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THE GRAMMAR OF FREE-CHOICE ITEMS IN HUNGARIAN

NYELVTUDOMÁNYI DOKTORI ISKOLA
ELMÉLETI NYELVÉSZET MŰHELY

TÉMAVEZETŐ: DR. É. KISS KATALIN AKADÉMIKUS

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Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ACC	Accusative case
ALL	Allative case
CN	Common noun phrase
COND	Conditional
DAT	Dative case
ESS	Essive-modal case
FCI	Free-choice item
FR	Free relative
FUT	Future auxiliary
ILL	Illative case
IMP	Imperative
INE	Inessive case
INS	Instrumental case
NEG	Negative discourse particle
PAST	Past tense
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessedness suffix
POT	Potential suffix
PRT	Verbal particle
SG	Singular
SUB	Sublative case
SUP	Superessive case

0 Introduction

0.1 Overview

The topic of this PhD thesis is the behaviour of free-choice items (FCIs) in Hungarian. FCIs such as *any* have been at the forefront of research interest in the past decades (e.g. Ladusaw 1979, Kadmon-Landman 1993; Giannakidou 2001). As far as Hungarian is concerned, however, relatively limited attention has been paid to FCIs so far (Hunyadi 1991, Abrusán 2007, Szabó 2012). I hope that my thesis will shed more light on this aspect of the syntax and semantics of Hungarian and at the same time, contribute to the general theory of FCIs.

In Chapter 1, I will provide a concise overview of the development of theories concerning free choice items. I will also outline the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001), which I will adopt as my framework in this thesis. One of my main findings will be that this theory can readily accomodate the facts encountered in Hungarian. In this sense, this thesis is a further corroboration of the validity of the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (which has already been demonstrated for languages such as Greek, Catalan or Korean).

In Chapter 2, I first present the basic facts concerning FCIs. I then discuss the morphology of FCIs (made up of the lexemes *akár-*/*bár-* and a wh-indeterminate part) and whether this morphology is synchronically relevant and whether the two series of FCIs are fully interchangeable. I will review the syntactic analysis of *akár*-pronouns by Hunyadi (1991, 2002), many results of which will be incorporated into my own analysis. After surveying the licensing environments of FCIs in Hungarian, I also provide a critical assessment of Abrusán's (2007) semantic account.

In Chapter 3, I attempt to provide a systematic account of the syntax and semantics of FCIs in Hungarian. First I examine the canonical syntactic position of FCIs, which I identify with the help of syntactic tests as the position occupied by universal quantifiers (I assume É. Kiss's (2010) analysis of quantification as adjunction). This position is consistent with the universality implicature standardly associated with FCIs (e.g. Giannakidou 2001). I also provide a detailed analysis of the possible scope relations between FCIs, negation, focus and universal quantification. I provide an analysis of FCIs in contrastive topic position using the

framework proposed by Gyuris (2009). To my knowledge, this is the first discussion of FCIs in the contrastive topic position in any language.

Further in Chapter 3, I will examine the quantificational force of FCIs by the well-known battery of quantification tests (for a previous application to Hungarian, cf. Surányi 2006). My findings of mixed quantificational behaviour will provide further corroboration for my analysis of FCIs as quantificationally underspecified (dependent) indefinites. I also address the complex relationship between FCIs and the particle *is* 'too', finding that there are three distinct possibilities of how these elements can (and cannot) combine. In the course of this examination, I explore the behaviour of FCIs in weakly non-veridical environments, building upon related work of Tóth (1999).

In the final parts of Chapter 3, I examine focused FCIs and the mechanism how this setup elicits a reading similar to *wh-ever* expressions in English. My investigation of the interaction of FCIs and aspect (verbal particles) will lead me to formulate certain hypotheses concerning the relationship of FCI-licensing, the semantic vs. pragmatic nature of genericity and the formal semantics of individual-level predicates in Hungarian and other languages.

My analysis of FCIs in Hungarian is, of course, by no means complete. In Chapter 4, I will point out four promising venues for further research concerning Hungarian: FCIs and imperatives, FCIs and Referentially Vague Items (Giannakidou and Quer 2012), alternative expressions and the diachrony of FCIs and Referentially Vague Items.

0.2 Main empirical findings and theoretical contributions

The main empirical findings and theoretical contributions of my dissertation can be summarized as follows:

1) I provide a model for the syntactic behaviour and semantic characteristics of FCIs in Hungarian with very good empirical coverage, based on standard assumptions about the syntax of Hungarian and the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001). My analysis covers a wide range of environments and constructions such as modal, non-modal and generic environments, strongly and weakly non-veridical environments, FCIs in contrastive topic and focus positions; and makes robust predictions concerning the behaviour of FCIs under all of these environments.

The theoretical importance of this is twofold: on the one hand, my results provide further support to the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001). On the other,

the fact that the behaviour of FCIs can be modelled succesfully using standard theories concerning the syntax of Hungarian indirectly provides further corroboration to those theories themselves (such as the analysis of quantification as adjunction in É. Kiss (2010b), the analysis of contrastive topics in É. Kiss and Gyuris (2003) or the analysis of negative concord in Surányi (2002, 2006a,b) and É. Kiss (2009), the analysis of negative polarity item licensing in Tóth (1999) etc.).

2) My main claim is that FCIs in Hungarian are dependent indefinites in the sense of Giannakidou (2001). This is corroborated by the results of the standard tests of quantificational force, and also the detailed analysis of the syntactic behaviour of FCIs in various constructions, accounting for word order and stress patterns and complex scope phenomena vis-a-vis various scope-bearing elements such as universal quantifiers, negation and focus.

3) I show that FCIs in straight (modal) sentences occupy the positions standardly associated with universal quantifiers. This enables us to account for the full range of word order, stress and relative scope phenomena. While this result mainly corroborates the models in É. Kiss (2009, 2010b), I also propose some modifications (backed up by independent evidence).

4) In terms of universal vs. existential quantificational force, I show that FCIs display a quantificational plasticity standardly associated with indefinites, including dependent indefinites, using a battery of standard tests of quantification.

5) I show that FCIs participate in negative concord, akin to universals and existentials, which is again consistent with the analysis of FCIs as dependent indefinites.

6) I provide an analysis of the behaviour of FCIs in contrastive topic position. To my knowledge, this is the first account for FCIs in contrastive topic position in any language.

7) I provide a detailed analysis of the co-occurence of FCIs with the particle *is* 'too, also', consistent with the analysis of FCIs as dependent indefinites.

8) I provide a detailed syntactic and semantic analysis of FCIs in focus position, utilizing standard assumptions concerning the identificational focus position in Hungarian and the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs. I show that in Hungarian, a reading similar to free relatives with an FCI-flavour such *wh-ever* in English can be elicited by moving the FCI *bárki* 'anyone' into focus position. This indicates that there are two strategies cross-linguistically to encode the meaning associated with FCI free relatives: either to have a separate lexical item (e.g. *wh-ever* in English) or to utilize the interplay of the standard FCI

(such as *bárki* ‘anyone’ in Hungarian) and a specific syntactic construction (such as the identificational focus construction) in a compositional manner.

9) I provide a detailed account for the puzzling observation that a generic environment does not license FCIs in Hungarian (in contrast to several other languages). I argue that in any given language, there is a strong correlation between the (non)licensing of FCIs in a generic environment, the nature of genericity (semantic vs. pragmatic) and the formal semantics of individual-level predicates (Kratzer (1995) vs. Chierchia (1995)).

10) I show that the two paradigms of FCIs in Hungarian (*bárki* ‘anyone’ and *akárki* ‘anyone’) behave identically in terms of their syntactic behaviour, with any superficial differences being due to the slow demise and resultant slight markedness of *akárki* as an FCI and the existence of a (diachronically related) common noun *akárki* ‘nondescript, insignificant person’.

1 Theories of Free-Choice Items

In this section, a short overview will be given of previous theoretical approaches to the syntax (and to a lesser degree, semantics) of free choice items (FCIs). Throughout all the various approaches, three recurring themes stand out, themes which will be important in our investigation of Hungarian free-choice items, too:

- Polarity-sensitive *any* and free-choice *any*: are these two flavours of *any* to be treated in a uniform manner in English? Is PS-*any* a peculiarity of English, or does it have reflexes in other languages?
- What is the syntactic and semantic status of FCIs: are they best analysed as quantifiers, indefinites or definites?
- *Any* and *whatever*: what is the relationship between free-choice items (such as *any*) and free relatives (such as *whatever*)?

The actual expression „freedom of choice" has been introduced by Vendler (1967). He analyzed the use of FCIs as setting up a challenge-response situation, where the speaker makes the claim of a property being true of all members of a group of entities, and the addressee is free to test this proposition by taking any one of those entities and checking whether the property in question is indeed true with regard to it. Later, a large number of theoretical proposals have been developed, which can be roughly categorized around the following main themes (Vlachou 2007):

- Free choice and polarity sensitivity
- Quantificational force and indefiniteness
- Lexical (item-oriented) approaches
- Context-oriented approaches

Below, a short overview of the literature organized into the above groups will be given. For a more detailed overview, see Vlachou (2007).

1.1 Free Choice and Polarity Sensitivity

The relationship between free choice items and polarity items is hotly debated within the FCI literature. The fact that English *any* can be both a polarity item and an FCI had the consequence that early discussions of free choice were couched in the terms of the debates about polarity.

To put it simply, polarity items are syntactic units (words or phrases) that can only appear in negative or positive contexts. Negative polarity items (NPIs) are items that are only allowed to appear in a negative context. (*He did not lift a finger.* vs. **He lifted a finger.*)

It is a straightforward property of *any* in English that it can appear in negative contexts and cannot appear in most positive contexts. Because of this, an effort was made early on to analyze *any* as a negative polarity item (Baker 1970). Ladusaw (1979) distinguished between two kinds of *any*: polarity-sensitive *any* (appearing in negative contexts) and free-choice *any* (appearing elsewhere), and focused on an analysis of PS-*any*. Kadmon and Landman (1993) proposed a uniform analysis of both kinds of *any* (see below).

Early on, Klima (1964) established that (PS-)*any* is grammatical in negations and contexts which he described as „special negatives": sentences with *nowhere*, *scarcely*, *never*, with words with negative affixes like *unable*, with *only*, in interrogative sentences, and certain factive sentences.

A related phenomenon pointed out by LeGrand (1975) was that the addition of a relative clause can make *any* grammatical in a situation where it would otherwise be ungrammatical:

(1) a. *She bought anything *(she needed) at Carson's.* (LeGrand 1975)

LeGrand hypothesized that such relative clauses in fact act as restrictors of an implicit conditional (labelling this phenomenon *subtrigging*):

(1) b. *~If she needed anything, she bought it at Carson's.*

In his seminal work, Ladusaw (1979) made a distinction between free-choice *any* (appearing in generic and modal contexts) and PS-*any* (appearing in other contexts). His main proposal was that contexts that license PS-*any* and other NPIs are downward entailing (i.e., they allow inferences from sets to subsets.) While this generalisation is strong and has a solid empirical grounding, it also has some weaknesses, in the sense that it does not cover (generic and) modal *any*, and also needs some refinement to work for some languages such as Dutch (van Wouden 1997).

1.2 **Quantificational force and definiteness**

The motivation to describe FCIs as quantifiers comes from the observation that in imperative contexts, FCIs have an existential flavour, whereas in generic and modal contexts, a universal one.

Horn (1972) used syntactic diagnostics to argue that FCIs are like universals and unlike existentials:

- modification by quantificational adverbs:

(3) *Absolutely everybody/anybody/*somebody can play squash.*

- ungrammaticality in existentials:

(4) *There is somebody/*everybody/*anybody at the door.*

- modification by exceptive phrase (also Dayal 1998):

(5) a. **I talked to some student except John.*
b. *You may pick any flowers except the rose.*
c. *Take all flowers except the rose.*

Based on these solid empirical pieces of evidence, several different strategies have been developed in the literature to describe the universal-like behaviour of FCIs:

One school of thought analyzes *any* as a wide-scope universal (Reichenbach (1947), Quine (1960), Horn (1972, ch.3, 2000), Lasnik (1972), Kroch (1975) and Eisner (1995)):

(6) *I didn't see any pigs.*
$\forall x, x \in \{\text{pigs}\}: \neg(\text{I saw } x)$

(7) *I can catch any raven.*
$\forall x, x \in \{\text{ravens}\}: \Diamond(\text{I catch } x)$

Adopting a somewhat different path, Dayal (1998) focused on generic, modal and subtrigged contexts: *any* is taken to be a universal determiner whose domain of quantification is not a set of particular individuals but the set of possible individuals of the relevant kind. A more flexible approach is to suppose that there is a universal *any* and an existential *any* (Horn (1972, ch.2), Ladusaw (1979), Carlson (1981), Linebarger (1981), De Morgan (1982) and Dayal (1995a, 1998)): this approach gives us more empirical coverage at the expense of having a less restricted theory.

It is important to note that there are some empirical facts which seem to weaken the claim that *any* is universal:

- *Any* cannot take inverse scope (Giannakidou 2001):

(8) a. *Some student will pick up every invited speaker from the airport.* -> scope ambiguity
b. *Some student will pick up any invited speaker from the airport.* -> no ambiguity

- Imperatives:

(9) *Take any dress! =/= Take all dresses!*

As mentioned above, the free relative *wh-ever* has often been analyzed in conjunction with *any*, so it is useful to see how it has been analyzed in terms of quantification. *Wh-ever* has been analyzed as an FCI with a universal flavour by Jacobson (1995), Dayal (1997), von Fintel (2000) and Vlachou (2005). Supporting empirical observations include the following:

- *wh-ever* can be replaced with universals (in certain contexts):

(10) a. *John will eat whatever Mary prepares.*
b. *John will eat everything Mary prepares.*

- *wh-ever* (similarly to universals) licenses polarity items (cf. Tredinnick 1996, Alexiadou and Giannakidou 1998):

(11) *He got into trouble for whatever he ever did to anyone.*

Based on these observations, *wh-ever* has been analyzed as a universal quantifier by several authors in addition to those mentioned above. (Larson (1987), Iatridou and Varlokosta 1998, Mackridge (1985) and Alexiadou and Varlokosta (1996))

Nevertheless, the analysis of *wh-ever* as a universal does face some problems.

- In certain contexts, *wh-ever* is ambiguous between universal quantifiers and singular definite NPs (Vlachou 2007, Jacobson 1995):

(12) *I ordered whatever John ordered.*
=I ordered the thing that John ordered.
=I ordered everything that John ordered.

- In yet other contexts, *wh-ever* is unambiguously non-universal (sentences from Jacobson 1995):

(13) a. *John read whatever Bill assigned – although I don't remember what it was, but I do know that it was long and boring.*
b. **John read everything that Bill assigned – although I don't remember what it was, but I do know that it was long and boring.*
c. *John read the thing that Bill assigned – although I don't remember what it was, but I do know that it was long and boring.*

- Quantificational modification fails with *wh-ever* (unlike universal quantifiers in general) (sentences from Jacobson 1995):

(14) a. *For years I did almost everything you told me to.*
b. **For years I did almost whatever you told me to.*

- Semantics of partitives (Dayal 1997, Alexiadou-Giannakidou 1998)

(15) a. *Mary has read two thirds of every book in the series.->only distributive partitive reading*

b. *Mary read two thirds of whatever books are in this series.->distributive and collective partitive reading both available*

In Italian, there are two types of *wh-ever* with different syntactic behaviour: Chierchia (2006) analyzes *qualunque*/*qualsiasi N* as a universal FCI and *un N qualunque/qualsiasi* as an existential one.

As far as the French counterpart (FCI *tout*) is concerned, it has been analyzed as a universal (based on distribution and semantics) by Kleiber and Martin (1997) and Jayez and Tovena (2005).

As we have seen above, FCIs such as *any* seem to display existential-like behaviour in imperatives and universal-like behaviour in generics and modals. Since it is an independent general observation that the quantificational properties of indefinites are variable and depend on context, it is promising to try and analyse FCIs as indefinites:

(16) a. *Any doctor will tell you to take aspirin.=All doctors will tell you to take aspirin.*

b. *Take any dress.=/=Take all dresses.*

c. *Take any dress.* ('Take a dress, no matter which one.')

As a further piece of evidence, donkey anaphora works with indefinites and FCIs (Giannakidou 2001):

(17) a. **The students who bought every book should show it to me immediately.*

b. *The students who bought a book should show it to me immediately.*

c. *The students who bought any book should show it to me immediately.*

Several pieces of the relevant literature analyse FCIs as indefinites (Heim 1982, Partee 1986, Kadmon and Landman 1993, Lee and Horn 1994, Giannakidou 2001, Kratzer and Shimoyama (2001), Jayez and Tovena (2005), Vlachou (2007)).

As shown before (see (13)), *wh-ever* shows a dual behaviour: universal quantifier and definite. Because of this, FRs in English have mostly been analyzed as definites (Jacobson (1995), Dayal (1995), Alexiadou and Giannakidou (1998)).

1.3 Lexical approaches

Common to the next family of approaches that we are going to survey is that they focus on the lexical semantics of FCIs in terms of scalarity (associated with *any*), widening-strengthening (*any*), indiscriminacy (*whatever*), ignorance (*whatever*) or indifference (*whatever*).

1.3.1 Scalarity

A common observation regarding FCIs is that three sentences below seem to be, in a sense, ordered by strength (Fauconnier 1975).

(18) a. *Any noise bothers my uncle.*
b. *The faintest noise bothers my uncle.*
c. *A noise bothers my uncle.*

Fauconnier (1975) was the first to introduce a pragmatic scale ordered in terms of strength in order to account for the syntactic behaviour of *any*. Lee and Horn (1994) analyzed *any* as an indefinite with an *even* presupposition of the following type:

(19) *Even Alceste came to the party.*
Presupposition: everyone else came;
Implication: Alceste was the least likely person to come.

Lee and Horn (1994) went even as far as to suppose that *any* is grammatical if and only if it is replaceable by *even a single* or *even+superlative*:

(20) a. *I like any apple.*
b. *I like even the least delicious apple.*
(21) a. *Any puppy is cute.*
b. *Even the ugliest puppy is cute.*
(22) a. *There isn't any person available now.*

b. *There isn't even a single person available now.*

As the example below shows, however, this generalization was too broad:

(23) a. **Anyone came to the party.*
b. *Even the most unsociable student came to the party.*

The intuition of a scale of alternatives ordered by strength along a contextually given dimension has been built upon in a substantial body of subsequent work (Rooth 1985, Hoeksema and Rullmann 2000, Krifka 1995, Lahiri 1998, Kadmon and Landman 1993).

1.3.2 Widening

In their seminal work, Kadmon and Landman (1993) proposed that the distribution of *any* is defined by the lexical semantics of *any* (widening) and the semantics of the context (widening should induce strengthening):

> *Any* CN = a CN with additional pragmatic/semantic characteristics (widening, strengthening) contributed by *any*.

(24) a. *I don't have potatoes.*
b. *I don't have any potatoes.*

Widening is defined as the mechanism whereby a contextually determined domain of quantification is broadened to include less relevant or irrelevant alternatives (in our case, irrelevant kinds of potatoes: rotten or non-edible ones).

The notion of strengthening expresses the condition that *any* is licensed only if the widening that it induces creates a stronger statement, i.e., if and only if the statement on the narrow interpretation follows from the statement on the wide interpretation.

(25) a. *I don't have any potatoes (edible or otherwise) --> I don't have potatoes. (edible)*
b. **I have any potatoes (edible or otherwise) -/-> I have potatoes. (edible)*

This account builds on Ladusaw's original idea of downward entailing, however, it has a better empirical coverage as it offers a unified account for PS and FC *any*.

Aloni (2002, 2007) and Menéndez-Benito 2010 extend Kadmon and Landman 1993 to possibility and necessity modal sentences using Hamblin's (1973) framework of propositional alternatives for the analysis of existentials/questions:

(26) a. *Anyone may come.*
b. **Anyone must come.*

In a similar approach, Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002) analyse Japanese quantifier+*wh*-indefinite constructions using a framework of propositional alternatives. This approach has been extended to Hungarian by Abrusán (2007) (to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.3).

1.3.3 Indiscriminacy, ignorance and indifference

Some approaches focus on the related concepts of indiscriminacy, ignorance and indifference inherent in the interpretation of FCIs. Studies exploring indiscriminacy include Horn (2000), Vlachou (2003, 2006), Jayez and Tovena (2005))

Horn (2000) points out the subtle difference between *any* and *just any.* In the pair of sentences below, it is not PS-*any* but *just* that adds indiscriminacy:

(27) a. *I don't want to play cards with just anyone.*
=/=
b. *I don't want to play cards with anyone.*

In French however, the FC-element *n'importe quoi* can carry indiscriminacy in itself. In addition, it is grammatical in a straight affirmative sentence (unlike any flavour of *any* in English):

(28) a. *Il fallait dire quelue chose. J'ai dit n'importe quoi.*
b. *I had to say something. I said *(just) anything.*

The following sentences show the element of ignorance in the FCI *whatever* (Dayal 1997):

(29) a. **Whatever Mary is cooking, namely ratatouille, uses onions.*
b. *What Mary is cooking, namely ratatouille, uses onions.*

Dayal (1997) analyzes this in a framework of possible world semantics: the FR formed by *whatever* is taken to denote the set of properties that its referent in any relevant world has. Thus, 'whatever Mary is cooking' is ratatouille in W_1, scrambled eggs in W_2 etc., and the only difference between W_1 and W_2 etc. is what Mary is actually cooking.

Fintel (2000) points out, however, that *wh-ever* does not necessarily express ignorance. In the sentence below, it is not ignorance but indifference that is at play:

(30) *I grabbed whatever tool was handy. (indifference)*

1.4 Context-oriented approaches

Context-oriented approaches focus on the properties of the contexts where FCIs are licensed. Dayal (1998) proposes that contextual vagueness is the licensing constraint for *any* in generics, modals and contexts where *any* is subtrigged (where furthermore an essential connection is needed between property described by the relative cause and the content of the main clause). More formally, *any* is taken to be „only appropriate in contexts where the speaker cannot identify the individual or individuals that verify the proposition it appears in". (Dayal 1998, p. 34) This proposal, however, is open to a considerable amount of criticism (cf. Vlachou 1997 for details).

1.4.1 Nonveridicality and nonepidosicity

Several authors proposed non-veridicality as the licencing condition for FCIs (Zwarts (1995), Giannakidou (1997, 2001)). (Non)veridicality can be formally defined as follows:

- A monadic sentential operator O is said to be veridical iff Op->p.
- If O is not veridical, it is non-veridical.
- is averidical iff Op->¬p

Thus, a sentence is nonveridical if its propositional argument is not entailed to be true.

This proposal works well for negative and possibility modal contexts and imperatives. It runs into trouble with necessity and volitional modal contexts (which are nonveridical, too) (Vlachou 2007):

(31) a. **You must eat any fruit.*

b. **He wants to eat any fruit.*

If non-veridicality is indeed the licensing condition of FCIs, the sentences in (31) should be grammatical. One possibility to salvage the veridicality-based account is to introduce the requirement of epidosicity in the hope that these two requirements together will provide the exact licensing conditions of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001, Giannakidou and Quer 2012). To put it somewhat loosely, an event is termed episodic if it refers to exactly one event. Thus, the twin licencing conditions for FCIs are the following:

- in the scope of non-veridical operator
- not episodic

The thinking behind this requirement is that if one regards FCIs as intensional indefinites, then one expects the values associated with an FCI variable to vary in each possible world under consideration. This clearly cannot be the case with episodic sentences, which refer to a single event (and thus fixed participants) in an extensional context.

This account, however, does not fully stand up to empirical scrutiny (Vlachou 2007). Firstly, *any* is grammatical in some veridical factive (and episodic) contexts:

(32) *Lucy regrets that she talked to anybody.*

Secondly, *any* is grammatical in veridical (and factive) contexts if subtrigged:

(33) *I talked to any student who was at the conference.*

Thirdly, as we have seen above, *just any* and *n'importe qu'* are grammatical in veridical (and episodic) contexts:

(34) a. *Il fallait dire quelque chose. J'ai dit n'importe quoi.*
b. *I had to say something. I said just anything.*

1.4.2 Non-individuation

Jayez and Tovena (2005) propose the following licensing requirement for FCIs: „the information conveyed by a sentence should not be reducible to a referential situation, that is, a situation in which particular individuals in the current world satisfy the sentences". (Jayez and Tovena (2005), p. 2)

Affirmative episodic contexts are par excellence reducible to a referential situation:

(35) a. *I saw a student yesterday.*
b. **I saw any student yesterday.*

A similar argument is elaborated to motivate the ungrammaticality of negative episodic sentences (though note that the English FCI *any* is grammatical in negatives):

(36) a. *Marie n'a pas lu *n'importe quel livre.*
b. *Mary did not read any book.*

Since *any* is grammatical in comparatives and in subtrigged constructions (which *are* referential), this proposal is refined as follows: „a sentence cannot host FCIs if the information it conveys can be reduced to an enumeration of propositions that refer to particular individuals". (Jayez and Tovena 2005, p. 23-24)

Even this broadened definition, however, fails to cover the case of *just any* affirmatives:

(37) a. *Il fallait dire quelque chose. J'ai dit n'importe quoi.*
b. *I had to say something. I said just anything.*

1.5 Summary

The two currently preeminent schools of the formal semantics of FCIs are 1) the so-called dependent indefinite analysis (Giannakidou 1997, 2001, Giannakidou and Quer 2012) and 2) the universal free choice analysis (involving propositional alternatives and Hamblin sets) (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002, Aloni 2007, Menéndez-Benito 2010).

In this thesis, I will adopt the dependent indefinite analysis: I will argue that this approach is more capable of explaining certain phenomena in Hungarian than rival approaches. A key characteristic of this approach is that the distribution of FCIs is derived from their lexical semantics. FC phrases are represented as intensional indefinites, which are grammatical only in contexts providing alternatives (worlds or situations). FCIs are thus licensed in non-veridical and non-episodic contexts (e.g. modals, generics), and ungrammatical in extensional veridical contexts (e.g. episodic sentences, negation, interrogatives). More formally, FC phrases are represented as:

(38) [[any student]] = **student**(x)(w) (or: **student**(x)(s))

The world/situation and individual variable(s) are to be bound by an appropriate Q-operator (i.e. generic, habitual, modal, intensional) in order for the FC phrase to be licensed. Under this analysis, the universality of FCIs is derived from their intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration (Dayal's (1997): i-alternatives).

2. FCIs in Hungarian - basic facts and previous accounts

2.1 Morphology

FCIs in Hungarian are made up of the morphemes *akár-* (‘even’) or *bár-* (‘even though’) and a wh-indefinite such as *-ki* (‘who’), *-mi* (‘what’), *-hol* (‘when’), yielding the FCIs *akárki/bárki* (‘anyone’), *akármi/bármi* (‘anything’), *akárhol/bárhol* (‘anywhere’):

akár- (‘even’) or *bár-* (‘even though’)
\+ wh-indefinite *–ki* (‘who’), *-mi* (‘what’), *-hol* (‘when’)
= *akárki* (‘anyone’), *akármi* (‘anything’), *akárhol* (‘anywhere’)

This is in fact a general pattern for quantifiers in Hungarians:

	-ki (‘who’)	-mi (‘what’)	-hol (‘where’)
akár- (‘even’)	akárki (‘anyone’)	akármi (‘anything’)	akárhol (‘anywhere’)
bár- (‘even though’)	bárki (‘anyone’)	bármi (‘anything’)	bárhol (‘anywhere’)
minden- (‘every’)	mindenki (‘everyone’)	mindenmi (‘everything’)	mindenhol (‘everywhere’)
vala- (-)	valaki (‘someone’)	valami (‘something’)	valahol (‘somewhere’)

Similar patterns have been found in several languages such as Japanese and Lithuanian (Kratzer-Shimoyama (2002), Hunyadi (1985), Abrusán (2007)).

A peculiarity of Hungarian is that there are in fact two families of FCIs: the *akár-* (‘even’) paradigm and the *bár-* (‘even though’) paradigm. (A possible compositional semantic approach to FCIs in Hungarian will be discussed in Chapter 2.3). As far as their syntactic distribution and semantics are concerned, these two versions of FCIs (*bár-* and *akár-*) are completely interchangeable. While Szabó (2012) does point out some frequency differences in certain constructions, I believe these are due to stylistic factors rather than grammaticality.

Szabó (2012) claims that in the antecedent of conditionals, *akár*-wh is basically unattested. While this may be true in the MNSZ corpus used by Szabó (2012), a general search engine query on Google provides instances on the magnitude of several tens of thousands of sentences such as:

(39) *Ha akárki pozícióba kerül, akkor el szabadul és lop.*[1]
If anyone position-ILL get then PRTloosen-3SG and steal-3SG
'If anyone gets into a high position, he loses control and starts stealing.'

Admittedly, most (but by no means all) instances of *ha akárki* are somewhat archaic (dating from the 19th century or before) and *ha bárki* is vastly more frequent. However, this frequency imbalance is by no means limited to the antecedent of conditionals as *akárki* in general is much less frequent than *bárki*:

	frequency
bárki	4.640.000
akárki	387.000
ha bárki	148.000
ha akárki	25.900

While a general search engine query (on Hungarian-language web content indexed by Google) has a number of limitations and does not have the reliability of a full corpus linguistic analysis, it is safe to assume that the frequency difference in the antecedent of conditionals simply represents a general, context-independent frequency imbalance. This, together with the predominance of archaic instances may suggest that *akárki* is slowly becoming archaic (stylistically marked) and *bárki* is emerging as the only general-purpose (unmarked) FCI in present-day Hungarian. The verification of this conjecture would require a full corpus linguistic historical analysis which will not be undertaken in this thesis.

Szabó (2012) also claims that while both *bárki* and *akárki* can freely express both universal and existential readings of the FCI, the relative frequency of *bárki* is higher with existential readings than with universal readings. Unfortunately, the exact criteria used for telling apart existential and universal readings are not clear, and the limited size of the dataset (100 sentences) also makes it impossible, in my view, to substantiate her claim.

Finally, Szabó (2012) points out that while *nem akárki* is grammatical, *nem bárki* is clearly ungrammatical in sentences such as:

1 Sourcehttp://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:PljkLbrzxTQJ:www.168ora.hu/itthon/para-mob-elnok-borkai-elfeledkezett-deutsch-erdemeirol-botranyban-136201.html+&cd=1&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu, date of access: October 10th, 2015

(40) a. *Nem akárki jött el.*
not anyone come-PAST-3SG PRT
'A special person has arrived.'

b. **Nem bárki jött el.*
not anyone come-PAST-3SG PRT
intended: 'A special person has arrived.'

While the grammaticality contrast is striking, we should be careful with drawing quick conclusions. Whether the negation observed in sentences such as (40a) is to be treated as sentential negation or constituent negation is a debated issue in Hungarian syntax (see Chapter 3.1.1.6). Also, note that *nem akárki* in (40a) is single phonological world and it has a peculiar, quasi-idiomatic meaning of 'someone significant, someone of high (positive) importance'. Compare the following pair of sentences where the FCIs receive independent stress:

(41) a. *Nem 'akárki jött el, (hanem a királynő maga.)*
not anyone come-PAST-3SG- PRT but-rather the queen herself
'Not just anybody arrived, (but rather the queen herself.)'

b. *Nem 'bárki jött el, (hanem a királynő maga.)*
not anyone come-PAST-3SG PRT but-rather the queen herself
'Not just anybody arrived, (but rather the queen herself.)'

I propose that in (40a), *nem akárki* is a single negated or (even inherently negative, see Chapter 3.1.3) constituent, whereas in (41a) and (41b), what we see is the focusing of the FCI to express a metalinguistic contrast, similar to:

(42) *Nem 'mindenki jött el, (hanem mindenki, aki számít.)*
not everyone come-PAST-3SG PRT but-rather everyone who matter
'Not everybody arrived, (but everybody that matters)'

To summarize, I believe that *bárki* and *akárki* are interchangeable in terms of their syntactic behaviour in current-day Hungarian, even though some slight differences in usage are discernible as *akárki* appears to be fading and becoming the stylistically more marked variant.

2.2 Syntax

2.2.1 Licensing environments

To a considerable degree, the distribution of FCIs in Hungarian is similar to that of other languages surveyed in the literature. Thus, FCIs are ungrammatical in plain episodic affirmative sentences:

(43) *#Megnéztem bármit.*
look-PAST-1SG anything-ACC
'I had a look at anything.'

Subtrigging, however, makes these sentences grammatical (as expected):

(44) *Megnéztem bármit, amit mutatott nekem.*
look-PAST-1SG anything-ACC what show-PAST-3SG me
'I had a look at anything that he showed me.'

Akár- is grammatical in possibility modal contexts (cf. also Hunyadi 2002):

(45) *Akárhova (el) utazhatsz.*
anywhere PRT travel-POT-2SG
'You can/may travel anywhere.'

Unlike in many other languages (e.g. English), FCIs in Hungarian are ungrammatical (or at least marked) in generic statements:

(46) **#Bármelyik bagoly egerekre vadászik.*
any owl mice-SUB hunt-3SG
'Any owl hunts mice. (Owls hunt mice.)'

As far as polarity-sensitive (PS-) *any* is concerned, the picture is somewhat complicated. FCIs are ungrammatical in straight negative episodic sentences:

(47) a. **Nem láttam bárkit.*
not see-PAST-3SG anybody-ACC
'I did not see anybody.'

b. *Nem láttam senkit.*
not see-PAST-3SG nobody-ACC
'I did not see anybody/I saw nobody.'

However, FCIs are grammatical in weakly non-veridical constructions (Tóth 1999, Hunyadi 2002) (note that these sentences sound considerably better with the supporting element *is* ('too, also'):

(48) a. *Kevesen mondtak bármit (is).*
few say-PAST-3PL anything-ACC (too)
'Few people said anything.'

b. *Ki hallott bármit (is)?*
who hear-PAST-3SG anything-ACC (too)
'Who has heard anything?'

c. *Bánom, hogy bármit (is) el mondtam.*
regret-1PSG that anything-ACC (too) PRT say-PAST-1SG
'I regret that I said anything (at all).'

d. *Csak ő mondott bármit (is).*
only he say-PAST-3SG anything-ACC (too)
'He was the only one to say anything.'

e. *Ritkán megyünk bárhova (is).*
rarely go-1PL anywhere (too)
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

f. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki (is) el jön.*
not believe-1SG that anyone (too) PRT come-3SG
'I do not think that anyone will come.'

It is important to note that as opposed to straight negated sentences, *sem-* ('nobody, nothing' etc.) is completely unacceptable, while *vala-* ('somebody, someone') is acceptable (marginally in itself, completely with *is*-support):

(49) a. **Nem hiszem, hogy senki el jön.*[2]
not believe-1SG that nobody PRT come-3SG
'I do not think that anyone will come.'

b. *#Nem hiszem, hogy valaki el jön.*
not believe-1SG that somebody PRT come-3SG
'I do not think that anyone will come.'

c. *Nem hiszem, hogy valaki is el jön.*
not believe-1SG that somebody too PRT come-3SG
'I do not think that anyone will come at all.'

In sum, FCIs in Hungarian behave similarly to those in other languages in classical free-choice environments, however, they are not licensed in generic constructions. As far as polarity-sensitivity is concerned, FCIs are not licensed in straight negative sentences but are grammatical in weakly non-veridical constructions.

2.2.2 Hunyadi's (1991, 2002) quantificational approach

The first and so far only detailed syntactic analysis of FCIs in Hungarian is due to Hunyadi (1991, 2002). Hunyadi (2002) treats *bár-* and *akár-* pronouns as free variants of each other, and analyzes them as universal quantifiers similar to *minden-* pronouns. Hunyadi (2002) pinpoints the main difference between *bárki* and *mindenki* in terms of their relationship with modality. While *mindenki* can freely appear in a non-modal context, *bárki* needs a modal context to be grammatical (sentences from Hunyadi 2002):

(50) a. *Tegnap este mindenki el jött.*
yesterday evening everyone PRT come-PAST-3SG
'Yesterday evening everyone came.'

b. **Tegnap este akárki el jött.*
yesterday evening anyone PRT come-PAST-3SG
'Yesterday evening anyone came.'

2 *Nem hiszem, hogy senki sem jön el.* is grammatical but has a different meaning: 'I do not think that nobody will come.'

Importantly, Hunyadi (2002) treats *bárki* as a universal just like *mindenki*, with the only difference that whereas *mindenki* may have either broad or narrow scope with regard to a modal operator, *bárki* is only grammatical when in the scope of a modal operator. This of course leads to the question of why such a contrast is lexicalized in Hungarian (and presumably in other languages): what is the point of having two kinds of universals: one of them having compulsorily narrow scope with regard to modal operators and the other unspecified in terms of scope relative to modal operators?

Hunyadi (2002) claims that this is due to the fact that the relative scope of modal operators in Hungarian is mostly unrecoverable, due to the fact that 1) relative operator scope is mainly coded in Hungarian through prosodic prominence and 2) modal operators are in general not individual lexemes but bound morphemes (suffixes of verbs) and thus lack an independent prosodic structure. This means that the only way for Hungarian to recoverably encode the distinction between the broad vs. narrow scope of a universal pronoun with regard to modal operators is to have two sets of universals, one of which is compulsorily narrow-scope, which Hunyadi derives from *akárki* having the feature [-specific]. Compare (sentences from Hunyadi 2002):

(51) a. *Mindent* *meg* *vehetsz.*
everything-ACC PRT buy-POT-2SG
i. 'Everything, you are allowed to buy' (For every x, you are allowed to buy x.) ∀ > MOD
ii. 'You are allowed to buy everything.' (It is allowed that for every x, you buy x.) MOD > ∀

b. *Akármit* *meg* *vehetsz.*
anything-ACC PRT buy-POT-2SG
i. 'You are allowed to buy anything.' (It is allowed that for every x you choose, you buy x.) MOD > ∀

In addition to this, Hunyadi assumes that *akárki* also differs from *mindenki* in having a complex semantic structure involving the conditional/modal operator CHOOSE encoding the element of choice with regard to FCIs. Consider (sentence from Hunyadi 2002):

(52) *Akármit meg vehetsz,*
anything-ACC PRT buy-POT-2SG
'You can buy anything, '
CHOOSE(ALLOWED(for every x, you buy x))
de nem vehetsz meg mindent.
but not buy-POT-2SG PRT everything-ACC
'but you can't buy everything.'
& NOT(ALLOWED(for every x, you buy x))

Hunyadi (2002) also analyzes the occurrence of FCIs in embedded sentences, pinpointing that in these cases as well, FCIs are crucially within the scope of a modal operator. As will be shown, my analysis incorporates some elements of Hunyadi's (2002) proposal, such as the requirement for an FCI to be in the scope of a modal operator and also the insight that FCIs behave syntactically rather similarly to universal quantifiers. Crucially, however, I will argue in Chapter 3 that instead of regarding FCIs as a kind of universal quantifier, it is more appropriate to analyze them as dependent indefinites (Giannakidou 1997, 2001).

2.3 Semantics

Abrusán (2007) provided the first and so far only semantic analysis of FCIs in Hungarian, concentrating on the FCI *akárki* 'anyone'. In her account, the FCI *akárki* is composed of two elements:

akár 'strong even': *even* (with additive presupposition) + Exhaustive Operator
\+ *-ki*: wh-indefinite
= *akárki*: FCI

The meaning of *akárki* is thus compositional based on the meanings of its two elements. Abrusán's (2007) strategy is to first derive the distribution of the particle *akár* and then claim that the distribution of the FCI *akárki* falls out automatically from this. The two meaning components of *akár* (additive presupposition and exhaustivity) are stipulated to clash unless *akár* is situated in a suitable environment (e.g. possibility modal) which defuses this inherent tension.

While Abrusán's (2007) explanation is elegant and fits nicely with solutions proposed for other languages (Lahiri 1998, Kratzer-Shimoyama 2002), I believe that it has a number of significant shortcomings both in terms of empirical coverage and theoretical grounding.

As far as empirical coverage is concerned, it is important to point out that the *bár*-family of FCIs is completely ignored. We have seen that *bár*- FCIs have the same meaning and distribution as *akár*- FCIs. If Abrusán's (2007) theory holds, one would expect to be able to derive their properties compositionally, i.e. from the respective meanings of *bár*- and the wh-indefinite. However, *akár* (strong 'even') and *bár* ('even though') have different meanings and syntax in Hungarian:

(53) a. *Akár a diák is jelentkezhet.*
even the student too register-POT-3SG
'Even the student may register.'

b. *Bár a diák is jelentkezhet,*
even though the student too register-POT-3SG
ajánlás is szükséges.
recommendation too necessary.
'Even though the student may register, a recommendation is also necessary.'

If we assume that the meaning of FCIs in Hungarian is constructed compositionally from the meanings of their elements, the difference in the meaning of *bár* and *akár* would necessarily lead to a difference in meaning (and distribution) for the FCIs *bárki* ('anyone') and *akárki* ('anyone'). In fact, however, these two sets of FCIs have identical meanings and syntactic distributions.[3]

More generally, analyzing Hungarian FCIs in a compositional way is questionable. Their makeup of a lexical element and a *wh-indefinite* may simply be a fossilized relic of

3 An anonymous reviewer of Halm (2013) argues that there is a version of *bár* that is interchangeable with *akár*:
(54) *Jöjjön bár/akár a pápa, ne engedd be!*
come-IMP-3SG even though/even the pope, not let-IMP-2SG in
'Should even the pope come, do not let him in.'

Using this version of *bár*, *bárki* can be derived the same way as *akárki* following Abrusán (2007). I accept that this goes a considerable way towards salvaging the account of Abrusán (2007), I nevertheless wish to point out that this use of *bár* is rather archaic, which means that while this compositional account may be plausible from a diachronic point of view, it is not necessarily synchronically relevant. This again leads us to the more general question of whether these wh-indefinite-based quasi-quantifiers are synchronically transparent or just fossilized remnants of language history.

language history that is no longer transparent synchronically. Note that the existential *valaki* is made up of a wh-indefinite *-ki* 'who' and the bound morpheme *vala-*, which happens to be an archaic past tense form of the copula, but is not recognized as such in compounds by native speakers. (See also Giannakidou and Quer 2012 for a similar point regarding the universal free choice analysis of of FCIs in other languages.)

Theoretically, to assume that a single lexical element (*akár* 'strong even') has a meaning that is contradictory in itself (unless inserted in the right environment) seems arbitrary and contrary to the notion of compositionality.

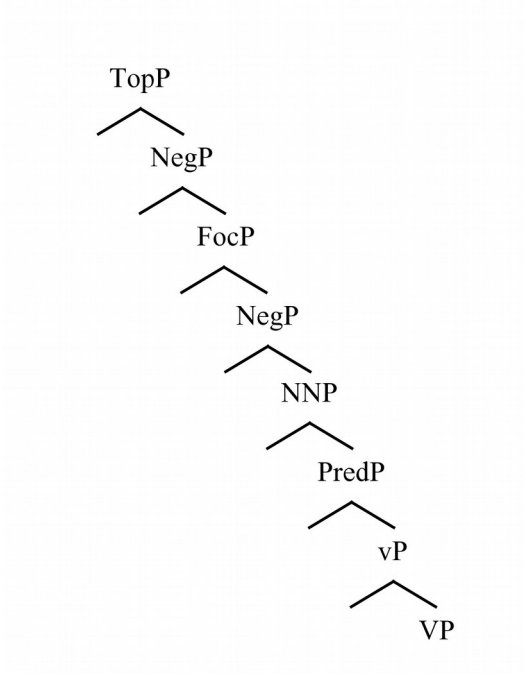
A key element of the account of Abrusán (2007) is that FCIs in Hungarian contain an Exhaustive Operator. However, in Hungarian, it is the identificational focus position that is standardly taken to be associated with exhaustivity (e.g. Horváth 2000). Therefore, if FCIs do indeed contain an Exhaustive Operator, one would expect them to be obligatorily focused, which is not the case.

3. FCIs in Hungarian: Problems and Solutions

3.1 Basic syntactic position

3.1.1 A short overview of the syntax of the Hungarian sentence

Our goal in this section is to explore the syntactic position of FCIs in Hungarian. Throughout the section, I assume the syntactic structure for the Hungarian sentence outlined in É. Kiss (2006):



(55) [TP [NegP [FocP [NegP [PredP [vP [VP ..]]]]]]]

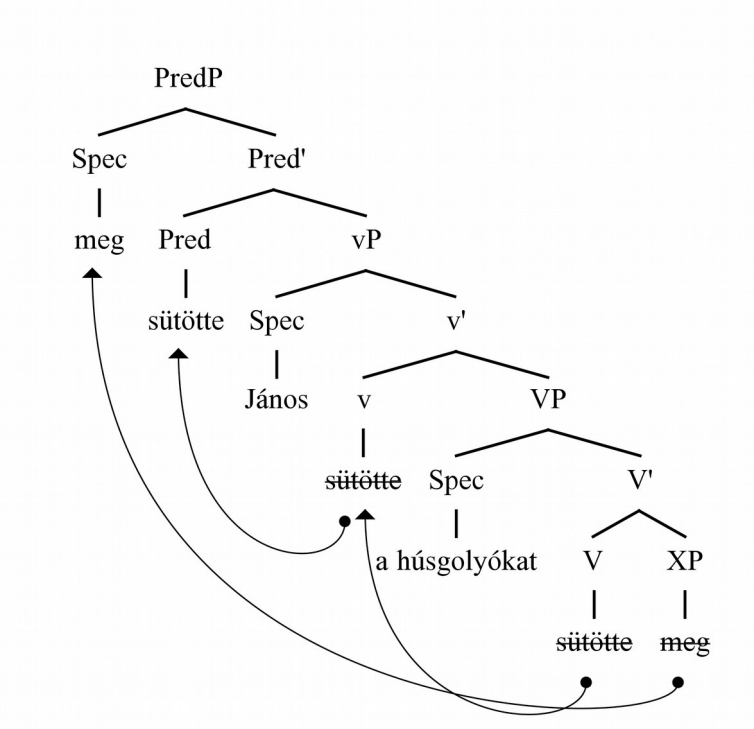
Furthermore, I adopt the analysis of Q-raising as adjunction (optionally left-adjunction or right-adjunction, targeting the functional projections PredP, FocP or NegP (É. Kiss 2010b). In what follows, I will provide a decidedly cursory overview of this model of the Hungarian sentence, primarily for the benefit of readers who are not specialized in the syntax of Hungarian. My intention is to provide enough background for the evaluation of my FCI-related proposals. For a more thorough take on the hotly contested syntax of the Hungarian sentence, I recommend the works quoted, and the references therein.

3.1.1.1 PredP

The core of the Hungarian sentence is the hierarchical PredP, which is the maximal lexically extended verb phrase. Consider:

(56) *Meg* *sütötte* *János* *a* *húsgolyókat.*
PRT fry-PAST-3SG John the meatball-PL-ACC
'John fried the meatballs.'

This sentence is analyzed as follows:



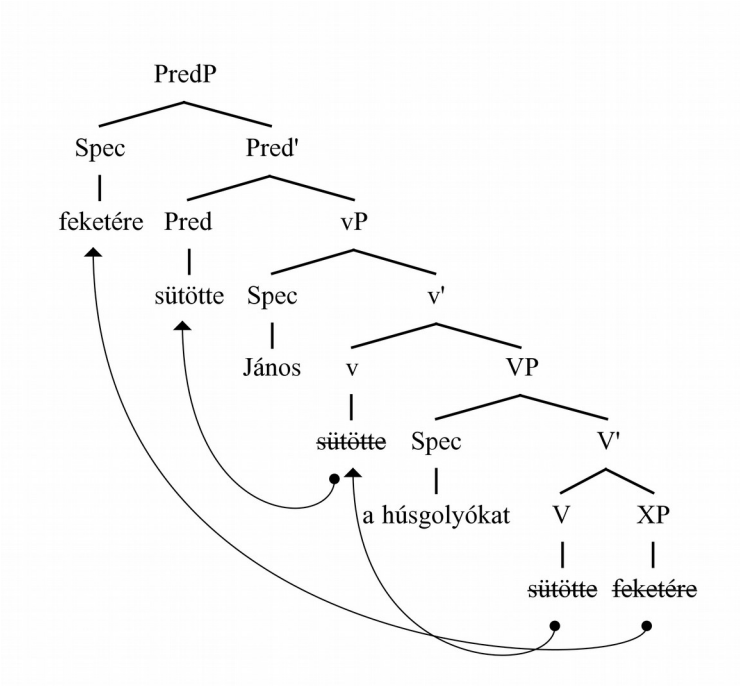
The core of the sentence is the verb phrase, which is assumed to be hierarchical. The inner VP shell has three positions: the V head hosting the verb, Spec,VP hosting the object of transitives and the subject of unaccusatives and the sister node of V (XP) hosting the so-called verb modifier (VM).

Upon this, we find the vP shell, headed by v (which is a compulsory landing site of the verb during derivation) and containing Spec,vP which is where the grammatical subject of transitives and unergatives is base-generated.

The final layer of the maximal lexically extended verb phrase is the so-called PredP, which contains the Pred head (where the verb is assumed to move obligatorily) and Spec,PredP, which is where the verb modifier is obligatorily moved.

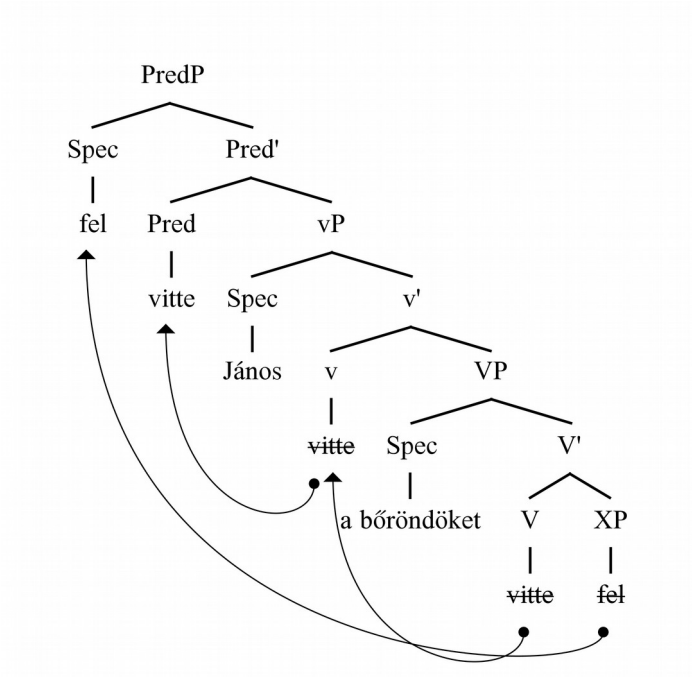
Verbal modifiers basically fall into two kinds: verbal particles such as *meg* (a resultative element with no descriptive content) or *fel* 'up', *szét* 'away'[4] and resultative bare adjective or noun phrases such as *feketére* 'black-SUB'. Cf.:

(57) *Feketére sütötte János a húsgolyókat.*
black-SUB fry-PAST-3SG John the meatball-PL-ACC
'John fried the meatballs black.'



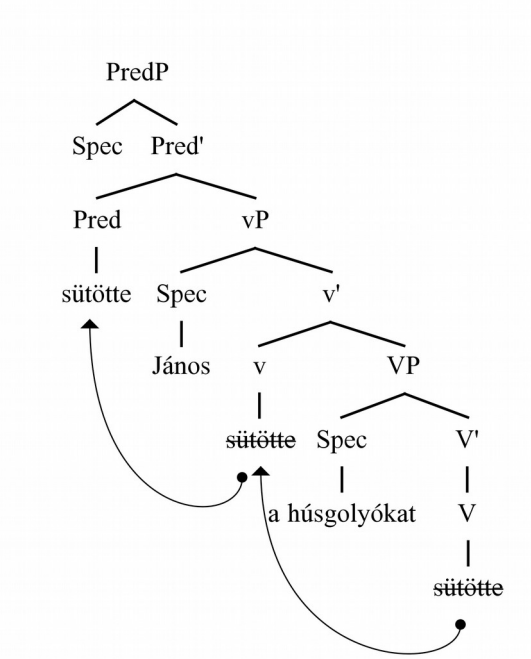
4 In Hungarian orthographical tradition, verbal particles immediately preceding the verb (on the surface) are spelled as a single word, thus, (57) is written as: *Felvitte János a bőröndöket.* For the sake of clarity (and following the convention of linguistics literature about Hungarian), I spell verbal particles as separate words, independently from their surface position with regard to the verb.

(58) *Fel vitte János a bőröndöket.*
up carry-PAST-3SG John the suitcase-PL-ACC
'John carried up the suitcases.'



É. Kiss (2006) provides a unified analysis for the different kinds of verbal modifiers. VMs are taken to express the result state (or location) of the theme argument (a state or location which came about as the result of the action described by the verb). In (57), the result state of the meatballs is that of being black (as a result of intensive frying). In (58), the result state (or resultative location) of the suitcases is that of being in a position above some contextually indicated benchmark elevation (they are 'up'). In (56), the presence of the verbal particle *meg* (which lacks descriptive content) indicates that the theme argument has reached the terminal state with regard to the action designated by the verb (that is, the meatballs have been fried ready). Cf. a sentence which is similar to (56) but lacks the verbal particle:

(59) *Sütötte* *János* *a* *húsgolyókat.*
fry-PAST-3SG John the meatball-PL-ACC
'John was frying the meatballs.'



Thus, according to É. Kiss (2006), verbal modifiers[5] are in fact secondary predicates, participating in a predication relation with the internal (theme) argument. Their obligatory movement to Spec,PredP (where they enter into a Spec-head relation with the moved verb) is motivated by the need to check their [+pred] feature, since not being arguments of the verb, they cannot be licensed in situ (Koster (1994), Alberti (1997)).

At this point, a short note on the structure of the sentence and the surface order of the elements is in order. Consider:

5 Note that in activity sentences, too, bare nominals can appear in the Spec,PredP position:

(60) *Verset* *olvasott* *János*
poem-ACC read-PAST-3SG John
'John read poems/a poem.'

In such constructions, it assumed that the bare nominal is in a predicative relation with the incorporated theme argument. (In essence, the above sentence can be paraphrased as follows: 'What John was reading was poems.')

(61) a. *Meg* *sütötte* *János* *a* *húsgolyókat.*
PRT fry-PAST-3SG John the meatball-PL-ACC
'John fried the meatballs.'

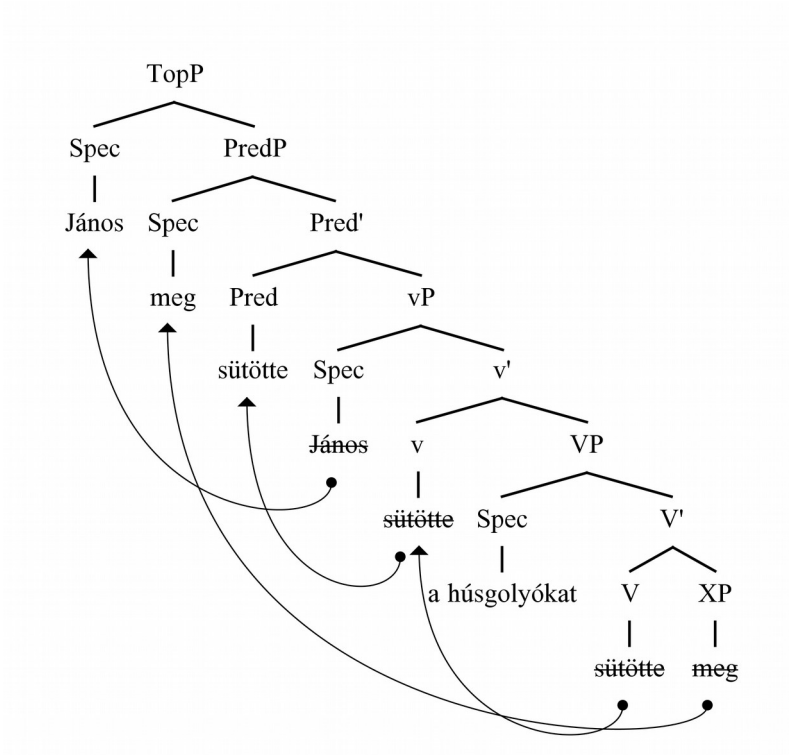
b. *Meg* *sütötte* *a* *húsgolyókat* *János.*
PRT fry-PAST-3SG the meatball-PL-ACC John
'John fried the meatballs.'

While the two sentences are identical in meaning, the word order of the postverbal elements is clearly different. This is, in fact, a general observation concerning Hungarian and because of this, the question of whether Hungarian has a hierarchical or a flat verb phase has been the subject of considerable debate and scrutiny (see É. Kiss 2008 for an overview). In this paper, I follow the proposal of É. Kiss (2008) which is couched in phase theory (Chomsky 2001, 2004, 2005): I assume that the verb phase is hierarchical to begin with but it collapses once the verb moves out. This explains while word order is free in the post-verbal domain but fixed in the pre-verbal domain. Crucially, while post-verbal word order is free, the possible orders do differ in terms of markedness. Thus, (61a) is more natural to the native speaker than (61b). This phenomenon can be explained by Behaghel (1932)'s 'Law of Growing Constituents', which states a preference for ordering the elements in growing order of phonological weight (which is a combination of their length and stress, to simplify somewhat). Thus, in (61), the DP *a húsgolyókat* 'the meatball-PL-ACC ' is phonologically heavier than the DP *János* 'John', and therefore, (61a) is less marked than (61b).

3.1.1.2 TopP: Topicalization

PredP can optionally be subsumed by a TopP (topic phrase projection), consider:

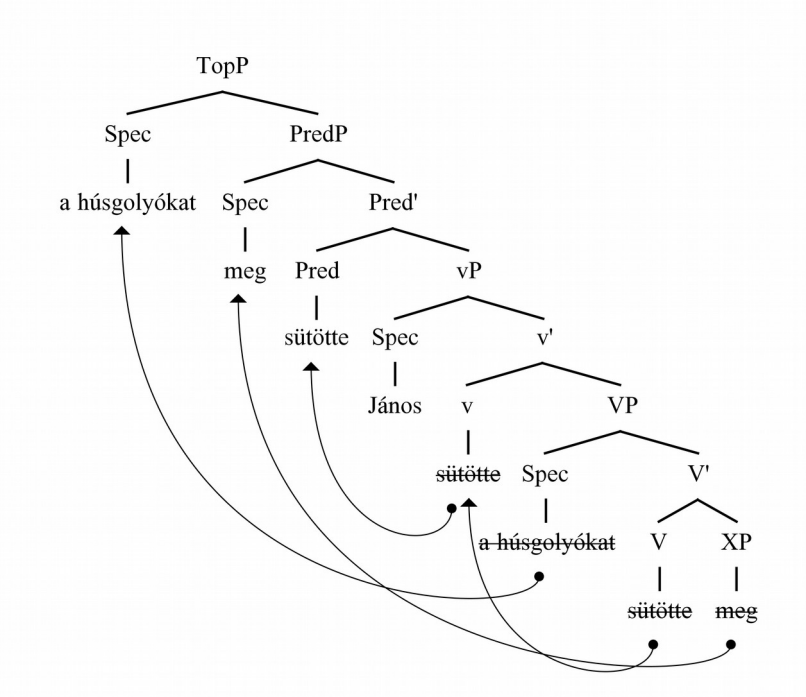
(62) *János* *meg* *sütötte* *a* *húsgolyókat.*
John PRT fry-PAST-3SG the meatball-PL-ACC
'John fried the meatballs.'



The Spec,TopP position is only open to referential constituents. A constituent in Spec,TopP serves as the logical subject of predication. That is, (62) can be split into two components in terms of predication: the logical subject (Spec,TopP) and the logical predicate (PredP). To paraphrase, in (62), it is predicated of John that he fried the meatballs.

The grammatical object (indeed, any referential constituent) can also be freely topicalized:

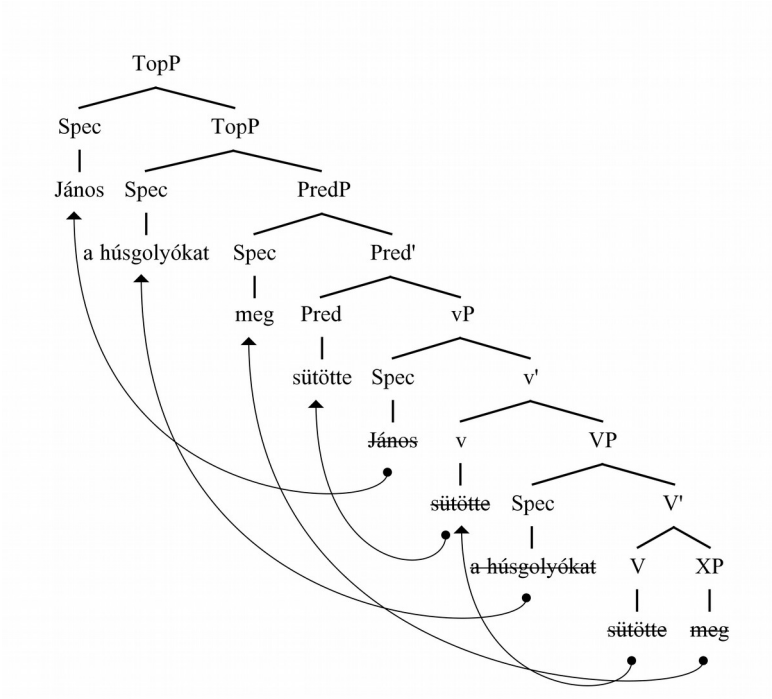
(63) *A húsgolyókat meg sütötte János.*
the meatball-PL-ACC PRT fry-PAST-3SG John
'John fried the meatballs.'



Here, the logical subject is the DP *a húsgolyókat* 'the meatball-PL-ACC', whereas the logical predicate is the PredP *megsütötte János* 'PRT fry-PAST-3SG John'. That is, in (63), it is predicated of the meatballs that John fried them.

Topicalization can be iterated: a sentence may contain several topics. Consider:

(64) *János a húsgolyókat meg sütötte*
John the meatball-PL-ACC PRT fry-PAST-3SG
'John fried the meatballs.'



3.1.1.3 FocP: Focus

So far, I have described the syntactic position of neutral sentences. There are two operations in Hungarian by which non-neutral sentences can be derived: focusing and negation.

Identificational focus is a much-examined phenomenon in Hungarian (Brody 1991, Szabolcsi 1981, Kenesei 1986, É. Kiss 1998, Horváth 2004, É. Kiss 2010b among others). The focus position is generally described as a pre-verbal position targeted by the movement of the element to be focused, which also brings about the movement of the main verb (one indication of which is the change of the surface order of the verb and the verbal particle in sentences which contain a verbal particle in the first place). Consider the neutral sentence in (65a) and its version with focus in (65b)

(65) a. *Meg sütötte János a húsgolyókat.*
PRT fry-PAST-3SG John the meatball-PL-ACC
'John fried the meatballs.'

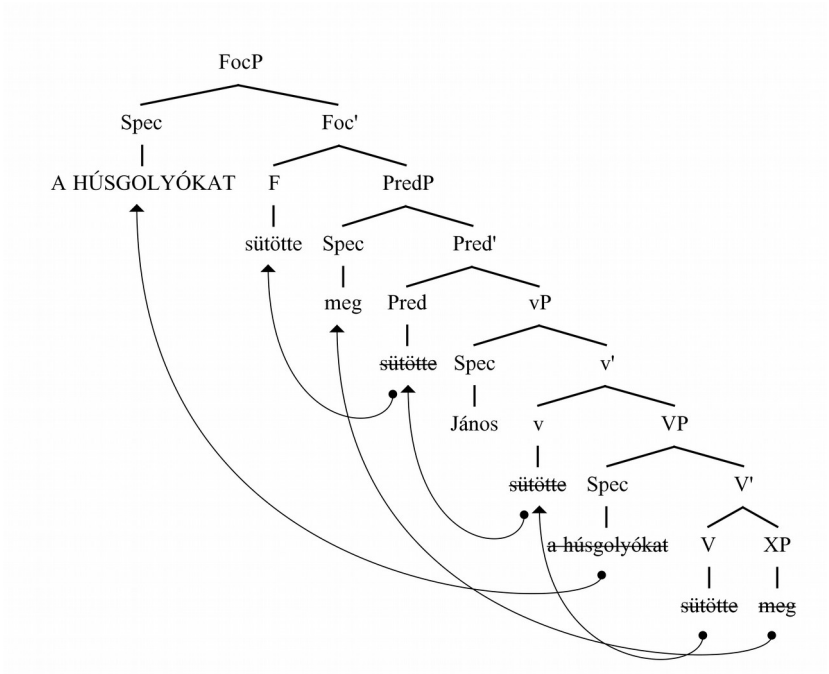
b. A HÚSGOLYÓKAT[6] *sütötte meg János.*
the meatball-PL-ACC fry-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It was the meatballs that John fried.'

Semantically, the focus position expresses exhaustive identification: out of a contextually determined set of possible elements, it exhaustively identifies the subset of which the predicate holds. In (65), this contextually determined set may include several kinds of food which could have been fried by John: meatballs, potatoes, onion rings etc. (65a) merely states that the meatballs have indeed been fried by John, and it is agnostic as to whether anything else has been fried by John or not. (65b), in contrast, states that the meatballs have been fried by John and nothing else has been fried by John. (The exact formalization of this intuitive account has been the topic of considerable debate, see Brody 1991, Szabolcsi 1981, É. Kiss 1998, Horváth 2004, É. Kiss 2010 among others.)

In the model I assume based on É. Kiss (2008), the constituent undergoing focusing is moved to the specifier of a focus projection (FocP):

6 Following tradition, the focused constituent is capitalized.

(66) A HÚSGOLYÓKAT *sütötte* *meg* *János.*
the meatball-PL-ACC fry-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It was the meatballs that John fried.'



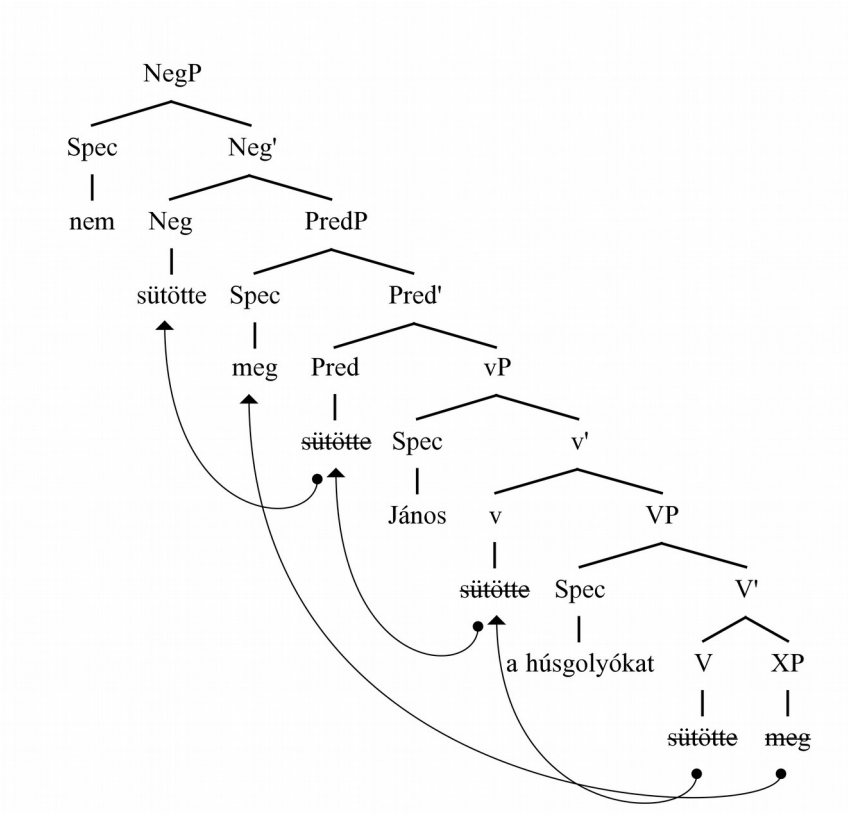
Unlike topicalization, focusing cannot be iterated.

3.1.1.4 NegP: Negation

Negation and specifically negative concord (the quantificational force and negativity of n-words) has been an extensively studied question of Hungarian syntax (cf. Surányi 2000, Surányi 2002, Surányi 2006a, Surányi 2006b, Puskás 2000, Olsvay 2000, É. Kiss 2002b, É. Kiss 2007 among others). The following short description provides only the information essential for the purposes of this thesis. The model assumed is based on É. Kiss (2007).

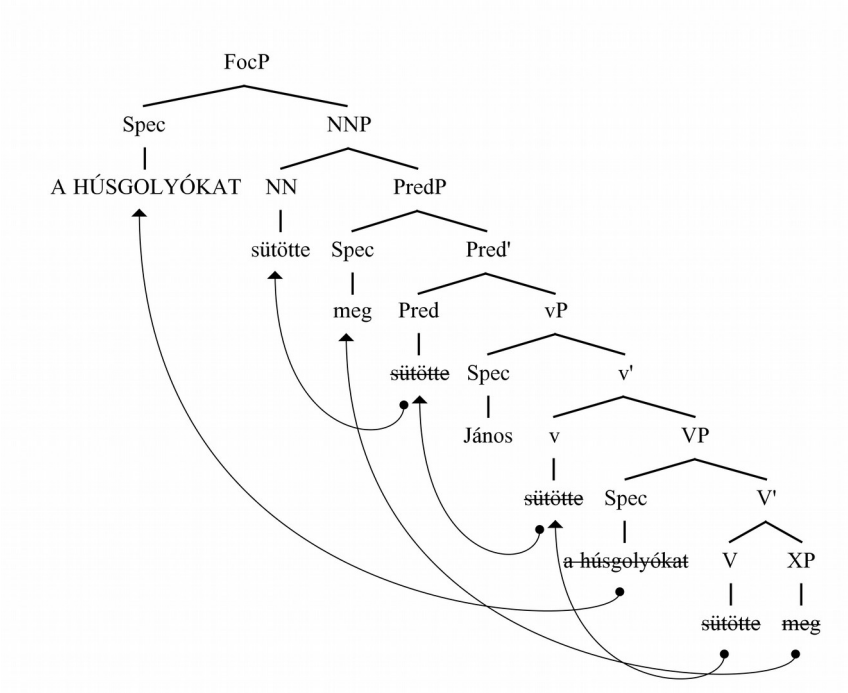
In a sentence containing a focus projection, negation can be inserted either above PredP and below FocP or above FocP. In either case, the domain of negation corresponds to the c-command domain of NegP. Consider first the negation of a sentence without focus:

(67) *Nem sütötte meg János a húsgolyókat.*
Not fry-PAST-3SG PRT John the meatball-PL-ACC
'John did not fry the meatballs.'

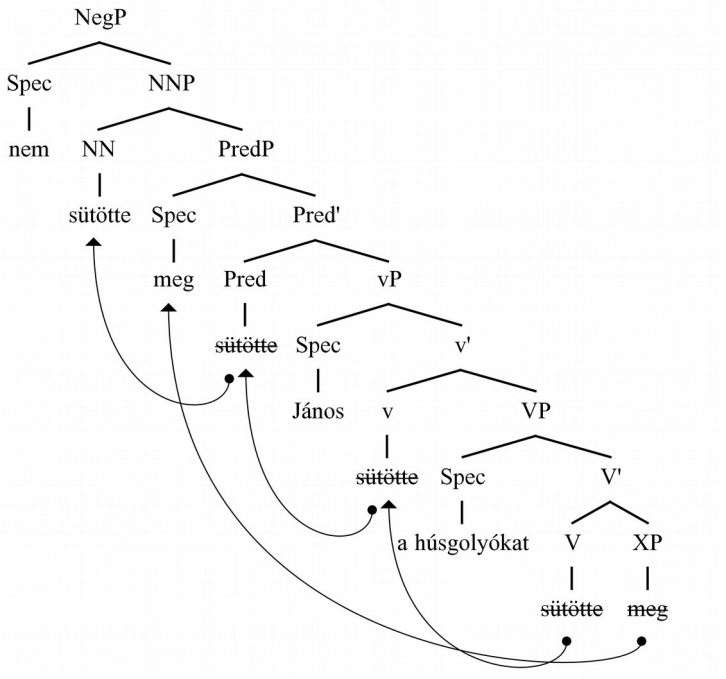


This relatively simply case can be modelled by simply assuming a NegP projection, where the negative is in Spec,NegP and the verb moves to the Neg head. To be able to fully account for word order phenomena arising in more complex sentences containing a negation above focus, it is necessary to stipulate a special projection, which is projected immediately above PredP whenever PredP is to be combined by negation or focus. This Non-Neutral Phrase or NNP (Olsvay 2000) is presumed to indicate a type-shift of the neutral predicate and enable it to become the argument, as it were, of either a negation or a focus operation. Consider (66) and (67) (relabeled below as (68) and (69)):

(68) A HÚSGOLYÓKAT *sütötte* *meg* *János.*
the meatball-PL-ACC fry-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It was the meatballs that John fried.'

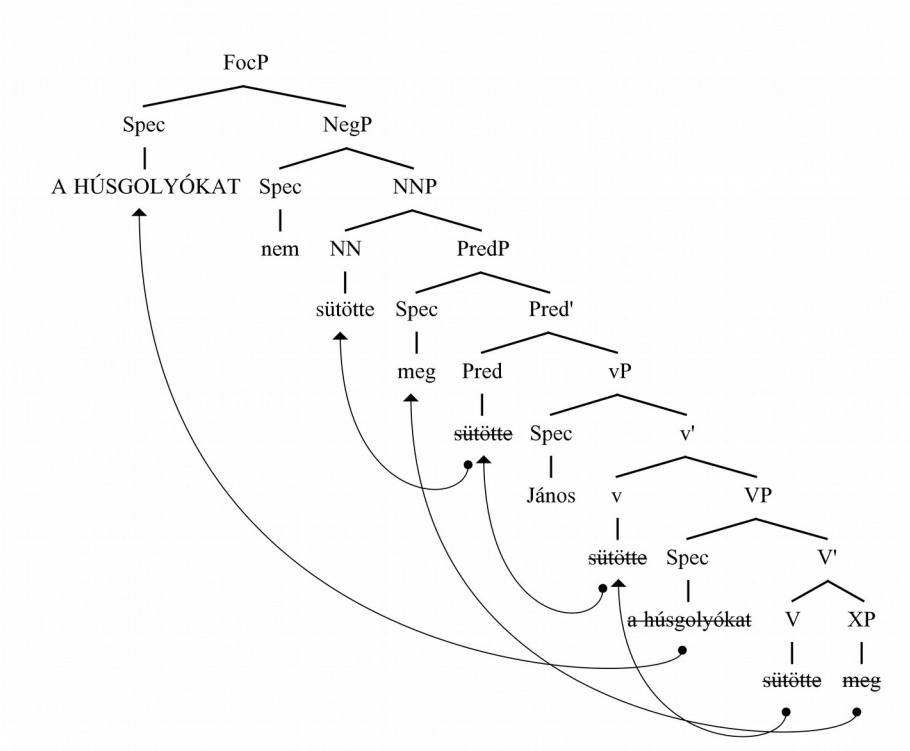


(69) *Nem* *sütötte* *meg* *János* *a* *húsgolyókat.*
not fry-PAST-3SG PRT John the meatball-PL-ACC
'John did not fry the meatballs.'

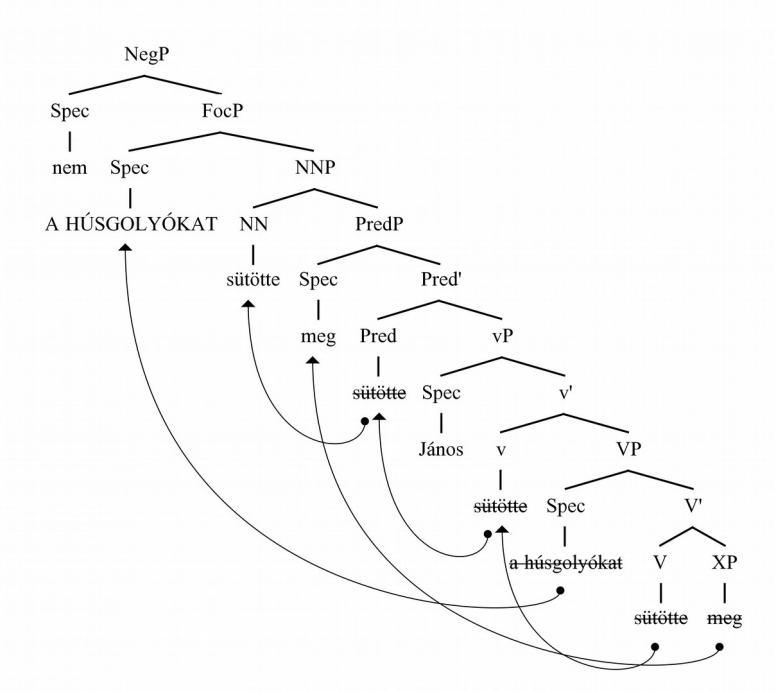


As I stated above, in a sentence with focus, negation can be inserted either above or below focus, and indeed, it is possible to insert negation simultaneously above and below focus. In each case, the scope relations of the operators fall out naturally from the c-command relations. Consider:

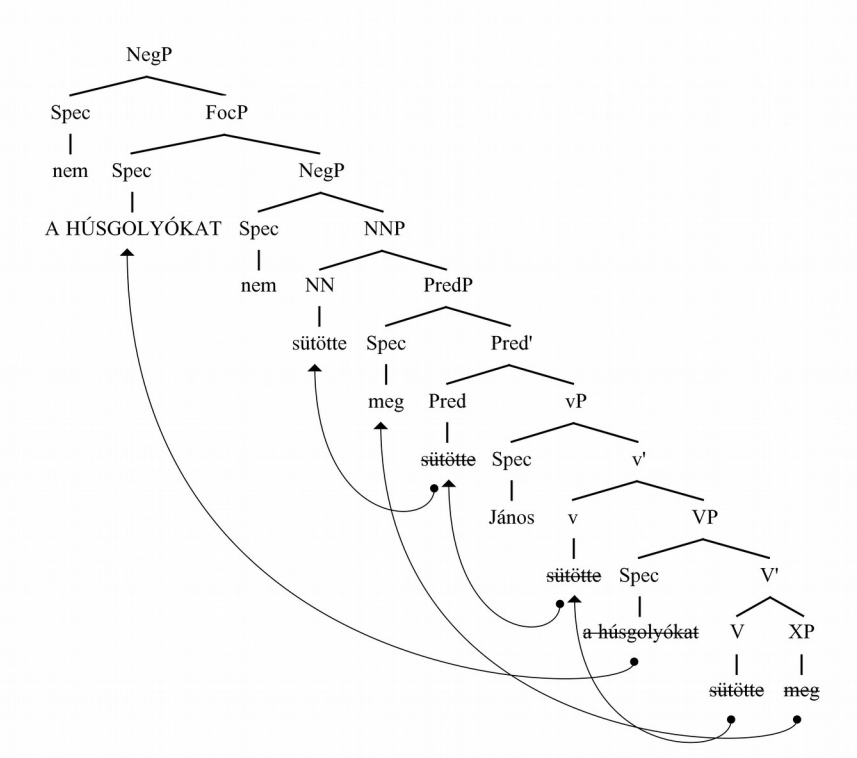
(70) A HÚSGOLYÓKAT *nem sütötte meg János.*
the meatball-PL-ACC not fry-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It was the meatballs that John did not fry.'



(71) *Nem a* HÚSGOLYÓKAT *sütötte meg János.*
not the meatball-PL-ACC fry-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It was not the meatballs that John fried.'

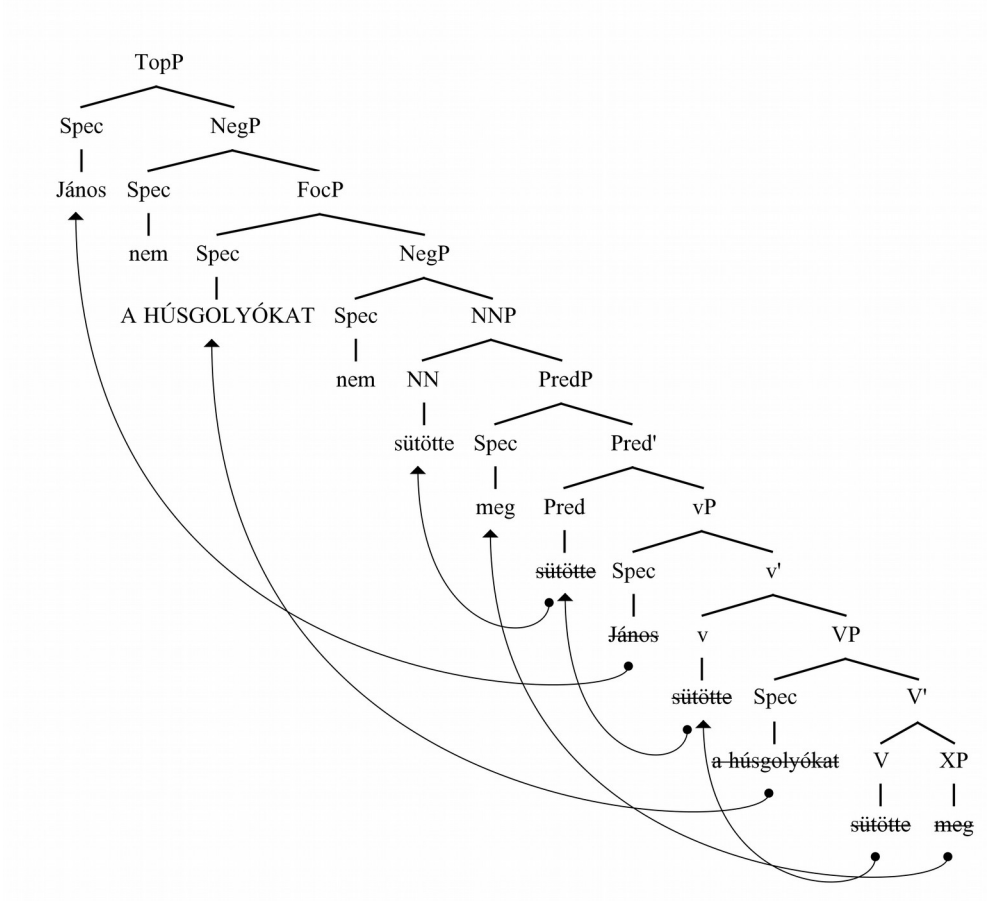


(72) *Nem a* HÚSGOLYÓKAT *nem sütötte meg János.*
not the meatball-PL-ACC not fry-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It was not the meatballs that John did not fry.'



Topicalization is an option with non-neutral sentences as well. Consider:

(73) *János nem a* HÚSGOLYÓKAT *nem sütötte meg.*
John not the meatball-PL-ACC not fry-PAST-3SG PRT
'It was not the meatballs that John did not fry.'



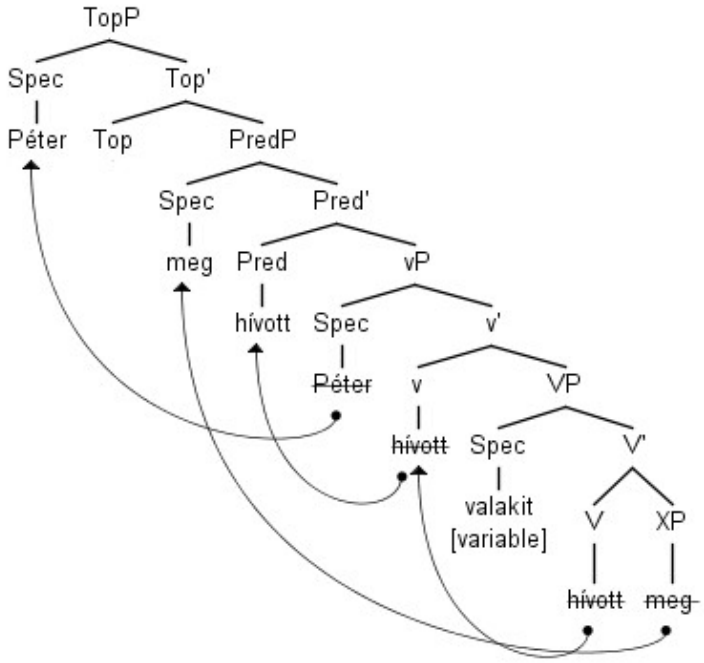
In (73), it is predicated of John that it was not the meatballs that he did not fry.

3.1.1.5 Quantification: existentials

So far, I have presented the basic model of the Hungarian sentence that I will assume based on the literature. Since one of the main focuses of my investigation concernings FCIs will be their quantificational properties, it is important to also review the treatment of quantification in the Hungarian sentence. This section covers existentials, and the next section will review the treatment of universal quantifiers.

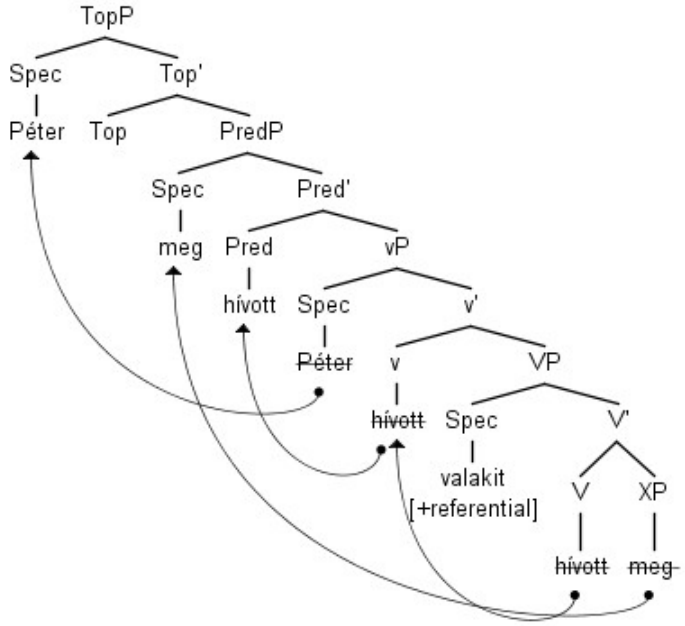
Following É. Kiss (2009), I assume that (in contrast to universal quantifiers, see below), existential pronouns such as *valaki* (‘someone’) are not quantifiers (which are obligatorily raised into scope positions) but rather Heimian indefinites. They can act as variables bound by existential closure (or an unselective quantifer), in which case they remain obligatorily in situ:

(74) *Péter meg hívott valakit.*
Peter PRT invite-PAST-3SG somebody-ACC
‘Peter invited someone.’

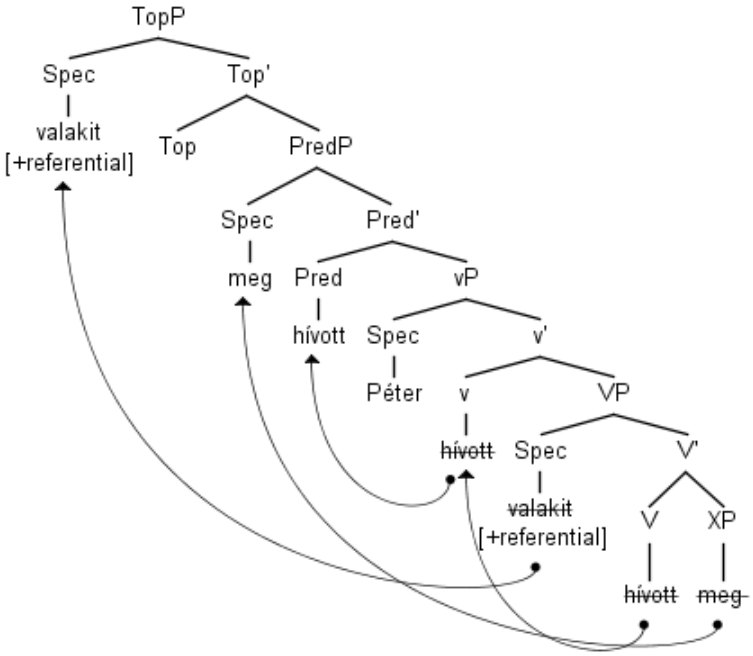


Alternatively, existentials can also be interpreted specifically, in which case they either remain in situ or can optionally be topicalized. (Thus, a topicalized existential is obligatorily interpreted as specific, whereas an in-situ existential can be interpreted as a variable or specifically.)

(75) *Péter meg hívott valakit.*
Peter PRT invite-PAST-3SG somebody[+SPECIFIC]-ACC
'There is someone (a particular person) whom Peter invited.'



(76) *Valakit meg hívott Péter.*
somebody[+SPECIFIC]-ACC PRT invite-PAST-3SG Peter
'There is someone (a particular person) whom Peter invited.'



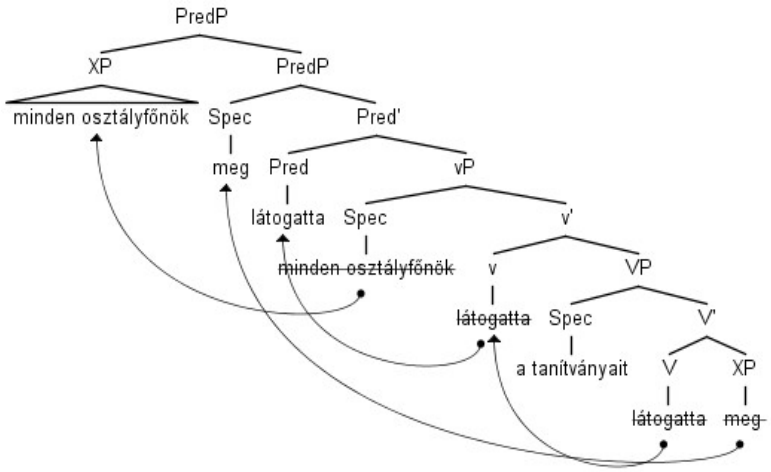
3.1.1.6 Quantification: universals

Following É. Kiss (2009, 2010), I analyze Q-raising as adjunction (optionally left-adjunction or right-adjunction), targeting the functional projections PredP, FocP or NegP (É. Kiss 2009, 2010). Scopal relations between quantifiers and and other scope-bearing elements such as Neg and Foc fall out naturally from the c-command relations between the relevant elements. As my analysis of the syntactic positions available for FCIs builds heavily on É. Kiss (2009, 2010) with some crucial modifications, it is essential to review this account here in detail.

QPs can be adjoined to the functional projections PredP, FocP or NegP. Both left and right-adjunction are possible, as is multiple adjunction to the same functional projection and several simultaneous instances of adjunction to the different functional projections in one sentence. Right-adjoined quantifiers undergo the effects of free linearization typical of the postverbal section of the Hungarian sentence, subject to Behaghel's Law of Growing Constituents influencing the relative naturalness of the grammatical word orders.

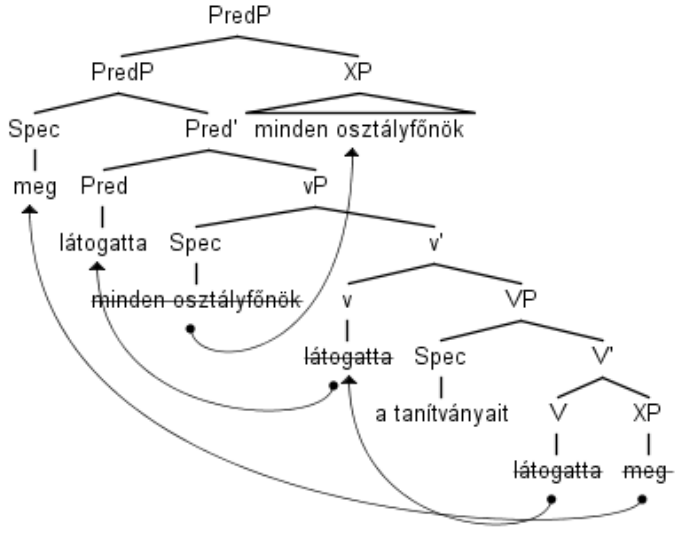
While the above rules are straightforward, the number of possible combinations coupled with the effect of post-verbal (quasi-)free linearization means that even a concise overview of the relevant facts can be, indeed, be quite lengthy. However, since my account for the syntactic position of FCIs heavily builds upon the syntax of quantification, it is necessary to give a relatively detailed account.

QPs can be adjoined to PredP. First consider left-adjunction[7]:



(77) *Minden osztályfőnök meg látogatta a tanítványait.*
every form-master PRT visit-PAST-3SG the pupil-POSS-PL-ACC
'Every form-master visited his pupils.'

Right-adjunction to PredP results in two possible surface orders (linearizations) due to post-verbal free linearization (see Chapter 3.1.1), with (78a) being less marked than (78b) due to Behaghel's Law of Growing Constituents:

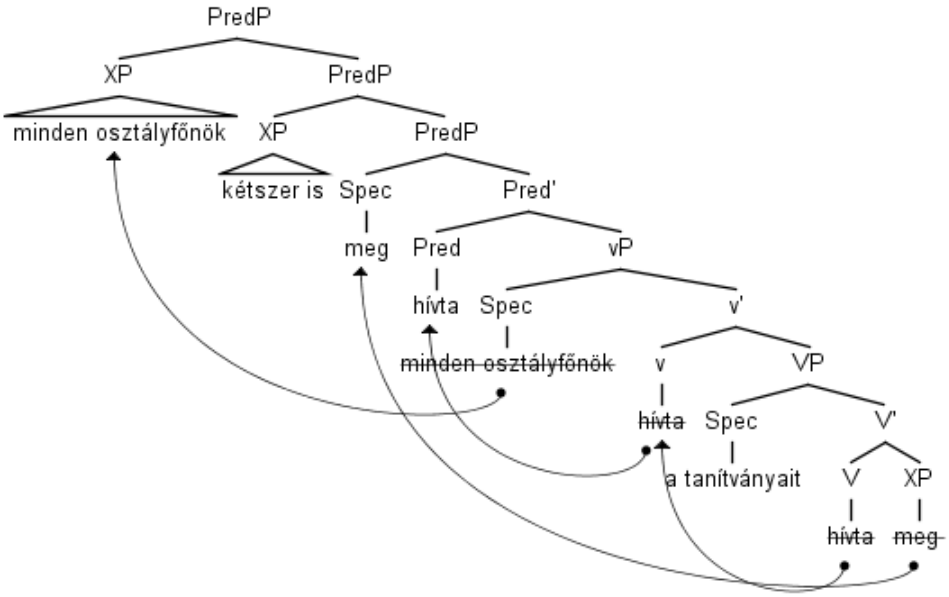


(78) a. *Meg látogatta a tanítványait 'minden osztályfőnök.*
PRT visit-PAST-3SG the pupil-POSS-PL-ACC every form-master

b. *Meg látogatta 'minden osztályfőnök a tanítványait.*
PRT visit-PAST-3SG every form-master the pupil-POSS-PL-ACC
'Every form-master visited his students.'

7 From this point on, the sentences and the corresponding trees will become more complex. For clarity, we will first produce the trees and then, underneath, the sentence with the glosses.

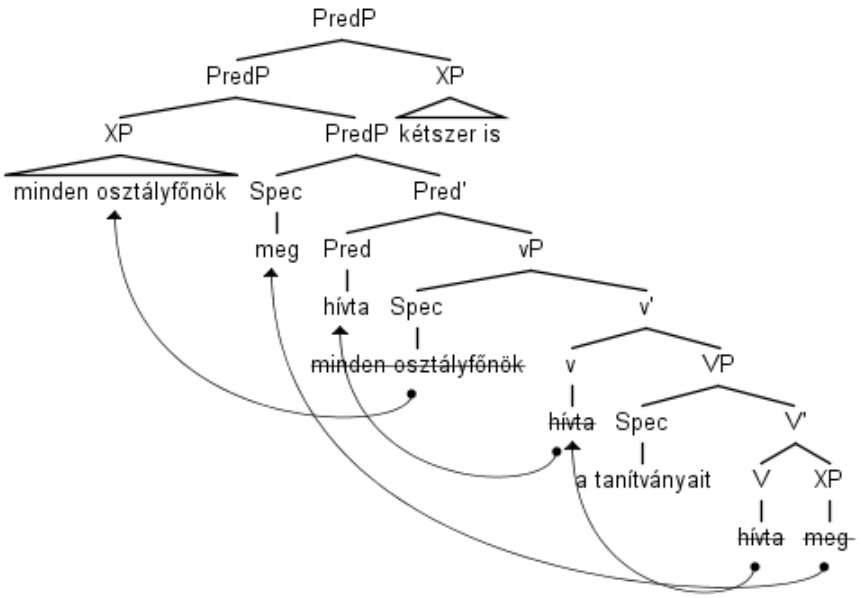
In case of multiple universal quantifiers, the scope relations can be straightforwardly derived from the c-command relations. Consider first (79):



(79) *Minden osztályfőnök kétszer is meg hívta a tanítványait.*
every form-master twice too PRT invited the pupil-POSS-PL-ACC
'Every form-master invited his pupils twice.' (For every form-master, it is the case that he invited his pupils twice.)

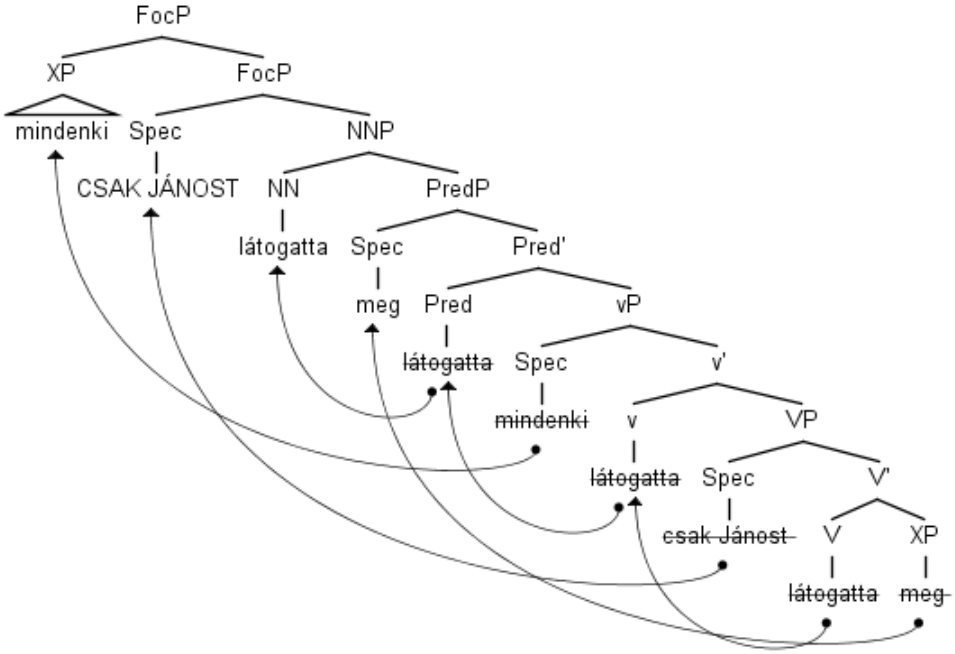
Here, *minden osztályfőnök* 'every form-master' c-commands *kétszer is* 'twice', and this is reflected in the fact *minden osztályfőnök* 'every form-master' scopes over *kétszer is* 'twice'.

Consider the opposite situation, where it is *kétszer is* 'twice' which c-commands *minden osztályfőnök* 'every form-master'. (80) is also an example where the QP is right-adjoined:



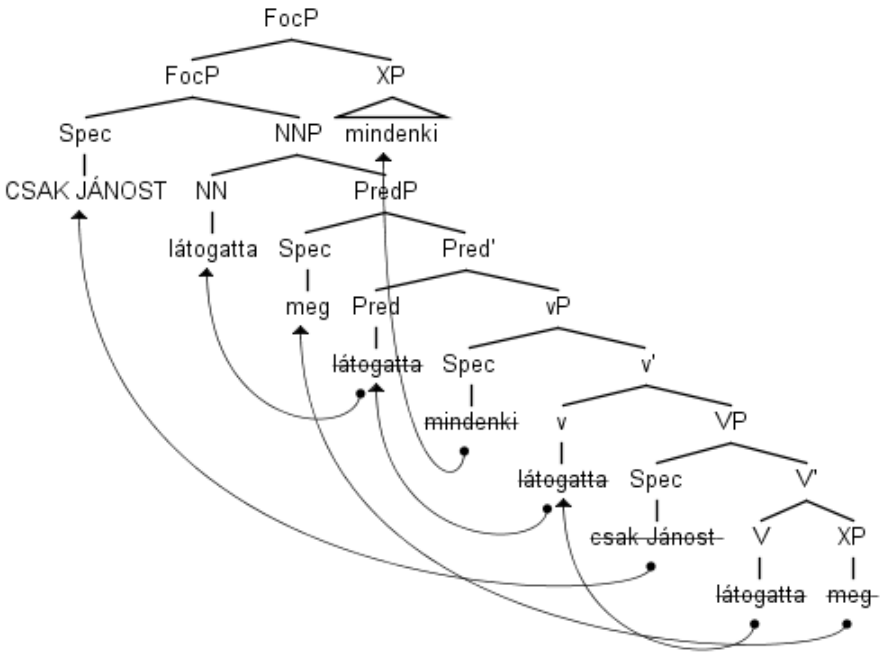
(80) *'Minden osztályfőnök meg hívta a tanítványait 'kétszer is.*
every form-master PRT invited the pupil-POSS-PL-ACC twice too
'Twice, every form-master invited his pupils.' (On two occasions, ever form-master invited his pupils.)

QPs can also be adjoined to functional projections such as FocP. Consider:



(81) *Mindenki CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg.*
everyone only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'Everyone visited only John.' (For everyone, it was only John that he visited.)

In case of right-adjunction, two possible surface orders emerge due to post-verbal free-linearization, with (82a) being the less marked, more natural-sounding version:

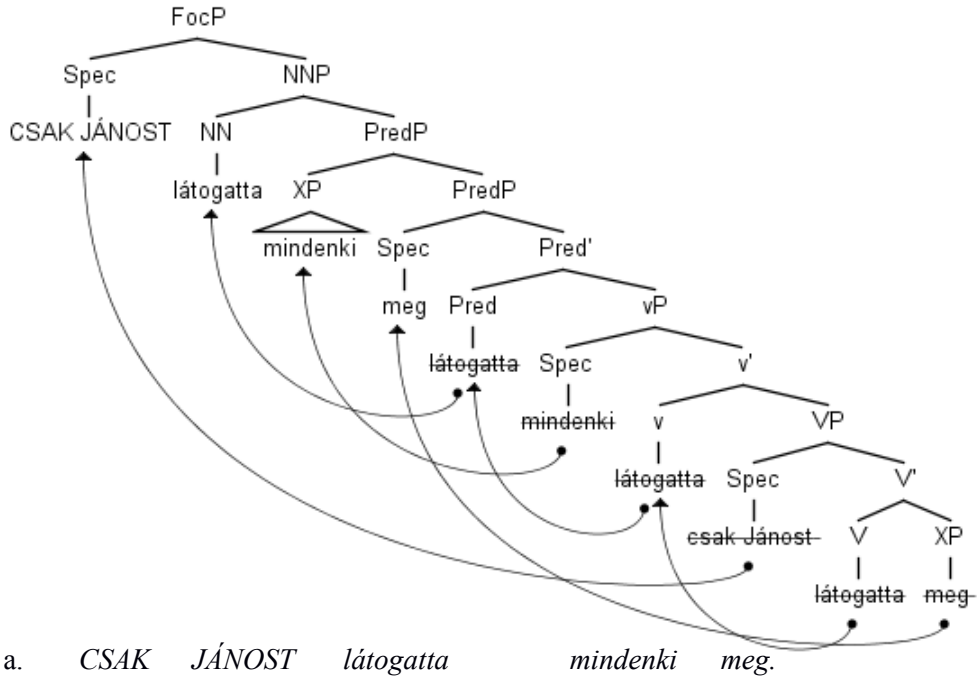


(82) a. *CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg 'mindenki.*
only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT everyone

b. *CSAK JÁNOST látogatta 'mindenki meg.*
only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG everyone PRT

'Everyone visited only John.' (For everyone, it was only John that he visited.)

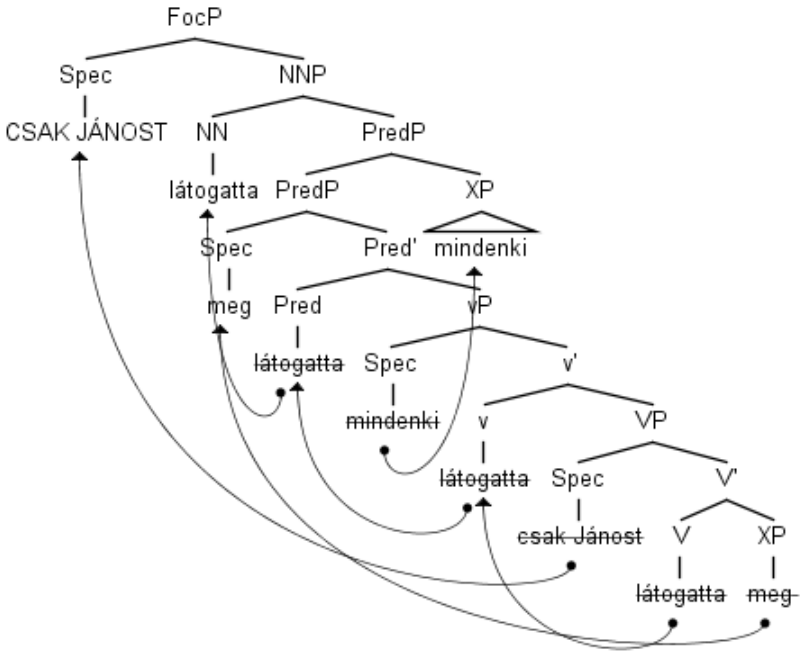
The relative scope order of the focus operator and a universal quantifier is defined by the c-command relations. In (81) and (82) above, the quantifier *mindenki* 'everyone' c-commands and thus scopes over the FocP *csak Jánost* 'only John'. Consider now (83) and (84) below, where the c-command (and scope) relations are reversed:



(83) a. *CSAK JÁNOST látogatta mindenki meg.*
only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG everyone PRT

b. *CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg mindenki.*
only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT everyone

'It was only John that everyone visited.'



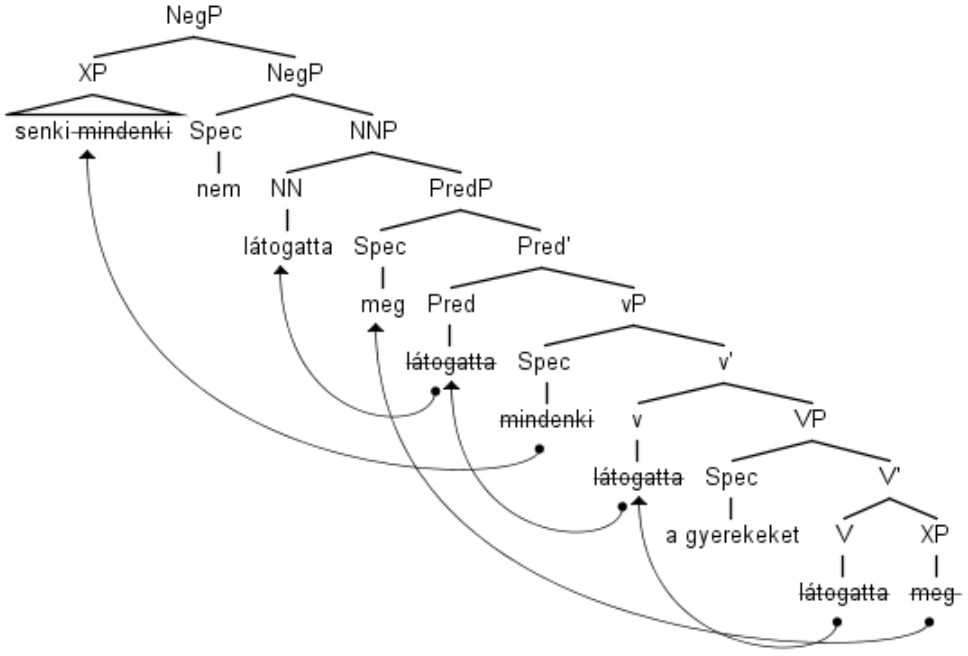
(84) *CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg mindenki.*
only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT everyone

'It was only John that everyone visited.'

Note that while the surface word order of (82a) and (83b) is similar, there is a crucial difference in stress patterns: in (82a), the quantifier *mindenki* ‘everyone’ is stressed, in (83b), it is destressed. This is consistent with the general observation that the c-command domain of FocP is obligatorily destressed.

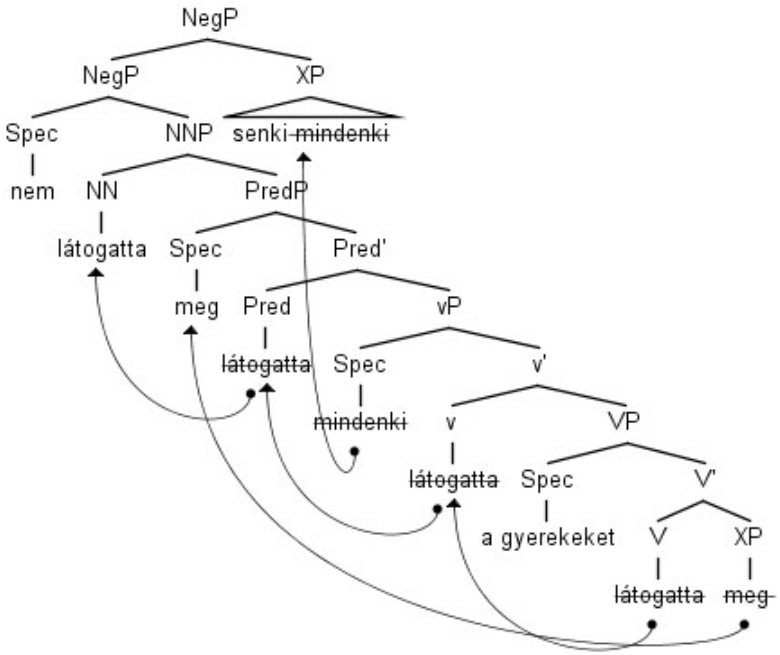
In Section 3.1.1.3, I have reviewed the basic treatment of negation that I will assume in this thesis. Here, I will examine negative concord (the quantificational force and negativity of n-words, specifically the interaction of universal and existential quantification and negation). The model presented below is based on É. Kiss (2009) (which incorporates elements of Surányi (2002), Surányi (2006a) and Surányi (2006b)).

First, we consider the case where universal quantification has scope over negation. In line with our general assumption of quantification as adjunction, the QP is adjoined to NegP. However, instead of the universal quantifier *mindenki* ‘everybody’, the QP position is occupied by the negative polarity universal quantifier (negative universal) *senki* ‘nobody’. In É. Kiss (2009), Hungarian is analyzed as a strict negative concord language, where negation is carried by the negative particle *nem* ‘not’, and the negative polarity quantifier *senki* ‘nobody’ (which in itself does not convey negation) is licensed by the negative particle. Consider:



(85) *Senki nem látogatta meg a gyerekeket.*
nobody not visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC
‘Nobody visited the children.’ (For everbody, it was the case that they did not visit the children.)

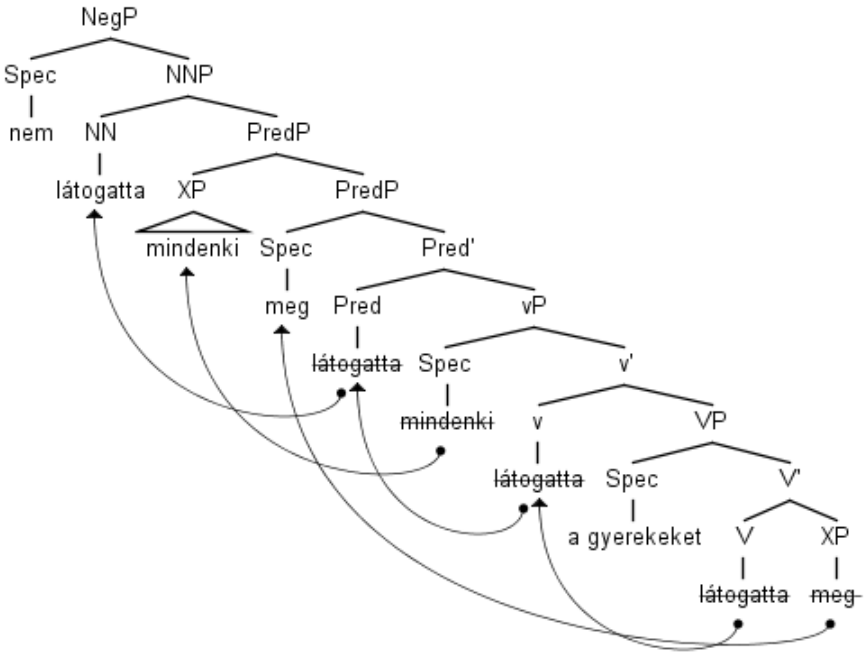
Right-adjunction is also a possibility:



(86) a. *Nem látogatta meg a gyerekeket 'senki.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC nobody

b. *Nem látogatta meg 'senki a gyerekeket.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT nobody the child-PL-ACC
'Nobody visited the children.' (For everbody, it was the case that they did not visit the children.)

When negation has scope over universal quantification, the QP is adjoined to PredP. In this case, negative concord is not triggered and the universal quantifier *mindenki* 'everybody' emerges. Consider first the left-adjoined case:



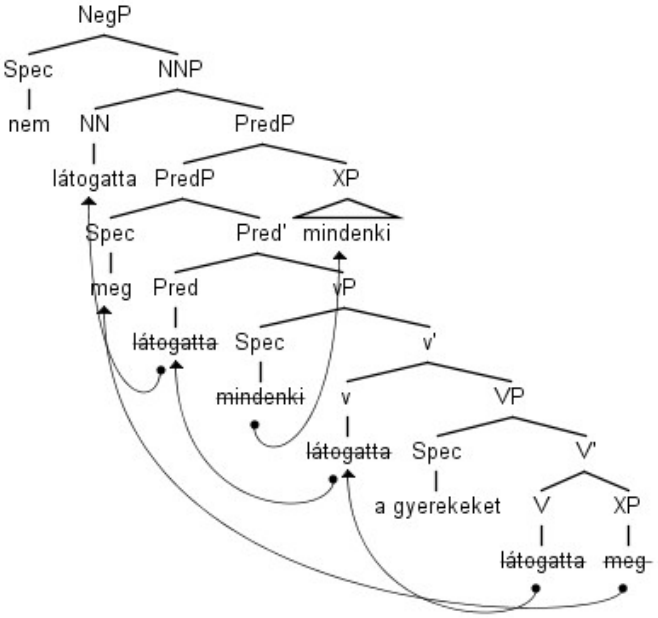
(87) a. *Nem látogatta mindenki meg a gyerekeket.*
not visit-PAST-3SG everybody PRT the child-PL-ACC

b. *Nem látogatta meg mindenki a gyerekeket.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT everybody the child-PL-ACC

c. *Nem látogatta meg a gyerekeket mindenki.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC everybody

'It is not the case that everyone visited the children.'

In the right-adjoined case:



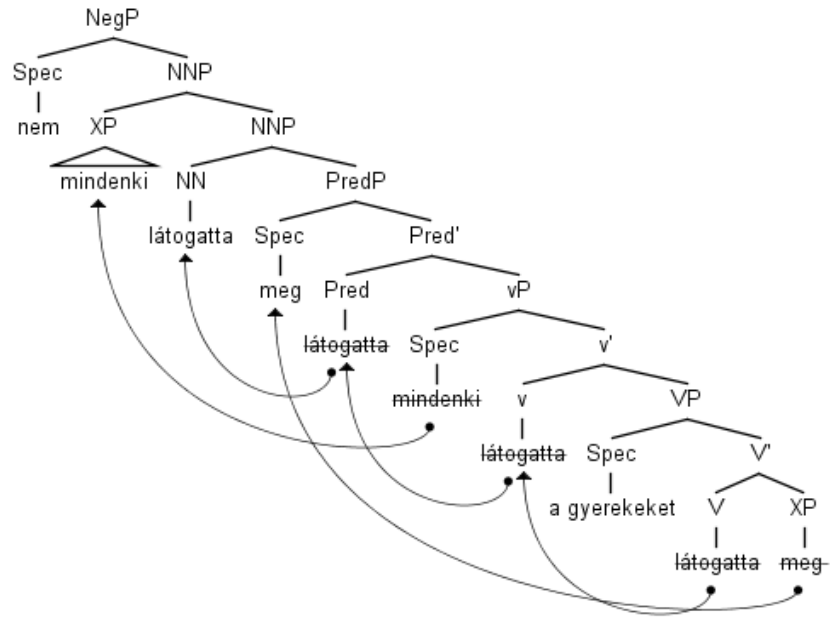
(88) a. *Nem látogatta meg a gyerekeket mindenki.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC everybody

b. *Nem látogatta meg mindenki a gyerekeket.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT everybody the child-PL-ACC

c. *Nem látogatta mindenki meg a gyerekeket.*
not visit-PAST-3SG everybody PRT the child-PL-ACC

'It is not the case that everyone visited the children.'

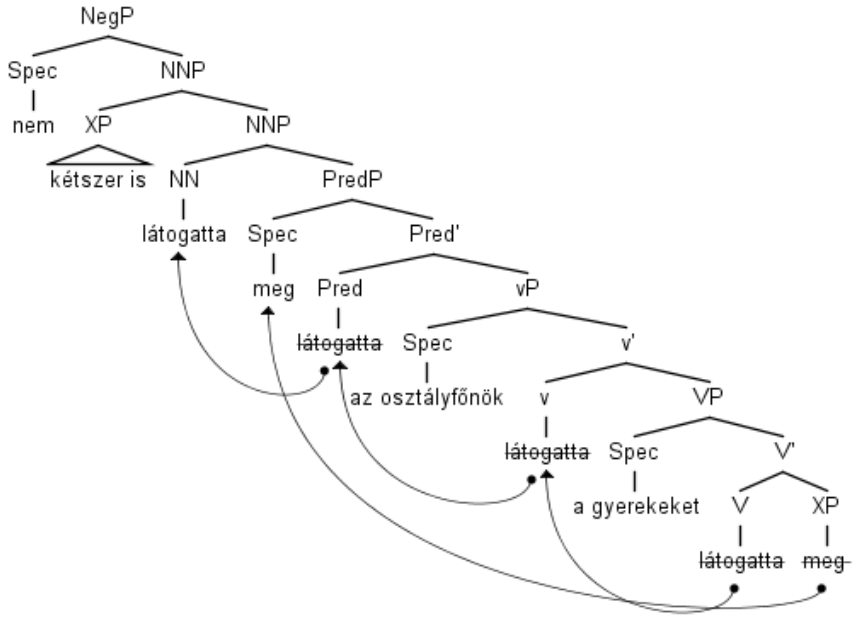
Note that É. Kiss (2010b) considers it as possible to adjoin a QP to the NNP as well. This enables us to account for sentences such as (89):



(89) *Nem mindenki látogatta meg a gyerekeket.*
not everybody visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC

'Not everyone visited the children.'

Contra É. Kiss (2010b), I argue that Q-adjunction to NNP (as depicted above) is not possible. Beside the fact that it was proposed earlier that *nem mindenki* be analyzed as a negated constituent (Bernard and Szabolcsi 2006), note that the same sentence with an adverbial is cleary ungrammatical:



(90) **Nem kétszer is látogatta meg az osztályfőnök a gyerekeket.*
not twice too visited PRT the form-master the child-PL-ACC
'It is not the case that twice, the form-master visited the children.'

Similarly, while I will show later on in detail that *bárki* patterns with *mindenki* in all syntactic structures, the following sentence is clearly ungrammatical:

(91) **Nem bárki látogatta meg a gyerekeket.*
not anybody visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC
'Not anyone visited the children.'

Cf.:

(92) *Nem mindenki látogatta meg a gyerekeket.*
not everybody visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC
'Not everyone visited the children.'

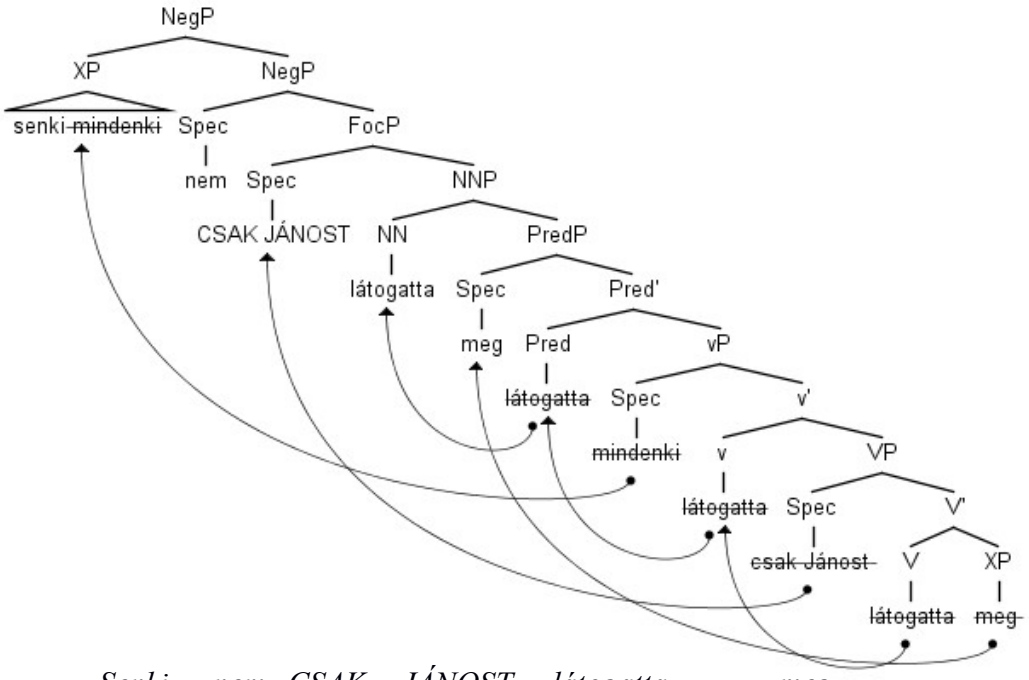
This is another indication that Q-adjunction to NNP is not possible and *nem mindenki* is probably best analyzed as a single negative existential constituent. Note that it is probably more precise to say that *nem_minden* is a single constituent:

(93) a. *Nem_mindenki látogatta meg a gyerekeket.*
not_every_one visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC
'Not everyone visited the children.'

b. *Nem_minden fiú látogatta meg a gyerekeket.*
not_every boy visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC
'Not everyone visited the children.'

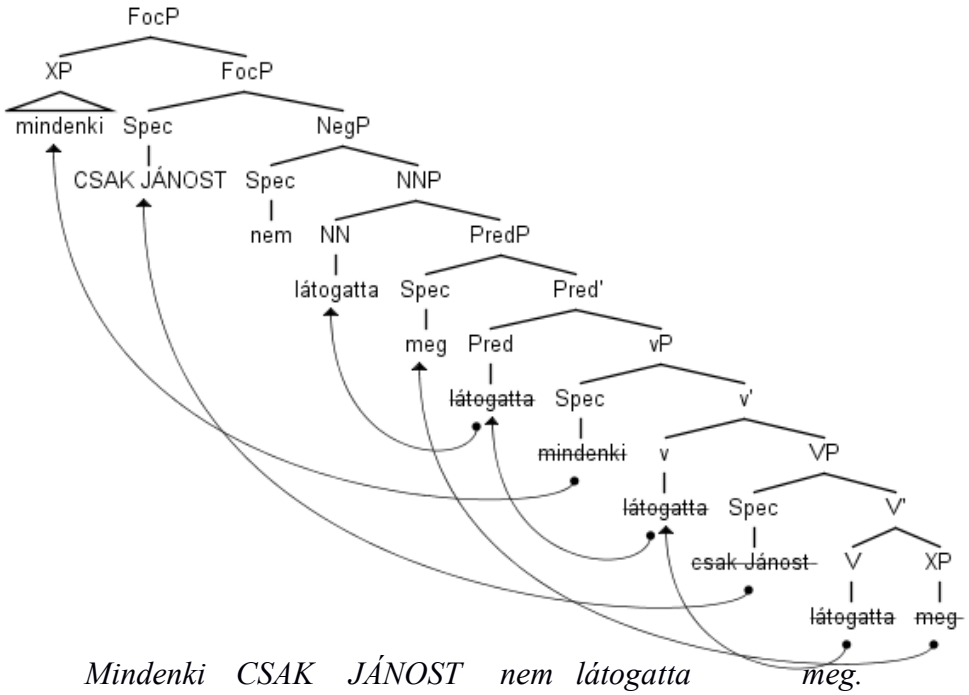
So far, I have overviewed the cases where a sentence contains a universal quantifier and either negation or focusing. Naturally, it is perfectly possible for a sentence to contain all three operators. In such cases, the scope relations of the operators can be clearly derived from the c-command relations. To keep the discussion concise, below, I review only the cases involving left-adjunction.

First, consider the situation where quantification scopes over negation, which in turn scopes over focusing:



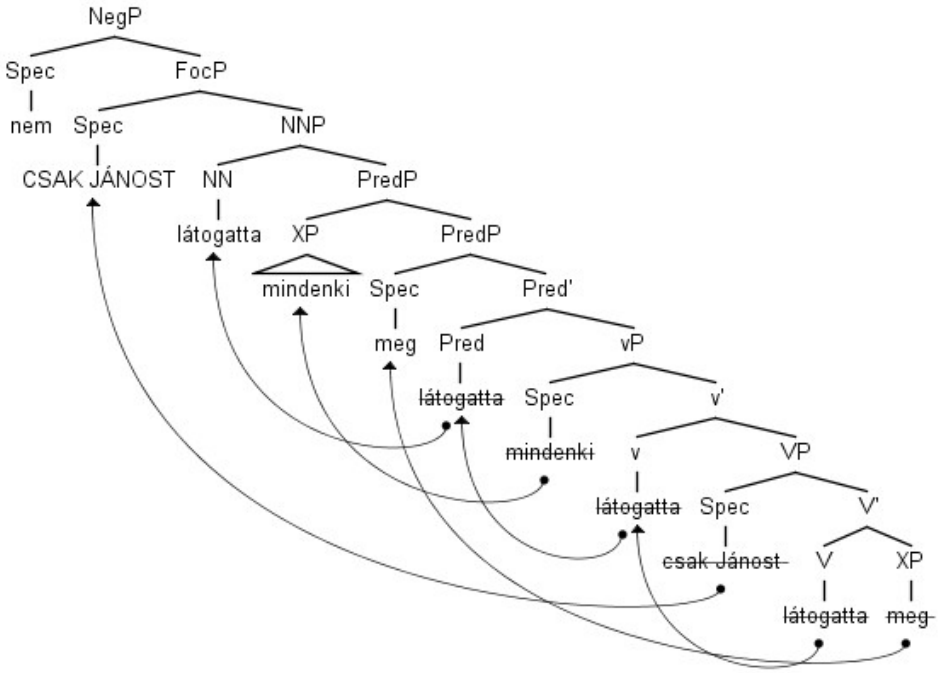
(94) *Senki nem CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg.*
nobody not only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'Nobody visited only John.' (For everybody, it is not the case the he visited only John.)

Next, consider the situation where quantification scopes over focusing, which in turn scopes over negation:



(95) *Mindenki CSAK JÁNOST nem látogatta meg.*
everybody only John-ACC not visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'Everybody failed to visit only John.' (For everbody, it was only John that he did not visit.)

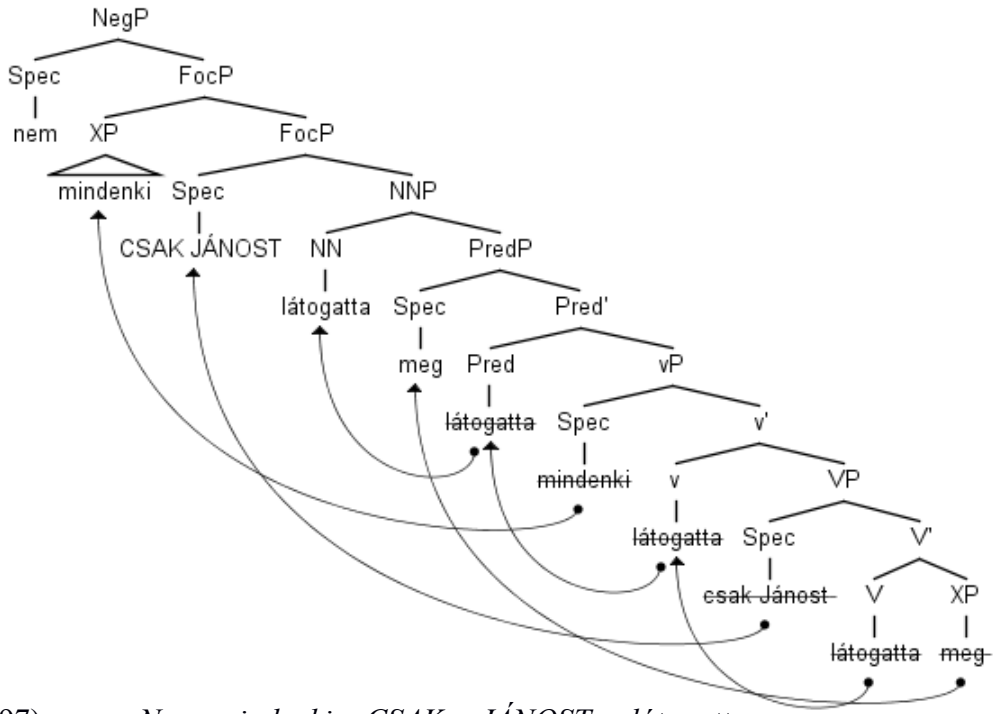
In the sentence below, negation scopes over focusing, which in turn scopes over quantification:



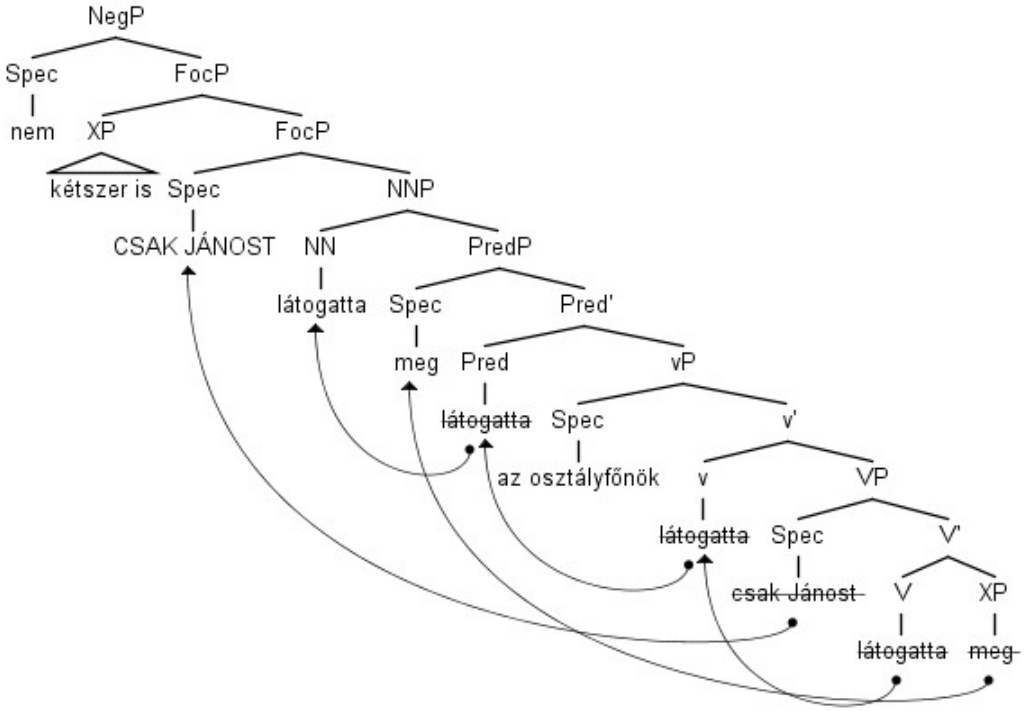
(96) a. *Nem* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogatta* *mindenki* *meg.*
not only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG everyone PRT
b. *Nem* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogatta* *meg* *mindenki.*
not only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT everyone
'It is not the case that is was only John that everyone visited.'

In the next example, negation scopes over quantification, which in turn scopes over focusing. This configuration has some unique challenges for our model; therefore, in addition to our base sentence, it is necessary to present a sentence with an adverbial quantifier, and also to review right-adjunction.

The first observation concerning the left-adjoined quantification case is that while it seems to be working as expected with *mindenki* 'everyone', the corresponding sentence with *kétszer is* 'twice' is clearly ungrammatical. Consider (97) vs. (98):

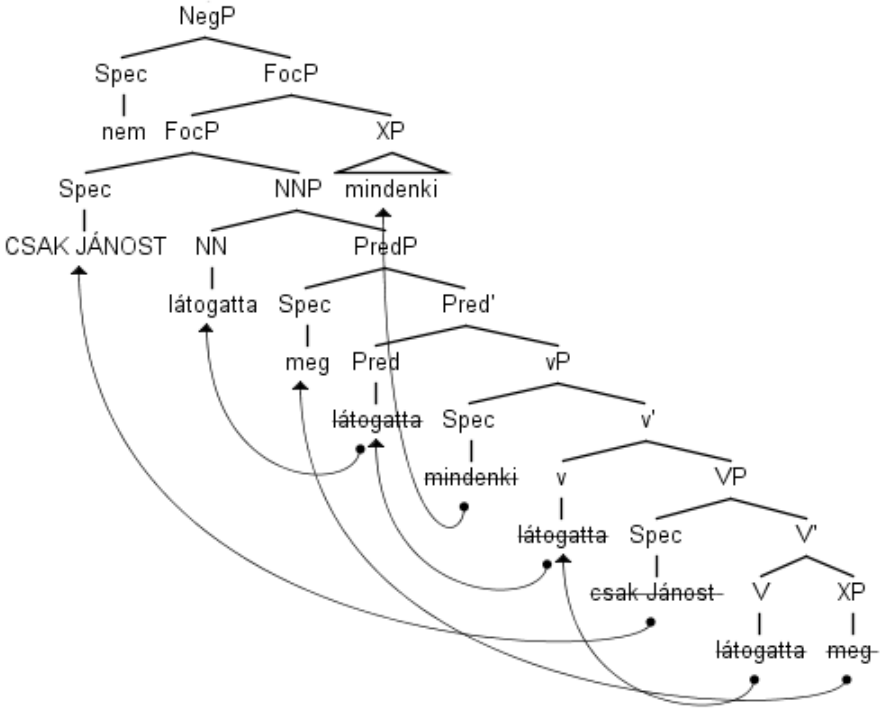


(97) *Nem* *mindenki* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogatta* *meg.*
not everyone only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'Not everyone visited only John.' (It is not the case that for everyone it was only John that he visited.)

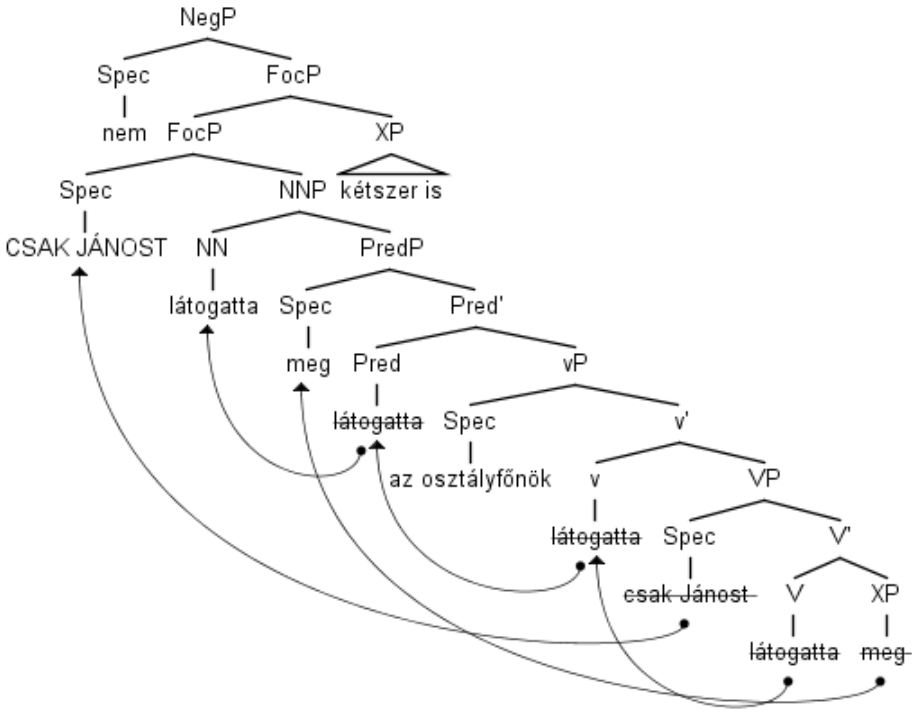


(98) **Nem kétszer is CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg az osztályfőnök.*
not twice too only John-ACC visited PRT the form-master
'It is not the case that twice, it was only John that the form-master visited.'

In the right-adjoined case, both the sentence with *mindenki* 'everyone' and the sentence with *kétszer is* 'twice' is grammatical:



(99) *Nem CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg mindenki.*
not only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT everyone
'Not everyone visited only John.' (It is not the case that for everyone it was only John that he visited.)



(99) *Nem CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg az osztályfőnök kétszer is.*
not only John-ACC visited PRT the form-master twice too
'It is not the case that twice, it was only John that the form-master visited.'

To summarize the facts (adding the corresponding sentences with *bárki* 'anyone'):

(100) a. *Nem mindenki CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg.*
not everyone only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'Not everyone visited only John.' (It is not the case that for everyone it was only John that he visited.)

b. **Nem kétszer is CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg az osztályfőnök.*
not twice too only John-ACC visited PRT the form-master
'It is not the case that twice, it was only John that the form-master visited.'

c. **Nem bárki CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg.*
not anyone only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'It is not the case that for anyone it was only John that he visited.'

Note that all these sentences are grammatical when the phrase in the quantifier position is right-adjoined:

(101) a. *Nem CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg mindenki.*
not only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT everyone
'Not everyone visited only John.' (It is not the case that for everyone it was only John that he visited.)

b. *Nem CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg az osztályfőnök kétszer is.*
not only John-ACC visited PRT the form-master twice too
'It is not the case that twice, it was only John that the form-master visited.

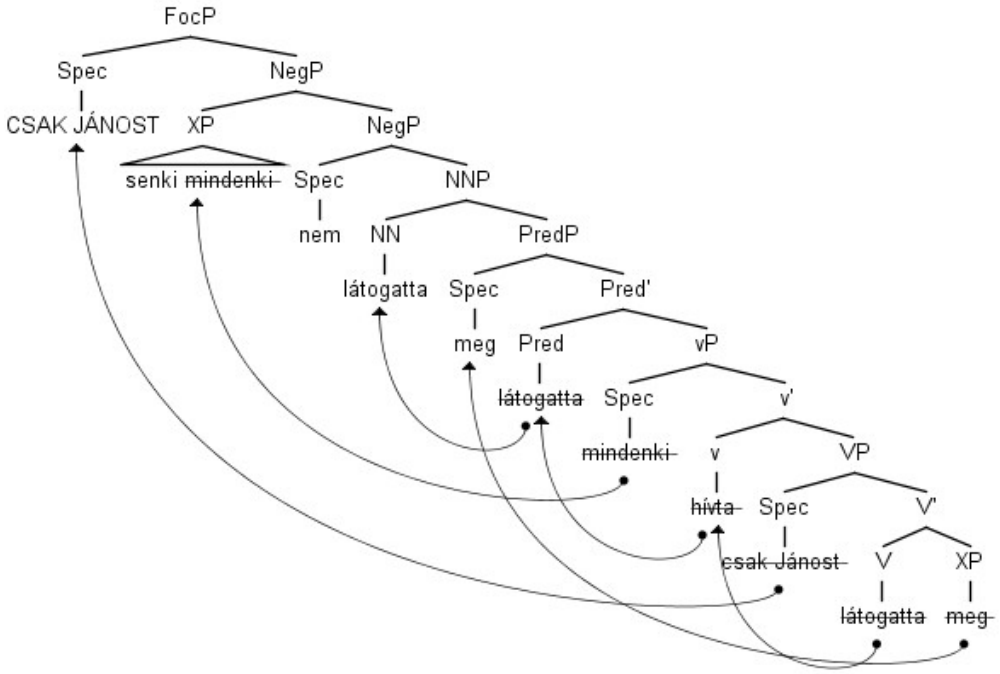
c. *Nem CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg bárki.*
not only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT anyone
'It is not the case that for anyone it was only John that he visited.'

The most straightforward explanation for this contrast between the left-adjoined and right-adjoined cases is that what rules out the ungrammatical sentences above is a phonological requirement that *nem* and the focussed constituent be adjacent, with no intervening element. The only apparent counterargument to this account is the grammaticality of the sentence:

(102) *Nem mindenki CSAK JÁNOST látogatta meg.*
not everyone only John-ACC visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'Not everyone visited only John.' (It is not the case that for everyone it was only John that he visited.)

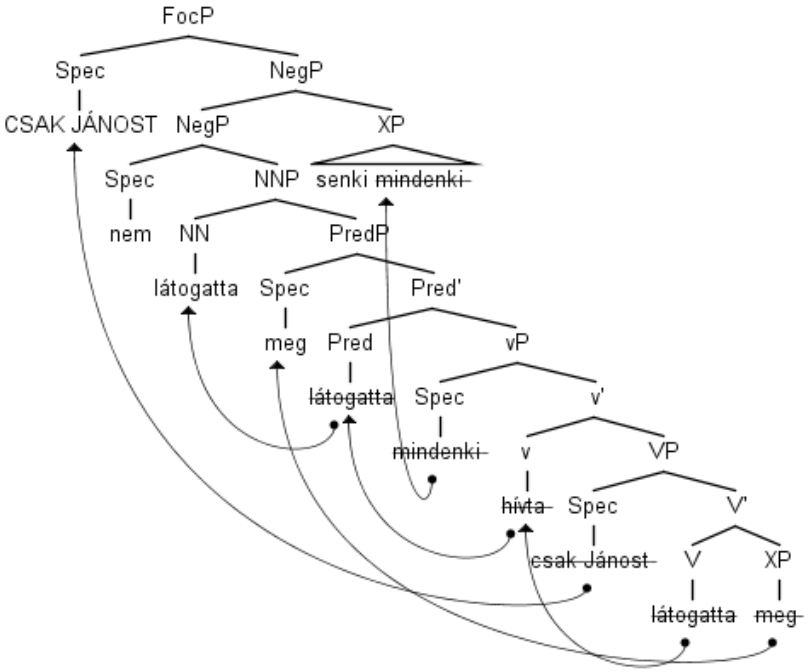
Note, however, that earlier I made a strong argument that *nem mindenki* should in fact be analyzed as a negated constituent and not in the way depicted in the above tree diagram. Therefore, the above sentence is no real counterargument to my proposal.

The next configuration that we consider is when focus scopes over quantification, which in turn scopes over negation. Due to the fact that quantification scopes immediately above negation, negative concord is at play. Consider both left-adjunction and right-adjunction of the QP below:



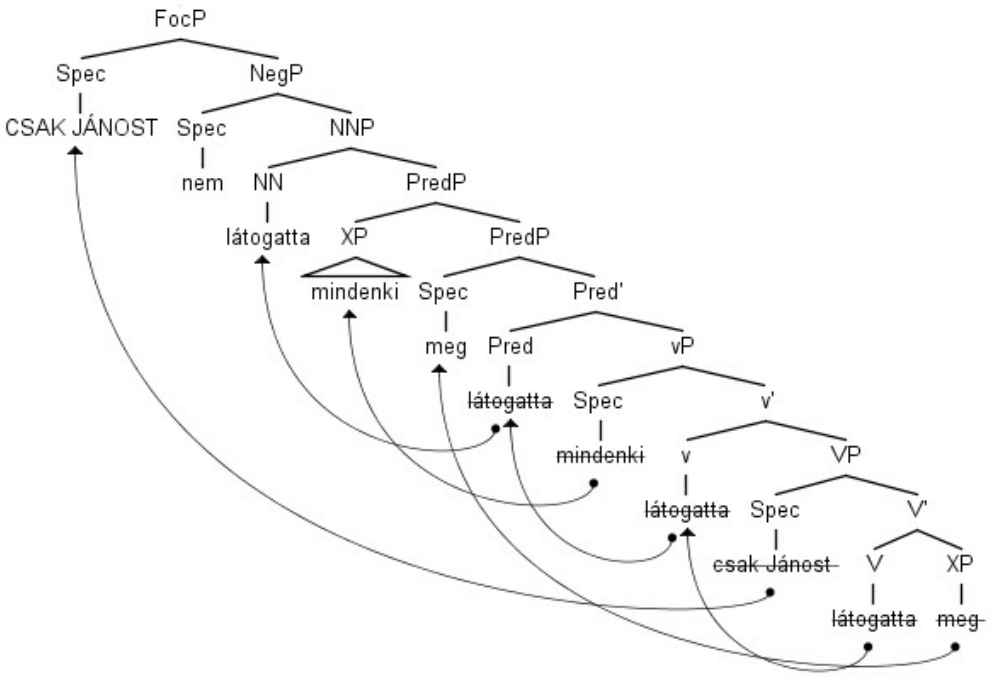
(103) **CSAK JÁNOST senki nem látogatta meg.*
only John-ACC nobody not visit-PAST-3SG PRT
'It is only John whom everybody did not visit.'

The ungrammaticality of (103) is due to an independently motivated phonological constraint: Foc and the negated V must form one phonological word (É. Kiss 2010b, cf. Kenesei 1994:330). Correspondingly, the right-adjoined counterpart below is grammatical:



(104) *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogatta meg senki.*
only John-ACC not visit-PAST-3SG PRT nobody
'It is only John whom everybody failed to visit.'

Finally, we consider the case where focus scopes over negation, which in turn scopes over quantification. There are two surfaces realizations, of which (105b) is less marked due to the Law of Growing Constituents:



(105) a. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogatta mindenki meg.*
only John-ACC not visit-PAST-3SG everybody PRT
b. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogatta meg mindenki.*
only John-ACC not visit-PAST-3SG PRT nobody
'It is only John whom not everbody visited.'

This concludes our overview of the model of Q-raising that I will assume in this paper. In what follows, I will follow the account of Q-raising as adjunction as outlined above, that is, mainly following É. Kiss (2010b), with three modifications:

- I stipulate that adjunction to NNP is impossible
- I assume that *nem mindenki* is properly analyzed as a single negative existential constituent
- I stipulate a phonological constraint which requires that *nem* and the focused constituent be adjacent, with no intervening phonological word

With this, we have also concluded our overview of the syntactic structure of the Hungarian sentence that I will assume throughout the thesis. In the next section, I will explore the syntactic position of FCIs in the Hungarian sentence.

3.1.2 FCIs in the positions available to existentials?

Since FCIs such as *bárki* ('anyone') are morphologically related and semantically akin to universal quantifiers such as *mindenki* ('everyone') and existentials such as *valaki* ('someone'), it is a natural first step to explore whether they are indeed in the same syntactic position as either universal quantifiers or existentials.

While it might be tempting to posit that FCIs such as *bárki* ('anyone') (analyzed semantically as dependent indefinites (Giannakidou 2001)) occupy the same syntactic positions as existentials such as *valaki* ('someone') (analyzed semantically as Heimian (Heim 1982) indefinites), such a move is theoretically very problematic and is also not borne out by word order facts.

It is a solid observation in Hungarian syntax that non-individual denoting elements are not allowed to stand outside the predicate part of the sentence, i.e., they cannot be topicalized (with the exception of contrastive topics, see Chapter 3.2 below). Since FCIs are *par excellence* non-individual denoting and never have a referential reading, it is unwarranted to assume that they can be in a topic position (except as a result of contrastive topicalization, see Chapter 3.2).

Independently from such considerations, the sentence below clearly indicates that FCIs in Hungarian cannot undergo ordinary topicalization:

(106) *Mindenki bárkit meg hívhat.*
everyone anyone-ACC PRT invite-POT-3SG
'Everyone can invite anyone.'

Since *mindenki* ('everyone') is adjoined to a functional phrase (a PredP), and topics are generated above the highest functional phrase, *bárkit* clearly cannot be in topic position.

Sentence adverbial tests also prove that FCIs cannot be in topic position:

(107) a. *Állítólag bárki meg hívhatja Marit.*
allegedly anyone PRT invite-POT-3SG Mari-ACC
'Allegedly anyone can invite Mary.'

b. **Bárki állítólag meg hívhatja Marit.*
Anyone allegedly PRT invite-POT-3SG Mari-ACC
'Allegedly anyone can invite Mary.'

Sentence adverbials obligatorily precede the predicate part of the sentence but otherwise, their order related to the topics of the sentence is free. (É. Kiss 2002)

Excluding topicalisation would limit the available positions for FCIs radically, to the set of *in situ* positions. However, under this assumption, we would be unable to generate a number of perfectly grammatical sentences: in essence, all the sentences where *bárki* appears pre-verbally:

(108) a. *Bárki meg látogathatja a tanítványait.*
anyone PRT visit-POT-3SG the pupil-POSS-PL-ACC
'Anyone can visit her pupils.'

b. *Bárki bármit meg tehet.*
anyone anything-ACC PRT do-POT-3SG
'Anyone can do anything.'

The failure to analyze FCIs as taking the same positions as existentials leads us to explore the option of examining the position of universal quantifiers, especially in light of the fact that as we have seen, numerous authors have proposed to analyze FCIs as universal quantifiers, and even those accounts which treat FCIs as indefinites or similar elements without true quantificational force ascribe a universal implicature of sorts to them (e.g. scalar accounts such as Kadmon & Landman 1993, Giannakidou 2001's dependent indefinite analysis).

3.1.3 FCIs in quantifier position

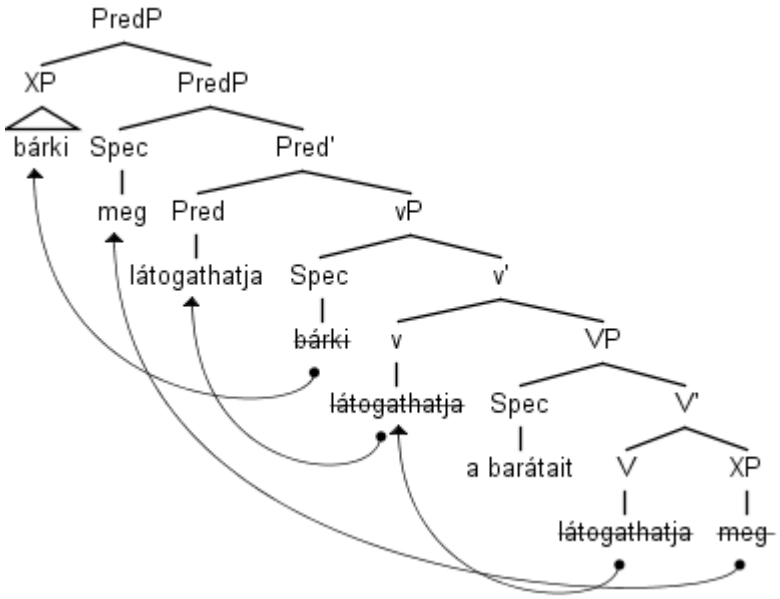
As FCIs are scope-bearing elements, it is natural to assume that they occupy the same scope positions as universals (adjunction to PredP, FocP or NegP), and indeed, under this assuption we can readily derive all word order possibilities of FCIs, and also the scope phenomena displayed by multiple FCIs and FCIs and other elements (universals, focus, negation). In the type examples below, the positions available for FCIs and their interaction with other elements such as negation can be modelled in exactly the same fashion as in the case of universals such as *mindenki* (see Section 3.1.1.6).

Under the analysis of FCIs adopted by us (Giannakidou 2001), the universality of FCIs is derived from their intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration, that is, it ranges over denotation – possible world pairs (<x,w>). In terms of negative concord, it will be shown below that just like the universal quantifier *mindenki*, *bárki* also cannot have scope over negation (unless there is an intervening focus operator): in such cases, the negative universal *senki* emerges.

To recapitulate Section 3.1.1.6: QPs can be adjoined to the functional projections PredP, FocP or NegP. Both left and right-adjunction are possible, as is multiple adjunction to the same functional projection and several simultaneous instances of adjunction to the different functional projections in one sentence. Right-adjoined quantifiers undergo the effects of free linearization typical of the postverbal section of the Hungarian sentence, subject to Behaghel's Law of Growing Constituents influencing the relative naturalness of the grammatical word orders. In case of multiple quantifiers and/or other scope-bearing operators such as negation or focus, the scope relations between these operators can be derived from the c-command relations.

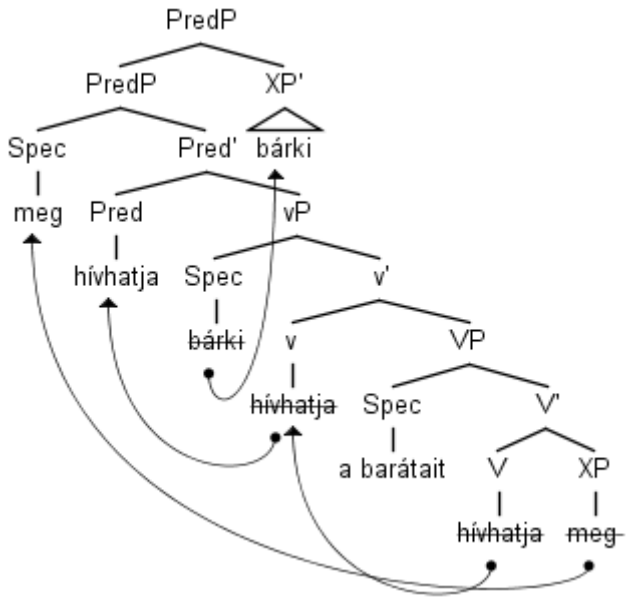
Below, I will show how the sentences containing FCIs can be derived using the model for quantification presented in Section 3.1.2, starting from the simple sentences containing a single FCI to more complex sentences containing multiple FCIs and focus and negation operators. To account for all surface word orders, both left- and right-adjunction will be considered.

A QP containing *bárki* can be left-adjoined to PredP. Consider:



(109) *Bárki meg látogathatja a barátait.*
anyone PRT visit-POT-3SG the friend-POSS-PL-ACC
'Anyone can visit his friends.'

Surface forms where *bárki* is post-verbal can be derived by right-adjunction to PredP. Due to post-verbal free linearization, two surface orders emerge, of which (110a) is more natural due to the Law of Growing Constituents:



(110) a. *Meg hívhatja a barátait 'bárki.*
PRT invite-POT-3SG the friend-POSS-PL-ACC anyone

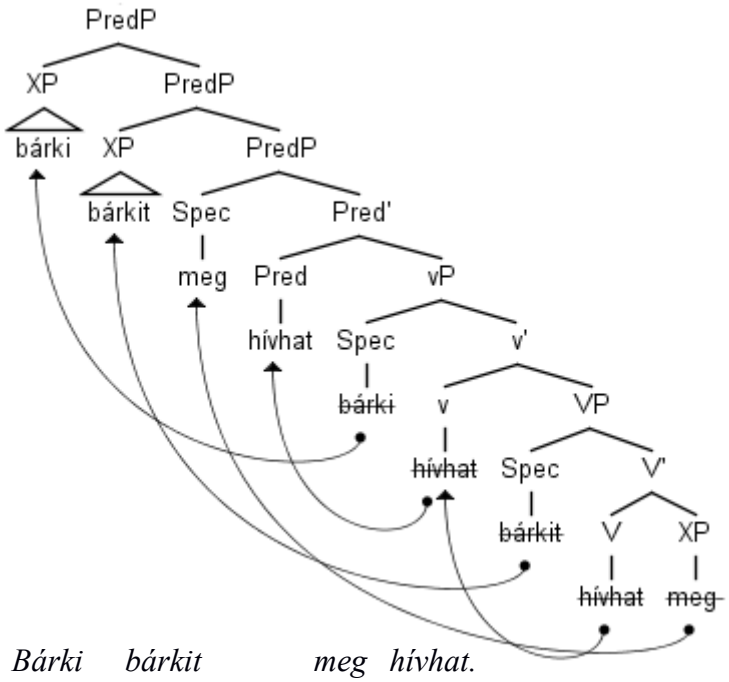
b. *Meg hívhatja 'bárki a barátait.*
PRT invite-POT-3SG anyone the friend-POSS-PL-ACC
'Anyone can invite his friends.'

Importantly, this derivation predicts that in these instances, the post-verbal FCI *bárki* is obligatorily stressed. This is indeed the case: the sentences with a destressed *bárki* are clearly ungrammatical:

(111) a. *Meg hívhatja a barátait 'bárki.*
PRT invite-POT-3SG the friend-POSS-PL-ACC anyone
b. *Meg hívhatja 'bárki a barátait.*
PRT invite-POT-3SG anyone the friend-POSS-PL-ACC
'Anyone can invite his friends.'
c. **Meg hívhatja a barátait bárki.*
PRT invite-POT-3SG the friend-POSS-PL-ACC anyone
d. **Meg hívhatja bárki a barátait.*
PRT invite-POT-3SG anyone the friend-POSS-PL-ACC
'Anyone can invite his friends.'

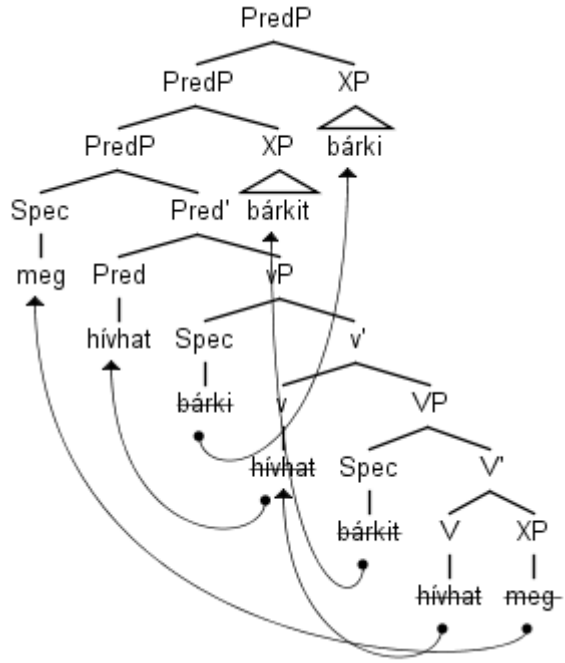
It is possible to adjoin multiple FCIs to PredP. Due to the fact that each of these adjunctions can be realized as left- or right-adjunction, there are several possible syntactic configurations. However, due to post-verbal free linearization, many of these collapse in terms of surface order.

First consider the case where two FCIs are left-adjoined to PredP:



(112) *Bárki bárkit meg hívhat.*
anyone anyone-ACC PRT invite-POT-3SG
'Anyone can invite anyone.' (For anyone, it is the case that he can invite anyone.)

When the two FCIs are right-adjoined to PredP, the original c-command relation cannot be reconstructed from the surface order due to post-verbal free linearization:

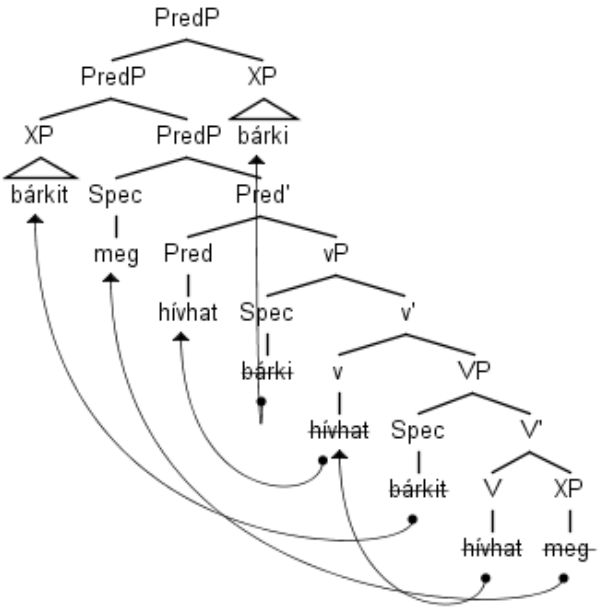


(113) a. *Meg hívhat 'bárkit 'bárki.*
PRT invite-POT-3SG anyone-ACC anyone
b. *Meg hívhat 'bárki 'bárkit.*

PRT invite-POT-3SG anyone anyone-ACC

'Anyone can invite anyone.' (For anyone, it is the case that he can invite anyone.)

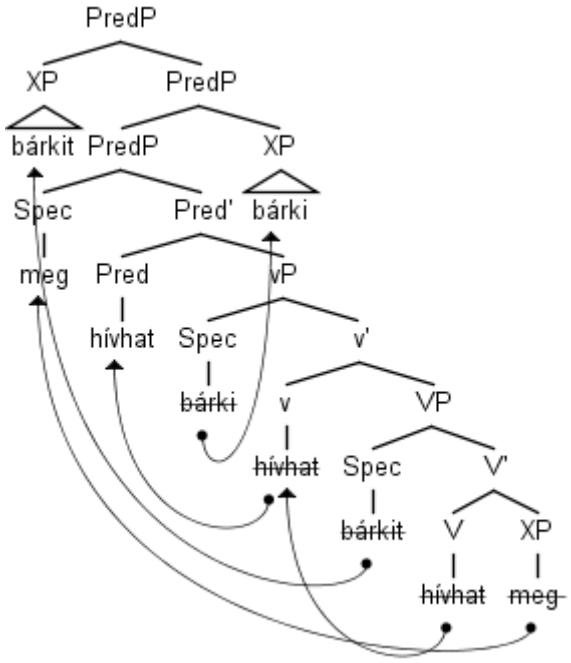
In the case of two FCIs, it is possible that one of them is left-adjoined and the other one is right adjoined. Out of the several configurations, consider the two below:



(114) *Bárkit meg hívhat 'bárki.*

anyone-ACC PRT invite-POT-3SG anyone

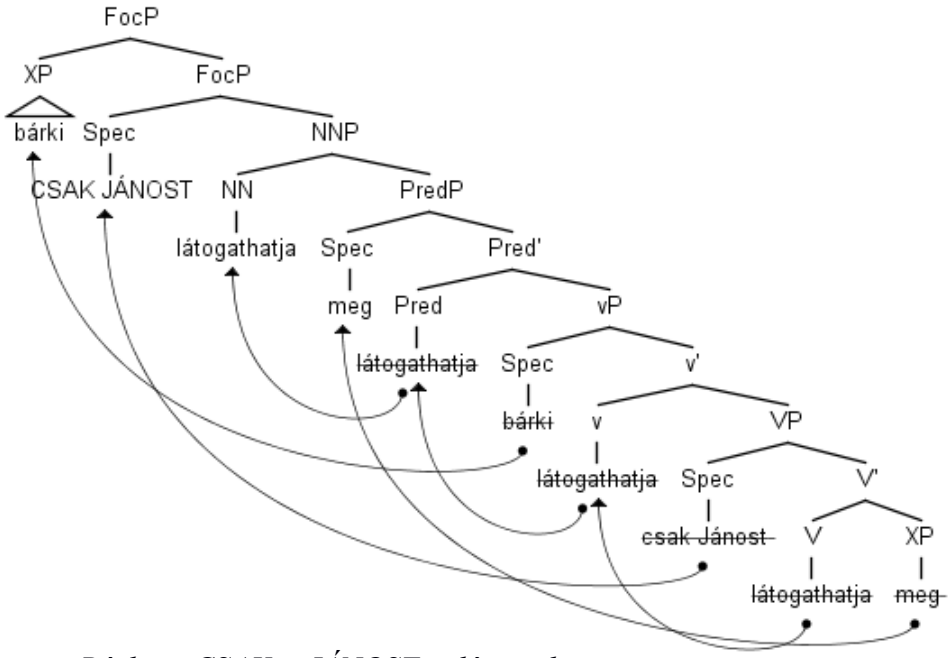
'Anyone can invite anyone.' (For anyone, it is the case that he can invite anyone.)



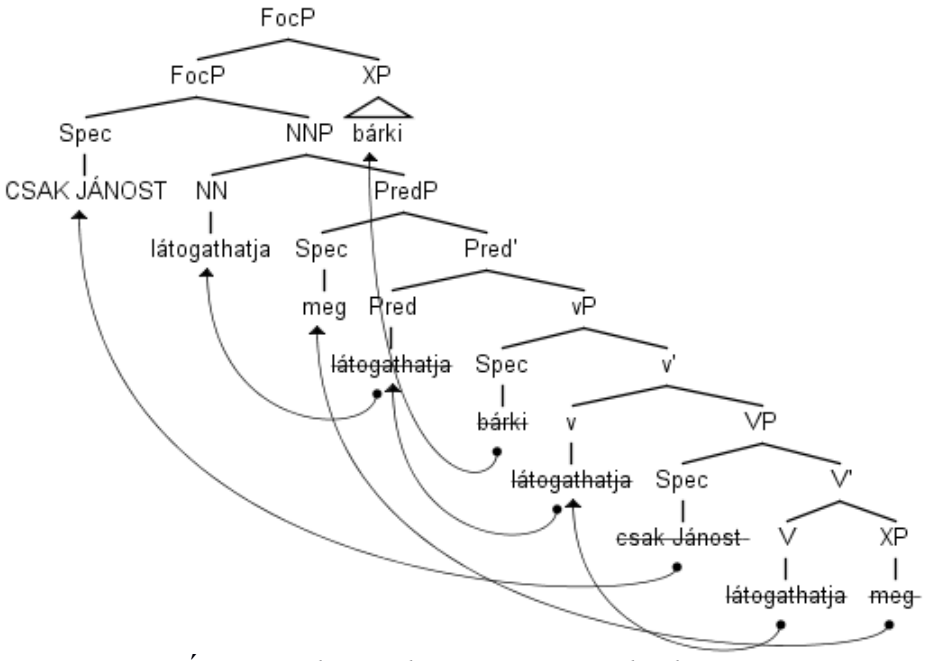
(115) *Bárkit* *meg* *hívhat* *'bárki.*
anyone-ACC PRT invite-POT-3SG anyone
'Anyone can invite anyone.' (For anyone, anyone can invite him.)

Note that here as well, it is not possible to reconstruct the c-command relations (and thus scope relations) from the surface sentence: (114) and (115) have the same linear structure and prosody but are derived from different syntactic structures.

As we have seen, QPs can be adjoined to higher functional projections as well, such as FocP. Consider:



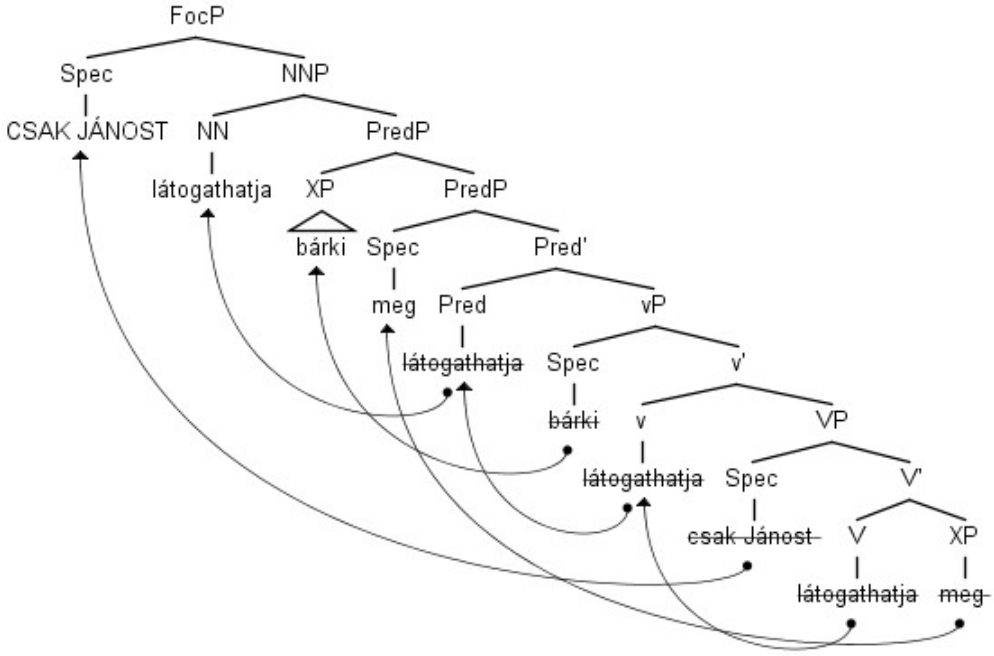
(116) *Bárki* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogathatja* *meg.*
anyone only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT
'For anyone, it is only John that he can visit.'



(117) *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg 'bárki.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
'For anyone, it is only John that he can visit.'

The fact that *bárki* is stressed in (117) is crucial. The c-command domain of the focus is known to be obligatorily destressed, so that fact that *bárki* is stressed clearly indicates that even though post-verbal in a linear sense, it is not in the c-command domain of focus. The prosody of (117) is essential to recover the syntactic structure, and by way of the c-command relations, the scope relations as well. Regarding (117), the clear intuition of native speakers is that the FCI scopes above the focus, which is a strong corroboration of our model.

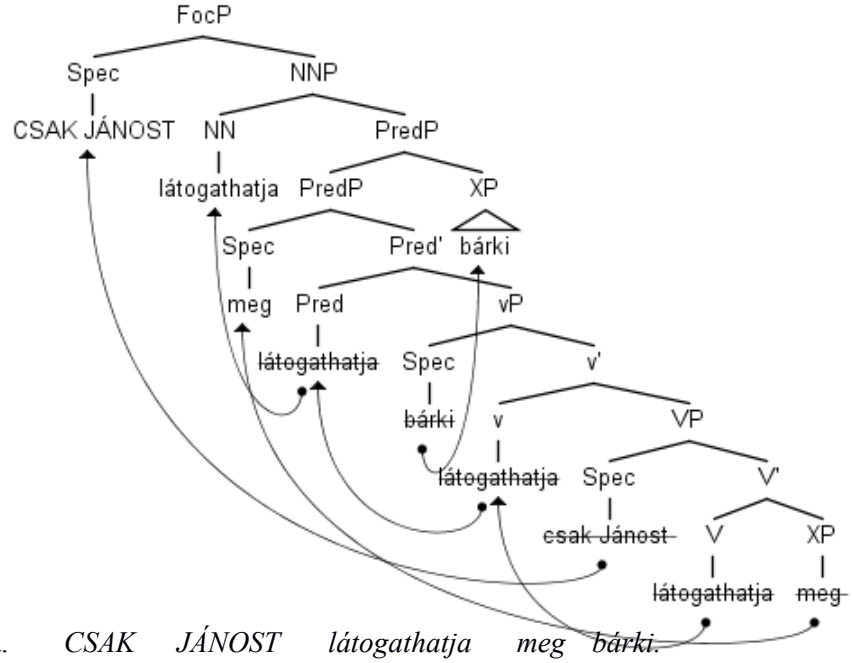
Consider now to opposite situation, where focus scopes above the FCI. There are two correspoding structures (due to the possibilty of left- or right-adjunction of the FCI):



(118) a. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja bárki meg.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT

b. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg bárki.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

'It is only John that anyone can visit.'



(119) a. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg bárki.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

b. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja bárki meg.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT

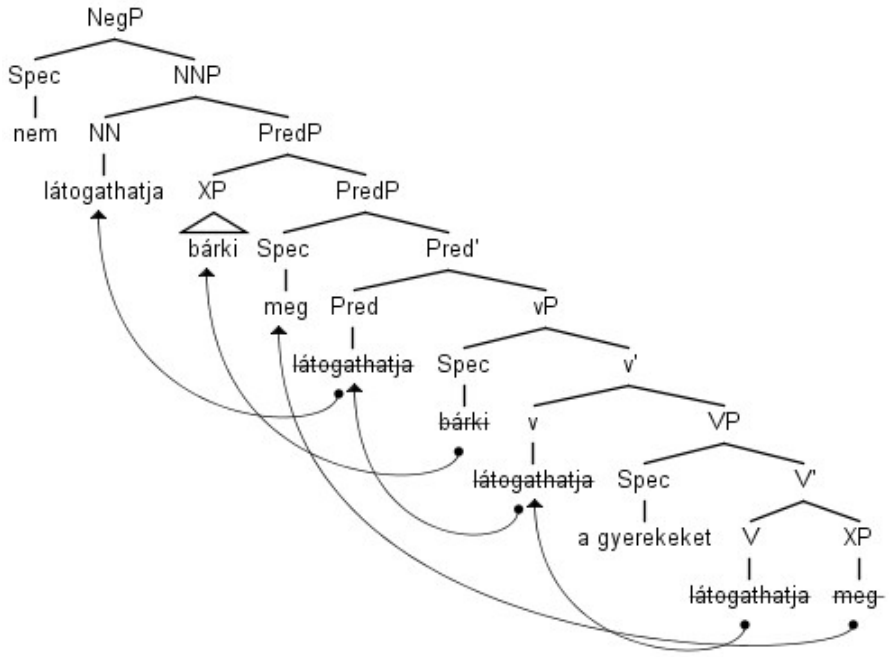
'It is only John that anyone can visit.'

While the structures are different, they completely collapse in terms of surface linearization due to post-verbal free linearization (with (118b) and (119a) being more natural due to the Law of Growing Constituents). In stark contrast to (116) and (117), *bárki* is destressed in (118) and (119). This is due to the fact that here, *bárki* is in the c-command domain of focus. This means that in case of post-verbal FCIs, the stress patterns make it possible to unambiguously identify the scope relations between focus and the FCI:

(120) a. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg 'bárki.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
'For anyone, it is only John that he can visit.' FCI > Foc

b. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg bárki.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
'It is only John that anyone can visit.' Foc > FCI

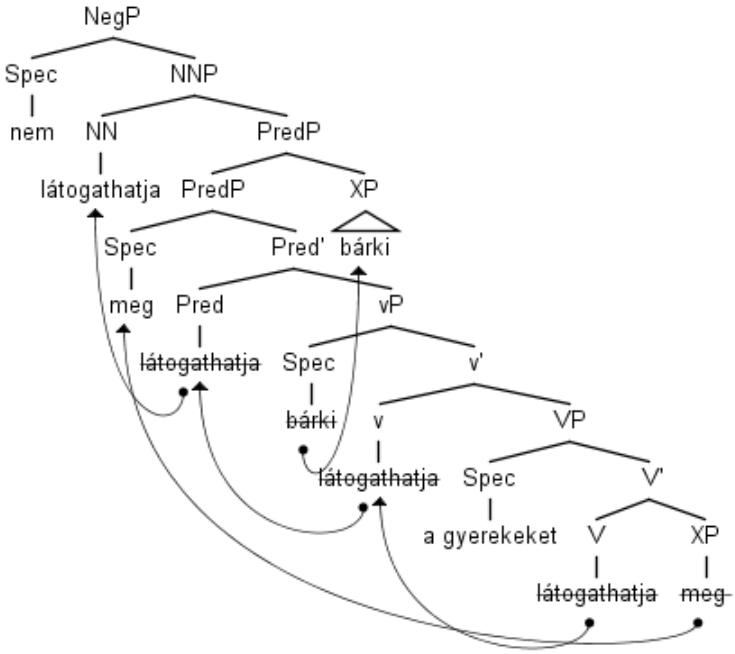
Looking at FCIs and negation, we first consider the case where negation scopes above an FCI:



(121) a. *Nem látogathatja bárki meg a gyerekeket.*
not visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT the child-PL-ACC

b. *Nem látogathatja meg bárki a gyerekeket.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone the child-PL-ACC

c. *Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket bárki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC anyone
'It is not the case that anyone can visit the children.'



(122) a. *Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket bárki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC anyone

b. *Nem látogathatja meg bárki a gyerekeket.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone the child-PL-ACC
'It is not the case that anyone can visit the children.'

Note that the FCI *bárki* is obligatorily destressed when in the scope of negation. Moreover, it seems that a stressed *bárki* is in general unacceptable postverbally in a sentence with negation. This is different from the focus case, where, as we have seen, both a stressed and unstressed postverbal FCI is acceptable, with stress indicating wide scope (above focus) and the lack of stress indicating narrow scope (below focus):

(123) a. **Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket 'bárki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC anyone
'For anyone, it is the case that he cannot visit the children.'

b. *Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket bárki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC anyone
'It is not the case that anyone can visit the children.'

c. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg 'bárki.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
'For anyone, it is only John that he can visit.' FCI > Foc

d. *CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg bárki.*
only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
'It is only John that anyone can visit.' Foc > FCI

This state of affairs is, in fact, reminiscent of what we have seen concerning universals and negation. Consider:

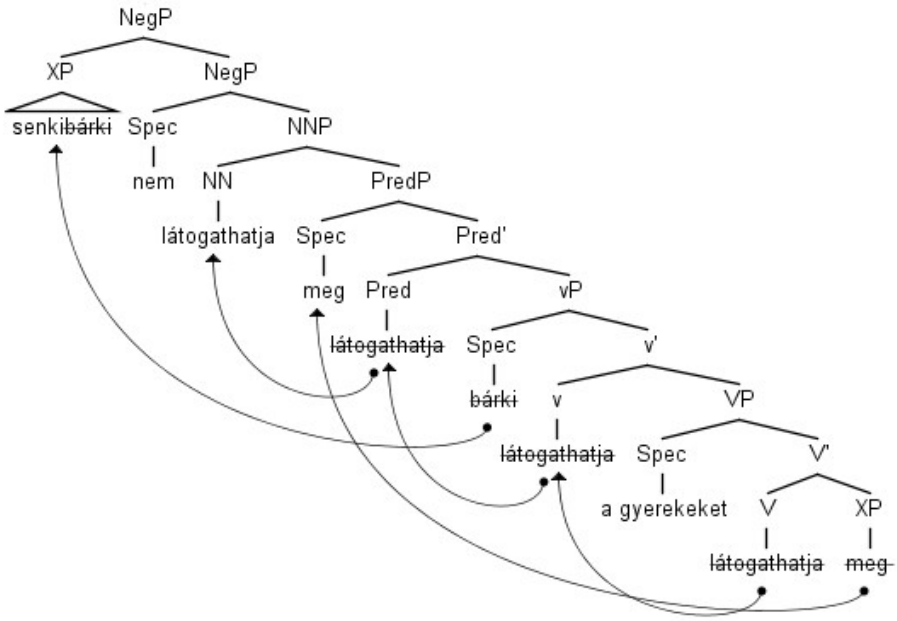
(124) a. **Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket 'bárki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC anyone
'For anyone, it is the case that he cannot visit the children.'

b. *Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket bárki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC anyone
'It is not the case that anyone can visit the children.'

c. **Nem látogatta meg a gyerekeket 'mindenki.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC everybody
'For everyone, it is the case that he did not visit the children.'

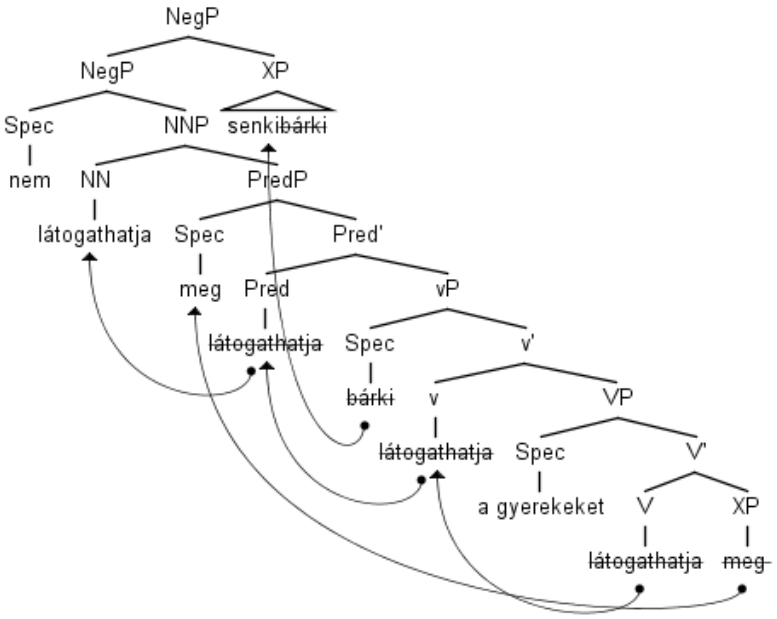
d. *Nem látogatta meg a gyerekeket mindenki.*
not visit-PAST-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC everybody
'It is not the case that everyone visited the children.'

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (124c) is straightforward: the fact that the postverbal universal is stressed indicated that it scopes above negation: however, we have seen earlier that in such cases, the negative polarity universal quantifier *senki* 'nobody' is inserted instead of *mindenki* 'everyone' under negative concord. That fact that (124a) is similarly ungrammatical and that we analyze FCIs as having universal force due to their intensionality and exhaustive variation makes it natural to assume that the FCI *bárki* participates in negative concord similarly to the universal quantifier *mindenki*:



(125) a. **Bárki nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket.*
anyone not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC

b. *Senki nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket.*
nobody not VISIT-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC
'Nobody can visit the children.' (For everybody, he cannot visit the children.)

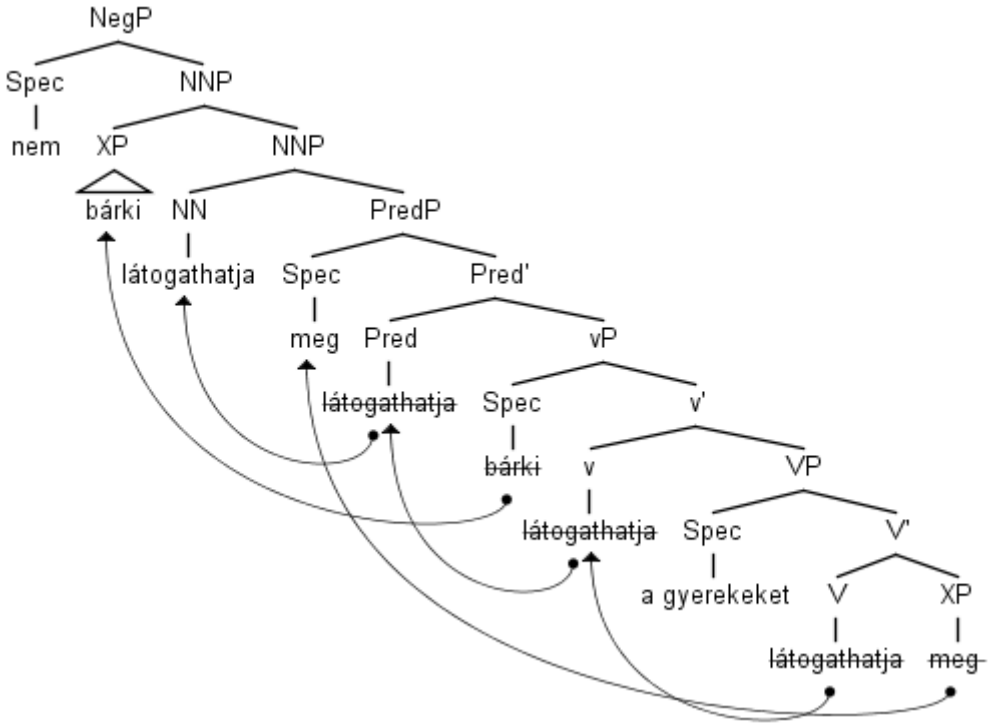


(126) a. **Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket 'bárki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC anyone

b. *Nem látogathatja meg a gyerekeket 'senki.*
not visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC nobody
'Nobody can visit the children.' (For everybody, he cannot visit the children.)

At first sight, it may seem radical to propose that both universals such as *mindenki* 'everyone' and FCIs such as *bárki* 'anyone' are replaced by the same lexeme, *senki* 'nobody' in negative environments. Note, however, that É. Kiss (2009) and Surányi (2006) have convincingly argued that both universal quantifiers such as *mindenki* 'everyone' and existentials such as *valaki* 'someone' are replaced in negative environments by *se*-pronouns such as *senki* 'nobody', which duly display a dual syntactic behaviour (universal or existential). Remember that we analyze FCIs as dependent indefinites with a universality derived from their intensionality and exhaustive variation: this means that FCIs such as *bárki* are both syntactically and semantically closely related to both universals and existentials. Moreover, as we will see in Section 3.3, they display symptoms of both universal and existential quantification. In light of this, the fact that FCIs are replaced by *se*-pronouns in certain negative contexts is no longer surprising.

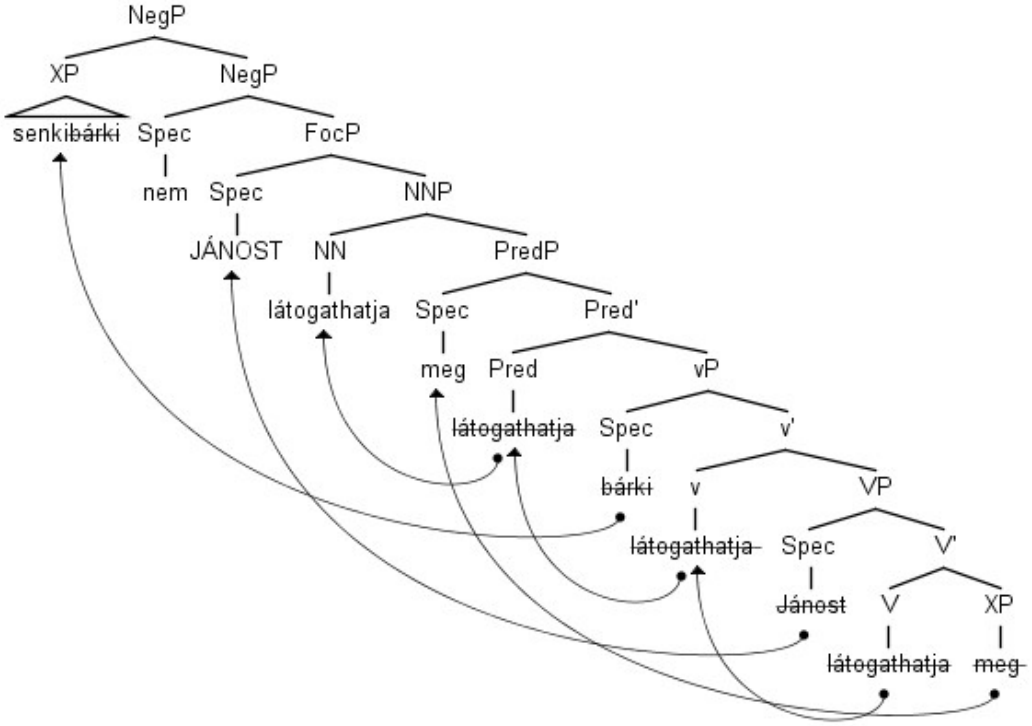
Besides adjunction to PredP and the functional projections FocP and NegP, it could be technically possible to adjoin an FCI to NNP as well. However, in section 3.1.1.6, I argued that *pace* É. Kiss (2010b), Q-adjunction to NNP is not possible. Given that we analyze FCIs as occupying the same positions as universal quantifiers, we expect that FCIs cannot be joined to NNP either. In fact, the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (127) confirms this:



(127) **Nem bárki látogathatja meg a gyerekeket.*
not anyone visit-POT-3SG PRT the child-PL-ACC
'Not anyone can visit the children.'

Naturally, it is possible for a sentence to contain a focus, negation and an FCI. In these complex cases as well, scope, word order and stress phenomena can clearly be derived using the basic model of the Hungarian sentence, the analysis of Q-raising as adjunction, and the positioning of FCIs in the positions available to universal quantifiers.

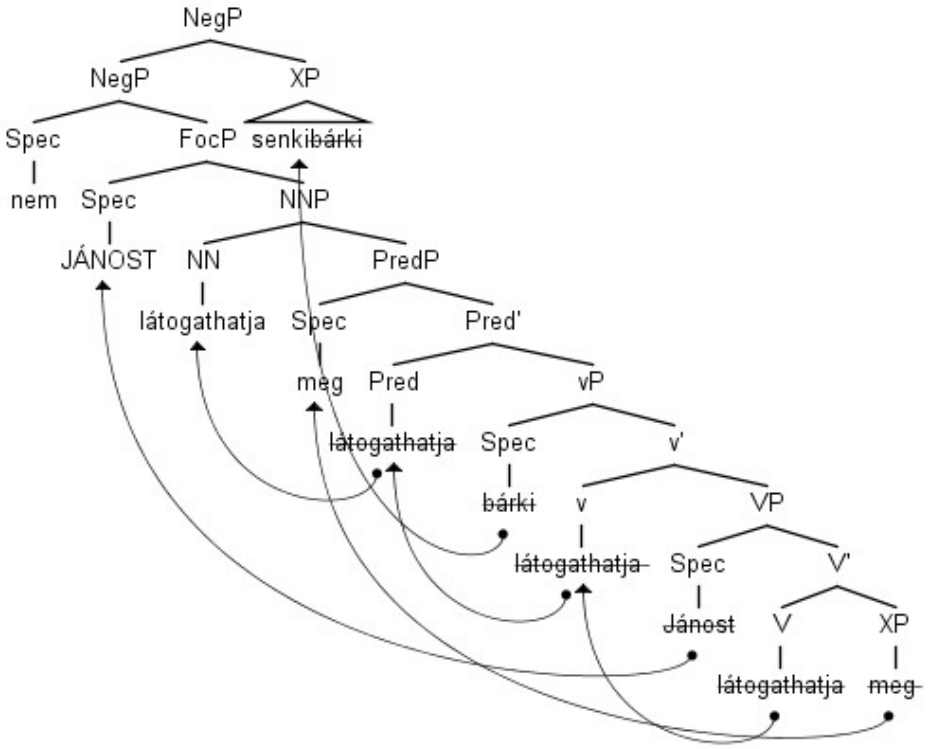
First, consider the situation where the FCI scopes over negation, which in turn scopes over focusing:



(128) a. **Bárki nem JÁNOST látogathatja meg.*
anyone not John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT

b. *Senki nem JÁNOST látogathatja meg.*
nobody not John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT
'For everyone/anyone, it is not the case that it is John that he can visit.'

Since the FCI scopes directly above negation, we experience negative concord and *senki* 'nobody' emerges. Consider next the same configuration with right-adjunction of the FCI:



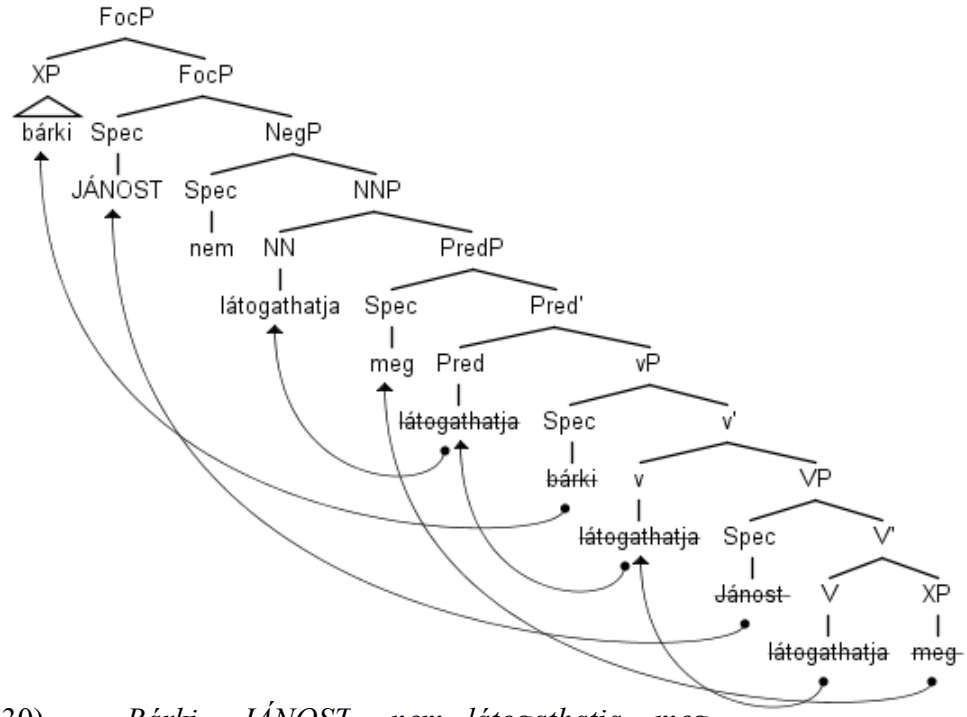
(129) a. **Nem JÁNOST látogathatja meg 'bárki.*
not John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

b. *Nem JÁNOST látogathatja meg 'senki.*
not John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

c. *Nem JÁNOST látogathatja 'senki meg.*
not John-ACC visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT
'For everyone/anyone, it is not the case that it is John that he can visit.'

Importantly, the post-verbally linearized *senki* 'nobody' is stressed, since it is outside the c-command domain of negation (and the focus). Due to post-verbal free linearization, the word order in (129c) is also grammatical, but is heavily marked: since the verbal particle *meg* is very light and the stressed negative universal *senki* is heavy due to its extra stress, the word order in (129c) is a particularly strong violation of Behaghel's Law of Growing Constituents.

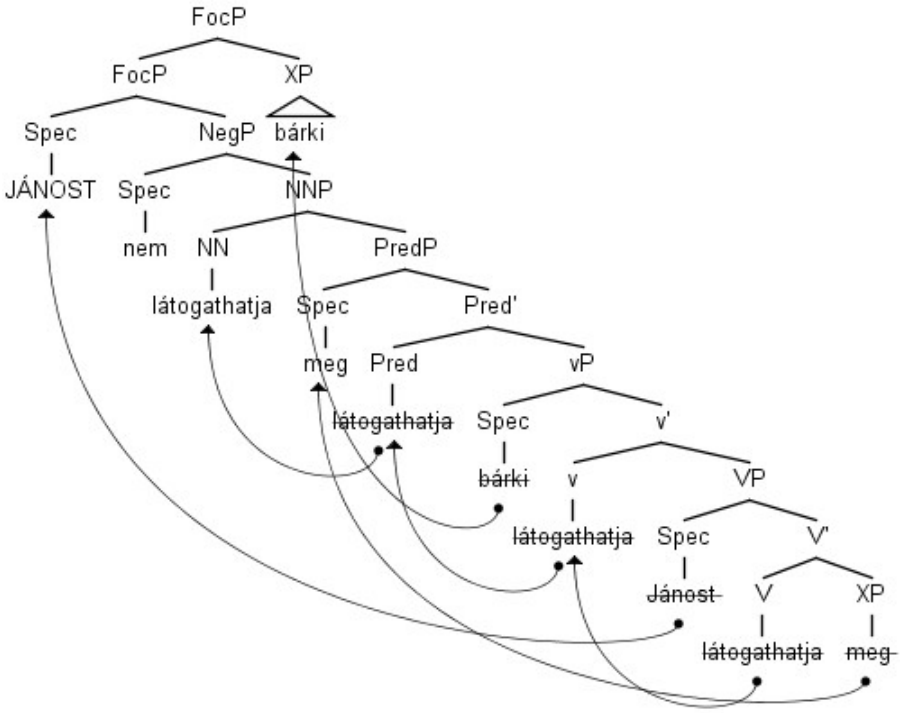
Consider the next the case where the FCI scopes over focus, and focus in turn scopes over negation. The scope relations can be derived straightforwardly from the c-command relations:



(130) *Bárki JÁNOST nem látogathatja meg.*
anyone John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG PRT
'For anyone, it is John that he cannot visit.'

Since focus intervenes between the FCI and negation, negative concord is not triggered.

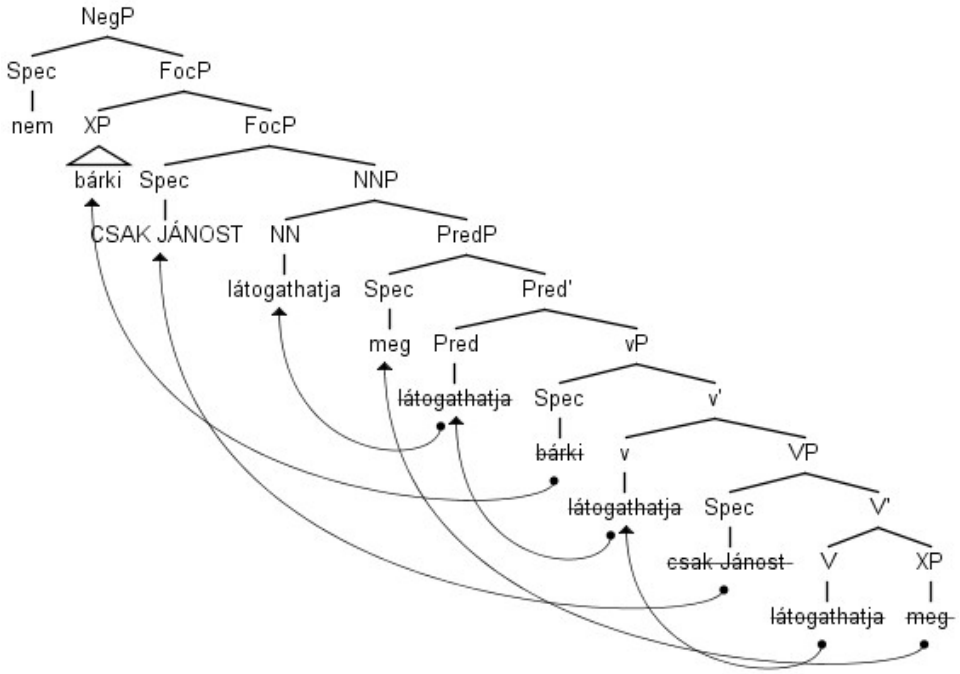
(131) represents the same situation, with the FCI adjoined from the right:



(131) a. *JÁNOST nem látogathatja meg 'bárki.*
John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
b. *JÁNOST nem látogathatja 'bárki meg.*
John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT
'For anyone, it is John that he cannot visit.'

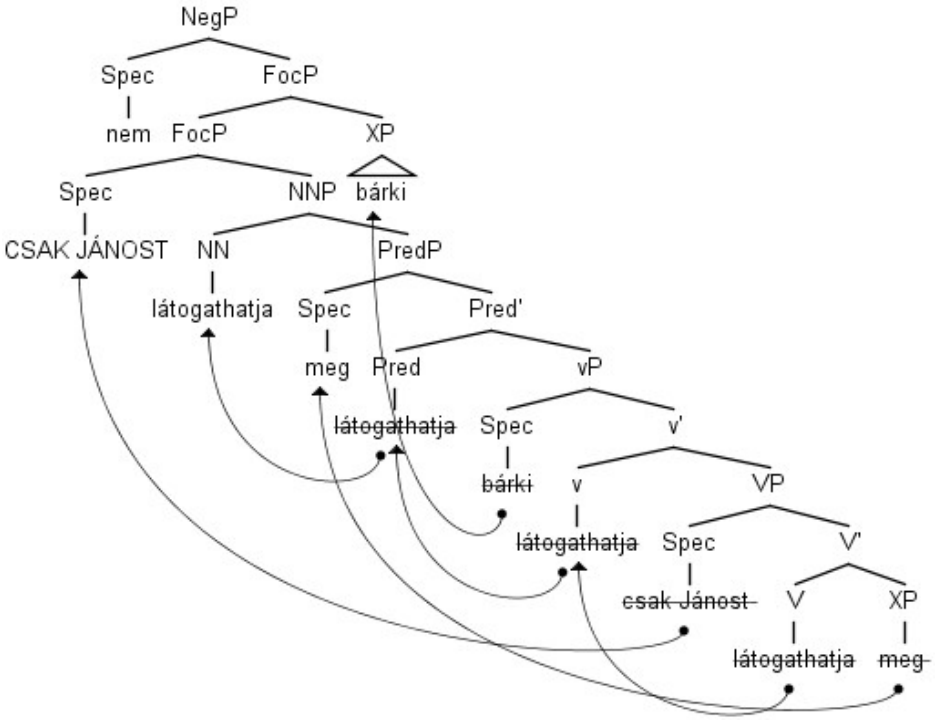
Similarly to the case before, the post-verbally linearized *bárki* 'anyone' is stressed, since it is outside the c-command domain of focus (and of negation). Due to post-verbal free linearization, the word order in (131b) is also grammatical, but is heavily marked: since the verbal particle *meg* is very light and the stressed FCI *bárki* 'anyone' is heavy due to its extra stress, the word order in (131b) is a particularly strong violation of Behaghel's Law of Growing Constituents.

In case negation scopes over the FCI, which in turn scopes over focus, the grammaticality depends on the direction of adjunction. As we have seen before, there is phonological constraint which requires that *nem* 'not' and the focused element be adjacent (after linearization). Accordingly, the left-adjoined case where the FCI intervenes between negation and the focussed element is ungrammatical:



(132) **Nem bárki CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg.*
not anyone only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT
'It is not the case that for anyone it is only John that he can visit.'

In the case of right-adjunction, this condition is not violated as the FCI is linearized post-verbally. Since the FCI is within the c-command domain of negation, it is destressed. Due to post-verbal free linearization, two surface word orders are possible, with (133a) being less marked:

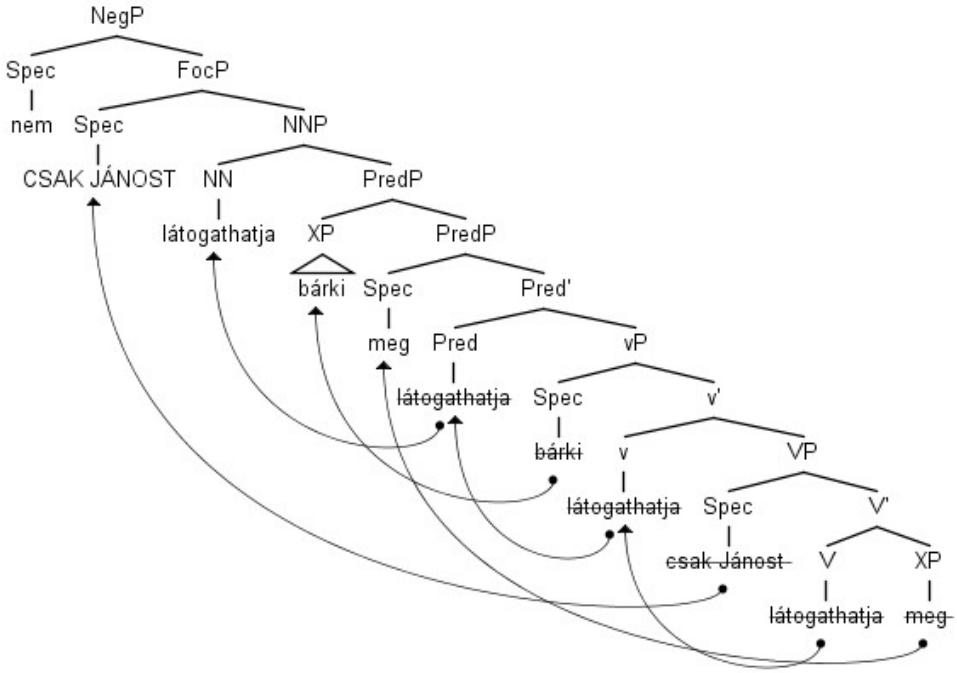


(133) a. *Nem CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja meg bárki.*
not only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

b. *Nem CSAK JÁNOST látogathatja bárki meg.*
not only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT

'It is not the case that for anyone it is only John that he can visit.'

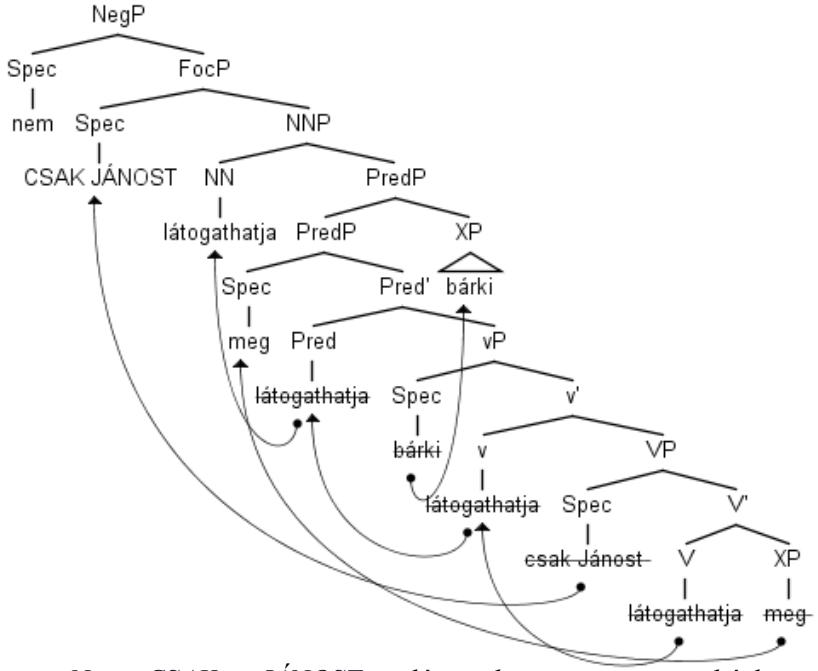
In the case where negation scopes over focus, which in turn scopes over the FCI, both left- and right-adjunction result in the same set of surface orders due to post-verbal free linearization:



(134) a. *Nem* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogathatja* *bárki* *meg.*
not only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT

b. *Nem* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogathatja* *meg* *bárki.*
not only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

'It is not the case that it is only John that anyone can visit.'



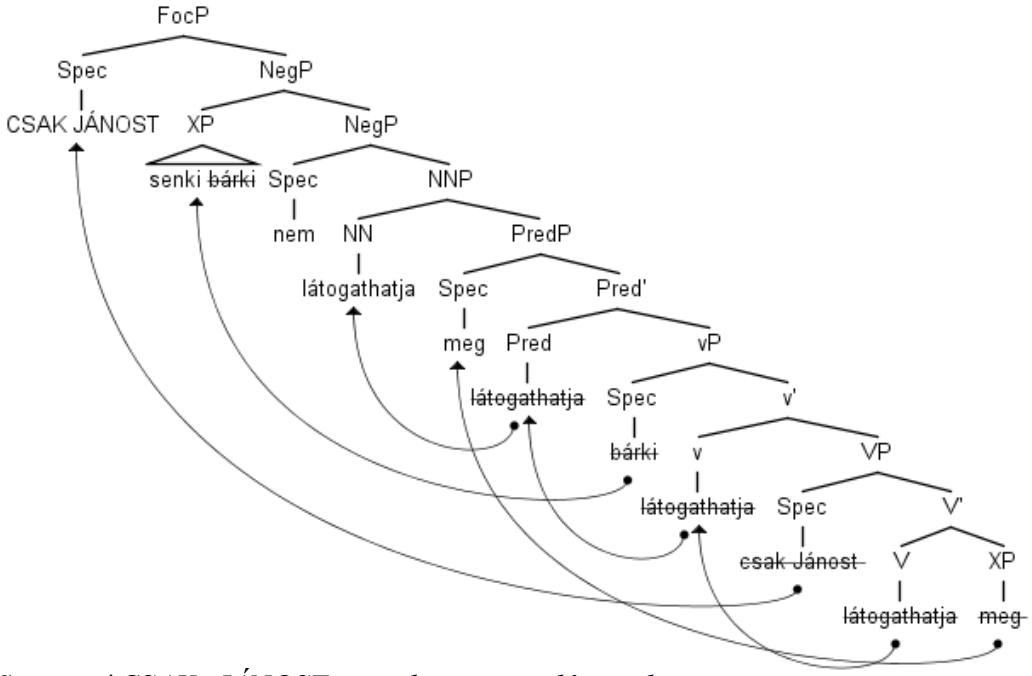
(135) a. *Nem* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogathatja* *meg* *bárki.*
not only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

b. *Nem* *CSAK* *JÁNOST* *látogathatja* *bárki* *meg.*
not only John-ACC visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone

'It is not the case that it is only John that anyone can visit.'

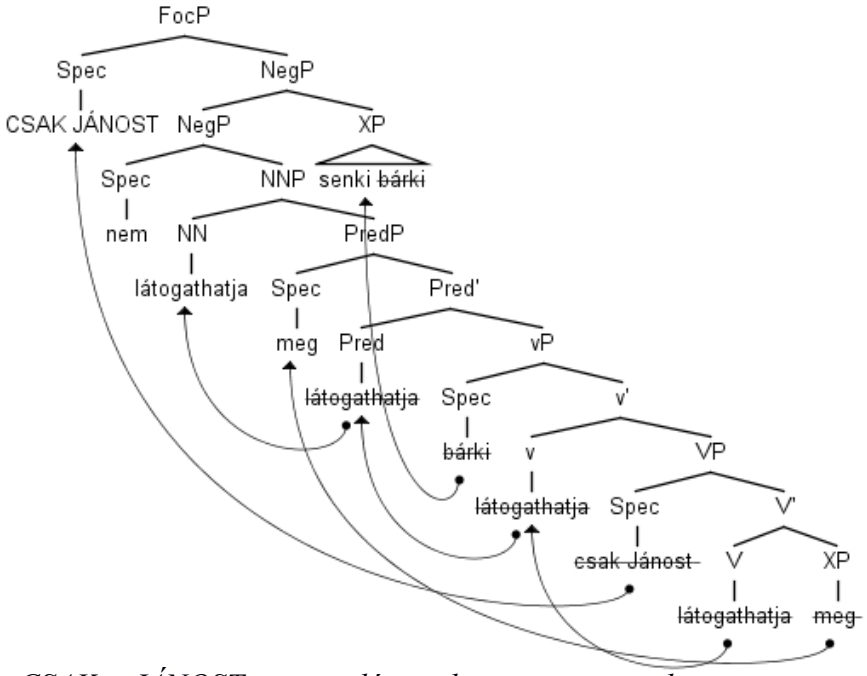
In either case, the variant where the verbal particle precedes the FCI is more natural. The FCI, being in the scope of negation, is destressed.

Consider next a sentence where focus has the highest scope, over an FCI and negation, respectively. This configuration, as expected, displays negative concord and the negative universal *senki* 'nobody' emerges. The grammaticality of the sentence depends on the direction of adjunction concerning the FCI:



(136) **CSAK JÁNOST senki nem látogathatja meg.*
only John-ACC nobody not visit-POT-3SG PRT
'It is only John whom anybody cannot visit.'

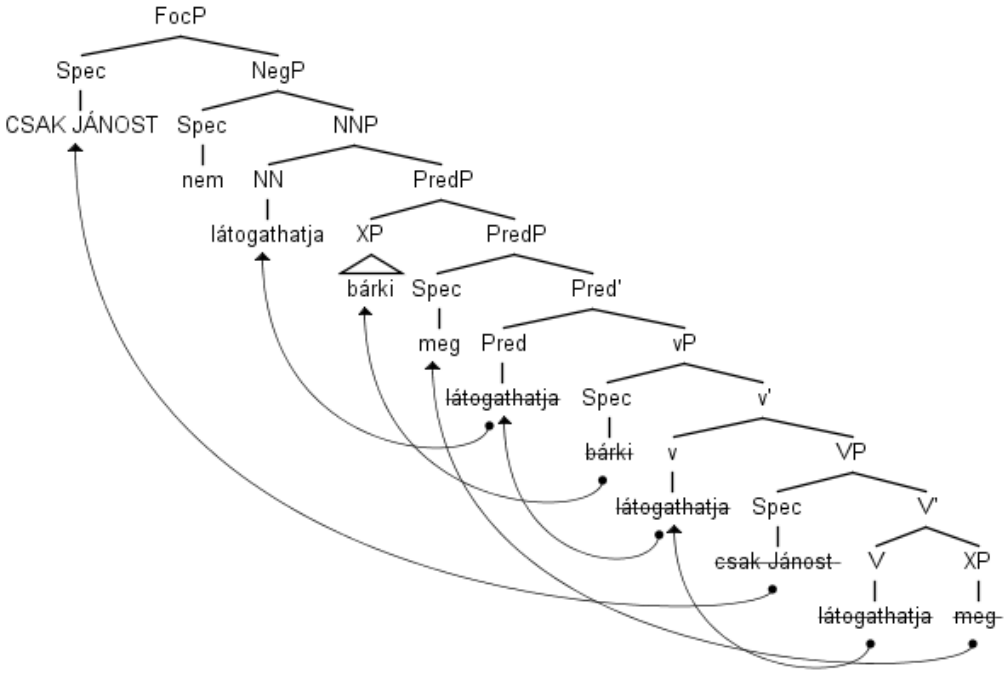
The ungrammaticality is due to the fact that the negative universal intervenes between the focus and the negated verb. As we have seen above, this violates an independently motivated phonological constraint which requires that Foc and the negated V must form one phonological word (É. Kiss 2010, cf. Kenesei 1994:330). No such problem arises when the FCI is right-adjoined, and as expected, the sentence is grammatical:



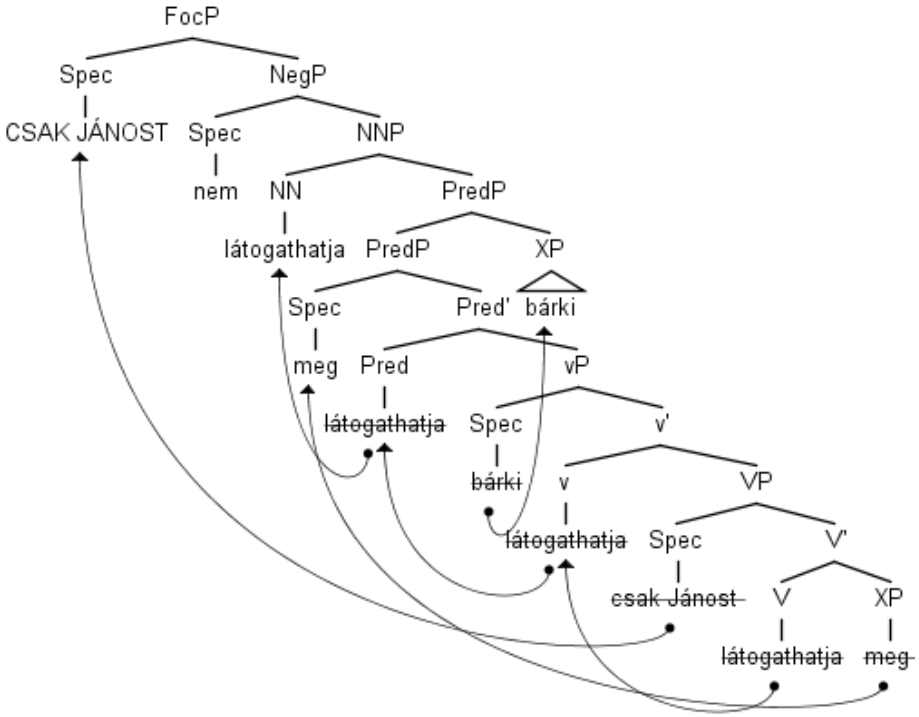
(137) a. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogathatja meg senki.*
only John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG PRT nobody

b. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogathatja senki meg.*
only John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG nobody PRT
'It is only John whom anybody cannot visit.'

Finally, consider the case where focus scopes over negation, which in turn scopes over an FCI. The FCI is within the scope of negation (and focus) and it is thus unstressed. It also undergoes post-verbal free linearization, with the word order where the FCI follows the verbal particle being less marked.



(138) a. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogathatja bárki meg.*
only John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT
b. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogathatja meg bárki.*
only John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
'It is only John whom not anyone can visit.'



(139) a. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogathatja meg bárki.*
only John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG PRT anyone
b. *CSAK JÁNOST nem látogathatja bárki meg.*
only John-ACC not visit-POT-3SG anyone PRT
'It is only John whom not anyone can visit.'

Concluding this section, note that FCIs and universals can be freely iterated by adjunction to the functional projections and the scope relations fall out naturally from the c-command relations:

(140) a. *Bárki mindent ki próbálhat.*
[$_{PredP}$ anyone [$_{PredP}$ everything-ACC [$_{PredP}$ PRT try-POT-3SG]]]]
'Anyone can try everything.'

b. *Mindent* *bárki* *ki* *próbálhat.*
[$_{PredP}$ everything-ACC [$_{PredP}$ anyone [$_{PredP}$ PRT try-POT-3SG]]]]]
'For everything, anyone can try it.'

To summarize, I have shown in this section that a large part of the environments where FCIs occur (and fail to occur) can be modelled by assuming that FCIs occupy the same positions as universal quantifiers (left- or right-adjunction to PredP, FocP or NegP). Under this assumption we could readily derive all word order possibilities and stress patterns of FCIs, and also the very nuanced scope phenomena displayed by multiple FCIs and FCIs and other elements (universals, focus, negation). Note that in addition to this remarkable empirical coverage, this model also has considerable theoretical appeal, since under the analysis of FCIs adopted by us (Giannakidou 2001), FCIs display a universality which is derived from their intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration, that is, it ranges over denotation – possible world pairs (<x,w>).

In the following sections, we will cover the remaining environments where FCIs occur: in contrastive topic position and in focus position; and we will also explore the quantificational force of FCIs in more detail.

3.2 FCIs as contrastive topics

Similarly to universals, FCIs can appear in the topic position as contrastive topics. Contrastive topics are situated in the topic position and are differentiated from ordinary topics by a distinctive fall-rise intonation (É. Kiss – Gyuris 2003, Gyuris 2009a, Gyuris 2009b). In the topic-predicate setup of the Hungarian sentence, topics are the logical subject of predication. In the case of contrastive topics, there is also an additional meaning:

(141) a. *'János \meg érkezett.*
[$_{TopP}$ John [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]
'John has arrived.'

b. *√János \meg érkezett*
[$_{TopP}$ John [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]
'John, he has arrived.'

Intuitively, the fact that *John* is in a contrastive topic position in (141b) indicates that while John did arrive, there are one or several persons in the universe of discourse of whom the opposite is true: they did not, in fact, arrive. Contrastive topicalization means that the topicalized entity is the member of a set which contains at least one other entity of which the proposition expressed by the sentence is untrue. As opposed to this, the sentence with non-contrastive topicalization ((141). a) is completely agnostic as to the arrival or otherwise of persons other than John (É. Kiss – Gyuris 2003, Gyuris 2009a, Gyuris 2009b, Szabolcsi 1981).

Beside this, there is another important difference between regular and contrastive topics. In the case of regular topics, topicalized constituents obligatorily refer to an individual which is already given, that is, present in the universe of discourse: that is, they are both referential and specific. This means that non-individual denoting elements such as quantifiers or existentials cannot be topicalized (see also Chapter 3.1.2):

(142) a. *'Mindenki \meg érkezett.*
*[$_{TopP}$ everyone [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]
[$_{PredP}$ everyone [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]
'Everybody has arrived.'

b. *'Valaki* *\meg érkezett.*

*[$_{TopP}$ someone[--referential] [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]

[$_{TopP}$ someone[+referential] [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]

'Somebody (a particular person) has arrived.'

However, under a fall-rise intonation, contrastive topicalization of non-individual denoting elements is in fact possible:

(143) *√Föl* *\LIFTEN* *megyek.*

[$_{TopP}$ PRT [$_{FocP}$ lift-SUP go-1PSG]]

'Up, I go by elevator.'

(144) *√Mindent* *\nem olvasott* *el* *János*

[$_{TopP}$ everything [$_{NegP}$ not read-PAST-3SG PRT John]]

'It is not the case that John read everything./Everything, John did not read.'

In Hungarian (similarly to other languages), contrastive topics are followed by (semantic) focus (Szabolcsi 1981b, Kenesei 1989, Molnár 1998, Gyuris 2009):[8]

(145) a. *√János* [$_{FP}$ *\MARIVAL találkozott* *össze.*] focus

John Mary-INS meet-PAST-3SG PRT

'As for John, he met \Mary.'

b. *√Jánost* [$_{VP}$ *\láttam.*] verum focus

John-ACC see-PAST-1SG

'As for John, I \have seen him.'

c. *√Jánost* [$_{NegP}$ *\nem láttam.*] falsum focus

John-ACC not see-PAST-1SG

'As for John, I \haven't seen him.'

d. *√János* [$_{AspP}$ *\el olvasta* *az* *újságot.*] contrastive/verum focus

John-ACC PRT read-PAST-3SG the newspaper-ACC

'As for John, he \read the newspaper.' (John read the newspaper in full, while someone else only glanced into it.)

8 Examples are taken from Gyuris (2009b).

'As for John, he \did read the newspaper.' (John read the newspaper, while someone else failed to read it.)

The semantics and pragmatics of contrastive topicalization have received considerable attention in recent decades (cf. Gyuris 2009 for an overview), with the most seminal proposals aiming to analyse contrastive topicalization in a question-answer framework. Büring (1997) proposed to capture the semantic and pragmatic properties of contrastive topicalization by examining the implicit questions to which declaratives with a contrastive topic provide a congruent answer. Kadmon (2001) couched her proposal in the terms of Roberts' (1996) theory of the organization of discourses. Büring (2003) deployed a hierarchical model of discourse structure where questions and subquestions form a so-called strategy and a declarative with a contrastive topic is assumed to provide a non-complete answer to a question. Discussing the merits of these and other proposals is beyond the scope of this thesis and I direct the interested reader to Gyuris (2009) for an excellent overview or the papers themselves. In what follows, I will use the framework proposed in Gyuris (2009).
While previous proposals assume that the presupposition associated with contrastive topics concerns the existence of explicit or implicit questions in the discourse, Gyuris (2009) proposes that the presupposition concerns the set of alternatives associated with the contrastive topic and the focus, respectively, and the manner of how these two sets of alternatives are connected. More precisely:

(146) *Presupposition of declaratives containing a contrastive topic:*
Let *S* be a sentence containing a contrastive topic phrase (*CT*) and a focus phrase (*F*). Let *R* stand for the part of *S* remaining after the contrastive topic and the focus have been removed from it. Let $[\![S]\!] = [\![R]\!]([\![CT]\!], [\![F]\!])$. S then presupposes the following:
a) there is a set ALT($[\![CT]\!]$) of alternatives to $[\![CT]\!]$ (which includes $[\![CT]\!]$ itself);
b) there is a set ALT($[\![F]\!]$) of alternatives to $[\![F]\!]$ (which includes $[\![F]\!]$ itself);
c) there is a function f: ALT($[\![CT]\!]$) → ALT($[\![F]\!]$) with the following properties:

i) for any x ∈ DOM(f), f(x) is the elelement of ALT($[\![F]\!]$) for which $[\![R]\!]$(x, f(x)) is true, and

ii) for any x ∈ DOM(f) there is at least one x' ∈ DOM(f) such that the value of f(x) does not determine the value of f(x')

Consider the following pair of sentences:

(147) a. *√Minden diák \nem érkezett meg.*
every student not arrive-PAST-3SG PRT
'√Every student did \not arrive.'
'It is not the case that every student arrived.'

b. **√Minden diák \meg érkezett.*
every student PRT arrive-PAST-3SG
'It is the case that every student did arrive.'

The values and sets involved in (147a) are as follows:

$[\![CT]\!]$: *every student*

$[\![F]\!]$: *did not arrive*

ALT($[\![CT]\!]$): {*every student*, *some students*, *no students*}

ALT($[\![F]\!]$): {*did not arrive*, *arrive*}

Function f(.) concerning (147a) can be characterized as follows:

f(*every student*) = *did not arrive*
f(*some students*) = ?
f(*no students*) = ?

The question marks indicate that the truth of (147a) (the fact that f(*every student*) = *did not arrive*) does not determine the value of f(*some students*) or f(*no students*): it may or may not be the case that some or no students arrived or otherwise.

The values and sets involved in (147b) are as follows:

⟦*CT*⟧: *every student*

⟦*F*⟧: *arrived*

ALT(⟦*CT*⟧): {*every student*, *some students*, *no students*}

ALT(⟦*F*⟧): {*did not arrive*, *arrive*}

Function f(.) concerning (147b) can be characterized as follows:

f(*every student*) = *arrived*
f(*some students*) = *arrived*
f(*no students*) = *did not arrive*

The truth of (147b) (the fact that f(*every student*) = *arrived*) determines the value of f(.) for all the possible alternatives of the contrastive topic phrase: the fact that every student arrived entails that some students arrived and there were no students such that they did not arrive. This means that (147b) contradicts the presuppositions introduced by the contrastive topic by falling foul of (146) c) ii) and is thus ungrammatical.

Quantificational contrastive topics are notorious for displaying narrow scope (or scope inversion), whereby the scope of the contrastive topic and an operator c-commanded by it are reversed:[9]

(148) [$_{CT}$ *vTöbb, mint öt fiú*] [$_{NegP}$ *\nem látogatta meg Marit.*]
more than 5 boy not visit-PAST-3PSG PRT Mary-ACC
'More than /five boys \didn't visit Mary.'
'It is not the case that more than five boys visited Mary.'

In fact, as Gyuris (2009) shows, scope inversion is the rule with quantificational contrastive topics, with the only exception of those quantificational contrastive topics which can also have a referential reading (cf. Eckardt 2002):

9 Example taken from Gyuris (2009b)

(149) [$_{CT}$ *√Öt fiú*] [$_{NegP}$ *\nem látogatta meg Marit.*]
five boy not visit-PAST-3PSG PRT Mary-ACC
'/Five boys \didn't visit Mary.'
i. 'It is not the case that five boys visited Mary.'
ii. 'There are five particular boys who did not visit Mary.'[10]

Gyuris (2009) provides a systematic survey of the grammaticality and scope inversion phenomena in Hungarian by type of contrastive topic phrase and focus phrase (p. 126). For the sake of brevity, I limit the discussion to upward monotonic quantifiers associated with verum/falsum focus:[11]

(150) a. [$_{CT}$ *√Több, mint öt fiú*] [$_{NegP}$ *\nem látogatta meg Marit.*]
more than 5 boy not visit-PAST-3PSG PRT Mary-ACC
'More than /five boys \didn't visit Mary.'
'It is not the case that more than five boys visited Mary.'

b. *[$_{CT}$ *√Több, mint öt fiú*] [$_{NegP}$ *\meg látogatta Marit.*]
more than 5 boy PRT visit-PAST-3PSG Mary-ACC
'More than /five boys \visited Mary.'
'More than five boys visited Mary.'

Gyuris (2009) derives the (un)grammaticality and scope inversion of declaratives with contrastive topics based on the following assumptions:

- contrastive topicalization is the result of a movement from a postverbal position, and does not affect the truth-conditional interpretation of the sentence (thus, the pre-movement c-command relations are valid for quantification scope calculation)
- sentences with a contrastive topic predicate the (non)existence of a (sum) individual having the property denoted by the contrastive topic DP and the property denoted by the rest of the sentence (cf. É. Kiss 2000 and É. Kiss and Gyuris (2003) on property-denoting contrastive topic DPs, and Verkuyl (1981) and Link (1987, 1991, 1998) on the adjectival theory for particular NPs).

10 There were seven boys. /Two boys \visited Mary. /Five boys \didn't visit Mary.
11 Example taken from Gyuris (2009b).

Based on these assumptions, (150a) can be formalized as follows:

(151) $\neg\exists x.(\text{boy}(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{6, 7, ...\} \wedge \text{visited}(x, \text{mary}))$

Based on these assumptions, the denotation of the contrastive topic DP in (150a) is the following:

(152) $[\![\text{ötnél több fiú}]\!] = \lambda x.\text{boy}(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{6, 7, ...\}$

The set of alternatives to the contrastive topic phrase is:

(153) $\{\lambda x.\text{boy}(x) \wedge \#(x) \in C, \text{where } C \in 2^N\}$

where 2^N denotes a subset of the set of natural numbers.

The set of alternatives of the focus phrase is:

(154) $\{\lambda p.p, \lambda p.\neg p\}$

where p is the proposition expressed by the focused part.

The function presupposed by (150a) is the following:

(155) $f: \{\lambda x.\text{boy}(x) \wedge \#(x) \in C, \text{where } C \in 2^N\} \rightarrow \{\lambda p.p, \lambda p.\neg p\}$

(150a) is well-formed since the fact that more than five boys did not visit Mary does not entail the truth or falsity of, say, two boys having visited Mary. In order to derive the ungrammaticality of (150b), Gyuris (2009) stipulates the additional condition that the relevant alternatives with regard to the contrastive topic phrase must not overlap. That is to say, the alternatives for the contrastive topic phrase in (150b) are as follows:

(156) $\lambda x.boy(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{0\}$

$\lambda x.boy(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{1\}$

$\lambda x.boy(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{2\}$

$\lambda x.boy(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{3\}$

$\lambda x.boy(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{4\}$

$\lambda x.boy(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{5\}$

$\lambda x.boy(x) \wedge \#(x) \in \{6, 7, \ldots\}$

(150b) asserts that more than five boys did visit Mary, and this entails the truth/falsity of all the alternatives, thereby contravening the presuppositions associated with the contrastive topic.

Before examining the behaviour *bárki* in the contrastive topic position, it may be useful to spell out the derivation of the alternatives of a sentence with a bare nominal in contrastive topic position:

(157) a. [$_{CT}$ *vBiciklit*] [$_{NegP}$ *\nem látott* *János.*]
bicycle-ACC not see-PAST-3SG John
'A bicycle/Bicycles, John did not see.'
'As far as bicycles are concerned, it is not the case that John saw a representative / representatives of them.'

b. [$_{CT}$ *vBiciklit*] [$_{NegP}$ *\látott* *János.*]
bicycle-ACC see-PAST-3SG John
'A bicycle/Bicycles, John did see.'
'As far as bicycles are concerned, John did see a representative / representatives of them.'

The proposition expressed by (157a) is:

(158) $\neg\exists x.(\text{BICYCLE}(x) \wedge \text{SAW}(x, \text{JOHN}))$

The set of alternatives for the contrastive topic phrase is:

(159) {⟦bicikli⟧, ⟦roller⟧, ⟦gördeszka⟧...} =
{λx.BICYCLE(x), λx.SCOOTER(x), λx.SKATEBOARD(x)...}

The set of alternatives of the focus phrase is:

(160) {λx.¬SAW(JOHN, x), λx.SAW(JOHN, x)}

The function presupposed by (157a) is:

(161) f: {λx.BICYCLE(x), λx.SCOOTER(x), λx.SKATEBOARD(x)...} →
{λx.¬SAW(JOHN, x), λx.SAW(JOHN, x)}

The fact that John did not see a bicycle tells us nothing about whether or not he saw a roller or a scooter, therefore, the presupposition that the truth value of (157a) does not determine the truth value of alternative statements is easily satisfied.

Interestingly, FCIs can undergo contrastive topicalization in Hungarian:

(162) a. *√Bárkit* *\nem* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
anyone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Anyone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just anyone.)

b. * *√Bárkit* *\meg* *hívott* *János.*
anyone-ACC PRT invite-PAST-3SG John
'Anyone, John did invite.' (John did invite just anyone.)

Note that we have seen earlier that *bárki* being a *par excellence* non-referential expression cannot be found in non-contrastive topic position (Chapter 3.1.2). Also, I have shown that when *bárki* scopes over negation in a quantifier position, it surfaces as *senki* 'nobody' (Chapter 3.1.3).

Since we have seen earlier that *bárki* is situated in the same syntactic positions as the universal *mindenki*, it might be tempting to assume it can receive the same analysis in the contrastive topic position as *mindenki* (which can be treated as the upward monotonic quantifiers in (150): grammatical with falsum focus and ungrammatical with verum focus). However, *bárki* is different in one crucial respect from all the extensional expressions

considered above: it is intensional. This means that analyzing it in the framework above is far from trivial.

Intuitively, the meaning of (162a) can be paraphrased as follows:

> Presupposition: The speaker perceives that there is a contextual belief/expectation that John was indiscriminate in selecting the invitees.
> Assertion: The speaker asserts that contrary to this belief/expectation, John was not indiscriminate, he did not invite just anyone in a careless fashion.

It is useful at this point to consider the contrastive topicalization of the existential *valaki*:

(163) a. *√Valakit \nem hívott meg János.*
someone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Someone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite \someone.)

b. *√Valakit \meg hívott János.*
someone-ACC PRT invite-PAST-3SG John
'Someone, John did invite.' (John did invite \someone.)

Intuitively, the meaning of (163a) can be paraphrased as follows:

> Presupposition: The speaker perceives that there is a contextual belief/expectation that the identity of the person(s) whom John invited is vague as far as the participants of the context are concerned
> Assertion: The speaker asserts that contrary to this belief/expectation, the identity of the person(s) whom John invited is not vague, in fact, it can be pinpointed by the speaker.

There is a striking structural similarity between the paraphrases of the sentences containg contrastively topicalized *bárki* and *valaki*. This can be elucidated by looking at the formal semantics of *bárki* and *valaki*. Following Giannakidou (1997, 2001) and Giannakidou and Quer (2012), I analyze FC phrases as dependent indefinites, i. e., indefinites which in addition to their individual variable *x* also contain a world (*w*) or situation (*s*) variable, which is to be bound by an appropriate Q-operator (i.e. generic, habitual, modal, intensional) in order for the FC phrase to be licensed:

(164) a. ⟦any student⟧ = STUDENT(x)(w) (or: STUDENT(x)(s))

b. ⟦anyone⟧ = ONE(x)(w) (or: ONE(x)(s))

c. ⟦bárki⟧ = ONE(x)(w) (or: ONE(x)(s))

In a rather similar fashion, I have analyzed existentials as Heimian indefinites containing an individual variable *x* which can be bound by existential closure or by an unselective quantifier (É. Kiss 2009):

(165) a. ⟦some student⟧ = STUDENT(x)

b. ⟦someone⟧ = ONE(x)

c. ⟦valaki⟧ = ONE(x)

Note that existentials and FC-phrases are similar in containing an individual variable *x* (that is, they are both indefinites), the only difference being the presence of the world/situation variable *w/s* in FC-phrases. Additionally, FC-phrases also have an implication of universality which is derived from their intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration (Dayal 1997: i-alternatives):

(166) a. ⟦valaki⟧ = ONE(x)

b. ⟦bárki⟧ = ONE(x)(w) (or: ONE(x)(s))

With this in mind, the logic of contrastive topicalization of existentials and FC-phrases can be explained as follows. When an indefinite (dependent or not) is being contrastively topicalized, the relevant property which is being considered in the sense of É. Kiss – Gyuris (2003) is in fact referential vagueness. More precisely, the set of relevant properties is the following:

> in the case of *valaki/valamelyik diák*: {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable x; referential}
> in the case of *bárki/bármelyik diák*: {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable x and the world variable w; referential}

Based on this, we can easily derive the meaning of (163a) following É. Kiss – Gyuris (2003):

(167) *√Valakit* *\nem* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
someone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Someone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite \someone.)
'Of a set of currently relevant properties, the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* is under consideration. It is stated about the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* that the person that John invited is not a representative of it. For at least one other member of the set of currently relevant properties, an alternative statement holds (the person that John invited is a representative of it).'

Crucially, the set of currently relevant properties is a 2-member set: {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x*; referential}. This means that (167) positively asserts that the identity of the person(s) invited by John is referentially fixed, which is in fact the meaning that native speakers associate with (167).

For the sake of clarity, I will analyze a slightly different sentence using the more precise terminology of Gyuris (2009):

(168) *√Valamelyik* *diákot* *\nem* *hívta* *meg* *János.*
some student-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Some student, John did not invite.' (John did not invite \some student.)

The proposition expressed by (168) is:

(169) $\neg\exists x.(\text{VAGUE}_x(x) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x) \wedge \text{INVITED}(x, \text{JOHN}))$

The set of alternatives for the contrastive topic phrase is:

(170) $\{\lambda x.\text{VAGUE}_x(x) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x), \lambda x.\text{FIXED}(x) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x)\}$

The set of alternatives of the focus phrase is:

(171) {λx.¬INVITE(JOHN, x), λx.INVITE(JOHN, x)}

The function presupposed by (168a) is:

(172) f: {λx.VAGUE$_x$(x) ∧ STUDENT(x), λx.FIXED(x) ∧ STUDENT(x)} →
{λx.¬INVITE(JOHN, x), λx.INVITE(JOHN, x)}

Similarly:

(173) *√Bárkit* *\nem* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
anyone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Anyone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just anyone.)
'Of a set of currently relevant properties, the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w* is under consideration. It is stated about the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w* that the person that John invited is not a representative of it. For at least one other member of the set of currently relevant properties, an alternative statement holds (the person that John invited is a representative of it).'

Crucially, the set of currently relevant properties is a 2-member set: {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w*; referential}. This means that (173) positively asserts that the identity of the person(s) invited by John is referentially fixed, which is in fact the meaning that native speakers associate with (173). The intuitive meaning speakers associate with (173) is that contrary to contextual expectations/beliefs, John had a set of criteria which the invitees had to fulfill, such as 'friends of John', 'people held in high esteem by John ' etc. Importantly, each of these expressions has a denotation comprising a set of actual individuals, that is, they are referential.

For the sake of clarity, I will analyze a slightly different sentence using the more precise terminology of Gyuris (2009):

(174) *√Bármelyik diákot \nem hívta meg János.*
any student-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Any student, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just any student.)

The proposition expressed by (174) is:

(175) $\lambda w.\neg\exists x.(\text{VAGUE}_{X,w}(x,w) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x,w) \wedge \text{INVITED}(x, \text{JOHN}, w))$

The set of alternatives for the contrastive topic phrase is:

(176) $\{\lambda w.\lambda x.\text{VAGUE}_{X,w}(x,w) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x,w), \lambda w.\lambda x.\text{FIXED}(x,w) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x,w)\}$

The set of alternatives of the focus phrase is:

(177) $\{\lambda w.\lambda x.\neg\text{INVITED}(\text{JOHN}, x, w), \lambda w.\lambda x.\text{INVITED}(\text{JOHN}, x, w)\}$

The function presupposed by (174a) is:

(178) f: $\{\lambda w.\lambda x.\text{VAGUE}_{X,w}(x,w) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x,w), \lambda w.\lambda x.\text{FIXED}(x,w) \wedge \text{STUDENT}(x,w)\} \rightarrow \{\lambda w.\lambda x.\neg\text{INVITED}(\text{JOHN}, x, w), \lambda w.\lambda x.\text{INVITED}(\text{JOHN}, x, w)\}$

Note that the explanation above, while technically almost identical to the solutions proposed in Gyuris (2009), is also very different in one crucial respect. The cases considered in Gyuris (2009) were firmly extensional: what was at stake was the identity, the set membership or the cardinality of the denotations of referential expressions, whereas with *bárki* and *valaki*, what is being contrasted is the referential vagueness of the contrastively topicalized expression:

(179) a. [$_{\text{CT}}$ *√Marit*] [$_{\text{NegP}}$ *\nem látogatta meg János.*]
Mary-ACC not visit-PAST-3PSG PRT John
As for Mary, John did not visit her.
ALT($[\![CT]\!]$) = {MARY, ELISABETH, MARTHA…}

b. [$_{CT}$ *√Biciklit*] [$_{NegP}$ *\nem látott* *János.*]
bicycle-ACC not see-PAST-3SG John
'A bicycle/Bicycles, John did not see.'
'As far as bicycles are concerned, it is not the case that John saw a representative / representatives of them.'
ALT($[\![CT]\!]$) = {λx.BICYCLE(x), λx.SCOOTER(x), λx.SKATEBOARD(x)...}

c. [$_{CT}$ *√Több, mint öt fiú*] [$_{NegP}$ *\nem látogatta* *meg* *Marit.*]
more than 5 boy not visit-PAST-3SG PRT Mary-ACC
'More than /five boys \didn't visit Mary.'
'It is not the case that more than five boys visited Mary.'
ALT($[\![CT]\!]$) = {λx.BOY(x) ∧ #(x) ∈ {6, 7, ...}, λx.BOY(x) ∧ #(x) ∈ {5}, …}

(180) *√Bármelyik* *diákot* *\nem hívta* *meg* *János.*
any student-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Any student, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just any student.)
ALT($[\![CT]\!]$) = {λw.λx.VAGUE$_{x,w}$(x,w) ∧ STUDENT(x,w), λw.λx.FIXED(x,w) ∧ STUDENT(x,w)}

The fact that we are dealing with contrastive topicalization over a 2-member set is crucial when we compare the meaning of the sentences above with the sentences below, where *bárki* and *valaki* are focused:

(181) *Nem* *VALAKIT* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
not someone-ACC invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It is not \someone that John invited.' (John did not invite \someone. He invited the Queen of England.)

(182) *Nem* *BÁRKIT* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
not anyone-ACC invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It is not \anyone that John invited.' (John did not invite just anyone. He did have a logic behind his list of invitees.)

Normally, *bárki* and *valaki* as non-individual-denoting elements cannot be focused. The fact that they can in fact be focused in a metalinguistic fashion in the sentences above can be explained by assuming that in such cases, the contextually relevant set of properties in the sense of Szabolcsi (1983) is the following:

> in the case of focused *valaki*: {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x*; referential}
> in the case of focused *bárki*: {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w*; referential}

Then, the meaning of the focused sentences can be derived as follows:

(183) *Nem VALAKIT hívott meg János.*
not someone-ACC invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It is not \someone that John invited.' (John did not invite \someone. He invited the Queen of England.)
'Of a set of currently relevant properties, the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* is under consideration. It is stated about the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* that it is not the case that only this property is such that John invited a representative of it. Because of the presupposition of existence associated with focus, however, the implication is that there is another currently relevant property of which it is true that it is the only property such that John invited a representative of it.'

Since the set of currently relevant properties is the 2-member set {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x*; referential}, this other property has to be the property of being referential. Note that this explains why the following two sentences, even though they are structurally very different (one with contrastive topic and other with focus), have the same meaning:

(184) a. *√Valakit* *\nem* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
someone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Someone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite \someone.)
'The identity of the person(s) invited by John is referentially fixed. (Contrary to expectations that it was referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x*.)'

b. *Nem* *VALAKIT* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
not someone-ACC invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It is not \someone that John invited.' (John did not invite \someone. He invited the Queen of England.)
'The identity of the person(s) invited by John is referentially fixed. (Contrary to expectations that it was referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x*.)'

The meaning of the sentence with focused *bárki* can be derived in a similar fashion:

(185) *Nem* *BÁRKIT* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
not anyone-ACC invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It is not \anyone that John invited.' (John did not invite just anyone. He did have a logic behind his list of invitees.)
'Of a set of currently relevant properties, the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w* is under consideration. It is stated about the property of being referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w* that it is not the case that only this property is such that John invited a representative of it. Because of the presupposition of existence associated with focus, however, the implication is that there is another currently relevant property of which it is true that it is the only property such that John invited a representative of it.'

Since the set of currently relevant properties is the 2-member set {referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w*; referential}, this other property has to be the property of being referential. Note that this explains why the following two sentences, even though they are structurally very different (one with contrastive topic and other with focus), have the same meaning:

(186) a. *√Bárkit* *\nem* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
anyone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Anyone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just anyone.)
'The identity of the person(s) invited by John is referentially fixed. (Contrary to expectations that it was referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w.*)'

b. *Nem* *BÁRKIT* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
not anyone-ACC invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'It is not \anyone that John invited.' (John did not invite just anyone. He did have a logic behind his list of invitees.)
'The identity of the person(s) invited by John is referentially fixed. (Contrary to expectations that it was referentially vague with regard to the individual variable *x* and the world variable *w.*)'

The final issue to clarify concerns the unacceptability of contrastively topicalized FCI expressions with verum focus:

(187) a. *√Bárkit* *\nem* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
anyone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Anyone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just anyone.)

b. * *√Bárkit* *\meg* *hívott* *János.*
anyone-ACC PRT invite-PAST-3SG John
'Anyone, John did invite.' (John did invite just anyone.)

(188) a. *√Valakit* *\nem* *hívott* *meg* *János.*
someone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Someone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite \someone.)

b. *√Valakit* *\meg* *hívott* *János.*
someone-ACC PRT invite-PAST-3SG John
'Someone, John did invite.' (John did invite \someone.)
(Possible partial answer to Q: Did John invite Mary?)

The reason for the unacceptability of (187b) lies in the universality implicature of FCIs is derived from their intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration (Dayal 1997: i-alternatives).

In (187a), what is asserted is that the denotation of invitees cannot range freely over the set of <individual, world> pairs, however, it does not entail whether the proposition is true or false for any given <individual, world> pair. Because of this, (187a) complies with the expected property of the function f(.) linking the set of alternatives of the contrastive topic phrase to the set of alternatives of the focus phrase: namely, that the value of f($[\![CT]\!]$) does not pretermine that value of f(.) for the alternatives of $[\![CT]\!]$.

In (187b) on the other hand, what is asserted is that the whole range of <individual, world> pairs is within the denotation of invitees. This entails the truth of the proposition for any given <individual, world> pair, , which, however, means that the value of the focus phrase (the Boolean value 'true') can be derived for all alternatives of $[\![CT]\!]$ from the value which f(.) assigns to $[\![CT]\!]$. Note that the derivation of the ungrammaticality of a contrastively topicalized FCI with verum focus is identical to the derivation of the ungrammaticality of a contrastively topicalized universal with verum focus (147), which is of course due to the implied universality of the FCI.

3.3 The quantificational force of FCIs

Above, we have seen that the canonical position for FCIs in Hungarian is the position reserved for universal quantifiers (QP). I have also indicated that FCIs have a sort of dual nature in terms of quantification: while they are (dependent) indefinites and thus assumed to lack independent quantificational force as such, at the same time, they also carry a universality implicature. Therefore, it is pertinent to examine how FCIs fare in light of the standards test for quantificational force (see Surányi 2006 for an application of the same set of tests to n-words in Hungarian).

Bár- (’any’) patterns with universals in the standard test of modification by adverbials (Dahl 1970, Horn 1972, Zanuttini 1991, van der Wouden and Zwarts 1993, Horn and Lee 1995):

(189) a. **szinte valaki*[12]
almost somebody
‘almost somebody’

b. *szinte mindenki*
almost everybody
‘almost everbody’

c. *szinte bárki*
almost anybody
‘almost anybody’

12 It has to be pointed out that this test gives a different result for a synonym of *szinte*: *majdnem* (‘almost’):

(191) a2. **majdnem valaki*
almost somebody
almost somebody

b2. *majdnem mindenki*
almost everybody
almost everbody

c2. **majdnem bárki*
almost anybody
almost anybody

It is important to note, however, that *szinte* and *majdnem* do not completely behave the same way in other contexts either:

Q: *Kész vagy a házival?* A: *Majdnem.*
Q: *Kész vagy a házival?* A: *#Szinte.*
('Are you finished with your homework? Almost.')

This probably means that *szinte* and *majdnem* are not full synonyms after all. Further exploration of this topic is beyond our scope here.

Likewise, *bár-* (’any’) patterns with universals in the test of modification by an exceptive phrase:

(190) a. **Meghívhatsz valakit, kivéve Jánost.*
PRT invite-POSS-2SG someone-ACC except John-ACC
‘You can invite someone except John.’

b. *Meg hívhatsz mindenkit, kivéve Jánost.*
PRT invite-POSS-2SG everyone-ACC except John-ACC
‘You can invite everyone except John.’

c. *Meg hívhatsz bárkit, kivéve Jánost.*
PRT invite-POSS-2SG anyone-ACC except John-ACC
‘You can invite anyone except John.’

Giannakidou (2001) used donkey anaphora to test the quantificational force of FCIs in English and Greek, as existentials are known to support anaphora across a sentence boundary, whereas universals are known not to support it:

(192) a. **The students who bought every book should show it to me immediately.*

b. *The students who bought a book should show it to me immediately.*

c. *The students who bought any book should show it to me immediately.*

Consider:

(193) a. **Akik meg vettek minden könyvet, mutassák meg nekem*
who PRT buy-PAST-3PL every book-ACC show-IMP PRT me-DAT
pro.
it.
‘Those who bought every book should show it to me.’

b. *Akik meg vettek egy könyvet, mutassák meg nekem* pro.
who PRT buy-PAST-3PL a book-ACC show-IMP PRT me-DAT it
‘Those who bought a book should show it to me.’

c. *Akik meg vettek bármilyen könyvet, mutassák meg nekem*
who PRT buy-PAST-3PL any book-ACC show-IMP PRT me-DAT
pro.
it.
'Those who bought any book should show it to me.'

The test of donkey anaphora thus indicates that FC-phrases can have an existential reading.

Predicative use is also a well-established test of quantificational force (Partee 1995), as cross-linguistically, universals cannot be used predicatively, whereas existentials can. Giannakidou (2001) and Quer (1999) show that in Greek and Catalan, FCIs can be used predicatively on the *just any* reading:

(194) a. *Dhen ine enas opjosdhipote daskalos. (Ine o kaliteros!)*
not be-3SG a FCI teacher be-3SG the best
'He is not just any teacher. He is the best teacher!'

b. *No está {una/ *la/ *toda/ *cada} revista cualquiera.*
not be-3SG a the all each magazine FCI
'This is not just any magazine.'

Interestingly, in such predicative uses, the FCI is preceded by the indefinite article in both Greek and Catalan. Together with the predicative use itself, this is taken by Giannakidou (2001) to argue against the universal status of FCIs. In Hungarian, similar predicative use of FCIs on the *just any* reading can be observed:

(195) *János nem akárki. Ő egy híres író.*
John not anyone he a famous writer
'John is not just anyone. He is a famous writer.'

In fact, while it sounds somewhat substandard, the use of the indefinite article in such constructions is quite widespread:

(196) *János nem egy akárki. Ő egy híres író.*
John not a anyone he a famous writer
'John is not just anyone. He is a famous writer.'

Interestingly, such predicative use of the FCI *bárki* appears to be ungrammatical:

(197) a. **János nem bárki. Ő egy híres író.*
John not anyone he a famous writer
'John is not just anyone. He is a famous writer.'

b. **János nem egy bárki. Ő egy híres író.*
John not a anyone he a famous writer
'John is not just anyone. He is a famous writer.'

We have seen earlier that while *bárki* and *akárki* are mostly interchangeable, *akárki* is somewhat more archaic and its use is more limited and marked. Based on the sentences above, we might conjecture that the *any*/*just any* distinction might be in the process of being lexicalized in Hungarian, with *akárki* starting to indicate *just any* and *bárki any*.

However, a closer look shows that this is only true in the predicative use:

(198) a. *Mari nem megy hozzá akárkihez.*
Mary not go-3SG unto anyone-ALL
'Mary won't marry just anyone.'

b. *Mari nem megy hozzá egy akárkihez.*
Mary not go-3SG unto a anyone-ALL
'Mary won't marry just anyone.'

c. *Mari nem megy hozzá bárkihez.*
Mary not go-3SG unto anyone-ALL
'Mary won't marry just anyone.'

d. ?**Mari nem megy hozzá egy bárkihez.*
Mary not go-3SG unto a anyone-ALL
'Mary won't marry just anyone.'

(198c) is a perfectly acceptable sentence on a *just any* reading. *Egy bárki* (as in (198d)) has a very degraded acceptability: it is sporadically attested in corpora but with much smaller frequency than *egy akárki*. These sentences show that *bárki* is in fact equally capable of expressing a *just any* meaning. The fact that 1) the indefinite article is perfectly sound with *akárki* but unacceptable/degraded with *bárki* and 2) *(egy) akárki* is acceptable as a predicate

nominal but *(egy) bárki* is not suggest that what appears to be a predicate nominal use of the FCI *akárki* in (195) may in fact be a predicate nominal use of the lexeme *akárki* 'insignificant, nondescript person'. That is, I assume that in the course of the history of Hungarian, a common noun *akárki* has been derived from the FCI *akárki,* and it is this common noun *akárki* that we see in predicative uses. In fact, one might find utterances in corpora where these two *akárki*s are explicitly contrasted for rhetorical benefit:[13]

(199) *Miniszterelnöknek sem alkalmas akárki, főleg nem egy akárki.*
Prime minister-DAT neither qualified anyone especially not a anyone
'It is not the case that anyone is qualified to become PM, especially not an anyone.'

Furthermore, a rather simple search engine query indicates that while adjective+*akárki* pairs can readily be found, adjective+*bárki* (or adjective+*valaki*) pairs are extremely rare. The fact that (one version of) *akárki* can be modified by an AdjP whereas *bárki* and *valaki* cannot clearly indicates a category difference between (one version of) *akárki* vs. *bárki* and *valaki:*

		frequency
kis akárki	'little anybody'	9.000+
kis bárki	'little anybody'	<10
kis valaki	'little somebody'	<500
kis senki	'little nobody'	13.000+

Note that such a category change for an indefinite/universal is by no means unique to Hungarian:

(200) a. *He is nobody.*
b *He is a nobody.*

On the balance of evidence, what at first sight seemed to be instances of a predicative use of FCIs in Hungarian are probably more properly classified as predicative uses of common

13 Source http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:N6vLHpp_YgoJ:www.duray.sk/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_content%26view%3Darticle%26id%3D497:hazugisztan%26catid%3D1:dm-cikk%26Itemid%3D60+&cd=4&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu, date of access: October 10th, 2015

nouns (which were historically derived from FCIs). This means that contra Giannakidou's (2001) findings concerning Greek and Catalan, FCIs in Hungarian pattern with universals in the test of predicative use.

Following Giannakidou (2000) and Tóth (1999), Surányi (2006) uses *is*-modification as a test of existential quantification, pointing out that whereas *is* ('too, also') can modify existentially interpreted weak NPIs, it cannot modify universals:

(201) a. *Nem hiszem, hogy valaki is el jön.*
not believe–1PSG that someone too PRT come–3PSG
'I do not think someone will come.'

b. **Nem hiszem, hogy mindenki is el jön.*
not believe–1PSG that everyone too PRT come–3PSG
'I do not think everyone will come.'

FCIs can readily be modified by *is* in weakly non-veridical contexts:

(202) *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki is el jön.*
not believe–1PSG that anyone too PRT come–3PSG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

I discuss in more detail FCIs in weakly non-veridical contexts and the relationship of FCIs and *is* in Chapter 3.5.

Bare singulars incorporated into the verb invariably have an existential reading (sentence from Surányi 2006)[14]:

(203) a. *János valami híres embert alakít*
John something famous person-ACC act-3PSG
'John plays the part of some famous person.'

a.' **János alakít valami híres embert.*

b. **Egy színész minden híres embert alakít.*
An actor every famous person-ACC act-3PSG
'An actor plays the part of every famous person.'

14 Note that *valami* in (203a) may be more properly analyzed as a referentially vague item (RVI), cf. Chapter 4.2

Similarly to the n-words tested by Surányi (2006), FCIs can be (indeed, obligatorily are) incorporated in the infinitival clause under matrix negation below:

(204) a. *Nem szeretnék Pálnak semmi hülyeséget mondani holnap.*
not like-COND-1PSG Paul-DAT nothing stupid-ACC tell-INF tomorrow
'I do not want to say anything stupid to Paul tomorrow.'

a.' ?**Nem szeretnék Pálnak mondani semmi hülyeséget holnap.*
not like-COND-1PSG Paul-DAT tell-INF nothing stupid-ACC tomorrow
'I do not want to say anything stupid to Paul tomorrow.'

b. *Nem szeretnék Pálnak bármi hülyeséget mondani holnap.*
not like-COND-1PSG Paul-DAT anything stupid-ACC tell-INF tomorrow
'I do not want to say anything stupid to Paul tomorrow.'

b.' *?*Nem szeretnék Pálnak mondani bármi hülyeséget holnap.*
not like-COND-1PSG Paul-DAT tell-INF anything stupid-ACC tomorrow
'I do not want to say anything stupid to Paul tomorrow.'

(205) a. *Nem szeretnék semmi különösnek látszani.*
not like-COND-1PSG nothing special-DAT seem-INF
'I do not want to seem anything special.'

a.' **Nem szeretnék látszani semmi különösnek.*
not like-COND-1PSG seem-INF nothing special-DAT
'I do not want to seem anything special.'

b. *Nem szeretnék bármi különösnek látszani.*
not like-COND-1PSG anything special-DAT seem-INF
'I do not want to seem anything special.'

b.' **Nem szeretnék látszani bármi különösnek.*
not like-COND-1PSG seem-INF anything special-DAT
'I do not want to seem anything special.'

Again, the test of incorporation indicates that FCIs in Hungarian can have existential quantificational force.

A further way to explore the quantificational properties of FCIs is to examine existential import: universal quantifiers are know to have a pragmatic implicature of existence cross-linguistically (Strawson 1952). As we will see in Chapter 3.6, FCIs in themselves do not have such an existential import, although this can be elicited in combination with the focus construction (this quantificational plasticity is typical of Heimian indefinites).

The final test concerns so-called split readings with modal verbs (de Swart 1996, Giannakidou 2000, Surányi 2006). The sentence below has three possible readings due to different scope configurations:

(206) *One is allowed to fire no nurses*.

de re:	¬ > ∃ > MOD	'There are no nurses such that one is allowed to fire them.'
de dicto:	MOD > ¬ > ∃	'One is allowed not to fire any nurses.'
split:	¬ > MOD > ∃	'One is not allowed to fire any nurses.'

As Surányi (2006) points out, the *de dicto* reading is unavailable in the relevant Hungarian sentence as negation has overt scope above the modal verb:

(207)

Nem	*lehet*	*egy*	*ápolónőt*	*sem*	/	*senkit*	*sem*	*el*	*bocsátani.*
not	may	a	nurse-ACC	NEG	/	nobody-ACC	NEG	PRT	fire-INF

de re:	¬ > ∃ > MOD	'There are no nurses such that one is allowed to fire them.'
*de dicto:	MOD > ¬ > ∃	'One is allowed not to fire any nurses.'
split:	¬ > MOD > ∃	'One is not allowed to fire any nurses.'

Looking at FCIs, it emerges that only the split reading is available:

(208)

Nem	*lehet*	*bárkit*	*el*	*bocsátani.*
not	may	anybody-ACC	PRT	fire-INF

*de re:	¬ > FCI > MOD:	'There is not anyone such that one is allowed to fire them.'
*de dicto:	MOD > ¬ > FCI:	'One is allowed not to fire anyone.'
split:	¬ > MOD > FCI:	'One is not allowed to fire anyone.'

The *de dicto* reading is ungrammatical due to the overt scope of negation over the modal operator. The *de re* reading is excluded since the FCI needs to be in the scope of the modal operator to be licensed (see 2.2.2, cf. Hunyadi 2002). The fact that the split reading is available, though, indicates that FCIs can have an existential interpretation in Hungarian.

To summarize this section, I have carried out the following tests:

test	**result**
almost-modification	universal
modification by exceptive phrase	universal
donkey anaphora	universal
predicative use	universal (?)
is-modification	existential
incorporation	existential
split reading with modals	existential

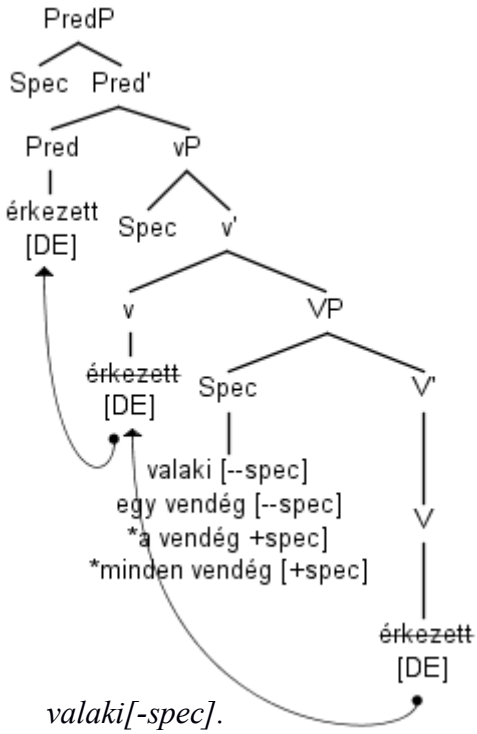
These results indicate that FCIs can have both universal and existential interpretation in Hungarian (note the similar findings of Surányi 2006 for n-words). This is in fact what we would expect under a dependent indefinite analysis. Heimian indefinites are known for quantificational plasticity (lacking quantificational force on their own), and as we have seen, FCIs as dependent indefinites, while not having quantificational force as such, carry a universality implicature due to their intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration (Giannakidou 2001).

3.4 The specificity of FCIs

We have seen above that Hunyadi (2002) regards FCIs as [-specific]. Indeed, the standard tests involving verbs of creation and appearance/coming into being support this view.

The specificity requirements which verbs of creation and appearance/coming into being (also called definiteness effect or DE verbs) place on their theme argument are a much-studied phenomenon in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1986, É. Kiss 1995, L. Kálmán 1995, Alberti 1997, Maleczki 1995, 1999). The basic facts are as follows:

A DE verb (without a verbal modifier) requires that its theme be [-specific]:



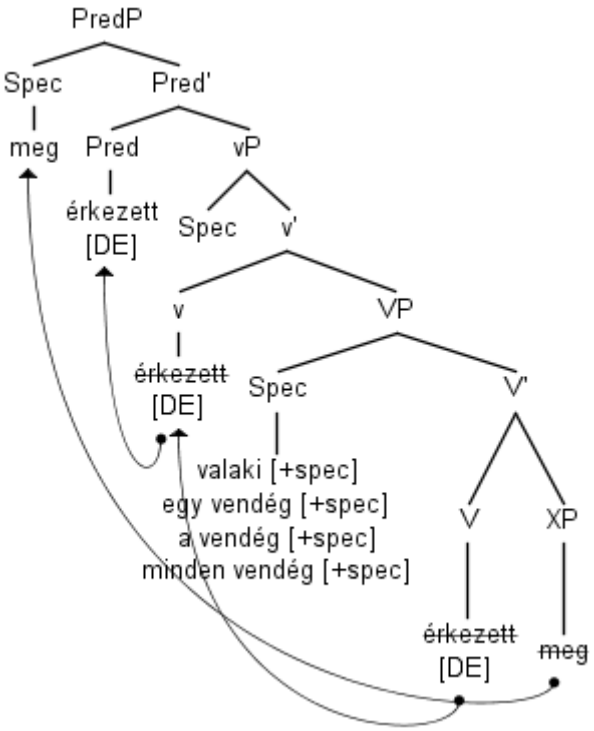
(209) a. *Érkezett* *valaki[-spec]*.
arrive-PAST-3SG somebody
'Someone has arrived.'

b. *Érkezett* *egy* *vendég[-spec]*.
arrive-PAST-3SG a guest
'A guest has arrived. (There arrived a guest.)'

c. **Érkezett* *a* *vendég.*
arrive-PAST-3SG the guest
'The guest has arrived.'

d. **Érkezett* *minden* *vendég.*
arrive-PAST-3SG every guest
'Every guest has arrived.'

A DE verb with a verbal modifier, however, requires that its theme be [+specific], due to the fact that it instantiates a secondary predication about the theme and thus has to presuppose its existence:



Note that it is generally assumed in Hungarian that the existential *valaki* (and NPs such as e*gy vendég*) can in fact have a [+specific] interpretation in the sense of Enç (1991): its referent is a subset of a referent already present in the discourse context. It is this [+specific] *valaki* which emerges in sentences like (210a) and (210b).

(210) a. *Meg érkezett valaki[+spec].*
PRT arrive-PAST-3SG somebody
'Someone has arrived.'

b. *Meg érkezett egy vendég[+spec].*
PRT arrive-PAST-3SG a guest
'A guest has arrived. (There arrived a guest.)'

c. **Meg érkeztek vendégek[-spec].*
PRT arrive-PAST-3PL guest-PL
'Guests have arrived. (There arrived some guests.)'

d. *Meg érkezett a vendég.*
PRT arrive-PAST-3SG the guest
'The guest has arrived.'

e. *Meg érkezett minden vendég.*
PRT arrive-PAST-3SG every guest
'Every guest has arrived.'

Based on this, we may use DE-verbs as a test environment for the specificity of FCIs in Hungarian:

(211) a. *Érkezhet valaki[-spec].*
arrive-POT-3SG somebody
'Someone may arrive.'
b. **Érkezhet mindenki.*
arrive-POT-3SG everybody
'Everybody may arrive.'
c. *Érkezhet bárki.*
arrive-POT-3SG anybody
'Anyone may arrive.'
d. *Meg érkezhet valaki[+spec].*
PRT arrive-POT-3SG somebody
'Someone has arrived.'
e. *Meg érkezhet mindenki.*
PRT arrive-POT-3SG somebody
'Someone has arrived.'
f. *Meg érkezhet bárki.*
PRT arrive-POT-3SG somebody
'Someone has arrived.'

Note that very similarly to *valaki*, *bárki* can also appear as a theme of both VM-less and VM DE verbs. This may lead us to the conclusion that just like the indefinite *valaki*, the dependent indefinite *bárki* can also have a [+specific] reading in addition to its less marked [-specific] reading.

If this were indeed the case, however, we would expect *bárki* to emerge in topic position on its [+specific] reading. As we have seen, this is not the case: *bárki* cannot be topicalized. To recapitulate, a number of tests refute the conjecture that FCIs in Hungarian can be topicalized:

(212) *Mindenki bárkit meg hívhat.*
everyone anyone-ACC PRT invite-POT-3SG
'Everyone can invite anyone.'

Since *mindenki* ('everyone') is adjoined to a functional phrase (a PredP), and topics are generated above the highest functional phrase, *bárkit* clearly cannot be in topic position in (212).

Also, sentence adverbial tests also prove that FCIs cannot be in topic position:

(213) *Állítólag bárki meg hívhatja Marit.*
allegedly anyone PRT invite-POT-3SG Mari-ACC
'Allegedly anyone can invite Mary.'

(214) **Bárki állítólag meg hívhatja Marit.*
Anyone allegedly PRT invite-POT-3SG Mari-ACC
'Allegedly anyone can invite Mary.'

Sentence adverbials obligatorily precede the predicate part of the sentence but otherwise, their order related to the topics of the sentence is free (É. Kiss 2002).

Together, these sentences indicate that while the dependent indefinite *bárki* can indeed have a [+specific] reading, this is elicited by a radically different mechanism than in the case the indefinite *valaki*. The specific reading of *bárki* is due to the universality implicature derived from its intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration (Giannakidou 2001).

3.5 FCIs and *is* ('too')

The purpose of this chapter is to characterize the relationship of FCIs and the particle *is* ('too, also'). At first sight, one may assume that the situation is straightforward: *is* can freely but optionally appear next to *bárki*:

(215) a. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki is el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone too PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

However, it can easily be shown that the situation is more complicated than that: there are, in fact, numerous instances where *bárki* cannot be followed by *is*:

(216) a. *Bárki meg látogathatja a barátait.*
anyone PRT visit-POT-3SG the friends-POSS
'Anyone can visit his friends.'

b. **Bárki is meg látogathatja a barátait.*
anyone too PRT visit-POT-3SG the friends-POSS
'Anyone too can visit his friends.'

Based on this, one might assume that there are two cases:

- *bárki *(is)*: environments where *bárki* cannot be followed by *is*
- *bárki (is)*: environments where *bárki* can optionally be followed by *is*

As it happens, the situation is even more complicated than that. The environments where *bárki* can optionally be followed by *is* can in fact be divided into two sets based on the interchangeability with *valaki is* ('somebody too'):

(217) a. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki (is) el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone (too) PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy valaki is el jön.*
not believe–1SG that someone too PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

(218) a. *Bárki is jön meg, engedd be.*
anyone too come-3SG PRT let-2SG-IMP PRT
'Whoever arrives, let him in.'

b. *Bárki jön meg, engedd be.*
anyone come-3SG PRT let-2SG-IMP PRT
'Whoever arrives, let him in.'

c. **Valaki is jön meg, engedd be.*
someone (too) come-3SG PRT let-2SG-IMP PRT
'Whoever arrives, let him in.'

The facts are thus complex and warrant a comprehensive examination. In what follows, I first identify the relevant sets of environments and then attempt to provide an explanation for the emerging pattern.

3.5.1 *bárki *(is)*

Bárki is is clearly ungrammatical in affirmative sentences where *bárki* is in quantifier position (see above):

(219) a. *Bárki meg látogathatja a barátait.*
anyone PRT visit-POT-3SG the friend-POSS-PL-ACC
'Anyone can visit his friends.'

b. **Bárki is meg látogathatja a barátait.*
anyone too PRT visit-POT-3SG the friends-POSS-PL-ACC
'Anyone too can visit his friends.'

c. *Mindenki meg látogathatja a barátait.*
everyone PRT visit-POT-3SG the friends-POSS-PL-ACC
'Everyone can visit his friends.'

d. **Mindenki is meg látogathatja a barátait.*
everyone too PRT visit-POT-3SG the friends-POSS-PL-ACC
'Everyone too can visit his friends.'

Also, *bárki is* is ungrammatical in the contrastive topic position:

(220) a. *√Bárkit \nem hívott meg János.*
anyone-ACC not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Anyone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just anyone.)

b. ** √Bárkit is \nem hívott meg János.*
anyone-ACC too not invite-PAST-3SG PRT John
'Anyone, John did not invite.' (John did not invite just anyone.)

Based on Hunyadi (1981), Piñón (1992) and Tóth (1999), we can differentiate between three kinds of *is* (see Section 3.5.2 for a more detailed exposition): emphatic *is* (similar to 'indeed'), quantificational/distributive *is,* which serves to produce quantifier phrases from NPs (*két fiú* → *két fiú is*) and, thirdly, PPI-to-NPI *is,* which is active in *valaki is* constructions in non-veridical environments. Clearly, none of the three kinds of *is* is relevant in these environments and thus the ungrammaticality of the sentences comes as no surprise.

3.5.2 *bárki (is)* interchangeable with *valaki is*

Bárki (is) interchangeable with *valaki is* can be found in non-negative polarity contexts such as yes/no questions and the antecedent of conditionals, and also in negative polarity contexts such as weakly non-veridical contexts (under matrix negation), complex conjunctions with purposive interpretation, complement clauses of adversative predicates and following negative discource particles.

Yes/no questions:

(221) a. *Fel ismeri bárki (is), hogy ki van a fotón?*
PRT know-3SG anyone (too) that who is the photo-SUP
'Does anyone recognize who is on the photo?'

b. *Fel ismeri valaki is, hogy ki van a fotón?*
PRT know-3SG somebody too that who is the photo-SUP
'Does anyone recognize who is on the photo?'

c. *Meg érkezett bárki (is)?*
PRT arrive-PAST-3SG anyone (too)
'Did anyone arrive?'

d. *Meg érkezett valaki is?*
PRT arrive-PAST-3SG somebody too
'Did anyone arrive?'

Conditionals:

(222) a. *Ha bárki (is) meg jön, engedd be.*
if anyone (too) PRT come-3SG let-IMP-2SG PRT
'If anyone arrives, let him in.'

b. *Ha valaki is meg jön, engedd be.*
if someone too PRT come-3SG let-IMP-2SG PRT
'If anyone arrives, let him in.'

Weakly non-veridical contexts (such as under matrix negation):

(223) a. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki (is) el jön.*
not believe-1SG that anyone (too) PRT come-3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy valaki is el jön.*
not believe-1SG that someone too PRT come-3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

c. *Ritkán megyünk bárhova (is).*
rarely go-1PL anywhere (too)
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

d. *Ritkán megyünk valahova is.*
rarely go-1PL somewhere too
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

Complex conjunctions with purposive interpretation (Kenesei 1992, Tóth 1999):

(224) a. *El hallgattam, nehogy bármit (is) meg halljanak.*
PRT stay-silent-1SG lest anything-ACC (too) PRT hear-IMP-3PL
'I fell silent lest they should hear anything.'

b. *El hallgattam, nehogy valamit is meg halljanak.*
PRT stay-silent-1SG lest something-ACC too PRT hear-IMP-3PL
'I fell silent lest they should hear anything.'

c. *Inkább el megyek, mintsem hogy bárkit (is) meg bántsak.*
rather PRT go-1SG lest that anyone-ACC (too) PRT hurt-IMP-1SG
'I will rather leave lest I upset anyone.'

d. *Inkább el megyek, mintsem hogy valakit is meg bántsak.*
rather PRT go-1SG lest that someone-ACC (too) PRT hurt-IMP-1SG
'I will rather leave lest I upset anyone.'

Complement clauses of adversative predicates (Tóth 1999):

(225) a. *Péter kétli, hogy Mária látott bármit (is).*
Peter doubt-3SG that Mary see- PAST-3SG anything-ACC (too)
'Peter doubts that Mary has seen anything.'

b. *Péter kétli, hogy Mária látott valamit is.*
Peter doubt-3SG that Mary see- PAST-3SG something-ACC too
'Peter doubts that Mary has seen anything.'

Negative discource particles such as *nehogy* (Szilágyi 2014), *dehogy*:[15]

(226) a. *Nehogy meg hívd Jánost!*
NEG PRT invite-IMP-2SG John-ACC
'Do not invite John. (emphatic)'

b. **Nehogy meg hívj senkit!*
NEG PRT invite-IMP-2SG nobody-ACC
'Do not invite nobody. (emphatic)'

c. *Nehogy meg hívj bárkit (is)!*
NEG PRT invite-IMP-2SG anybody-ACC (too)
'Do not invite anybody. (emphatic)'

d. *Nehogy meg hívj valakit is!*
NEG PRT invite-IMP-2SG somebody-ACC (too)
'Do not invite anybody. (emphatic)'

(227) a. *Dehogy hívom meg Jánost!*
NEG invite-1SG PRT John-ACC
'I will not invite John. (emphatic)'

b. **Dehogy hívok meg senkit!*
NEG invite-1SG PRT nobody-ACC
'I will not invite nobody. (emphatic)'

c. *Dehogy hívok meg bárkit (is)!*
NEG invite-1SG PRT anybody-ACC (too)
'I will not invite anybody. (emphatic)'

d. *Dehogy hívok meg valakit is!*
NEG invite-1SG PRT somebody-ACC too
'I will not invite anybody. (emphatic)'

15 In addition to emphasis, both *nehogy* and *dehogy* indicate that there is an expectation of the negated action being considered/taken by the subject. *Nehogy*-sentences imply that the speaker suspects the subject of considering the negated course of action, whereas *dehogy*-sentences imply that the speaker believes there is an assumption of the subject having taken the negated course of action.

Note that *bárki (is)* is not allowed under clausemate negation (due to Negative Concord, see above):

(228) a. **Péter nem látott bárkit (is).*
Péter not see-PAST-3SG anybody-ACC (too)
'Peter did not see anybody.'

b. **Péter nem látott valakit is.*[16]
Péter not see-PAST-3SG somebody-ACC too
'Peter did not see somebody.'

c. *Péter nem látott senkit (sem).*
Péter not see-PAST-3SG nobody-ACC (neither)
'Peter did not see anybody.'

Tóth (1999) observes that the licensing of *vala*-NPIs can take place across multiple clause boundaries:

(229) a. *Kétlem, hogy Mari azt mondta, hogy valakit*
doubt-1SG that Mary it-ACC say-PAST-3SG that somebody-ACC
is meg hívott.
too PRT invite-PAST-3SG
'I doubt that Mary said that she invited anyone.'

We can observe the same with *FCI-is*:

(230) a. *Kétlem, hogy Mari azt mondta, hogy bárkit*
doubt-1SG that Mary it-ACC say-PAST-3SG that anybody-ACC
(is) meg hívott.
(too) PRT invite-PAST-3SG
'I doubt that Mary said that she invited anyone.'

16 *Péter nem látott valakit.* is grammatical under the specific reading of *valaki*: 'There is a particular person whom Peter did not see.' The specific reading of *valaki* is unavailable for *valaki is.*

Tóth (1999) notes an interesting contrast with regard to factive and non-factive wh-questions. (Factive wh-words and questions presuppose that the proposition itself is true.) As seen in the examples, this observation is equally valid for *bárki (is).* Factive wh-questions are ungrammatical, whereas non-factive wh-questions are grammatical under a rhetorical reading:

(231) a. *Miért hívtál meg valakit is?*
why invite-PAST-2SG PRT somebody-ACC- too
a születésnapodra?
the birthday-POSS-SUB
'Why did you invite anyone to your birthday?'

b. *Miért hívtál meg bárkit (is)*
why invite- PAST-2SG PRT anybody-ACC (too)
a születésnapodra?
the birthday-POSS-SUB
'Why did you invite anyone to your birthday?'

(232) a. **Hogyan magyaráztál el valamit is Péternek?*
how explain-PAST-2SG PRT something-ACC too Peter-DAT
'How did you explain anything to Peter?'

b. **Hogyan magyaráztál el bármit (is) Péternek?*
how explain-PAST-2SG PRT anything-ACC too Peter-DAT
'How did you explain anything to Peter?'

(233) a. *Mikor hívtál meg valakit is*
when invite-PAST-2SG PRT somebody-ACC- too
a születésnapodra?
the birthday-POSS-SUB
'When did you invite anyone to your birthday?'

b. *Mikor hívtál meg bárkit (is)*
when invite-PAST-2SG PRT anybody-ACC (too)
a születésnapodra?
the birthday-POSS-SUB
'When did you invite anyone to your birthday?'

According to Tóth (1999), this further underlines the descriptive generalization that polarity clauses which accomodate *vala-NPIs* are such that they do not have their truth value fixed positively.

When it comes to the licensing of *bárki is/valaki is* under matrix negation, the picture is somewhat complicated:

(234) a. *János nem feltételezte, hogy Mari valakit is meg hívott.*
John not assumed[17] that Mary someone-ACC too PRT invited
'John did not assume that Mary invited anyone.'

b. *János nem feltételezte, hogy Mari bárkit (is) meg hívott.*
John not assumed that Mary anyone-ACC (too) PRT invited
'John did not assume that Mary invited anyone.'

(235) a. *János nem jelentette, hogy Mari valakit is meg hívott.*
John not reported that Mary someone-ACC too PRT invited
'John did not report that Mary invited anyone.'

b. *János nem jelentette, hogy Mari bárkit (is) meg hívott.*
John not reported that Mary anyone-ACC (too) PRT invited
'John did not report that Mary invited anyone.'

(236) a. **János nem mondta meg, hogy Mari valakit is meg hívott.*
John not said PRT that Mary someone-ACC too PRT invited
'John did not tell (us) that Mary invited anyone.'

b. **János nem mondta meg, hogy Mari bárkit (is) meg hívott.*
John not said PRT that Mary anyone-ACC (too) PRT invited
'John did not tell (us) that Mary invited anyone.'

17 For the sake of brevity, we follow the following convention in the glosses in this section:
assumed = assume-PAST-3SG
reported = report-PAST-3SG
said = say-PAST-3SG
invited = invite-PAST-3SG
promised = promise-PAST-3SG
pays = pay-3SG

To solve this riddle, Tóth (1999) presents a detailed analysis of *vala*-NPIs in complement causes making use of Vendler's (1979) semantic categorization of propositional verbs (verbs with *that*-clause complements). Vendler (1979) classifies propositional verbs by three criteria:

- the wh-criterion: acceptance/rejection of wh-nominal complements
- the fact-criterion: acceptance/rejection of the nouns *fact*, *cause*, *result*, *outcome* or *truth*
- the adverb-criterion: cooccurence with the adverbs *falsely*, *wrongly*, *incorrectly*, or with the denial of *that*-clause complements

Vendler (1979) organizes propositional verbs into three groups using these criteria:

	wh-criterion	**fact-criterion**	**adverb-criterion**
factives	pass	pass	fail
half-factives	pass	pass	pass
nonfactives	fail	fail	pass

Factives (e.g. Eng. *mention*, *know*, *find out*, Hung. *meg-mond*):

(237) a. *He mentioned/knew/found out where he lived.*
b. *He mentioned/knew/found out the fact that his uncle died.*
c. **He falsely mentioned/knew/found out that his uncle died.*

(238) a. *János meg mondta, hogy Mari hol lakik.*
John PRT say-PAST-3SG that Mary where live-3SG
'John told (us) where Mary lived.'
b. *János meg mondta az igazságot, hogy Mari haza ment.*
John PRT say-PAST-3SG the truth-ACC that Mary PRT go-PAST-3SG
'John told (us) the truth that Mary went home.'
c. **János tévesen mondta meg, hogy Mari haza ment.*
John falsely say-PAST-3SG PRT that Mary PRT go-PAST-3SG
'John falsely told (us) that Mary went home.'

Half-factives (e.g. Eng. *tell, inform, report,* Hung. *tájékoztat, értesít, jelent*):

(239) a. *He told me/informed me/reported who arrived late to the meeting.*
b. *He told me/informed me about/ reported the fact that Jane moved out.*
c. *He falsely told me/informed me/reported that Jack stayed at home.*

(240) a. *János jelentette, hogy Mari hol lakik.*
John report-PAST-3SG that Mary where live-3SG
'John reported where Mary lived.'
b. *János jelentette a tényt, hogy Mari haza ment.*
John report-PAST-3SG the fact-ACC that Mary PRT go-PAST-3SG
'John reported the fact that Mary went home.'
c. *János tévesen jelentette, hogy Mari haza ment.*
John falsely report-PAST-3SG that Mary PRT go-PAST-3SG
'John falsely reported that Mary went home.'

Non-factives (e.g. Eng. *claim, assert, think, believe, assume,* Hung. *feltételez, állít*)

(241) a. **He claimed/thought/believed where he went.*
b. **He claimed/thought/assumed the fact that Mary failed her exam.*
c. *He wrongly/incorrectly claimed/thought/assumed that I slept home yesterday.*

(242) a. **János feltételezte, hogy Mari hol lakik.*
John assume-PAST-3SG that Mary where live-3SG
'John assumed where Mary lived.'
b. **János feltételezte a tényt, hogy Mari haza ment.*
John assume-PAST-3SG the fact-ACC that Mary PRT go-PAST-3SG
'John assumed the fact that Mary went home.'
c. *János tévesen feltételezte, hogy Mari haza ment.*
John falsely assume-PAST-3SG that Mary PRT go-PAST-3SG
'John falsely assumed that Mary went home.'

While in general, the tests work for Hungarian as well, Tóth (1999) points out that the factivity of the verb *mond* ('say, tell') depends on other elements:

The emphatic pronoun *azt* indicates a nonfactive reading:

(243) *Azt mondta, hogy haza ment, de hazudott.*
it-ACC say-PAST-3SG that PRT go-PAST-3SG but lie-PAST-3SG
'He said that he went home, but he lied.'

The verbal particle *meg* indicates a factive reading:

(244) **Meg mondta, hogy haza ment, de hazudott.*
PRT say-PAST-3SG that PRT go-PAST-3SG but lie-PAST-3SG
'He told (us) that he went home, but he lied.'

According to Tóth (1999), the licensing of *vala*-NPIs under matrix negation depends on the factivity of the matrix verb. Negated non-factives or half-factives license *vala*-NPIs in the complement cause, whereas negated factives do not. We observe the same pattern for *bárki (is)*:

Non-factive:

(245) a. *János nem feltételezte, hogy Mari valakit is meg hívott.*
John not assumed that Mary somebody-ACC too PRT invited
'John did not assume that Mary invited anyone.'

b. *János nem feltételezte, hogy Mari bárkit (is) meg hívott.*
John not assumed that Mary anybody-ACC (too) PRT invited
'John did not assume that Mary invited anyone.'

Half-factive:

(246) a. *János nem jelentette, hogy Mari valakit is meg hívott.*
John not reported that Mary somebody-ACC too PRT invited
'John did not report that Mary invited anyone.'

b. *János nem jelentette, hogy Mari bárkit (is) meg hívott.*
John not reported that Mary anybody-ACC (too) PRT invited
'John did not report that Mary invited anyone.'

Factive:

(247) a. **János nem mondta meg, hogy Mari valakit is meg hívott.*
John not said PRT that Mary somebody-ACC too PRT invited
'John did not tell (us) that Mary invited anyone.'

b. **János nem mondta meg, hogy Mari bárkit (is) meg hívott.*
John not said PRT that Mary anybody-ACC (too) PRT invited
'John did not tell (us) that Mary invited anyone.'

According to Tóth (1999), this contrast is due to the fact that 'factive verbs subcategorize for CP complements which are presupposed events.' (p. 138) That is, their truth value is fixed independently of context. According to Giannakidou and Quer (1995a, 1995b), factive complements are subject to QR at LF and are adjoined in the process to IP, which causes the c-command relation between the matrix negation and the NPI in the complement clause to break down.

Tóth (1999) examines in detail the licensing of negative polarity items in Hungarian. Her analysis covers both what she terms SE-NPIs (*senki* 'nobody', *sehol* 'nowhere', *semmi* 'nothing') and VALA-NPIs (*valaki is* 'anybody', *valami is* 'anything', *valahol is* 'anywhere'). As far as SE-NPIs are concerned, I have adopted a different analysis as a background for this thesis (see above, also É. Kiss (2010)). The analysis concerning VALA-NPIs, however, will be shown to account nicely for the behaviour of *bárki (is)* in similar environments. Therefore, in what follows, I will briefly outline the analysis for VALA-NPIs proposed by Tóth (1999) and then show how the behaviour of *bárki (is)* can be analyzed in a very similar fashion. Tóth (1999) contrasts two different theories of NPI licensing: the Generalized Binding Approach (Progovac 1992) and the Negative Indefinites analysis (Ladusaw 1992, 1994, Giannakidou-Quer 1995a, 1995b). Progovac (1992) argues that NPIs are anaphoric and need to be bound by an antecedent which can be either negation in INFL, a null polarity operator Op in Spec,CP or matrix negation. Tóth (1999) puts forth a thorough refutation of this approach and instead analyses the Hungarian data with success in the framework of the Negative Indefinite analysis.

Following Ladusaw (1992) and Giannakidou and Quer (1995a, 1995b), Tóth (1999) argues that negative indefinites (NIs) such as *valaki is* (which form a subclass of NPIs and can be either NPs or adverbs such as *anything, anyone* etc.) are Heimian indefinites, and as such, lack quantificational force of their own. They can either be licensed in situ via existential

closure (in which case they receive an existential interpretation) or by a non-veridical[18] operator (in which case they receive a universal negative interpretation).

As we have seen above, there are two types of contexts where *valaki is/bárki (is)* is licensed: under matrix negation and in non-negative polarity contexts. In these contexts, the NPIs are c-commanded, bound and thus licensed by a non-veridical operator. In positive contexts, there is no such operator to be found, whereas in negative contexts, the presence of an averidical operator[19] initiates Negative Concord.

The fact that *bárki (is)* behaves in an exactly parallel fashion to *valaki is* is in fact to be expected since independently from these phenomena, we have already analyzed *bárki* as a dependent indefinite following Giannakidou (2001). To be more precise, we represent FC phrases as intensional indefinites, which are grammatical only in contexts providing alternatives (worlds or situations). FCIs are thus licensed in non-veridical and non-episodic contexts (e.g. modals, generics), and ungrammatical in extensional veridical contexts (e.g. episodic sentences, negation). More formally, FC phrases are represented as:

[[any student]] = **student**(x)(w) (or: **student**(x)(s))
[[bármelyik diák]] = **diák**(x)(w) (or: **diák**(x)(s))
[[bárki]] = **one**(x)(w) (or: **one**(x)(s))

The world/situation and individual variable(s) are to be bound by an appropriate Q-operator (i.e. generic, habitual, modal, intensional) in order for the FC phrase to be licensed.
At this point, an important difference in the licensing of *valaki is* as opposed to *bárki is* emerges, which at the same time explains a subtle but crucial difference in the largely similar behaviour of *bárki (is)* and *valaki is*.

When it comes to the optionality or otherwise of the particle *is*, there is a clear order of felicitousness:

{*bárki is*, *valaki is*} > *bárki* >> *valaki*

18 An operator Op is non-veridical iff Op p does not entail p.
19 An operator Op is averidical iff Op p entails¬p.

Consider:

(248) a. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki is el jön.*
not believe-1SG that anyone too PRT come-3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy valaki is el jön.*
not believe-1SG that someone too PRT come-3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

c. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki el jön.*
not believe-1SG that anyone PRT come-3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

d. **Nem hiszem, hogy valaki el jön.*
not believe-1SG that someone PRT come-3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

(249) a. *Ritkán megyünk bárhova is.*
rarely go-1PL anywhere too
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

b. *Ritkán megyünk valahova is.*
rarely go-1PL somewhere too
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

c. *#Ritkán megyünk bárhova.*
rarely go-1PL anywhere
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

d. **Ritkán megyünk valahova.*
rarely go-1PL somewhere
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

While a *vala*-wh without an *is* is clearly unacceptable, a *bár-wh* without *is* is completely acceptable in most environments and only mildly infelicitous in some.

Before we proceed, it is important to spell out the role of *is* in *valaki is* constructions. Based on Hunyadi (1981) and Piñón (1992), Tóth (1999) differentiates between emphatic *is* and quantificational *is*, and proposes a third kind of *is* which is active in *valaki is* constructions:

- Emphatic *is* (similar to English *indeed*):

(250) *János meg ígérte, hogy fizet, és fizetett is.*
John PRT promise-PAST-3SG that pay-3SG and pay-PAST-3SG too
'John promised that he would pay, and he did indeed pay.'

- Quantificational *is* ('also, too'): it modifies NPs, and turns NPs into quantifier phrases:

(251) a. *János meg érkezett.*
[$_{TP}$ John [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]
'János has arrived.'

b. *János is meg érkezett.*
[$_{PredP}$ John too [$_{PredP}$ PRT arrive-PAST-3SG]]
'János too has arrived.'

- PPI-to-NPI *is*: Tóth assumes that the *is* that is attached to existentials (*valaki is*, *valami is* etc.) has the function of turning the existentials *valaki*, *valami* etc. into NPIs:

(252) a. **Nem hiszem, hogy valaki el jön.*
not believe–1SG that someone PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy valaki is el jön.*
not believe–1SG that someone too PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

(253) a. **Ritkán megyünk valahova.*
rarely go–1PL somewhere
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

b. *Ritkán megyünk valahova is.*
rarely go–1PL somewhere too
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

While this is descriptively accurate, Tóth (1999) provides no detailed explanation of how this process of turning existentials into polarity-sensitive Heimian indefinites works, or why it is

exactly *is* that plays this role. (Tóth hints that *is* may signal „the lack of existential entailment that according to Haspelmath (1993) characterizes both the licensing contexts and the polarity items themselves", p. 125). Putting this problem aside, the mechanism proposed by Tóth (1999) can be sketched schematically as follows:

[[valaki]] = **one**(x)
[[valaki is]] = **one**(x) + weak negative polarity dependency

That is to say, the role of *is* is to change the indefinite *valaki* into the negative indefinite *valaki is*. In this sense, *is* is truly essential for the grammaticality in negative polarity contexts, as the indefinite *valaki* in itself is a positive polarity item:

(254) a. **Nem hiszem, hogy valaki el jön.*
not believe–1SG that someone PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy valaki is el jön.*
not believe–1SG that someone too PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

The situation with *bárki (is)* is radically different. As I have shown above following Giannakidou (2001), *bárki* in itself is a dependent/intensional indefinite, that is, an indefinite with an extra word/situation variable and is grammatical only in contexts providing alternatives (worlds or situations). Semantically, *bárki* is licensed in non-veridical and non-episodic contexts (e.g. modals, generics, non-veridical contexts) and is not licensed in extensional veridical contexts (e.g. episodic sentences, clausemate negation). Syntactically, the world/situation variable is to be bound by an appropriate Q-operator (i. e. generic, habitual, modal, intensional) for the FC phrase to be licensed.

As we have seen above, *valaki is* is licensed in contexts that are non-veridical (but not averidical), as it is bound by a non-veridical operator in such contexts. It clearly follows that these contexts are perfectly able to license *bárki* in itself (without an *is* added), since *bárki* as an intensional indefinite can be bound by the non-veridical operator present. This, however, means that the addition of *is* is, in fact, superfluous:

(255) a. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki is el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone too PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

This is clearly a welcome result as it provides a straightforward explanation for the radical difference in grammaticality between *valaki* and *bárki*:

(256) a. **Nem hiszem, hogy valaki el jön.*
not believe–1SG that someone PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

This state of affairs does, however, raise two questions: why are the sentences with the superfluous *is* grammatical, and why do sentences with the superfluous *is* feel, in fact, at least for some native speakers, more felicitous than the ones without the superfluous *is:*

(257) a. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki is el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone too PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

b. *?Nem hiszem, hogy bárki el jön.*
not believe–1SG that anyone PRT come–3SG
'I do not think anyone will come.'

(258) a. *Ritkán megyünk bárhova is.*
rarely go–1PL anywhere too
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

b. *#Ritkán megyünk bárhova.*
rarely go–1PL anywhere
'We rarely go anywhere (at all).'

I propose that the superfluous *is* is the result of analogy: *bárki* receives the optional *is* by way of analogy with the morphologically, syntactically and semantically closely related *valaki.* This explains both the optionality and superfluousness of *is*. (A similar account may be provided for the appearance of *sem* 'negated *is*' after *senki* 'nobody' and *semmi* 'nothing'.)

3.5.3 *bárki (is)* in focus position

Consider the following:

(259) a. *Bárki is nyeri meg a választást, komoly kihívásokkal*
anyone too win-3SG PRT the election-ACC serious challenge-PL-INS
kell szembe néznie.
must PRT look-3SG
'Whoever wins the elections will have to face serious challenges.'

b. *Bárki nyeri meg a választást, komoly kihívásokkal*
anyone win-3SG PRT the election-ACC serious challenge-PL-INS
kell szembe néznie.
must PRT look-3SG
'Whoever wins the elections will have to face serious challenges.'

c. **Valaki is nyeri meg a választást, komoly*
someone too win-3SG PRT the election-ACC serious
kihívásokkal kell szembe néznie.
challenge-PL-INS must PRT look-3SG
'Whoever wins the elections will have to face serious challenges.'

Bárki (is) is clearly in a focus position (see also Chapter 3.6):

(260) a. *Bárki is nyeri meg a választást, komoly kihívásokkal*
anyone too win-3SG PRT the election-ACC serious challenge-PL-INS
kell szembe néznie.
must PRT look-3SG
'Whoever wins the elections will have to face serious challenges.'

b. **Bárki is meg nyeri a választást, komoly kihívásokkal*
anyone too PRT win-3SG the election-ACC serious challenge-PL-INS
kell szembe néznie.
must PRT look-3SG
'Whoever wins the elections will have to face serious challenges.'

Consider also:

(261) a. *Bárki (is) jön meg, engedd be.*
anyone (too) come-3SG PRT let-IMP-2SG PRT
'Whoever arrives, let him in.'
b. **Valaki is jön meg, engedd be.*
someone (too) come-3SG PRT let-IMP-2SG PRT
'Whoever arrives, let him in.'

Two striking facts differentiate these instances of *bárki (is)* from what we have seen in 3.5.2:

- *valaki is* is clearly ungrammatical: this is in fact to be expected since these are not the non-veridical environments that license *valaki is*
- *is* can, in fact, be separated from *bárki* in these sentences:

(262) a. *Bárki is nyeri meg a választást, komoly kihívásokkal*
anyone too win-3SG PRT the election-ACC serious challenge-PL-INS
kell szembe néznie.
must PRT look-3SG
'Whoever wins the elections will have to face serious challenges.'
b. *Bárki nyeri is meg a választást, komoly kihívásokkal*
anyone win-3SG too PRT the election-ACC serious challenge-PL-INS
kell szembe néznie.
must PRT look-1SG
'Whoever wins the elections will have to face serious challenges.'

These sentences indicate that what we face here are instances of the so-called permissive *is*, which is a phenomenon independent from FCIs:

(263) a. *Bárki is jön meg, engedd be.*
anyone too come-3SG PRT let-IMP-2SG PRT
'Whoever arrives, let him in.'

b. *Bárki jön is meg, engedd be.*
anyone come-3SG too PRT let-IMP-2SG PRT
'Whoever arrives, let him in.'

(264) a. *Ha János is jön meg, engedd be.*
if John too come-3SG PRT let-IMP-2SG PRT
'Even it it is John who arrives, let him in.'

b. *Ha János jön is meg, engedd be.*
if John come-3SG too PRT let-IMP-2SG PRT
'Even it it is John who arrives, let him in.'

A detailed discussion of FCIs and Focus in Hungarian is provided in the next section.

3.6 FCIs and Focus

Identificational focus is a much-examined phenomenon in Hungarian (Brody 1991, Szabolcsi 1981, É. Kiss 1998, Horváth 2004, among others, see also Chapter 3.1.1.3). The focus position is generally described as a pre-verbal position targeted by the movement of the element to be focused, which also brings about the movement of the main verb (one indication of which is the change of the surface order of the verb and the verbal particle in sentences which contain a verbal particle in the first place). Semantically, the focus position expresses exhaustive identification:

(265) a. *Péter meg érkezett.*
Peter PRT arrive-PAST-3SG
'Peter has arrived.'

b. *PÉTER érkezett meg.*
Peter arrive-PAST-3SG PRT
'It is Peter who has arrived.'

The FCI *bár-* cannot be focused in simple sentences:

(266) a. *Bármelyik virágot ki választhatod.*
any flower-ACC PRT choose-POT-2SG
'You can choose any flower.'

b. **Bármelyik virágot választhatod ki.*
any flower-ACC choose-POT-2SG PRT
'It is any flower that you can choose.'

This is, in fact, to be expected in light of the universality implicature carried by FCIs. Cross-linguistically, universals have been found to be bad candidates for predicate nominals (Giannakidou and Quer 1995, Puskás 1998, Surányi 2002) and thus predicted to be non-focusable in Hungarian.

FCIs in Hungarian can, however, be focused in certain constructions:

(267) a. *(Ha) bárki meg jön, üdvözöld őt.*

[$_{AspP}$ bárki [$_{AspP}$ meg jön…]]

(if) anyone PRT come-3SG, greet-IMP-3SG him.

'If anyone comes, greet him.'

b. *(*Ha) BÁRKI jön meg, üdvözöld őt.*

[$_{FocP}$ bárki jön$_i$ [$_{AspP}$ meg t$_i$…]]

(*if) anyone come-3SG PRT, greet-IMP-3SG him.

'Whoever comes, greet him.'

While (267a) is a straightforward case of modal licensing in the antecendent of a conditional, (267b) is more intriguing and raises a number of questions:

- What licenses the FCI in this clearly non-modal environment?
- If *bár-* is universal, how is it possible to focus it?
- How exactly does the combination of focus and an FCI elicit a free relative reading (cf. *wh-ever* in English)?

As a first step, we examine the subtle but very significant differences in meaning between the two sentences. The sentence with focus (267b) seems to presuppose that:

- Someone will come (whereas the focusless sentence only entertains the possibility of somebody coming).
- There is exactly one event of 'coming' being referred to; however, the exact identity of the person (or set of persons) satisfying this 'coming' event is unclear/irrelevant.

This is even more visible if we consider a paraphrase of (267b):

(268) *Bárki is legyen az, aki meg jön, üdvözöld őt!*

anyone too be-IMP-3SG it who PRT come-3SG greet-IMP-2SG him

'No matter who will be the person that comes, greet him.'

More explicitly:

(269) *BÁRKI jön meg, üdvözöld őt.*
anyone come-3SG PRT greet-IMP-2SG him
'Whoever comes, greet him.'
Paraphrase: 'No matter who will be the person that comes, greet him when he comes.'
Existential presupposition: 'There will be someone that comes.=The event of coming will materialize.'
Exhaustivity inference: 'There is exactly one event of 'coming' being referred to, with the identity of the 'comer' being unclear/irrelevant.'[20]

These facts show that focused FCIs in Hungarian have an existential and exhaustive interpretation. This corresponds neatly to the two presuppositions generally associated with the focus position: existence and exhaustivity.

An interesting question is how the movement of the FCI into Focus position brings about a reading akin to the free relative *wh-ever* in English. Consider another paraphrase:

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20 The editor of the volume containing Halm (2013) provided an apparent counterexample to this claim: A hotel manager tells a newly hired receptionist:
Bárki jön be, üdvözöld őt.
anyone come-3SG PRT greet-IMP-2SG him
'Whoever enters, greet him.'
The editor points out that this exhortation surely refers to all the guests that may enter, not only the first one. I believe, however, that this is only a superficial problem. The instruction given by the manager refers to the generalized event of a guest coming (whoever that guest may exactly be). Therefore, what we have here is a single event being referred to. This seems to be reinforced by the results of the following test (the test was proposed to me by Balázs Surányi (pc)):
Situation: the receptionist is told by his manager:
A: *Ha bárki meg jön, kapsz 100 forintot.*
if anyone PRT come-3SG get-2SG hundred forint-ACC
'If somebody arrives, you will get 100 forints.'
B: *Bárki jön meg, kapsz 100 forintot.*
anyone come-3SG PRT get-2SG hundred forint-ACC
'Whoever arrives, you will get 100 forints.'
Event: 50 persons arrive.
Outcome:
A: The receptionist receives 50*100=5.000 forints.
B: The receptionist receives 100 forints.
The intuition of native speakers of Hungarian is very consistent with regard to these outcomes. This corroborates my claim that in the case of focused FCIs, a single event (or rather, a single instantiation of the event) is being referred to.

(270) *BÁRKI jön meg, üdvözöld őt.*
anyone come-3SG PRT greet-IMP-2SG him
'Whoever comes, greet him.'
Paraphrase: 'There are several possible courses of events, but what is certain is that a 'coming' event shall take place, and that it is the person or sets of persons satisfying this event that I want you to greet.'

The interaction of the FCI and the exhaustivity-inducing focus can be derived as follows. As we have seen, the FCI itself introduces a universality implicature derived from its intensionality and exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration (Giannakidou 2001). It is also plausible to assume in the spirit of earlier scalar approaches (e.g. Kadmon-Landman 1993) that the possible <x,w> candidate pairs can be ordered by plausibility: in terms of their likelihood given w_0. To be more precise, let S denote the set of the least likely candidate and all the likelier candidates, and S' the set which contains all the possible subsets of S. Then, in each accessible possible world, the proposition is true for a subset of S', and in at least one possible world, this subset of S' contains at least one set that contains the least likely candidate.

Because of the exhaustive operator of the focus, the proposition is only true for one element of S' in each possible world, that is, for one subset of S. That is, in each accessible possible world, one person (or set of persons) will satisfy the 'coming' event.

This corresponds nicely to current theories of *wh-ever* (Dayal 1997, von Fintel 2000):

(271) *There is a lot of garlic in whatever Arlo is cooking.*
Presupposes: 'there are at least two accessible possible worlds which differ in what Arlo is cooking'
Asserts: 'in all accessible possible worlds, there is a lot of garlic in what Arlo is cooking'

It is interesting to note that there is another construction in Hungarian where a scalar element and Focus interact, namely, the case of focused cardinals:

(272) a. *Meg ettem öt fánkot.*
PRT eat-PAST-1SG five bagel-ACC
'I ate five or more bagels.'

b. *Öt fánkot ettem meg.*
five bagel-ACC eat-PAST-1SG PRT
'I ate exactly five bagels.' ('It was five bagels that I ate.')

While cardinals in neutral sentences refer to an interval with an open upper bound, the exhaustivity induced by the focus reduces this interval to one element, that is, its lower bound.

This section was concerned with free choice items (FCIs) in Hungarian and especially their interaction with the identificational Focus position. It was shown that it is possible to derive the semantics of focused FCIs from the exhaustivity standardly associated with the focus position and the universal inference of the FCI (attributed to the scalar presupposition). Moreover, this result neatly corresponds to semantic accounts proposed for the *wh*-ever family of FCIs in English (Dayal 1997, von Fintel 2000).

These results povide a useful contribution to the general debate on FCIs in many ways: 1) they present a clear-cut case of the universal/existential reading of an FCI being constructed compositionally on the sentence level which is consistent with the account of FCIs as (dependent) indefinites (Giannakidou 2001), and 2) show that the free relatives with an FCI flavour (*wh*-ever words) can either be encoded in the lexicon separately from general-purpose FCIs (a strategy employed by English) or can be brought about compositionally, by using the focus construction and exploiting the presuppositions of existence and exhaustivity (maximality) associated with it.

3.7 FCIs and Aspect

Our goal in this section is to explore the relationship between verbal particles and FCIs in Hungarian. The solution I will propose will make use of the formal semantics of FCIs, the semantics/pragmatics of genericity and the quantificational properties of verbal particles. In addition to the finding that verbal particles in Hungarian are capable of generic quantification (by virtue of being/providing a locus for a silent GEN operator), I will also show that 1) genericity in Hungarian is primarily a pragmatic phenomenon and that 2) languages differ in terms of the formal semantics of individual-level predicates (presence/absence of inherent GEN operator), and the licensing of FCIs can be used as a diagnostic tool with regard to this. This chapter also sheds light on the conundrum why FCIs are straightforwardly licensed in generics in many languages (e.g. English) but not in Hungarian.

3.7.1 Basic facts and theories

Our starting observation is that verbal particles (and VMs in general) seem to license FCIs in hostile environments in Hungarian:

(273) a. **Bármit* *olvasok.*
anything-ACC read-1SG
I read anything.

b. *Bármit* *el* *olvasok.*
anything-ACC PRT read-1SG
I read anything. (telic)

(273a) is a straight episodic sentence, which is a par excellence hostile environment for FCIs cross-linguistically. Nevertheless, the addition of a verbal particle makes the sentence fully acceptable. Verbal particles in Hungarian are standardly analyzed as secondary predicates predicated of the theme argument which contribute a telic aspectual interpretation (É. Kiss 2006, see also section 3.1 of this paper).

Recapitulating Chapter 2.2.1, it is important to remember that while in many respects, the licensing environments of FCIs are similar to those in other languages, there is one striking difference: the fact that generics in Hungarian do not license FCIs.

As we have seen, FCIs are ungrammatical in plain episodic affirmative sentences:

(274) *#Ismerek bárkit.*
know-1SG anyone-ACC
'I know anyone.'

They are grammatical in possibility modal contexts:

(275) *Akárhova (el) utazhatsz.*
anywhere PRT travel-POT-2SG
'You can/may travel anywhere.'

Unlike in many other languages (e.g. English), FCIs in Hungarian are ungrammatical in generic statements:

(276) **Bármelyik bagoly egerekre vadászik.*
any owl mouse-PL-SUB hunt-3SG
'Owls hunt mice.'

FCIs are ungrammatical in straight negative episodic sentences:

(277) a. *I did not see anybody.* (PS-*any* in English.)
b. **Nem láttam bárkit.*
not see-PAST-1SG anybody-ACC
'I did not see anybody.'
c. *Nem láttam senkit.*
not see-PAST-1SG nobody-ACC
'I did not see anybody/I saw nobody.'

However, FCIs are grammatical in weakly non-veridical constructions:

(278) a. *Kevesen mondtak bármit (is).*
few say-PAST-3PL anything-ACC too
'Few people said anything.'

b. *Ki hallott bármit (is)?*
who hear- PAST-3SG anything-ACC too
'Who has heard anything?

c. *Bánom, hogy bármit (is) el mondtam.*
regret-1SG that anything-ACC (too) PRT say-PAST-1SG
'I regret that I said anything (at all).'

d. *Nem hiszem, hogy bárki (is) el jön.*
not believe-1SG that anyone (too) PRT come-3SG
'I do not think that anyone will come.'

In sum, FCIs in Hungarian behave similarly to those in other languages in classical free choice environments, however, they are not licensed in generic constructions.

As we have seen in the introduction, verbal particles seem to license FCIs in otherwise hostile environments in Hungarian:

(279) a. **Bármit olvasok.*
anything-ACC read-1SG
'I read anything.'

b. *Bármit el olvasok.*
anything-ACC PRT read-1SG
'I read anything.' (telic)

(280) a. **Bármit rúgok.*
anything-ACC kick-1SG
'I kick anything.'

b. *Bármit a kapuba rúgok.*
anything-ACC the goal-ILL kick-1SG
'I kick anything into the goal.' (telic)

In this section, I will outline several possible solutions to this problem and thus clear the way for the actual solution I will argue for. As a first approach, one may consider the possibility that the sentences with verbal particle have a future reading, which introduces possible worlds and thus renders the FCI grammatical. However, the phenomenon seems to be immune to tense:

(281) a. *Bármit* **(el)* *fogok* *olvasni.*
anything-ACC PRT FUT-1SG read-INF
'I will read anything.'

b. *Gyermekkoromban* *bármit* **(el)* *olvastam.*
infancy-POSS-INE anything-ACC PRT read-PAST-1SG
'As a child, I read anything.' (telic)

This signals that a future reading, if any, associated to the verbal particle has no role in licensing FCIs in these sentences.

Another approach worth briefly exploring is to consider that the grammatical sentences may contain an implicit subtrigging element (LeGrand 1975, Quer 2000):

(282) *Bármit* *el* *olvasok* *(,* *ami* *érdekel* *engem).*
anything-ACC PRT read-1SG that interest-3SG me
'I read anything that I am interested in.' (telic).

If this were indeed the case, however, we would erroneously expect (283) to be grammatical too:

(283) **Bármit* *olvasok* *(,* *ami* *érdekel* *engem).*
anything-ACC read-1SG that interest-3SG me
'I read anything that I am interested in.'

This rules out 'implicit subtrigging' as a solution to the problem at hand. Another possible solution is that these sentences have a willingness or capability reading:

(284) *Bármit* *el* *olvasok.*
anything-ACC PRT read-1SG
'I read anything.'
~'I am willing to read anything.'
~'I can read anything.'

This quasi-modal, non-episodic environment could license FCIs (Aloni 2002). The capability reading may be triggered by the telicity introduced by the the verbal particle (É. Kiss 2006). In a telic event, the event described is carried out in its entirety (Tenny 1994), hence the non-episodic capability-willingness reading. This proposal is intuitively appealing but difficult to formalize.

A fourth, and, as I will argue, more appropriate track is to assume that these sentences are interpreted not modally but generically/habitually:

(285) a. *#Bármit* *el* *olvastam.*
anything-ACC PRT read-PAST-1SG
'I read anything.' (telic)

b. *Gyerekkoromban* *bármit* *el* *olvastam.*
infancy-POSS-INE anything-ACC PRT read-PAST-1SG
'As a child, I read anything.' (telic)

The contrast between the two sentences may be motivated as follows. (285a) is ambiguous between an episodic and a generic reading; it is degraded on the episodic reading but grammatical/felicitous on the generic reading. This means that in the absence of any contextual or grammatical cues directing the hearer to either the episodic or the generic reading, the acceptability of the sentence is questionable. In (285b), the generic reading is facilitated by the presence of the adverb. Since this reading is favourable to the presence of an FCI, the sentence as a whole is perceived as grammatical/felicitous as the more prominent generic reading can readily accomodate an FCI.

This of course raises the question of how exactly the presence of the verbal particle is connected to a generic reading. The intuitive reasoning (to be made more specific later on) is that the verbal particle quantizes the predicate, which then can be interpreted iteratively, resulting in a habitual-generic reading, which licenses the FCI.

While this is an appealing explanation, it hits one major hurdle: as we have seen above, generics in general do not license FCIs in Hungarian.

(286) a. **Bármelyik bagoly egerészik.*
any owl mouse-hunt-3SG
'Owls hunt mice.'

b. *A baglyok egerésznek.*
the owl-PL mouse-hunt-3PL
'Owls hunt mice.'

c. *A bagoly egerészik.*
the owl mouse-hunt-3SG
'Owls hunt mice.'

A more formal account is needed for clarity. This account will have three ingredients: 1) the formal semantics of FCIs, 2) the semantic/pragmatic treatment of generics in Hungarian and in other languages and 3) the analysis of verbal particles as quantifiers.

To recapitulate on the basis of Chapter 3.3, I adopt the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 1997, 2001, Giannakidou and Quer 2012). A key characteristic of this approach is that the distribution of FCIs is derived from their lexical semantics. FC phrases are represented as intensional indefinites, which are grammatical only in contexts providing alternatives (worlds or situations). FCIs are thus licensed in non-veridical and non-episodic contexts (e.g. modals, generics), and ungrammatical in extensional veridical contexts (e.g. episodic sentences, negation, interrogatives). More formally, FC phrases are represented as:

[[bárki]] = **one**(x)(w) (or: **one**(x)(s))

The world/situation and individual variable(s) cannot be bound by existential closure and need to be bound by an appropriate Q-operator (i.e. generic, habitual, modal, intensional) in order for the FC phrase to be licensed. Moreover, FCIs have the lexical semantic feature of exhaustive variation: the denotation assigned the FC-phrase must differ in each world/situation under consideration. Under this analysis, the universality of FCIs is derived from exhaustive variation: the FCI variable is to be assigned a distinct value in each world or situation under consideration (Dayal 1997: i-alternatives), unlike with true universals, where

the universal quantifier exhausts the possible values that can be given to a variable in a given world.

The starting point for the study of genericity (Krifka et al. 1995) is to differentiate between particular sentences and characterizing sentences, where, on a more formal level, the latter are taken to contain a generic quantifier which quantifies over individuals or situations (occasions, cases) (Lawler 1972, Schubert and Pelletier 1989). This generic quantifier Q may be realized as an adverb (*usually*, *typically*, *in general*) or as a phonologically null GEN operator. A generic sentence is then represented as a three-part structure:

> **Q**[x_1,.x_i; y_1,.y_j] (**Restrictor**[x_1,.x_i]; **Matrix**[{x_1},.{x_i}; y_1,.y_j])
> where x: variables to be bound by Q, y: variables to be bound existentially with scope just in the matrix

Thus, the generic sentence *Mary smokes when she comes home* involves quantification over situations:

> **GEN**[x,s;] (x = **Mary** & x **comes home** in s; x **smokes** in s)

To phrase it somewhat intuitively, habitual sentences are derived through GEN/Q from episodic sentences. In episodic sentences, the main predicate has a situation argument bound by existential closure; whereas in habitual/generic sentences, the situation variable is bound by some generic operator other than existential closure (Q-Adverb, phonologically null GEN).

It is important to note at this point that the class of generic operators is analysed as heterogeneous by many authors. In Rimell (2004) on genericity in English, the silent HAB operator (identified with an aspectual head within the IP domain) is taken to have different syntactic/semantic properties from overt Q-adverbs (cf. also Filip 1994, Filip and Carlson 1997, Dahl 1995: habitual morpheme in Czech and Slovak).

An important distinction which I will utilize heavily in this section is that between individual-level predicates (expressing permanent and essential properties; properties of individuals) and stage-level predicates (expressing transitory and accidental properties, properties of stages of individuals) (Carlson 1977).

In Kratzer (1995), the ILP-SLP distinction is located in argument structure, identified as the presence or absence of a Davidsonian argument for the spatio-temporal location of the eventuality described:

(287) a. **Always when Mary knows French, she knows it well.*
ALWAYS[KNOW(M,FRENCH)] [KNOW_WELL(M,FRENCH)]
->vacuous quantification

b. *Always when Mary speaks French, she speaks it well.*
ALWAYS$_s$[SPEAK(M,FRENCH,*s*)][KNOW_WELL(M,FRENCH,*s*)]

In Chierchia (1995), both individual-level predicates and stage-level predicates are assumed to have a Davidsonian event / situation argument, which in the case of individual-level predicates is inherently bound by GEN. Under this analysis:

- stage level predicates by themselves have a normal stage-level reading. In case a generic operator (phonologically null quantificational adverb) appears in the specifier position of an aspecutal/habitual functional projection, a habitual individual-level reading arises.
- individual-level predicates are 'inherently generic' in the sense that a lexically in-built generic feature forces the presence of GEN in their local environment.

It is important to note at this point that whether genericity is semantically coded in every language or is a matter of pragmatics is debated (cf. Behrens 2000, Vogel-McGillion 2002, Eszes 2006, Alberti 2009 for Hungarian). Alberti (2009) argues that genericity in Hungarian is a pragmatic phenomenon, whereas Eszes (2006) provides a formal semantic analysis of habituals and generics but without especially focusing on Hungarian.

The quantificational properties of verbal particles in several languages have been explored by numerous authors (Filip 1996, cf. Arsenijevic 2007, Di Sciullo-Slabakova 2005, Ramchand 2004, Svenonius 2004).

In Filip (1996), lexical V-operators (~verbal particles) in Czech are analyzed as lexical A-quantifiers (much like adverbs of quantification) quantifying over episodic situations specified by stage-level predicates, binding individual variables introduced by nominal arguments (e.g. incremental theme) and possibly the event variable, too. (Or neither if neither is available.)

3.7.2 Generics and FCIs in Hungarian

With the 3 ingredients of my proposal in place, let us have a closer look at the interaction of FCIs and verbal particles in Hungarian:

(288) a. *A sertések takarmányt esznek.*
the pig-PL fodder-ACC eat-3PL
A sertések esznek takarmányt.
the pig-PL eat-3PL fodder-ACC
'Pigs eat fodder.' (generic)

b. *??A sertések bármit esznek.*
the pig-PL anything-ACC eat-3PL
?A sertések esznek bármit.
the pig-PL eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs eat anything.' (generic)

c. *A sertések bármit ehetnek.*
the pig-PL anything-ACC eat-POT-3PL
A sertések ehetnek bármit.
the pig-PL eat-POT-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs may eat anything.' (modal)

d. *A sertések bármit meg esznek.*
the pig-PL anything-ACC PRT eat-3PL
A sertések meg esznek bármit.
the pig-PL PRT eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs eat anything.' (generic)

Unsurpisingly, FCIs are unproblematic in the clearly modal environment of (288c) More intriguingly, while both (288b) and (288d) are generic statements, the former is clearly degraded why the latter is fully acceptable.

I will argue that the acceptability of FCIs in generics without the verbal particle is sensitive to pragmatic-contextual cues and world knowledge:

1 Tense: the present is more easily associated with a generic reading than the past:

(289) a. *??A sertések ettek bármit.*
the pig-PL eat-PAST-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs ate anything.' (generic)

b. *?A sertések esznek bármit.*
the pig-PL eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs eat anything.' (generic)

2 World knowledge: Pigs are known for their indiscriminate feeding habits. Gourmets as a kind have no known propensity for indiscriminate eating.

(290) a. *???Az ínyencek esznek bármit.*
the gourmet-PL eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Gourmets eat anything.' (generic)

b. *?A sertések esznek bármit.*
the pig-PL eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs eat anything.' (generic)

Note that all these contrasts disappear with the verbal particle:

(291) a. *Az ínyencek meg esznek bármit.*
the gourmet-PL PRT eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Gourmets eat anything.' (generic)

b. *A sertések meg esznek bármit.*
the pig-PL PRT eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs eat anything.' (generic)

(292) a. *A sertések meg ettek bármit.*
the pig-PL PRT eat-PAST-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs ate anything.' (generic)

b. *A sertések meg esznek bármit.*
the pig-PL PRT eat-3PL anything-ACC
'Pigs eat anything.' (generic)

3.7.3 Genericity: syntax/semantics or pragmatics?

To summarize, the picture that emerges of the availaibility of FCIs in generics in Hungarian is as follows:

> FCIs without a verbal particle: the sentence is degraded, and the degree of degradedness is dependent on pragmatic factors.
> FCIs with a verbal particle: the sentence is fully acceptable, independently of pragmatic factors.

This leads us back to the question I already alluded to above: whether in any given language, genericity is a syntax/semantics-level phenomenon or a pragmatics-level phenomenon. While in many languages (Catalan, Greek etc.[21]) FCIs are unambiguously licensed, we have seen that in Hungarian, the acceptability is degraded and is heavily dependent on pragmatic factors of genericity. Based on this observation, I propose the following conjecture about the correlation of FCI-licensing in generics and the nature of genericity across languages:

LANGUAGE	FCI-LICENSING IN GENERICS	NATURE OF GENERICITY
Catalan, Greek, …	Strong[1]	Syntactic/semantic
Hungarian, …	Weak[2]	Pragmatic

1: unambiguously grammatical/felicitous, insensitive to pragmatic factors
2: degraded, sensitive to pragmatic factors

In support of this conjecture, one has to recall that under the dependent indefinite analysis, FC-phrases are supposed to be bound (and thus licensed) in generics by the silent generic operator GEN. This readily explains the clear availability of FCIs in generics in Catalan and Greek. The degraded acceptability of FCIs in generics in Hungarian can then, as a logical conclusion, be attributed to the lack of a silent generic operator GEN in Hungarian. The lack of such an operator (and the simultaneous lack of any overt morpheme coding genericity) would of course mean that genericity in Hungarian is coded not by syntactic/semantic but rather pragmatic means. To turn this conjecture into a well-supported thesis, we have to examine whether there is any independent evidence pointing to the pragmatic encoding of genericity in Hungarian.

21 Note that English *any* is a separate case as it lacks a world/situation variable (Giannakidou 2001) and is thus not in need of being bound by a GEN operator.

First of all, genericity has indeed been analysed in Hungarian as a matter of pragmatics in Alberti (2009). A second piece of corroborating evidence comes from examining the licensing of FCIs in individual-level predicateds (ILPs).

FCIs are licensed in ILPs in English and Greek (Giannakidou 2001) but ungrammatical in Hungarian:

(293) a. *I Ariadne gnorizi opjondhipote sto tmima.*
the Ariadne know-3SG anyone-ACC in-the department
'Ariadne knows anybody in the department.'

b. **Ariadné ismer bárkit a tanszéken.*
Ariadne know-3SG anyone-ACC the department-SUP
'Ariadne knows anybody in the department.'

Note that there is an exact correspondence between whether FCIs are licensed in generics and whether they are licensed in individual-level predicates.

At this point, we should recall that while on Chierchia (1995)'s account, individual-level predicates contain an inherent GEN operator, on Kratzer (1995)'s account, no such operator is assumed. Under our assumption that FCI-licensing in generics involves generic quantification (Giannakidou 2001), whether or not FCIs are licensed in individual-level predicates depends on whether individual-level predicates contain a generic operator. The fact that FCIs are licensed in English and Greek individual-level predicates is strong evidence that it is correct to characterize them as Chierchia (1995)-style individual-level predicates. On the contrary, the lack of FCI-licensing in Hungarian individual-level predicates means that they are more properly characterized as GEN-less, i.e., Kratzer (1995)-style individual-level predicates. This means that the absence/presence of FCIs in generics (incl. individual-level predicates) in a given language can actually be used as a diagnostic as to the formal semantics of individual-level predicates.

This result provides strong support to my hypothesis that the weak (pragmatic) licensing of FCIs in generics in Hungarian is due to the fact that Hungarian lacks a silent (or overt) GEN operator (and thus, genericity is encoded pragmatically).

This state of affairs, however, raises the following question: if there is no GEN operator in generics in Hungarian, how exactly are FCIs licenced in sentences with verbal particles? Since in Catalan and Greek, strong licensing of FCIs in generics is correlated with the

presence of a GEN operator, a promising path to explore is whether verbal particles in Hungarian carry such an operator:

LANGUAGE	FCI-LICENSING IN GENERICS	NATURE OF GENERICITY
Catalan, Greek, …	Strong	Syntactic/semantic
Hungarian w/o verbal p.	Weak	Pragmatic
Hungarian with verbal p.	Strong	Syntactic/Semantic

3.7.4 The licensing of FCIs and verbal particles

Thus, my proposal would be that verbal particles carry a GEN/HAB operator which can bind the situation argument of FC-phrases conceived as intensional indefinites. As a matter of fact, there are several pieces of independent corroborating evidence that point in this direction.

First, cross-linguistically, verbal particles are known in many languages to display quantificational properties (Filip 1996, cf. Arsenijevic 2007, Di Sciullo-Slabakova 2005, Ramchand 2004, Svenonius 2004).

Second, In Hungarian, the phenomenon of verbal particle reduplication (Piñón 1991, Kiefer 1995, Dékány-Márkus 2009) suggests that verbal particles have a quantificational role:

(294) a. *Éva ki nyitja az ablakot.*
Eva PRT open-3SG the window-ACC
'Eve opens the window.'

b. *Éva ki ki nyitja az ablakot.*
Eva PRT PRT open-3SG the window-ACC
'Eve opens the window every now and then / regularly.'

Dékány-Márkus (2009) specifically attribute an erratic meaning (repetition of the action at irregular intervals) to this construct. My proposal is that this construct simply carries a habitual-iterative meaning: irregularity/regularity is not part of the core meaning. In corpora, one can find several instances of reduplication with adverbs expressing regularity such as *rendszeresen* 'regularly', *naponta* 'on a daily basis':

(295) *Rendszeresen be be néz a kicsik edzésére.*
regularly PRT PRT look-3PSG the small-PL training-POSS-SUB
'She regularly visits the training of the little ones.'[22]

(296) *Aktívan naponta be be kukkantok.*
actively daily PRT PRT pop-1SG
'I pop in actively on a daily basis.'[23]

Finally, recall that Rimell (2004)'s analysis on generics in English locates the HAB operator in AspP. Note that the verbal particle in Hungarian has been analysed as filler of Spec,AspP (or Spec,PredP) position (Piñon (1995), É. Kiss (2002), Alberti (2004), or den Dikken (2004).

Put together, these are robust pieces of evidence that verbal particles in Hungarian can carry a generic operator, which in turn can license a FC-phrase represented as an intensional indefinite.[24] It is important to note at this point that this account capitalizes heavily on the central features of the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 1997, 2001, Giannakidou and Quer 2012) such as the quantification over the world/situation variable of a dependent indefinite as the licensing condition of FCIs. As far as other theories of FCIs such as the propositional framework (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002, Aloni 2007, Menéndez-Benito 2010) are concerned, it is difficult to see how they could be made to accomodate the phenomenon we are examining. To this extent, my analysis supports the dependent indefinite model of FCIs.

To summarize, the goal of this section was to explore the interaction of verbal particles and FCIs in Hungarian. My proposed solution is that sentences containing verbal particles and FCIs are interpreted as generics/habituals, and the FC-phrase (analyzed as a dependent indefinite) is bound (and thus, licensed) by a GEN operator carried by the verbal particle. This

22 Source http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:lC2UuvRxLT0J:vanyizsolt.otthonimunka.org/category/emberi-jellem/+&cd=12&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu, date of access: October 10th, 2015

23 Source http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:d7VtNHyiNn4J:www.jogiforum.hu/forum/10/2+&cd=20&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu, date of access: October 10th, 2015

24 The exact formalization of this is not trivial. It is certainly incorrect to assume that the verbal particle always carries an active GEN operator, as this would predict that sentences with a verbal particles are necessarily generic, which is obviously not the case. One possible way is to theorize that verbal particles can host a silent GEN operator which is activated when there is an FCI with a world/situation variable in their scope. A weaker claim would be to assume that verbal particles quantize the event and make it more amenable to an iterative (and thus possibly habitual/generic) interpretation.

proposal is supported by independent evidence (both from Hungarian and cross-linguistic) and fits into current theories FCIs, genericity and the quantificational force of verbal particles. Beside the finding that verbal particles in Hungarian are capable of generic quantification, I have also shown that 1) genericity in Hungarian is primarily a pragmatic phenomenon and that 2) languages differ in terms of the formal semantics of individual-level predicates (presence/absence of inherent GEN operator), and the licensing of FCIs can be used as a diagnostic tool here. This chapter also sheds light on the conundrum why FCIs are straightforwardly licensed in generics in many languages (e.g. English) but not in Hungarian. Finally, my results lend considerable further empirical support to the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs.

4. Topics for further research

In this section, I would like to point to some topics related to FCIs in Hungarian which I consider as potentially fruitful for further research. Here I will limit myself to a brief exposition of the issues without providing any detailed analysis for the time being.

4.1 FCIs and imperatives

Standard treatments of FCIs (e.g. Giannakidou 2001) regard imperatives as an environment which licenses FCIs:

(295) *Take any dress.*

In Hungarian, however, the situation is not so clear-cut. It appears that the acceptability of the FCI depends heavily on the type of imperative:

(296) a. *#Azt parancsolom, hogy vedd fel bármelyik ruhát!*
it-ACC command-1SG that take-IMP-2SG PRT any cloth-ACC
'I command you to take any dress.'

b. *?Vedd fel bármelyik ruhát!*
take-IMP-2SG PRT any cloth-ACC
'Take any dress.'

c. *Nyugodtan vedd fel bármelyik ruhát!*
calmly take-IMP-2SG PRT any cloth-ACC
'Just take any dress.'

d. *Meg engedem, hogy fel vedd bármelyik ruhát.*

PRT allow-1SG that PRT take-IMP-2SG any cloth-ACC

'I allow you take any dress.'

It seems that the acceptability of FCIs in imperatives depends on the type of imperatives. A well-known distinction is that between permission statements (expressing deontic possibility) and real commands (expressing deontic necessity) (Lahiri (1998), Kamp (1973), Chellas (1963), Lewis (1979), Lee (1999), Kaufmann (2011), Varga (2014)). The sentences in (296) in fact represent a continuum between the two endpoints: (296a) is a very explicit real command, whereas (296b) is a clear-cut case of a permission statement. My intuition is that the closer the imperative is to a real command, the less likely it is to license an FCI.

4.2 FCIs and referentially vague items

Giannakidou and Quer (2012) differentiate between FCIs and so-called referentially vague items (RVIs). To put it simply, FCIs and RVIs share the property of referential indeterminacy but also crucially differ in the sense that FCIs exhibit exhaustive variation wheras RVIs only exhibit partial variation. RVIs lexically different from FCIs have been identified in several languages: *algún* in Catalan, *kapjos* in Greek (Giannakidou and Quer 2012), the NPI *ilato* in Korean (Giannakidou and Yoon 2011), *vreun* in Romanian (Falaus 2009, 2011). In English, the closest approximation is *some or other.*

It appears to us an interesting research topic to explore and identify RVIs in Hungarian, if any, and see whether they can be modelled in the terms of Giannakidou and Quer (2012). What is certain is that in Transylvanian dialects of Hungarian, the RVI *vaegy* has emerged as a contact phenomenon, with similar usage to *vreun* in Romanian.[25] While *vaegy* is somewhat substandard, one can readily find examples in corpora containing texts from less formal registers such as internet discussion forums:

(297) a. *Ha létezik vaegy update, le fogod tudni tölteni.*[26]

if exist-3SG RVI update PRT FUT-2SG can-INF load-INF

'If there exists some update or other, you will be able to download it.'

25 I am indebted to Ágnes Bende-Farkas for calling my attention to this phenomenon.

26 Source:http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:j69l9RMP3v8J:www.paginata.com/paginata/windows/hu-internet-explorer-gondok+&cd=1&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu, date of access: October 10th, 2015

b. *A* *Junkiesnek* *volt* *vaegy* *jó* *száma.*[27]
the Junkies-DAT be-PAST-3SG RVI good song-POSS
'The Junkies did have some good song or other.'

While this use of *vaegy* is very limited regionally, an identical meaning can be expressed in Standard Hungarian by using the existential *valami* 'something' (or rather, a quantifier *valami* 'some or other' historically derived from the existential *valami*):

(298) a. *Ha* *létezik* *valami* *update,* *le* *fogod* *tudni* *tölteni.*
if exist-3SG RVI update PRT FUT-2SG can-INF load-INF
'If there exists some update or other, you will be able to download it.'
b. *A* *Junkiesnek* *volt* *valami* *jó* *száma.*
the Junkies-DAT be-PAST-3SG RVI good song-POSS
'The Junkies did have some good song or other.'

RVI *valami* is slightly substandard: it is freely used in verbal communication in all but the most formal registers, however, it is rarely used in formal written registers. It is also interesting to note that two regional varieties of Hungarian have adopted two different, cross-linguistically attested paths of expressing referential vagueness: Transylvanian Hungarian developed a separate lexeme (similarly to Catalan, Greek etc.), whereas Standard Hungarian utilizes a version of the existential (much as referential vagueness is expressed by *some or other* in English).

The discussion above can of course only represent the very first step of a systematic account of RVIs in Hungarian.

27 Source:http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:sxi06iwnX3AJ:www.rockvilag.hu/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_kunena%26view%3Dtopic%26Itemid%3D319%26catid%3D605%26id%3D167136+&cd=1&hl=hu&ct=clnk&gl=hu, date of acces: October 10th, 2015

4.3 Alternative expressions of free choice

In this section, I will very briefly draw attention to the fact the free choice (especially of the free-relative flavour) can be expressed by a different mechanism than the one we analyzed in Chapter 3.6. Consider:

(299) a. *Bárki ült fel a hullámvasútra, rosszul lett.*
anyone sit-PAST-3SG PRT the rollercoaster-SUB bad-ESS become-PAST-3PS
'Whoever boarded the rollercoaster got sick.'

b. *Aki csak fel ült a hullámvasútra, rosszul lett.*
who only PRT sit-PAST-3SG the rollercoaster-SUB bad-ESS become-PAST-3SG
'Whoever boarded the rollercoaster got sick.'

While fully exploring this phenomenon is beyond our scope, a few preliminary observations can be made. What is common in both constructions is that a wh-indeterminate (wh-expression etc.) of sorts is placed into an exhaustivity-inducing environment: in (299b), the particle *csak* 'only' furnishes this environment, whereas in (299a), the identificational focus construction itself.

It is important to differentiate the above instances of *aki csak*, where *aki* and *csak* form a single phonological word, from other *aki csak* sequences, where *csak* is in fact associated with the phrase following it:

(300) *Aki 'csak fel ült a hullámvasútra,*
who only PRT sit-PAST-3SG the rollercoaster-SUB
de nem ment végig, nem lett rosszul.
but not go-PAST-3SG end-unto not become-PAST-3SG bad-ESS
'Those who only boarded the rollercoaster but did not go along the whole track did not get sick.'

4.4 Diachronic investigations

Finally, a diachronic investigation of the emergence of FCIs and RVIs in Hungarian is certainly a rewarding topic for further research. As we have seen in Chapter 2.1, there are indications that we are right now in the middle of a language historical change whereby *akárki* is slowly fading as an FCI (becoming more and more marked and stylistically/grammatically restricted) and *bárki* is emerging as the full-fledged FCI paradigm of Hungarian. Note also that I hypothesized the lexicalization of the FCI *akárki* into the common noun *akárki* 'insignificant, nondescript person': a conjecture at this stage which merits a more thorough investigation. There are also indications that today's existential *valaki* may have played an FCI-role (with free-relative flavour) historically (John 3:16):

(301) *Mert úgy szerette Isten e világot, hogy az ő egyszülött Fiát adta, hogy <u>valaki</u> hiszen ő benne, el ne vesszen, hanem örök élete legyen. (Károli)*
For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that <u>whosoever</u> believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. (KJV)

Also, there appears to be an extinct FCI construction in Hungarian (again with free-relative interpretation). One example can be found in a poem from 1887 (Civilizáció [Civilization] by János Arany):

(302) *[…] A világot*
'The world
Értekezlet igazgatja:
is being directed by a committee
S az erősebb <u>ha mi</u> csínyt tesz,
and <u>whatever</u> mischief the strong commit
Összeűl és – helybehagyja.
this committee convenes – and approves it.'

This *ha mi* ‘whatever’ (literally ‘if what’) construction is completely missing from present-day Hungarian. (Note that *ha mi* is very unlikely to be a spelling variant of *a mi / ami*: by the age of Arany, Hungarian spelling was established enough to preclude such inconsistencies).

Note also the following passage (from a poem by Ferenc Kazinczy in 1812), where *ha hol* (literally ‘if where’) can clearly be translated by ‘wherever’:

(303) *Sötét alakban kullogván, ha hol*
‘Stalking in a dark guise, wherever
Prédát találhat, mely cselébe hulljon
a prey he can find to lure into his trap.’

My purpose with this admittedly rather eclectic and arbitrary collection of interesting historical phenomena is to demonstrate the wealth of material which can be explored in a detailed and thorough diachronic investigation of the development of FCIs (and RVIs) in Hungarian.

5. Conclusion

The main empirical findings and theoretical contributions of my dissertation can be summarized as follows:

1) I provide a model for the syntactic behaviour and semantic characteristics of FCIs in Hungarian with very good empirical coverage, based on standard assumptions about the syntax of Hungarian and the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001). My analysis covers a wide range of environments and constructions such as modal, non-modal and generic environments, strongly and weakly non-veridical environments, FCIs in contrastive topic and focus positions; and makes robust predictions concerning the behaviour of FCIs under all of these environments.

The theoretical importance of this is twofold: on the one hand, my results provide further support to the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001). On the other, the fact that the behaviour of FCIs can be modelled succesfully using standard theories concerning the syntax of Hungarian indirectly provides further corroboration to those theories themselves (such as the analysis of quantification as adjunction in É. Kiss (2010b), the analysis of contrastive topics in É. Kiss and Gyuris (2003) or the analysis of negative concord in Surányi (2002, 2006a,b) and É. Kiss (2009), the analysis of negative polarity item licensing in Tóth (1999) etc.).

2) My main claim is that FCIs in Hungarian are dependent indefinites in the sense of Giannakidou (2001). This is corroborated by the results of the standard tests of quantificational force, and also the detailed analysis of the syntactic behaviour of FCIs in various constructions, accounting for word order and stress patterns and complex scope phenomena vis-a-vis various scope-bearing elements such as universal quantifiers, negation and focus.

3) I show that FCIs in straight (modal) sentences occupy the positions standardly associated with universal quantifiers. This enables me to account for the full range of word order, stress and relative scope phenomena. While this result mainly corroborates the models in É. Kiss (2009, 2010b), I also propose some modifications (backed up by independent evidence).

4) In terms of universal vs. quantificational force, I show that FCIs display a quantificational plasticity standardly associated with indefinites, including dependent indefinites, using a battery of standard tests of quantification.

5) I show that FCIs participate in negative concorde, akin to universals and existentials, which is again consistent with the analysis of FCIs as dependent indefinites.

6) I provide an analysis of the behaviour of FCIs in contrastive topic position. To my knowledge, this is the first account for FCIs in contrastive topic position in any language.

7) I provide a detailed analysis of the co-occurence of FCIs with the particle *is* 'too, also', consistent with the analysis of FCIs as dependent indefinites.

8) I provide a detailed syntactic and semantic analysis of FCIs in focus position, utilizing standard assumptions concerning the identificational focus position in Hungarian and the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs. I show that in Hungarian, a reading similar to free relatives with an FCI-flavour such *wh-ever* in English can be elicited by moving the FCI *bárki* 'anyone' into focus position. This indicates that there are two strategies cross-linguistically to encode the meaning associted with FCI free relatives: either to have a separate lexical item (e.g. *wh-ever* in English) or to utilize the interplay of the standard FCI (such as *bárki* 'anyone' in Hungarian) and a specific syntactic construction (such as the identificational focus construction) in a compositional manner.

9) I provide a detailed account for the puzzling observation that a generic environment does not license FCIs in Hungarian (in contrast to several other languages). I argue that in any given language, there is a strong correlation between the (non)licensing of FCIs in a generic environment, the nature of genericity (semantic vs. pragmatic) and the formal semantics of individual-level predicates (Kratzer (1995) vs. Chierchia (1995)).

10) I show that the two paradigms of FCIs in Hungarian (*bárki* 'anyone' and *akárki* 'anyone') behave identically in terms of their syntactic behaviour, with any superficial differences being due to the slow demise and resultant slight markedness of *akárki* as an FCI and the existence of a (diachronically related) common noun *akárki* 'nondescript, insignificant person'.

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Summary

My goal in this dissertation was to provide an in-depth examination of free-choice items in Hungarian.

In Chapter 1, I provided a concise overview of the development of theories concerning free choice items. I also outlined the dependent indefinite analysis (Giannakidou 2001), which I adopted as my framework in this thesis. One of my main findings was that this theory can readily accomodate the facts encountered in Hungarian. In this sense, this thesis is a further corroboration of the validity of the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (which has already been demonstrated for languages such as Greek, Catalan or Korean).

In Chapter 2, I first presented the basic facts concerning FCIs. I covered the morphology of FCIs (made up of the lexemes *akár-*/*bár-* and a wh-indeterminate part) and discussed whether this morphology is synchronically relevant and whether the two series of FCIs are fully interchangeable. I reviewed the syntactic analysis of *akár*-pronouns by Hunyadi (1991, 2002), many results of which were incorporated into my own analysis. After surveying the licensing environments of FCIs in Hungarian, I also provided a critical assessment of Abrusán's (2007) semantic account.

In Chapter 3, I undertook to provide a systematic account of the syntax and semantics of FCIs in Hungarian. First I examined the canonical syntactic position of FCIs, which I identified with the help of syntactic tests as the position occupied by universal quantifiers (we assumed É. Kiss 2010's analysis of quantification as adjunction). This position is consistent with the universality implicature standardly associated with FCIs (e.g. Giannakidou 2001). I also provided a detailed analysis of the possible scope relations between FCIs, negation, focus and universal quantification. I provided an analysis of FCIs in contrastive topic position using the framework proposed by Gyuris (2009). To my knowledge, this is the first discussion of FCIs in the contrastive topic position in any language.

Further in Chapter 3, I examined the quantificational force of FCIs by the well-known battery of quantification tests (for a previous application for Hungarian, cf. Surányi 2006). My findings of mixed quantificational behaviour provided further corroboration for my analysis of FCIs as quantificationally underspecified (dependent) indefinites. I also addressed the complex relationship between FCIs and the particle *is* 'too', finding that there are three distinct possibilities of how these elements can (and cannot) combine. In the course of this

examination, I explored the behaviour of FCIs in weakly non-veridical environments, building upon related work of Tóth (1999).

In the final parts of Chapter 3, I examined focused FCIs and the mechanism how this setup elicits a reading similar to *wh-ever* expressions in English. My investigation of the interaction of FCIs and aspect (verbal particles) led me to formulate certain hypotheses concerning the relationship of FCI-licensing, the semantic vs. pragmatic nature of genericity and the formal semantics of individual-level predicates in Hungarian and other languages.

My analysis of FCIs in Hungarian is, of course, by no means complete. In Chapter 4, I pointed out four promising venues for further research concerning Hungarian: FCIs and imperatives, FCIs and Referentially Vague Items (Giannakidou and Quer 2012), alternative expressions of free choice and the diachronics of FCIs and Referentially Vague Items.

The main empirical findings and theoretical contributions of my paper can be summarized as follows:

1) I provide a model for the syntactic behaviour and semantic characteristics of FCIs in Hungarian with very good empirical coverage, based on standard assumptions about the syntax of Hungarian and the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001). My analysis covers a wide range of environments and constructions such as modal, non-modal and generic environments, strongly and weakly non-veridical environments, FCIs in contrastive topic and focus positions; and makes robust predictions concerning the behaviour of FCIs under all of these environments.

The theoretical importance of this is twofold: on the one hand, my results provide further support to the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs (Giannakidou 2001). On the other, the fact that the behaviour of FCIs can be modelled succesfully using standard theories concerning the syntax of Hungarian indirectly provides further corroboration to those theories themselves (such as the analysis of quantification as adjunction in É. Kiss (2010b), the analysis of contrastive topics in É. Kiss and Gyuris (2003) or the analysis of negative concord in Surányi (2002, 2006a,b) and É. Kiss (2009), the analysis of negative polarity item licensing in Tóth (1999) etc.).

2) My main claim is that FCIs in Hungarian are dependent indefinites in the sense of Giannakidou (2001). This is corroborated by the results of the standard tests of quantificational force, and also the detailed analysis of the syntactic behaviour of FCIs in various constructions, accounting for word order and stress patterns and complex scope

phenomena vis-a-vis various scope-bearing elements such as universal quantifiers, negation and focus.

3) I show that FCIs in straight (modal) sentences occupy the positions standardly associated with universal quantifiers. This enables me to account for the full range of word order, stress and relative scope phenomena. While this result mainly corroborates the models in É. Kiss (2009, 2010b), I also propose some modifications (backed up by independent evidence).

4) In terms of universal vs. existential quantificational force, I show that FCIs display a quantificational plasticity standardly associated with indefinites, including dependent indefinites, using a battery of standard tests of quantification.

5) I show that FCIs participate in negative concorde, akin to universals and existentials, which is again consistent with the analysis of FCIs as dependent indefinites.

6) I provide an analysis of the behaviour of FCIs in contrastive topic position. To my knowledge, this is the first account for FCIs in contrastive topic position in any language.

7) I provide a detailed analysis of the co-occurence of FCIs with the particle *is* 'too, also', consistent with the analysis of FCIs as dependent indefinites.

8) I provide a detailed syntactic and semantic analysis of FCIs in focus position, utilizing standard assumptions concerning the identificational focus position in Hungarian and the dependent indefinite analysis of FCIs. I show that in Hungarian, a reading similar to free relatives with an FCI-flavour such *wh-ever* in English can be elicited by moving the FCI *bárki* 'anyone' into focus position. This indicates that there are two strategies cross-linguistically to encode the meaning associted with FCI free relatives: either to have a separate lexical item (e.g. *wh-ever* in English) or to utilize the interplay of the standard FCI (such as *bárki* 'anyone' in Hungarian) and a specific syntactic construction (such as the identificational focus construction) in a compositional manner.

9) I provide a detailed account for the puzzling observation that a generic environment does not license FCIs in Hungarian (in contrast to several other languages). I argue that in any given language, there is a strong correlation between the (non)licensing of FCIs in a generic environment, the nature of genericity (semantic vs. pragmatic) and the formal semantics of individual-level predicates (Kratzer (1995) vs. Chierchia (1995)).

10) I show that the two paradigms of FCIs in Hungarian (*bárki* 'anyone' and *akárki* 'anyone') behave identically in terms of their syntactic behaviour, with any superficial differences being due to the slow demise and resultant slight markedness of *akárki* as an FCI

and the existence of a (diachronically related) common noun *akárki* ‘nondescript, insignificant person’.

Összefoglaló

A doktori disszertációm célja az ún. szabad választást kifejező elemek mondattanának vizsgálata volt a magyar nyelvben.

A dolgozat első fejezetében tömör áttekintést nyújtottam a szabad választást kifejező elemek elméletéről. Bemutattam az úgynevezett függő indefinit (dependent indefinit, Giannakidou 2001) elemzést, amelyet a dolgozat során alapul vettem. A dolgozat fontos megállapítása, hogy a függő indefinit elemzés alkalmas a magyar nyelvben található jelenségek leírására, ami ezen elmélet újabb megerősítését jelenteni, immár magyar nyelvű adatok alapján is (a korábban ilyen szempontból már feltárt görög, katalán vagy koreai nyelvek mellett).

A második fejezetben az alapvető adatokat ismertettem. Foglalkoztam a szabad választást kifejező elemek morfológiájával (*akár-/bár-* és *-ki/-mi/stb.*), megvizsgálva ennek szinkrón jelentőségét, valamint a két paradigma felcserélhetőségét. Bemutattam Hunyadi (1991, 2002) elemzését az *akár*-névmások szintaxisára és hatókörére vonatkozóan: ezen elemzés számos megoldását átvettem a dolgozatban. Kritikusan módon tárgyaltam Abrusán (2007) szemantikai elemzését.

A harmadik fejezetben a szabad választást kifejező elemek (ún. FCI-k) mondattanát és jelentéstanát vizsgáltam a magyar nyelvben. Elsőként az FCI-k kanonikus mondattani pozícióját modelleztem, s amellett érveltem, hogy ez azonos a disztributív univerzális kvantorok által elfoglalt pozícióval (a kvantifikációt mint adjunkciót elemeztem É. Kiss 2010-et követve), ami konzisztens az FCI-knek tulajdonított univerzális implikatúrával (Giannakidou 2001). Részletesen elemeztem az FCI-k, kvantorok, tagadás és fókusz között fönnálló lehetséges hatóköri viszonyokat. A kontrasztív topikpozícióban szereplő szabad választást kifejező elemeket Gyuris (2009) modellje alapján elemeztem, tudomásom szerint elsőként elemezve a szabad választást kifejező elemeket kontrasztív topikpozícióban bármely nyelvben.

Szintén a harmadik fejezetben vizsgáltam az FCI-k kvantifikációs erejét a jól ismert tesztek segítségével (ezek egy korábbi alkalmazása magyar nyelvi adatokra: Surányi 2006). A feltárt vegyes kvantifikációs viselkedés konzisztens azzal, hogy az FCI-ket indefinitekként elemeztük. Részletesen elemeztem az FCI-k és az *is* szócska együttes előfordulásának típusait, részben Tóth (1999) eredményeire támaszkodva.

A harmadik fejezet utolsó részében a fókuszált FCI-ket vizsgáltam, valamint az FCI-k és az aspektus (az igemódosítok jelenlétének) kapcsolatát. Ez utóbbi vizsgálat érdekes összefüggésekre mutatott rá az FCI-k és a generikusság, valamint a predikátumtípusok viszonylatában.

A bemutatott elemzésem természetesen nem teljes körű. A negyedik fejezetben ezért továbbra is nyitott, kutatásra érdemes kérdéseket mutattam be: az FCI-k és a felszólító mondatok, az FCI-k és a referenciálisan bizonytalan elemek (Giannakidou és Quer 2012), a szabad választás kifejező más elemek, valamint a nyelvtörténeti vizsgálatok kérdését.

A disszertáció fő empirikus megállapításai és az azokból levonható elméleti következtetések a következők:

1) Jó magyarázó erővel rendelkező modellt állítottam fel a szabad választást kifejező elemek szintaktikai viselkedésére és szemantikai jellemzőire vonatkozóan. Ehhez a magyar mondattan sztenderd modelljeit, valamint a szabad választást kifejező elemeket függő indefinitekként elemző elméletet (Giannakidou 2001) vettem alapul. Az elemzésem a különböző környezetek és konstrukciók széles körét öleli fel (modális, nemmodális és generikus környezetek, erősen és gyengén nem-veridikus környezetek, kontrasztívtopik- és fókuszpozíció), és jól jelzi előre a szabad választást kifejező elemek viselkedését ezen környezetek mindegyikében.

Ezen eredmények egyrészt alátámasztják a szabad választást kifejező elemek ún. függő indefinit elemzését (Giannakidou 2001). Másrészt indirekt módon az elemzés során felhasznált, a magyar mondattan különböző jelenségeit magyarázó modellek érvényességét is megerősítik, mint pl. a kvantifikáció adjunkcióként való elemzése (É. Kiss 2010b), a kontrasztív topik elemzése (É. Kiss és Gyuris 2003), a negatív egyeztetés elemzése (Surányi 2002, 2006a,b és É. Kiss 2009), vagy a negatív polaritású elemek engedélyezésének elemzése (Tóth 1999).

2) A disszertáció fő állítása az, hogy a szabad választást kifejező elemek a magyarban ún. függő indefinitek (Giannakidou 2001). A kvantifikáció sztenderd tesztjei, a szabad választást kifejező elemek mondattani viselkedésének részletes elemzése különböző konstrukciókban, a szórendi, hangsúly és hatóköri jelenségek sikeres előrejelzése mind alátámasztják ezt az állítást.

3) A disszertációban megmutatom, hogy az egyszerű modális mondatokban a szabad választást kifejező elemek abban a mondattani pozícióban helyezkednek el, amelyben az univerzális kvantorok. Ezzel a feltételezéssel számot tudok adni a szórendi, hangsúlybeli és

hatóköri jelenségek teljes spektrumáról. Az eredményeim alapvetően az É. Kiss (2009, 2010b) által javasolt elemzésre épülnek, ugyanakkor néhány módosítási javaslatot is teszek a szabad választást kifejező elemek viselkedése, ill. ezektől független megfigyelések alapján.

4) Univerzális vs. egzisztenciális kvantifikáció tekintetében a sztenderd tesztek segítségével megmutatom, hogy a szabad választást kifejező elemek egy olyan kvantifikációs plaszticitást mutatnak, ami kifejezetten az indefinitekre, köztük is a függő indefinitekre jellemző.

5) Megmutatom, hogy a szabad választást kifejező elemek az univerzális és egzisztenciális kvantorokhoz hasonló módon vesznek részt a negatív egyeztetésben. Ez szintén alátámasztja a függő indefinitként való elemzésüket.

6) Elemzést adok a szabad választást kifejező elemek viselkedéséről kontrasztív topik pozícióban. Tudomásom szerint ez az első ilyen elemzés bármely nyelvre vonatkozóan.

7) Részletesen elemzem a szabad választást kifejező elemek és az *is* szócska viszonyát. A függő indefinit elemzésből kiindulva kimerítő magyarázot adok a vonatkozó nyelvi tényekre.

8) Részletesen elemzem a szabad választást kifejező elemek előfordulását a fókuszpozícióban mind mondattani, mind jelentéstani szempontból; felhasználva a magyar fókuszpozícióval kapcsolatos ismert feltételezéseket, valamint a szabad választást kifejező elemek függő indefinit elemzését. Megmutatom, hogy a többek között az angolból ismert, ún. vonatkozó szabad választást kifejező elem (pl. *whatever*) által kifejezett jelentést a magyarban úgy állíthatjuk elő, hogy a szabad választást kifejező elemet (*bárki*) fókusz pozícióba helyezzük. Ez arra utal, hogy ezen jelentés kódolására két stratégiát is megfigyelhetünk a világ nyelveiben: egy a sztenderd szabad választást kifejező elemtől különböző lexikai elem használatát (mint pl. az angolban: *any* vs. *whatever*), vagy pedig a sztenderd szabad választást kifejező elem (*bárki* a magyarban) és a mondattani szerkezet (fókusz pozíció) együttes, kompozicionális használatát.

9) Részletes magyarázatot adok arra a megfigyelésre, hogy a magyarban a generikus környezet nem engedélyezi a szabad választást kifejező elemeket (más nyelvekkel ellentétben). Rámutatok, hogy az egyes nyelvekben erős korreláció van aközött, hogy a generikus környezet engedélyezi vagy sem a szabad választást kifejező elemeket, hogy a generikusság szemantikai vagy pragmatikai szinten van-e kódolva, és hogy az ún. egyéni szintű predikátumok Kratzer (1995) vagy Chierchia (1995) modelljével írhatóak-e le jól.

10) Bemutatom, hogy a szabad választást kifejező elemek két paradigmája (*bár-* vs. *akár-*) mondat- és jelentéstani szempontból azonosan viselkedik. Az egyes felszíni

eltérésekről bebizonyítom, hogy ezek a az *akár*- paradigma lassú visszahúzódására vezethetőek vissza, valamint arra, hogy az *akárki* szabad választást kifejező elemből köznevesült egy *akárki* ‘jelentéktelen személy’ jelentésű köznév.