Introduction

Research Questions
- Which morphological, syntactic, and semantic principles govern the order of Hungarian verbal suffixes?
- Can current theories of head movement account for the observed patterns?

Data Collection
- Adaption of sentences / contexts from the literature and introspection
- Judgements based on the intuition of one native speaker

Basics 1: Hungarian Verbal/Clausal Structure

- Topic-predicate sentence structure (É. Kiss 2002, p. 3)
  \( \text{[ír János-ø] [nev fel-hév-t-a-ø] Mari-t} \)
  “John-NOM up-call:PST-DEF-3SG Mary-ACC
  ‘John called up Mary.’

- No dominant word order: typically SVO with definite objects and SOV with indefinite objects (Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi 1998, p. 73)
- Fixed order of inflectional suffixes (É. Kiss 2002, p. 44, based on Bartos 1999):
  \( a. \text{ V - modality - tense - mood - object agreement - subject agreement} \)
  \( b. \text{ AgrSP AgrO Mood [TF T [mod SP [np V ]]]] } \)
- Low position of inflected verbs (Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi 1998, pp. 74, 112)

- (3) a. Anna-ø gyors-AN olvas-sa a könyv-et.
  Anna-NOM quick-ly read-DEF 3SG DEF book-ACC
  ‘Anna reads the book quickly.’

Observations

- Order of derivational affixes reflects syntactic hierarchy and semantic scope

Syntactic Head Movement + Quantifier Raising at LF

- Successful Generalized Head Movement (triggered by [HM] feature) results in copies of the complex \( V + Mod + T + Mood \) head in all head positions
- Spell-out of the complex head in V (strong diacritic feature)

Quantifier Raising at LF
- head movement (adjunction) of Mod head to Mood head at LF

Advantages
- Movement at LF must not obey syntactic constraints (e.g., the Head Movement Constraint, Travis 1994; the ban on excorporation, Baker 1988)
- Post-syntactic head movement (e.g., amalgamation in Harizanov & Gribovna 2019) cannot account for the observed syntax-semantics mismatch

Conclusion

Syntax-Morphology Mismatch?

Bartos (1999): Merger + Syntactic Head Movement
- Derivation of suffix order: movement of V to the lowest functional head (checking [-finite] feature) + cliticization of remaining morphemes via merger
- Resolution of scope ambiguities: movement of \( V + Mod \) complex into empty Mood head in syntax → syntactic-morphology mismatch

Proposal: Syntactic Head Movement + Quantifier Raising at LF
- Derivation of suffix order: cyclic “roll up” head movement in syntax
- Resolution of scope ambiguity: head movement (adjunction) of Mod head to Mood head at LF → syntactic-morphology mismatch

Various implementations of syntactic head movement as a word formation process (e.g., Julien 2002; Arregi & Pietraszko 2018. To appear)
- Quantifier raising resolves scope ambiguities at the sentence level (May 1977)
- Affix movement at LF proposed to resolve bracketing paradoxes (Pesetsky 1985)
- Syntax-morphology mismatch with deponents re-analyzed as syntax-semantics mismatch (Stump 2007)

Selected References


SinFonIJ A 13 – 13th conference on Syntax, Phonology, and Language Analysis
September 24-26, 2020
Research Institute for Linguistics Budapest, Hungary