield 1982:83; Collins & Branigan 1997:10; de Vries 2006:215f.; Suñer 2000:543f.), attached by whatever mechanism best deals with combining parentheticals and their hosts. Cases of discontinuous reported clauses like (2c) strongly support such a picture. Conversely, the treatment of reporting clauses as parenthetical provides a substantial basis for explaining why they themselves cannot be discontinuous (de Vries 2006:215). In (7) – to give just one example – it is shown that the reported clause cannot be enclosed by the reporting clause.

- (7) \**Tegnap "kedden sikerült a vizsgám" mondta el János*  
 yesterday Tuesday.on succeeded.3SG the exam.my said VM John  
 "On Tuesday I passed my exam" said John yesterday'

In addition, the analysis in (6) avoids a specific problem concerning the syntax of clauses in Hungarian. As shown by Kenesei (1994:330; cf. Szabolcsi 1981:516), full clauses are banned from the focus position:

<sup>8</sup> Unlike in English (Collins & Branigan 1997) but like in Spanish (Suñer 2000), the "post-verbal domain" of QI-structures in Hungarian is standard, i.e., no ban on pronouns and transitivity hold. We therefore do not go into the fine structure of "VP." An interesting additional property of Hungarian QI – already observed by Fónagy (1986:261) – is that the finite verb has to bear "objective inflection," i.e. morphology enforced by (roughly) "definite" (as opposed to "indefinite") objects. Standard subordinate clauses count as definite in this respect too (cf. Bartos 2001).

- (8) a. \**Ervin csak* [<sub>CP</sub> *hogy Emma megérkezett*] *tudta*  
       Ervin only that Emma VM.arrived knew  
   b. \**Ervin csak* [<sub>DP</sub> *azt* [<sub>CP</sub> *hogy Emma megérkezett*]] *tudta*  
       Ervin only that that Emma VM.arrived knew  
   c. *Ervin csak* [<sub>DP</sub> *azt t<sub>i</sub>*] *tudta* [<sub>CP</sub> *hogy Emma megérkezett*]<sub>i</sub>  
       ‘The only thing Ervin knew was that Emma had arrived’

As illustrated in (8c), focusing a full clause is done by placing an expletive in Spec,FP and "extraposing" the associated CP.<sup>9</sup> Now, given that it isn't the reported clause but *Op<sub>O</sub>* that occupies Spec,FP in QI, nothing special has to be said: QI observes the same constraint.<sup>10,11</sup>

To account for non-exhaustive interpretation of the reported clause in QI on the basis of the analysis in (6), one could appeal to the "relational view of focus" argued for by Jacobs (1984; 1991). This would require assuming that different sentence moods and/or illocution types have different kinds of impact on focus. Thus, standard declarative and interrogative mood comes with standard "information focus," which – (at least) in Hungarian – brings along exhaustive interpretation.<sup>12,13</sup> In addition to non-exhaustivity, indirect evidence that this is not the kind of focus involved in QI is provided by the fact that QI is incompatible with answer focus. Thus, note the contrast between (9b) and (9c) (cf. de Vries 2006:221).

- (9) a. A: *What did Kennedy say?*  
       b. B: #*"Ich bin ein Berliner" said Kennedy*  
       c. B: *Kennedy said: "Ich bin ein Berliner"*

Hungarian behaves similarly, which is confirmed by the fact that (2a) cannot be an answer to the question *Mit mondott el János?* ('What did János say?'). In fact, focus in QI – i.e., foregrounding of the reported clause – has a presentational flavor associated with "live narrative."<sup>14</sup> One could therefore assume that the reporting clause in QI-constructions has a particular kind of narrative force (potential) that licenses (a variant of) presentational focus. Cast in terms of an enriched left periphery (cf. Rizzi 1997), the structural essence of this proposal is given in (10):

<sup>9</sup> We will not address interaction of direct speech reports in extraposed position except for noting that the expletive in this case has to be *ezt* ('this') (Kiefer 1986:201) and that exhaustive interpretation reemerges if *ezt* is put in Spec,FP.

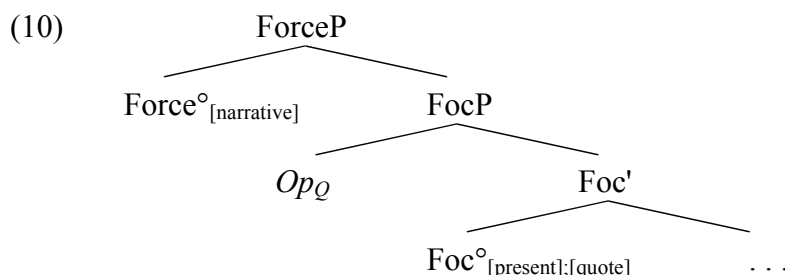
<sup>10</sup> Kenesei (1994:331f.) provides a prosodic account of the facts in (8) based on work by a.o. Vogel & Kenesei (1987). The issue is also briefly addressed by É.Kiss (2002:231).

<sup>11</sup> By contrast, Kenesei (2005:427) envisages the possibility that "quotation clauses [...] occup[y] the focus position." In fact, it is not clear *a priori* that quotations when constituted of full clauses have to be treated as CPs in the syntax. Thus, on influential approaches such as Quine's "Name Theory of Quotation" or Davidson's "Demonstrative Theory of Quotation" (cf. Cappelen & Lepore 2009), quotations are semantically treated as terms in a way that would allow application of a CP-to-DP conversion rule to direct reported clauses before inserting them into a larger structure.

<sup>12</sup> We will not go into the technical implementation of this idea here. The framework that would seem to lend itself to the required task directly is the "structured meaning" approach explored by a.o. von Stechow (1991) and Krifka (2001).

<sup>13</sup> It is well-known that focus shows a number of peculiarities in exclamatives. Thus, "exclamative accents" can be distinguished from focus accents prosodically, at least in German (cf. Altmann, Batliner and Oppenrieder 1989). Also, *wh*-movement in exclamatives can fail to trigger inversion, as shown for English by Elliott (1974:233) and for Hungarian by Lipták (2006:348). Since Hungarian *wh*-movement is standardly taken to target Spec,FP (cf. Brody 1990; Lipták 2001), the latter fact is particularly challenging.

<sup>14</sup> Banfield (1982) provides a foundational study of narration in the required sense. That some kind of "highlighting" or "emphasis" is involved in QI has repeatedly been claimed (cf. Fónagy 1986:261; Klockow 1980:120). The effect may actually be due to backgrounding the parenthetical reporting clause.



Details of this analysis remain to be explored, of course.<sup>15</sup>

One immediate advantage of local licensing by  $Force^\circ_{[narrative]}$  is the fact that QI is a root phenomenon, as the examples in (11) show.

- (11) a. *\*If "Ich bin ein Berliner" said Kennedy, he probably wanted to please the audience*  
 b. *\*I believe (that) "Ich bin ein Berliner" said Kennedy*

On the other hand, at least one further constraint has to be imposed by  $Force^\circ_{[narrative]}$  in Hungarian, namely, that TopP – usually assumed to occur between ForceP and FocP (cf. Rizzi 1997)<sup>16</sup> – is absent as in (10) (or projected "vacuously"). One piece of evidence for this comes from the unacceptability of structures like (12).<sup>17</sup>

- (12) \**"Kedden sikerült a vizsgám" tegnap mondta el János*  
 Tuesday.on succeeded.3SG the exam.my yesterday said VM John  
 '“On Tuesday I passed my exam” said John yesterday’

More seriously,  $Op_Q$ -movement to Spec,FP is predicted to occur long-distance like standard *wh*- and focus-movement. However, this is not borne out, as the contrast between German, (13) (cf. de Vries 2006:220, for Dutch), and Hungarian, (14), illustrates.<sup>18</sup>

- (13) a. *"Ich habe die Juwelen gestohlen", gab Jan zu, dass er gesagt hatte*  
 I have the jewels stolen gave John PFX that he said had  
 '“I stole the jewels” John admitted that he had said’  
 b. *Was<sub>i</sub> gab Jan zu, dass er t<sub>i</sub> gesagt hatte?*  
 'What did John admit that he had said?’
- (14) a. \**"Elloptam az ékszereket" ismerte be János, hogy mondta*  
 VM.stole.1SG the jewels.ACC admitted.3SG VM János that said.3SG  
 '“I stole the jewels” John admitted that he had said’  
 b. *Mit<sub>i</sub> ismert be János, hogy mondott t<sub>i</sub>?*  
 'What did John admit that he had said?’

<sup>15</sup> It is unclear whether a semantic approach on which exhaustification applies to  $Op_Q$  vacuously – due to properties to be derived from the (currently still highly controversial) semantics of quotation (cf. Cappelen & Lepore 2009, for an overview and references) – would be a viable alternative.

<sup>16</sup> References to work on the Hungarian "left periphery" as well as a critical appraisal are provided by Surányi (2004).

<sup>17</sup> The topiclessness of parenthetical reporting clauses appears to be derivable from their use in narratives. Banfield (1982:189ff.) surveys a number of related deficiencies of such clauses. A closer information-structural analysis should reveal that an utterance like (9b) is not "about" Kennedy, nor do reporting clauses in QI allow adverbial "frames" like *yesterday* in (7)/(12).

<sup>18</sup> Judgments on (14a) seem to vary somewhat, but the consensus is that it is degraded. Suñer (2000:545f.) discusses a case of long  $Op_Q$ -movement in Spanish. Collins & Branigan (1997:12f.) illustrate successive-cyclic  $Op_Q$ -movement in English, paying particular attention to the fact that it doesn't lead to QI (? "What next?" *Michelle swore that Marcel asked* vs. \* "What next?" *swore Michelle that Marcel asked*). Neither inverting  $V^\circ$  and VM nor putting *János* in preverbal position improves on (14a).

Obviously, an analysis that can account for the absence of long-distance *Op<sub>Q</sub>*-movement in Hungarian in a principled fashion would be preferable. This is what we turn to next.

### 3. Quotative Inversion and "Neutral Sentences"

Kálmán (1985a; 1985b) argued for the importance of distinguishing "non-neutral" from "neutral" sentences in Hungarian. The two crucially differ in that only the former allow for narrowly focused constituents placed in Spec,FP, triggering inversion of finite verb and VM as well as exhaustive interpretation. This is prosodically reflected by a strong nuclear accent on the constituent in Spec,FP leading to post-nuclear stress reduction ("eradication"). Neutral sentences, on the other hand, lack such a nuclear accent but possess evenly distributed stresses on all lexical items ("level prosody") instead. Importantly, that is exactly the kind of prosody characteristic of QI-constructions. Neither do reporting clauses in QI contain "eradicating stress" (cf. Varga 2002:96), nor do report clauses – whatever their internal prosodic make-up is like – count as bearers of eradicating stress wrt. reporting clauses. And, crucially, as we have shown in Section 1, QI shares with neutral sentences the absence of exhaustive interpretation. Thus, analyzing the reporting clause of QI as a "focus-less" neutral sentence looks like a promising alternative.

Inversion of  $V^\circ$  and VM, however, is fairly constrained in neutral sentences, essentially limited to (certain kinds of) progressive sentences.<sup>19</sup> These have been discussed in detail by Piñón (1995). His analysis of "progressive inversion" involves two operators. One is located in  $F^\circ$  – FP is taken to be an "underspecified multi-functional projection" (Piñón 1995:170,fn.27) (actually labeled ZP) – and attracts the finite verb. The other operator is adjoined to F'. This is shown in (15).<sup>20</sup>

$$(15) \quad [_{FP} \dots [_F \textit{[Prog]} [_F F^\circ_{[Pr]} [_{VP} \dots ]]]]$$

Now, although QI could – *mutatis mutandis* – be assimilated to (15), involvement of FP has the drawback of reintroducing the possibility of exhaustive interpretation. And, indeed, progressive inversion is compatible with focus-movement to Spec,FP, i.e., it equally occurs in "non-neutral sentences" (Piñón 1995:165, 187). To prevent this in the case of QI, one would have to essentially adopt the assumption from Section 2 that narrative force is incompatible with that kind of focusing.<sup>21</sup>

Instead, a more principled approach would be to assume that FP is inaccessible in or absent from neutral sentences. In order to enforce inversion in QI without additional *ad hoc* assumptions, one is then left with the option of taking *Op<sub>Q</sub>* to occupy the default position of VM. Following É. Kiss (2008:455),<sup>22</sup> we will assume that this is the specifier of PredP, a functional projection taken to intervene between FP and VP. The resulting alternative to (6) is given in (16).

$$(16) \quad [_{FP} [_F F^\circ [_{PredP} \textit{Op}_Q [_{Pred'} \textit{ismerte} [_{VP} \textit{be János t}_{Op} ]]]]]]$$

<sup>19</sup> Kálmán (1985:14) speaks of "imperfective" sentences.

<sup>20</sup> The semantic counterparts of these operators are interpreted such that PR "convert[s] an event expression into a process expression" (Piñón 1995:178) and PROG converts a process predicate into an appropriate predicate of states (ibid.:180).

<sup>21</sup> Irrespective of whether *Op<sub>Q</sub>* is taken to correspond to *Pr* or *Prog* in (15), the ban on long-distance movement illustrated in (14a) can be derived. In the former case, long movement of  $F^\circ$  is prevented by the "Head Movement Constraint." In the latter case, extraction of an F'-adjunct is prevented by a "freezing constraint" on adjoined constituents such as discussed by Grewendorf & Sabel (1999).

<sup>22</sup> Related analyses have been given in terms of TP (Piñón 1995) and AspP (É. Kiss 1998).

(16) preserves all the welcome syntactic properties of (6) discussed in Section 2: the possibility of treating the reporting clause as parenthetical (i) allows for discontinuous reported clauses, (2c), (ii) predicts reporting clauses to be continuous, (7), and (iii) avoids placement of the reporting clause in Spec,FP, (8). In addition, (16) would seem to possess substantial advantages in preventing long-distance movement of  $Op_Q$ : Spec,PredP is not a landing site for long extraction. Thus, (14a) could not arise as an instance of (matrix) QI. In addition, the inaccessibility of FP guarantees that  $Op_Q$  isn't focus-moved either.<sup>23</sup>

Now, in defense of the unconventional move of treating  $Op_Q$  as some kind of VM, it should be pointed out that this would open the possibility of capturing its semantic impact, which seems to be at least twofold: (i) the transitivity of  $V^\circ$  is affected. In particular, as is well known (cf. a.o. Suñer 2000: Appendix A), QI licenses a large number of verbs that otherwise do not occur with sentential arguments. One of the many examples offered by Fónagy (1986) is (17) (p.266).<sup>24</sup>

- (17) *"Szegény az ördög" pattant fel Adameczné*  
       poor     the devil     jumped VM Mrs.Adamecz  
       "Poor is the devil" jumped up Mrs Adamecz'

(ii)  $Op_Q$  can be taken to introduce a demonstrative (indexical) meaning component related to pronominal *so* (cf. Collins & Branigan 1997:14, 35; de Vries 2006:216). In fact, it is tempting to relate Hungarian  $Op_Q$  to a silent *úgy*. As pointed out by Fónagy (1986:262) "[i]n literary text of the 18th and 19th centuries we meet a frozen and reduced form of *úgy mondja* 'he says/it/ like that': *úgymond*, [...] which always follows the reported clause." What is striking of this counterpart of Latin *inquit* is the VM-like "incorporation" of *úgy* into the verb.

Finally, while neutral sentences as such allow topics to occur preverbally (Kálmán 1985a:18), TopP has to be made inaccessible in (16) to ensure verb-initiality of QI and prevent structures like (12). As indicated above (cf. Footnote 17), this assumption is likely to be derivable from an overall information-structural analysis of QI-constructions.

#### 4. Conclusion

Summing up, it was shown that Hungarian quotative inversion (QI) does not impose exhaustive interpretation on the reported clause, in contrast to the effect of "focus inversion" on focus-moved constituents. Two analyses of QI were sketched. One took QI to involve movement of a quotative operator,  $Op_Q$ , to Spec,F(oc)P and derived non-exhaustivity from a constraint on focus induced by "narrative force" (Section 2). The other assimilated  $Op_Q$  to a "verbal modifier" (VM) in Spec,PredP of a "neutral sentence" (in the sense of Kálmán 1985a) and derived non-exhaustivity from the fact that focus is absent from such sentences (Section 3). It was further argued that the second analysis possesses advantages over the first one in blocking long-distance movement of  $Op_Q$ .

**Acknowledgments** We thank two anonymous reviewers as well as Andreas Haida for comments on an earlier draft of this manuscript. Research by Hans-Martin Gärtner was supported by the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (BMBF) (Grant Nr. 01UG0711).

<sup>23</sup> VM status alone is not sufficient to block long-distance movement of  $Op_Q$ . It is well-known (cf. a.o. É. Kiss 1994:42) that other instances of VM may undergo long focus-movement to Spec,FP in "non-neutral sentences." Of course, a further relevant property of  $Op_Q$  is that it is phonologically null. Thus, on a prosody-driven theory of focus-movement like the one by Szendrői (2003), according to which focus-movement of a constituent *c* takes place for *c* to acquire (contrastive) stress,  $Op_Q$  would simply not qualify for such an operation.

<sup>24</sup> It is well-known that "the VM can modify the thematic and case frame of the V" (Brody 1990:96).

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