

# Marking finiteness and low peripheries\*

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**Abstract** The article takes up on the observations made by Kenesei (1994) regarding the position of the Hungarian interrogative marker *-e* in the clause and its distribution across clause types. Specifically, there are three crucial points: (i) the marker *-e* is related to the CP-domain where clause typing is encoded; (ii) *-e* is obligatory in embedded clause and optional in main clauses; (iii) *-e* is licensed in finite clauses only. I argue that certain clause-typing properties are reflected in the Hungarian clause in a lower functional domain, FP. In particular, finiteness and the interrogative nature of the clause are encoded here, as also indicated by focussing in non-interrogative clause and by constituent questions, respectively. The marker *-e* is base-generated in the F head, as opposed to a designated FocP or TP/IP, allowing it to fulfil its clause-typing functions. Base-generation is crucial (as opposed to lowering from C) since it is able to capture the relatedness between *-e* and finiteness: *-e* is specified as [fin] and while the FP may be generated to host focussed constituents (including *wh*-elements) in non-finite clauses, a lexically [fin] head cannot be inserted.

**Keywords:** clause typing, finiteness, focus, functional left peripheries, interrogatives, polar questions.

## 1 Introduction

In this article, I take up on some of the observations made by Kenesei (1994: 339–343) regarding the position of the Hungarian polar interrogative marker *-e* in the clause and its distribution across clause types. In particular, there are three crucial points I would like to highlight here.

First, Kenesei (1994: 339–341) argues that *-e* is related to the CP, though it appears lower in the clause than complementisers. The interrogative nature<sup>1</sup> of the clause is defined by C, yet the overt markers of the interrogative clause type are located lower: in constituent questions, *wh*-phrases appear in the preverbal, “focus” position (see Horvath 1986, É. Kiss 2002), while in polar questions, the element *-e* is typically an enclitic to the verb. Observe:

- (1) a. Nem tudom, Emma megérkezik\*(-e).  
not know.1SG Emma PRT.arrives-Q  
‘I don’t know whether Emma will arrive.’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 163a)
- b. Nem tudom, Emma **mikor** érkezik meg.  
not know.1SG Emma when arrives PRT  
‘I don’t know when Emma will come.’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 163b)

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<sup>1</sup>For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to the relevant feature as [wh] both in constituent questions and in polar questions; for a possible differentiation between [wh] and [Q], see Bacskai-Atkari (2015).

- c. \*Nem tudom, Emma **mikor** érkezik-e meg.  
 not know.1SG Emma when arrives-Q PRT  
 ‘I don’t know when Emma will come.’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 163c)

As demonstrated by (1c), a *wh*-element and the Q element are not compatible with each other. Second, *-e* is optional in main clauses and obligatory in embedded clauses:

- (2) a. Megérkezett(-e) Emma?  
 PRT.arrived.3SG-Q Emma?  
 ‘Has Emma arrived?’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 164a)
- b. Nem tudom, Emma megérkezik\*(-e).  
 not know.1SG Emma PRT.arrives-Q  
 ‘I don’t know whether Emma will arrive.’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 164a)

There are slight pragmatic differences between interrogatives with and without *-e* (Gyuris to appear), but none in terms of clause typing, and hence I will not address this issue here.

Third, contrary to *wh*-elements, *-e* is licensed in finite clauses only, as demonstrated by (3):

- (3) a. A **milyen** virágot szerető embereket szeretnéd látni?  
 the how flower.ACC liking people.ACC like.COND.2SG see.INF  
 ‘People who like what flowers would you like to see?’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 165a)
- b. \*A virágot szerető-e emberekkel akarsz találkozni?  
 the flower.ACC-Q liking people.INS want.2SG meet.INF  
 ‘\*Do you want to meet the people whether they like flowers?’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 165b)
- c. Ervin nem tud **hová** menni.  
 Ervin not knows where.to go.INF  
 ‘Ervin cannot go anywhere.’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 166a)
- d. \*Ervin nem tud menni-e (vagy nem menni).  
 Ervin not knows go.INF-Q not go.INF  
 ‘Ervin doesn’t know whether to go or not.’ (Kenesei 1994: 340, ex. 166b)

Polar interrogative markers are not universally prohibited in non-finite clauses; consider:

- (4) a. I don’t know **what** to do.  
 b. I don’t know **whether** to call Ralph.  
 c. \*I don’t know **if** to call Ralph.

As shown, *whether* patterns with the *what* and not with *if*, indicating that interrogative operators are available in infinitival clauses: this does not apply to *if*, which is a finite complementiser located in C, and as such it is not compatible with a non-finite clause. The fact that Hungarian *-e* patterns with *if* and not with *whether* (and not with ordinary *wh*-operators in either English or Hungarian) suggests that it has a head status and that it is specified for finiteness, as Kenesei (1994: 340–343) assumes, too.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>It has to be stressed that the parallelism between *-e* and *if* is indicative of both properties, that is, a head

The question is what the exact position of *-e* is, what the role of that projection is otherwise in the Hungarian clause, and how these issues are related to finiteness and the CP. I claim that *-e* is the head of a functional projection (FP), which otherwise hosts *wh*-elements and foci. The FP is not part of the CP-periphery but the features [wh] and [fin] are reflected here. If the FP is generated and the head contains a [fin] feature, it has to be lexicalised. This can be carried out by verb movement but if the head contains *-e*, verb movement can be obviated, which happens in elliptical clauses: otherwise, the verb moves up to support the enclitic *-e*. The element *-e* is specified as [fin], hence it is able to lexicalise the [fin] feature on its own, and it follows that it cannot appear in non-finite clauses. The proposed analysis is thus similar to the claim made by Kenesei (1994), who considers *-e* to be related to C and to the verbal inflection, yet it does not postulate downward movement or a direct connection between *-e* and the verb. Finally, the present analysis has some important implications concerning the marking of finiteness in the Hungarian clause in general, not just in the particular construction under scrutiny.

## 2 The lowering analysis

Kenesei (1994: 341) proposes the following analysis for the subclause in (2b):

- (5) [CP [C *t*<sub>i</sub> [IP Emma [I' megérkezik;*-e*<sub>i</sub> [VP ...*t*<sub>i</sub> ...]]]]  
 ‘whether Emma arrives’ (Kenesei 1994: 341, ex. 168)

Kenesei (1994: 341) assumes that the clause is typed as [wh] in C, and as *-e* is an overt marker of [wh], he assumes that it is generated in C and lowers to adjoin the verb in I. The complex of the inflected verb and the clitic is supposed to move back up to C at LF to take scope over the clause. The analysis relies on three assumptions: (i) that affix lowering is possible in syntax; (ii) that *-e* is generated in C; and (iii) that *-e* is directly related to the notion of verbal inflection. Regarding (i), the assumption of lowering raises theoretical problems: according to current Minimalist assumptions, movement should proceed upwards. One cannot treat lowering a matter of morphology either, assuming that the order of *-e* and the verb can be swapped by some morphological process: the two elements are clearly not adjacent in the structure if *-e* is in C, as can be seen in (5), where the subject DP *Emma* intervenes between the C head and the verb.

Regarding (ii), Kenesei (1994: 341) acknowledges that the arguments here are mostly indirect. First, the behaviour of *-e* strongly suggests that it occupies a head position, which, according to Kenesei (1994: 342), would be incompatible with *-e* being generated in I or T. Second, historical data from earlier periods indicate that the polar interrogative marker was located in a C head, either clause-initial or clause-final (Kenesei 1994: 341–342). Consider<sup>3</sup>:

- (6) a. mēghirdètéc Amānac kēuāñauala megtudni ha  
 PRT.announced.3PL Haman.DAT wishing.be.PST PRT.know.INF if

status and finiteness. Contrary to English *if* and French *si* ‘if’, Italian *se* ‘if’ can appear not only in finite but also in infinitival questions, as observed already by Kayne (1991). The difference is ultimately due to the elements occupying different positions. English *if* is a C head located high in the left periphery. By contrast, Italian *se* is located in a lower projection, identified as an IntP by Rizzi (1997), and the higher C containing the silent question operator in the specifier may or may not encode finiteness, as argued by Manzini (2012). The point is that Italian *se* is lexically specified as [wh] but not as [fin], unlike the C head *if* and the lower functional head *-e*.

<sup>3</sup>The examples in (6) are from the Old Hungarian Concordance corpus, and I retained the original spelling, while the examples in Kenesei (1994) use a normalised spelling. Kenesei (1994: 341, ex. 169) provides different examples for clause-initial *ha* ‘if’ and of the two examples in Kenesei (1994: 342, ex. 171) for clause-final *-e* in main clause interrogatives, the first one is identical to (6b), though my glosses and translation differ.

mègmaradna ètoruènbèn  
 PRT.stay.COND.3SG this.law.INE  
 ‘they told Haman, to see whether his matters would stand’  
 (Vienna Codex 55, middle of the 15th century)

- b. Nemdè harō ferfiakat megbekozottakat èrèztēc a tüz közèpibè è?  
 Q three men.ACC chained.PL.ACC drove.1PL the fire middle.POSS.ILL Q  
 ‘Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire?’  
 (Vienna Codex 139, middle of the 15th century)

While there is evidence for *ha* to be an interrogative complementiser, just like English *if*, and for clause-final *-e* to be a head of a head-final CP (É. Kiss 2014, Bacskai-Atkari & Dékány 2014), treating clause-internal *-e* as a C head is problematic. Kenesei (1994: 341–342) assumes that as the language changed from underlying SOV to the present-day word order (identified by É. Kiss 2013 as “Top Foc V X”), the C head *-e* changed from a clause-final to a clause-initial position, essentially where Old Hungarian *ha* was located. However, it remains unexplained why *-e* had to undergo lowering: while it is an enclitic and needs to attach to another element, it does not follow automatically that it must be in the I node. Moreover, clause-internal *-e* could co-occur with the clause-initial complementiser *ha* and with the clause-final C *-e*, as shown by (7):<sup>4</sup>

- (7) a. el hozvan a vajtat Macskával próbáltatta **ha** meg eszi é de a  
 off bringing the butter.ACC tried.3SG if PRT eat.INF Q but the cat  
 Macska nem is nyúlt hozzá  
 not too touched.3SG it.ALL  
 ‘Taking the butter, (s)he tried it on a cat to see whether the cat would eat it but the cat did not even touch it.’  
 (Witch Trial 1a; from 1732)
- b. Mínemde elfelethethí-e az aña v kis germöket-e  
 Q off.forget.POSSIB.3SG-Q the mother she small child.POSS.ACC-Q  
 ‘Can the mother forget her small child?’  
 (Nádor Codex 26r; from 1508; example from É. Kiss 2014: 16, ex. 17)

The data in (7) suggest that the clause-internal, verb-adjacent *-e* is not moved from C to I/T but it is base-generated there and can hence lead to doubling patterns in which the interrogative nature of the clause is morphosyntactically marked in two distinct positions. While doubling in (7b) may in principle be interpreted as an instance of multiple spell-out (and hence of head movement), the pattern in (7a) clearly shows that this cannot be the case. Without venturing an analysis for the historical data here, we can conclude that while they certainly indicate that the [wh] property is tied to the CP-layer, the existence of the doubling patterns shows that the position of clause-internal *-e* is not tied to the existence of downward head movement.

Indeed, the C can (and sometimes must) be filled by an overt complementiser *hogy* ‘that’ in Modern Hungarian, too. Taking the examples in (1a) and (1b), this is illustrated in (8):<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Example (7a) is from the Historical Corpus of Private Correspondence (“Történeti Magánéleti Korpusz”).

<sup>5</sup>Similarly to the representation in (5), the verbal particle in (8a) does not stay in the VP but it moves up to a higher position, resulting in a “verbal particle + verb” order, which is surface-identical to the neutral word order found in sentences without an interrogative property or focussing (note that some movement to PredP/TP is still involved, see É. Kiss 2008, though not as high as to where the question particle is located). In (8b), the order is reversed, which clearly indicates that the verb has moved up; in this case, the verbal particle cannot move up because the *wh*-element occupies the relevant position. In section 3, I will identify this projection as FP. The

- (8) a. Nem tudom, **hogy** Emma megérkezik-e.  
not know.1SG Emma PRT.arrives-Q  
'I don't know whether Emma will arrive.'
- b. Nem tudom, **hogy** Emma **mikor** érkezik meg.  
not know.1SG Emma when arrives PRT  
'I don't know when Emma will come.'

As shown, *hogy* is available in embedded constituent questions, thus its appearance in embedded polar questions is not exceptional. Its availability signals that the complementiser in C is non-interrogative, and while a multiple CP is not excluded in itself, there is no evidence for it either: *-e* is not even located in C in the phonological output. For these reasons, while Kenesei (1994) was certainly right in claiming that *-e* is related to the CP, its status as a C head is problematic.

Regarding (iii), Kenesei (1994: 341) relates the question particle to IP/TP because it usually appears as an enclitic to the verb. However, as described by Kenesei (1994: 342), in non-standard dialects the clitic can appear in a higher position, too, as in the following examples:

- (9) a. ... Emma el-e ment  
Emma off-Q went.3SG  
'whether Emma went away.' (Kenesei 1994: 342, ex. 172a)
- b. ... Emma nem-e ment el  
Emma not-Q went.3SG off  
'whether Emma didn't go away' (Kenesei 1994: 342, ex. 172b)
- c. ... nem-e Emma ment el  
not-Q Emma went.3SG off  
'whether it wasn't Emma that went away' (Kenesei 1994: 342, ex. 172c)

As shown, *-e* can be adjacent to the preverbal element or to the negative element *nem*, and in all these cases it appears higher than the verb. Kenesei (1994: 342) argues that if *-e* were base-generated in I/T, there would be no reason for it to move higher; by contrast, if it is generated in C, it can attach to the highest functional head by lowering. However, this option is not available in the standard dialect, where the question arises why the functional head containing the negative element is skipped. The standard pattern with preverbal elements is shown in (1a), while the one with the negative element is shown in (10):

- (10) a. ... Emma nem ment-e el  
Emma not went.3SG-Q off  
'whether Emma didn't go away'
- b. ... nem Emma ment-e el  
not Emma went.3SG-Q off  
'whether it wasn't Emma that went away'

At the same time, multiple spell-out of the particle is possible (in non-standard dialects):

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point is that the order of the verb and the verbal particle is indicative of verb movement only to the extent that the "reverse" order can be achieved only by the verb moving higher up, but the surface-neutral word order in itself does not say anything about the exact position of the verb.

- (11) a. Megkérdeztem mindenkit, nem-e jött-e le papucsban valamiért.  
 PRT.asked.1SG everyone.ACC not-Q came.3SG-Q down slipper.INE for.something  
 ‘I asked everyone if they had come downstairs in slippers for something.’
- b. Megkérdeztem, hogy ki-e jött-e az új lemez.  
 PRT.asked.1SG that out-Q came.3SG-Q the new disc.  
 ‘I asked whether the new disc had already come out.’

The multiple presence of *-e*, with both instances below the CP, presents a problem for the lowering analysis: it is improbable that *-e* would lower twice. Still, Kenesei (1994) rightly points out that if *-e* were base-generated in I/T, it is not clear why it would move up to a higher functional head. Based on these considerations, I suggest that the patterns in (11) indicate that the position of *-e* is neither C nor I/T but a functional head (F) between the two, which is iterable in a similar fashion to CP-iteration.<sup>6</sup> In what follows I am going to describe my analysis involving an FP.

### 3 The FP-analysis

Regarding the position of *-e*, then, there are three major possibilities. First, *-e* may be base-generated in I/T. As shown convincingly by Kenesei (1994), this is not a viable option and *-e* should be related primarily to clause typing and finiteness. Second, *-e* may be a C head, which is what Kenesei (1994) argued for; the relatedness of *-e* to clause typing and finiteness follows naturally. However, as I indicated in the previous section, the lowering of *-e* that must necessarily be postulated to derive the right word order is problematic both from a theoretical and from an empirical perspective. Third, *-e* may occupy a position above the TP but below the CP, and in this case it can be base-generated in a position which is able to host the finite verb in its head. If this projection is tied to the overt marking of [wh], its specifier should be able to host *wh*-elements in constituent questions. The analysis given by Van Craenenbroeck & Lipták (2008) provides a close approximate to this goal, in that they assume *-e* to be the head of a Focus phrase, the specifier of which regularly hosts *wh*-elements, among other focussed XPs.

While a designated FocP is adequate in terms of the relative position of *-e* in the clause, there are three major problems that arise if one ties the availability of *-e* to the notion of structural focus. First, there are instances of polar interrogatives where there is evidently no focussed XP undergoing leftward movement, see (1a), (2), (8) and (10a). Second, the iterability of *-e* presents a further problem, see (11): designated focus phrases do not seem to be iterable otherwise. Third, if *-e* is tied to focussing primarily, the analysis fails to incorporate the important finding of Kenesei (1994) regarding the close relatedness of *-e* with clause typing.

To overcome this, I suggest that the projection hosting *-e* (and *wh*-elements and foci) is not a designated FocP but a more general functional projection, FP, which is primarily related to clause typing and finiteness.<sup>7</sup> The features [wh] and [fin] are copied from C to F, and hence the

<sup>6</sup>Naturally, this does not mean that the CP or the FP is freely iterable; I assume that the number of projections is as minimal as possible and iteration occurs when the inserted elements are lexically underspecified in terms of the features to be encoded, see Bacskai-Atkari (to appear) for German. Further, the notion of iteration serves to indicate a differentiation from cartographic approaches, which also allow multiple CPs, see Rizzi (1997): the analysis proposed here does not assign pre-defined, designated functions to the individual CPs (or FPs).

<sup>7</sup>In this sense, the FP is an underspecified functional projection and it is not a designated projection either for finiteness or focus: the present approach does not seek to conflate a Rizzian FinP and a FocP but it is rather suggested that the projection is less specified than either of these two notions. In this respect the FP is similar to the CP as opposed to a specified ForceP for clause typing and FinP for finiteness; moreover, the CP can also host non-operator material as in focus fronting or German “formal movement” to the first position, see Fanselow

[wh] feature is checked off by an overt element (a *wh*-element or *-e*) in the FP, while the clause type is still ultimately defined by CP.<sup>8</sup> Just like the CP, the FP may be iterated under certain conditions.<sup>9</sup> The representation in (12) shows the schematic structure of the Hungarian clause:

(12) CP\* topics FP\* TP PredP VP

I follow É. Kiss (2008) in assuming that the constituent in [Spec,FP] (her FocP) moves from VP, via moving to [Spec,PredP] and [Spec,TP], whereby the verb moves along into the respective heads. Verb movement occurs generally in finite clauses, not just interrogatives (see also Brody 1990; 1995); I will return to this in the next section. The iterable FP constitutes the lower functional periphery immediately above the TP. The iterable CP constitutes the higher periphery; while the FP is not necessarily generated, the CP is, since the type of the clause is defined here. Optional topics may occur in between the CP and the FP. Note that while the notion of lower peripheries is known in the literature (see Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2001, Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006), the FP assumed here is located above the TP and not in the functional vP-domain proper.

One might wonder why assuming a lower CP instead of FP is not an option, involving a structure reminiscent of the split CP of Rizzi (1997), where topics may appear between the highest and the lowest CPs. This would be problematic for several reasons. While Rizzi (1997) provides examples for topics following a high complementiser and topics preceding a low infinitival marker, there is no evidence for topics appearing between two distinct complementisers, apart from cases of reduplication, see Roberts (2005: 122) and especially quotative reduplication, see González i Planas (2014). The co-occurrence of *hogy* ‘that’ and *-e* in Modern Hungarian can hardly be considered reduplication. The historical pattern where the interrogative *C ha* ‘if’ co-occurred with a clause-internal *-e* is also problematic for a single periphery, since [wh] should be checked off only once in the CP, and there would be no reason to generate a second projection with the same feature. However, if the relevant feature is copied from C to F, the problem does not arise as the CP is not an extension of the FP. Finally, as shown by Lip-ták & Zimmermann (2007), a Hungarian clause may host a *wh*-element clause-internally and a relative operator in the CP, and the *wh*-operator can be extracted without triggering an island violation effect, indicating that the CP is not a landing site for the *wh*-element. Taking all this into account, it is reasonable to assume that the FP is not part of the CP but it constitutes a lower

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(2004), Frey (2005).

<sup>8</sup>Unlike the CP, the FP does not constitute a fully-fledged left periphery: whenever a [wh] feature is present, the FP is generated, and once the FP is generated in a finite clause, [fin] appears there, too; however, other clause-typing features are not associated with this domain (in other words, the FP is not automatically generated in all finite clauses). This presumably has historical reasons. As shown by É. Kiss (2014), the FP emerged to host the focussed element. Since *wh*-elements are inherently focussed, cf. É. Kiss (2002), they evidently landed in the same position in constituent questions: the FP is an optimal position for them because they can fulfill their role in terms of clause-type marking and they appear in a position where they can receive main stress. This pattern was reinterpreted as the FP being responsible for overtly marking [wh] and was hence extended to polar questions, see Bacskai-Atkari (2015). The same did not occur to other clause-typing features since they are not immediately related to the notion of focus. While the feature is present on both C and F, overt marking is restricted to the FP, due to reasons of economy. The [wh] on F is thus necessary for overt marking, while the [wh] on C is necessary because this makes relevant information to be available for matrix predicates selecting for an interrogative complement. Since the FP only inherits certain features from the CP, it does not have any specific features of its own but regarding [wh], this is the only projection in Modern Hungarian where the feature can actually be checked off. Naturally, the FP differs from the TP crucially in that the FP is related to clause typing and finiteness, whereby finiteness only specifies that the clause is tensed and thus a TP is generated, but the actual tense (present vs. past in Hungarian) is encoded by the TP. Further, the FP can appear in non-finite clauses, too, if it has no [fin] feature, see section 4.

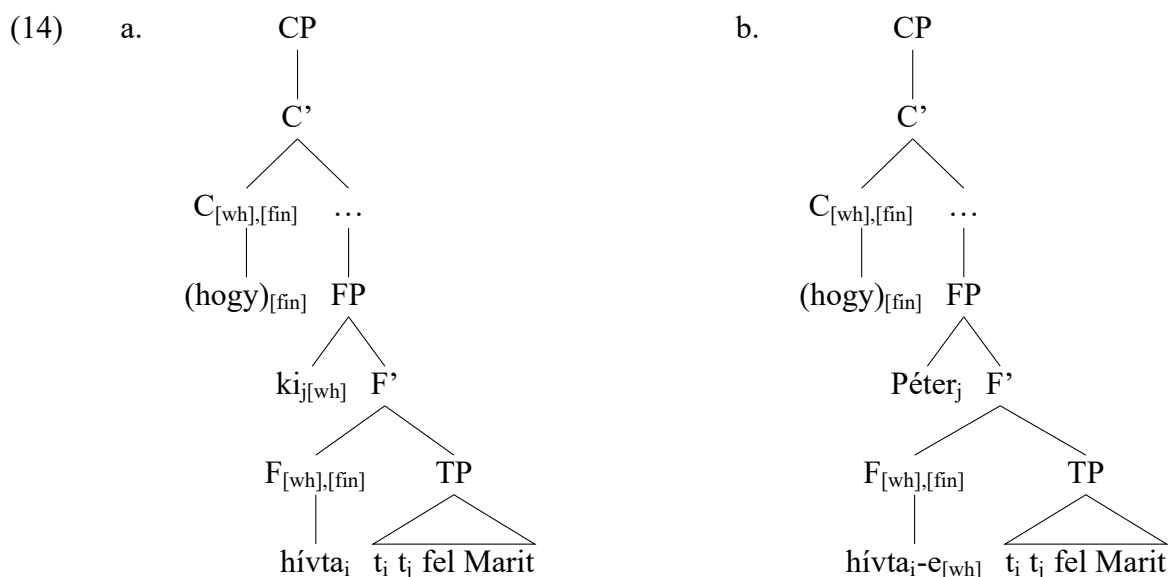
<sup>9</sup>Note that this is compatible with the present proposal that the FP is essentially underspecified: if the FP were tied to a focus interpretation, iteration would not be expected. Empirical data like (11) above, however, strongly suggest that the iteration of the projection should be allowed.

functional periphery.

Consider now the following sentences containing embedded interrogatives:

- (13) a. Azt kérdeztem, (hogy) (tegnap) **ki** hívta fel Marit.  
 that.ACC asked.1SG that yesterday who called.3SG up Mary.ACC  
 ‘I asked who called Mary yesterday’
- b. Azt kérdeztem, (hogy) (tegnap) Péter hívta-e fel Marit.  
 that.ACC asked.1SG that yesterday Peter called.3SG-Q up Mary.ACC  
 ‘I asked if it was Peter who called Mary yesterday.’

Based on what has been said so far, the structure of the subclauses in (13) is shown in (14):



The complementiser *hogy* is in C in both cases and, if inserted, it lexicalises [fin] but it does not check off [wh], which is copied onto F; the presence of the overt complementiser is not obligatory in (13) (it depends on the matrix predicate), indicating that [fin] on C does not have to be lexicalised.<sup>10</sup> In both cases, the finite verb is in F: the [wh] feature is checked off by the *wh*-element in (14a) and by *-e* in (14b); the specifier in (14b) contains the focussed DP.<sup>11</sup> The fact that the preverbal element (*fel* ‘up’) follows the verb is a clear indicator of verb movement, as the neutral underlying word order would be “preverb + verb” (see section 2).

The structures are in line with the original idea of Kenesei (1994), according to which *-e* is related to C: however, instead of postulating the downward movement of *-e*, I assume that the features of C are copied onto F and can be checked off by *-e* (or a *wh*-element) locally, that is, *-e* can be inserted directly into F. The analysis maintains the idea that *-e* is primarily related

<sup>10</sup>The [fin] feature is essentially interpretable on the C head in Hungarian and does not always have to be lexicalised (lexicalisation is due to selectional restrictions imposed by the matrix predicate and/or the relative position of the subclause with respect to the matrix clause, but lexicalisation is not equivalent to feature checking). Further, the C head imposes selectional restrictions on the F head, if an FP is generated, and copying the [fin] feature ensures that no subclause contains a finite CP and a non-finite FP. However, the [fin] feature has to be checked off on the F head because it is uninterpretable on F. Note that I adopt a non-cartographic approach and hence there are no designated projections for every single feature, yet the multiple presence of a single feature on several heads does not imply multiple feature checking.

<sup>11</sup>I cannot discuss the mechanisms underlying focus movement here but I essentially adopt the view of Szendrői (2001) in that this movement operation is ultimately driven by stress, and hence there is no need to postulate a [focus] feature in syntax.

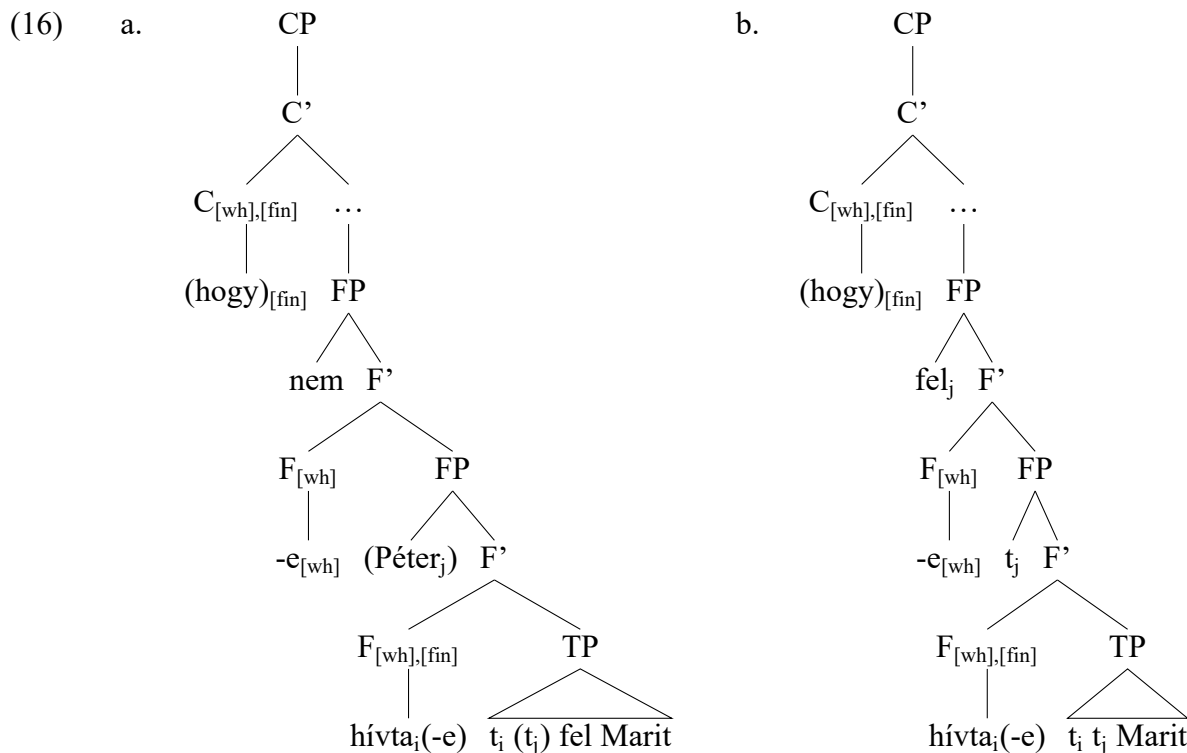


to clause typing, and its relation to focussing is merely secondary (the focussed XP moves to [Spec,FP] due to independent reasons, in non-interrogative clauses as well, see É. Kiss 2008). Finally, its adjacency to the finite verb follows from independent reasons, that is, the regular movement of the verb to F, and it does not have to be supposed that *-e* is located in I/T in any way.

Consider now the non-standard examples in (15), with optional reduplication of the particle:

- (15) a. Azt kérdeztem, hogy nem-**e** Péter hívta(-**e**) fel Marit.  
that.ACC asked.1SG that not-Q Peter called.3SG-Q up Mary.ACC  
'I asked whether it wasn't Peter who called Mary.'
- b. Azt kérdeztem, hogy fel-**e** hívta(-**e**) Marit.  
that.ACC asked.1SG that up called.3SG-Q Mary.ACC  
'I asked whether (s)he had called Mary.'

The relevant structures are given in (16) below:



The FP is iterated and the higher FP hosts an overt polarity marker;<sup>12</sup> *-e* is spelled out in the higher head and optionally in the lower head. The FP is iterable since it is neither tied to the notion of structural focus nor is it assumed that *-e* is in I/T, which could not be iterated either. This sort of doubling is reminiscent of complementiser reduplication in the CP-domain (see Roberts 2005), which does not involve the spellout of lower copies of a movement chain either. Note that there is no reason to believe that *-e* moves from a lower position to F: it is clearly not a predicate or a tense head either, the latter possibility refuted already by Kenesei (1994).

Hence, though *-e* is related to the CP, this happens indirectly, through the FP. While the position of *-e* is the same in embedded and main clauses, its presence is obligatory only in embedded ones: it lexicalises the [wh] property of the clause, which can be obviated in main clause interrogatives by a distinctive intonation, whereby morphosyntactic marking is not necessary.<sup>13</sup>

## 4 Finiteness

The remaining question is how the position of *-e* is related to the fact that it can appear in finite clauses only. As was pointed out in section 1 already, the behaviour of *-e* is parallel with that of English *if* in this respect, as opposed to *whether*: that is, *-e* should be considered a head element (and not an operator, which does not impose restrictions on finiteness). This is borne out correctly by the present analysis, in line with the assumption of Kenesei (1994) who treated the question particle as a functional element, too. That is, the question particle is specified as [fin], just like English *if*, and can only be inserted into an F head that is specified as [fin], too.

<sup>12</sup>The FP is iterated in this case to host the polarity markers (*nem* or the preverbal element); this is not possible since by way of inserting *-e* into the lower F head, there is no active interrogative feature on that F head any more. As shown by Bacskai-Atkari (2015), the element *nem* was reanalysed from a Neg head into an F head in non-standard varieties, which analogically extended this possibility to preverbal elements that can function as polarity markers, too.

<sup>13</sup>The role of prosodic information cannot be examined here; see Prieto & Rigau (2007) for a similar view and an analysis for Catalan interrogatives.

I assume that this lexical specification is necessary in the case of interrogative heads inasmuch as this feature ensures that they are inserted into the functional head (C or F) and not into the specifier, unlike polar operators (such as *whether*) that are inserted into the specifier (and hence do not undergo movement, unlike ordinary *wh*-operators; see Bianchi & Cruschina 2016).

As *-e* is a bound morpheme, the verb moves to F and adjoins it.<sup>14</sup> Exceptions to this can be seen in non-standard varieties in that the verb moves up to the lowest F head but not higher, thus *-e* cliticises onto the element in the specifier of the higher FP. Further, if the TP is elided under the FP, the verb can be elided as well, suggesting that the verb does not move up if the F head contains an ellipsis feature alongside *-e* (see Craenenbroeck & Lipták 2008 on sluicing in Hungarian, following the theory of Merchant 2001).

Yet the question arises why the verb moves up otherwise, that is, when the F head contains no question particle. The movement of the element in the specifier is straightforward: it is either driven by a [wh] feature or the element is focussed and undergoes leftward movement (the reasons for which cannot be discussed here; see É. Kiss 2002; 2008 ad Szendrői 2001). Consider the following examples for finite clauses containing focussed elements with *csak* ‘only’:

- (17) a. \*Csak MARIT felhívtam.  
           only Mary.ACC up.called.1SG  
           ‘I called up ONLY MARY.’
- b. Csak MARIT hívtam fel.  
           only Mary.ACC called.1SG up  
           ‘I called up ONLY MARY.’

The verb has to move up to a focus-adjacent position, that is, to F, as in (17b), otherwise the construction is ungrammatical, see (17a). This certainly applies to finite clauses; however, as pointed out by É. Kiss (2008: 448), it does not hold for non-finite clauses. Consider:

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<sup>14</sup>Note that while lexical verbs are always overt in non-elliptical clauses, the 3rd person present tense copula (either singular or plural) is zero in Hungarian, see Hegedűs (2013: 53–55). Observe:

- (i) Mari magas  $\emptyset$ .  
       Mary tall  
       ‘Mary is tall.’
- (ii) Mari magas volt.  
       Mary tall was.3SG  
       ‘Mary was tall.’

It is reasonable to assume that adjectives, unlike verbs, do not take the subject argument on their own but they need a copula (see É. Kiss 2002: 71–74; Kádár 2011; Hegedűs 2013: 50–53). It follows that there is a zero copula in (i) fulfilling the same role as the overt past tense copula in (ii). In embedded polar interrogatives, *-e* attaches to the copula moving to F:

- (iii) Nem tudom, hogy Mari magas  $\emptyset$ -e.  
       not know.1SG that Mary tall -Q  
       ‘I don’t know if Mary is tall.’
- (iv) Nem tudom, hogy Mari magas volt-e.  
       not know.1SG that Mary tall was.3SG  
       ‘I don’t know if Mary was tall.’

As can be seen in (iv), the copula immediately precedes *-e*, just like lexical verbs do. In (iii), the copula is zero and while *-e* syntactically adjoins the zero copula, it phonologically cliticises on the preceding adjective in PF, just like in elliptical constructions.

- (18) a. Szeretném csak MARIT felhívni.  
 like.COND.1SG only Mary.ACC up.call.INF  
 ‘I would like to call up ONLY MARY.’ (É. Kiss 2008: 448, ex. 20a)
- b. Szeretném csak MARIT hívni fel.  
 like.COND.1SG only Mary.ACC call.INF up  
 ‘I would like to call up ONLY MARY.’ (É. Kiss 2008: 448, ex. 20b)

Since the focussed constituent is available in infinitival clauses as well, the FP is evidently present, and its head can host the verb as well, as in (18b). Still, verb movement is not obligatory, as indicated by the grammaticality of (18a), and this is presumably so because there is no [fin] feature on the F head that should be lexicalised. Unlike in the case of the CP, where a zero finite complementiser can be inserted, there is no zero finiteness marker for the F head: once the F head is generated with a [fin] feature (that is, the feature is copied from the C head), the F head must be filled, which is regularly carried out by verb movement. In other words, the movement of the verb is triggered by [fin], which is uninterpretable on F; note that if no FP is generated (as in “neutral” declarative clauses), the verb stays in T. This is essentially similar to what can be observed with [fin] C heads in German: in main clauses, this feature triggers the movement of the verb to C, rendering surface V2, while in subclauses the C head is regularly filled by some complementiser and the verb is not fronted, rendering surface verb-final clauses.

Naturally, these issues should be examined in more detail in further research, as a full analysis would go well beyond the scope of the present paper. The importance of the data presented in this section for our discussion is that the particular position where *-e* is regularly inserted is related to finiteness not merely by virtue of the question particle being specified as [fin] but by the regular presence of this feature in the particular projection once the FP is generated under a finite CP. While this projection is not CP itself, as assumed by Kenesei (1994), its role regarding clause-typing is likewise crucial and since it can be detected in clause types other than polar interrogatives, it is not an idiosyncratic property of the particular construction either.

## 5 Conclusion

This article examined the position of the Hungarian question particle *-e* and critically reviewed the observations made by Kenesei (1994) regarding its status. In line with Kenesei (1994), I assume that the question particle is a functional head in the left periphery, yet I argued that it is inserted directly into a functional projection, FP, above the TP and does not undergo lowering to adjoin the finite verb. Importantly, Kenesei (1994) showed that the question particle is primarily related to clause typing, and to the marking of [wh] and finiteness in particular, and the present study confirmed that the question particle should occupy a functional projection accordingly, instead of relating it either directly to the I/T or to a designated Focus projection.

The FP is present in other clause types, too, hosting *wh*-elements and foci, and while it is available in non-finite clauses, the [fin] feature is present obviously in finite clauses only. I argued that verb movement to F lexicalises [fin] regularly, and that *-e* is lexically specified as [fin], similarly to interrogative complementisers in other languages. Hence, while *wh*-elements and foci undergoing leftward movement are available in non-finite clauses, as they do not affect the [fin] specification of the F head, the question particle *-e* is restricted to finite clauses, since its insertion into a non-finite clause would involve a clash in the relevant features.

In sum, my analysis proposes some changes to the original account of Kenesei (1994), with the aim of preserving its insights while removing the step of lowering *-e* from C.

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