# *Wh-hell*: The view from Hungarian

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## Puzzle: Hungarian vs. English

(1) English
  a. **Who the hell** *loves who?*         [ex situ: SP, PL]
  b. * *Who loves* **who the hell**?         [in situ: *]

(2) Hungarian, partial-fronting
  a. **Ki a fene** *szerelmes kibe?*       [ex situ: SP, *PL]
     who the hell  in.love    who-ILL
  b. *Ki szerelmes* **ki a fenébe**?       [in situ: SP, PL]
     who in.love    who the hell-ILL

① **Why does (2b) allow in situ *wh-hell*, but (1b) does not?**

② **Why does (2a) have no PL reading, but (1a) does?**

## Proposal

- Answer to ①: The possibility of in situ *wh-hell* depends on independent properties of *wh*-syntax and locality

  – When Hungarian *wh-hell* does not carry [*Foc*], it is not fronted to CP, and another [*Foc*]-carrying *wh* may move over it
  – English *wh-hell* is built by [*wh*]-driven movement of the highest/closest *wh* to AttP; *wh-hell* fronts to CP from there

- Answer to ②: Some *wh-hell* phrases cannot be D-linked sorting keys

  – Hungarian *wh-hell* is strictly non-D-linked
  – English *wh-hell* is not strictly non-D-linked

## Conclusion: *Wh-hell* is...

- ... not aggressively non-D-linked in all languages (contra Pesetsky 1987; pace Huang & Ochi 2004, Kitagawa et al. 2004)

- ... not universally ruled out due to intervention when in situ (contra den Dikken & Giannakidou 2002)

- ... positionwise (partly) reducible to properties of *wh*-movement in a given language under Huang & Ochi's (2004) AttP-approach

- Future work: Typology of *wh-hell*

  – AttP: Movement vs. base-adjunction, features involved
  – D-linking and the availability of *which the hell NP*
  – D-linking and sorting keys
  – Compatibility of *hell* with non-*wh*-DPs

**Please scan the QR code in the upper right corner for the poster+references!**

## ① den Dikken & Giannakidou 2002: Intervention

- *Wh-hell* is an NPI licensed by Q and antiveridical verbs

- Intervention rules out in situ *wh-hell*

  – No *wh*-phrase may appear between licensor Q and *wh-hell*

(3) *Q ... *wh* ... *wh-hell*

(4) Who has given anything to Bill?     [Q ... *wh* ... NPI]

> dD&G incorrectly rule out (4) in English

- Q in *Who loves who?*         (e.g. Kotek 2014)

  – SP $\Rightarrow$ [Q $wh - wh$] $\Rightarrow \langle st, t \rangle$
  $= \{a \text{ loves } x, b \text{ loves } y, c \text{ loves } z, ...\}$
  – PL $\Rightarrow$ [Q $wh$ Q $wh$] $\Rightarrow \langle \langle st, t \rangle, t \rangle$
  $= \{\{a \text{ loves } x, a \text{ loves } y, a \text{ loves } z, ...\}, \{b \text{ loves } x, ...\}, ...\}$
  $=$ higher *wh* is the D-linked sorting key (cf. Comorovski 1996)

> dD&G incorrectly rule out (2b) in Hungarian on SP reading

## ① Huang & Ochi 2004: AttitudeP     (1b)

- *Wh-hell* reveals the presence of AttP (Attitude Phrase) within IP

- The authors discuss two options for English single-*wh-hell* questions

  1. *hell* is in Spec,AttP; it carries [*wh*] and attracts a *wh*-phrase which adjoins to it; *wh-hell* moves to CP due to [*Q*] on C
  2. *hell* base-adjoins to a *wh*-phrase; *wh-hell* moves to AttP due to [*wh*] in empty Spec,AttP, and then onwards to CP due to [*Q*]

> English multiple *wh*-question data supports Strategy 1

(5)
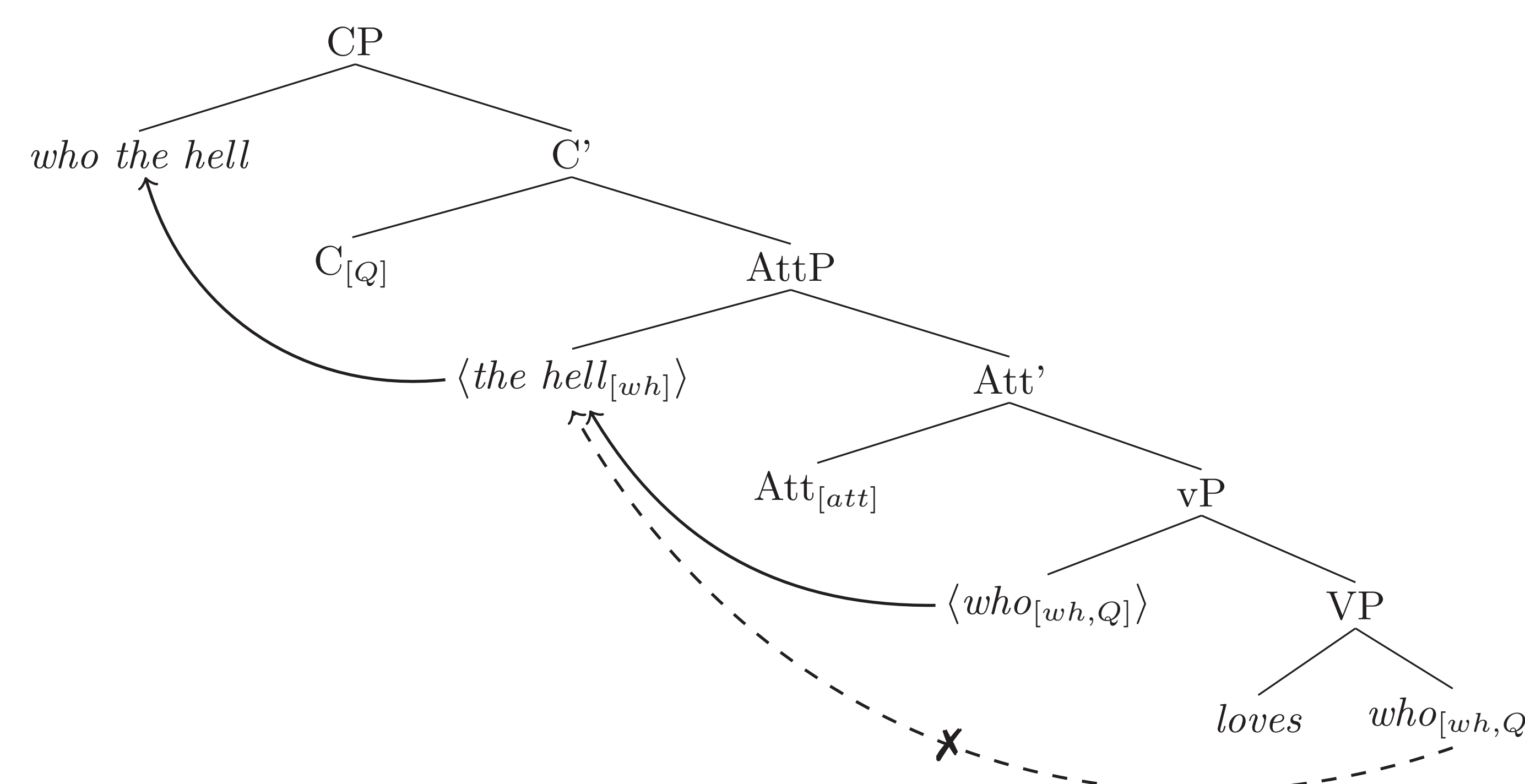


> Hungarian is still unaccounted for under this analysis

## ① Syntactic approach to Hungarian     (2b)

- Hungarian *wh*-movement is driven by [*Foc*], which can be on either *wh*
  $\Rightarrow$ General lack of superiority effects (Surányi 2002; Surányi 2006)

> Hungarian *wh-hell* is in CP if and only if it carries [*Foc*]

(6)  a. $[_{FocP} \text{ ki a fene}_{[Foc,wh]i} ... [ t_i ... kibe_{[wh]} ]]$
    b. $[_{FocP} \text{ ki}_{[Foc,wh]i} ... [ t_i ... \text{ki a fenébe}_{[wh]} ]]$

- At this point we remain agnostic about AttP in Hungarian

  – If (covert) movement to AttP is involved, it must not be due to [*wh*]; this would wrongly predict a subject-restriction on *wh-hell*

## ② Cross-linguistic validity of non-D-linkedness claim

- We propose that PL-(2a) is out for the same reason the highest *wh* of a multiple-fronting multiple-*wh* question may never carry *hell* in Hungarian (7a) (cf. dD&G 2002)

(7) Hungarian, multiple-fronting
  a. *Q **Ki a fene** Q *kibe szerelmes?*     [*SP, *PL]
     who the hell    who-ILL  in.love
  b. Q *Ki* Q **ki a fenébe** *szerelmes?*     [*SP, PL]

> Hungarian *wh-hell* may not be D-linked (*sorting key)

- dD&G 2002 argue that (7a) is out because high *wh-hell* is in TopP, but NPIs cannot be referential

  – *Wh*-movement to TopP is unsubstantiated (Surányi 2006)
  – For PL-(2b), dD&G would need to assume a two-step movement of the highest *wh* through Spec,FocP to Spec,TopP

- Contrary to usual assumptions (Pesetsky 1987), English *wh-hell* does not resist D-linking (and allows SP/PL in matrix contexts):

(8) In an Agatha Christie-type murder mystery, the detectives are called to investigate a murder at a country manor. They discover numerous love affairs, love triangles, unrequited loves, and jealousy. After interviewing multiple house guests and family members, one detective turns to the other in exasperation and says, "*Who the hell is in love with who? I can't keep track, have you been making a list?*" (Bruening 2013)

> English *wh-hell* may be D-linked ([ok]sorting key)

- Further support: (9) is ok in English, but out in Hungarian

(9) # *Mekkora könyv kupac! Mi a fenét olvassak először?!*
    how.big book heap   what the hell   will      read.SUBJ
    'What a big heap of books! What the hell should I read first?!'

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