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# OVERT AND COVERT SUBJECTS IN HUNGARIAN INFINITIVAL CLAUSES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR RESTRUCTURING

## ABSTRACT

*Focusing on parallels in Hungarian infinitival clauses with subjects in nominative and dative case, the paper argues for a scope-based account of infinitives with nominative subjects complementing earlier proposals in terms of either long-distance agreement or a movement approach to control. One aim of the present paper is comparing the predictions of these two approaches in light of this more extended set of data. The empirical facts also indicate that with a systematic distinction of relationships between heads and phrases the different interpretations of the constructions in question can be explained. The resulting account makes the Hungarian restructuring data more compatible with cross-linguistic accounts of restructuring.*

## KEYWORDS

*backward control; restructuring; infinitives with nominative subjects; Hungarian*

## 1. Three types of subjects in Hungarian infinitival clauses

The present paper focuses on the different types of subject that can appear within a Hungarian infinitival clause and discusses data indicating that the movement-based approach to control, in spite of the problems that it faces, is more successful in accounting for the facts.<sup>1</sup> After the discussion of the two main patterns of Hungarian infinitival constructions, we are turning to a third construction-type described in SZABOLCSI (2005, 2007, 2009a,b), where an infinitival clause contains a nominative subject. In section 2 the paper reconsiders Szabolcsi's data from a wider



position (2). However, since dative case can only be assigned within the infinitival clause, we assume that the dative subject originates in the embedded clause leaving a trace there after movement, thereby excluding an analysis in terms of a PRO subject downstairs.<sup>4</sup>

- (2) a. *Mari-nak<sub>i</sub> nem kell [t<sub>i</sub> úsz-ni(-a)].*  
 Mary-DAT not have.to swim-INF-3SG  
 'Mary does not have to swim.'
- b. [DP<sub>DATi</sub> T<sub>+fin</sub><sub>+φ</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> T<sub>-fin</sub>]]

The third pattern that SZABOLCSI (2005, 2007, 2009a,b) discusses is one where a nominative subject appears within the infinitive. Szabolcsi concludes that the nominative subject must be the subject of the infinitive based on a number of diagnostics, among others the following: *only*-phrases obligatorily occupy a focus position in the left periphery of the clause and, while postverbal focus exists in Hungarian, it is restricted to cases when there is also a preverbal focus present in the clause. In sentence (3) such a preverbal focus is not present, so the *only*-DP must indeed appear in the left periphery of the infinitive. That is, while one might think that the boldfaced string is focus that is post-verbal with regard to the matrix verb, it cannot be the case, because a pre-verbal focus does not appear together with the matrix verb. The constituent in question then must be the pre-verbal focus of the embedded infinitival clause as indicated by the bracketing.

- (3) *Nem akar [csak ő men-ni bus-szal].*  
 not want.3SG only he/she.NOM go-INF bus-with  
 'He/She does not want to be the only one to take the bus.'

Szabolcsi's further arguments for analysing the *only*-DP as the subject of the infinitive come from patterns like (4) where the matrix clause contains a subject of its own and the observation that the subject of the infinitive has to be a pronoun. This sentence also shows quite spectacularly that infinitival clauses can have overt nominative subjects, which is not predicted by standard Case theory. In order to

ence of the inflection triggers the pro-drop of neutral pronominals, as expected. When neither an overt subject nor a visible inflection is present the sentence receives an arbitrary interpretation.

4 A finite inflection equipped with both  $\varphi$ -features and tense can assign nominative case. A verbal projection with only tense features assigns no structural Case in Hungarian (2). Person and number features in the absence of tense-marking go together with dative Case in other Hungarian constructions as well, e.g. within one type of possessive DP:

- (i) *Mari-nak a lány-a*  
 Mari-DAT the girl-3SG  
 'Mary's daughter'

account for the data, Szabolcsi proposes a Multiple Agree analysis with Long Distance Agreement (LDA).

- (4) a. *Senki nem akart [csak ő le-ül-ni].*  
 Nobody.NOM not wanted only he/she.NOM PV-sit-INF  
 ‘Nobody wanted it to be the case that only he/she takes a seat.’
- b. *A fiúk<sub>i</sub> nem akar-nak [csak ő<sub>k</sub> büntetés-t kap-ni].*  
 The boys.NOM not want-3PL only they.NOM punishment-ACC get-INF  
 ‘The boys do not want it to be the case that only they get punished.’

Accounting for the same data BARTOS (2006) offers a backward control analysis. He argues that SZABOLCSI (2005) discards the backward control analysis somewhat hastily showing that Szabolcsi’s arguments are often inconclusive, and proposes a movement-based account following HORNSTEIN (1999) according to which movement boils down to creating multiple copies out of which the highest one is pronounced in standard cases. In control constructions the subject DP of the infinitive is copied onto the matrix clause to be associated with the  $\vartheta$ -role determined by the matrix predicate. The present paper also pursues this path not least because to date it is the Movement Theory of Control (MTC) that has a straightforward way of dealing with what is often described as backward control.

The different ways SZABOLCSI (2005) and BARTOS (2006) account for (3) are shown in (5). BARTOS (2006) assumes multiple copies together with the pronunciation of the lower copy due to the presence of focus in the embedded clause (5a), leading to a deviation from the standard case when it is the highest copy that is pronounced. Szabolcsi proposes Long Distance Agreement (LDA) between the finite T head and the nominative infinitival subject (5b). According to her the T head enters into multiple Agree relations, so the subject of the matrix clause is either an unpronounced *pro* (5b) or a visible, potentially lexical DP (4b) also predicting that the embedded subject has to be a pronoun, a prediction that is not borne out by the data, as we will see in section 2.

- (5) a. *csak-ő nem akar [csak ő men-ni bus-szal]*  
           not want.3SG only he/she.NOM go-INF bus-with
- b. *pro Nem akar [csak ő men-ni bus-szal]*  
       └───┬───┘ └───┬───┘  
           Agree       Agree

The next section introduces additional data that seem to support the movement based approach: this approach predicts that infinitival clauses can contain both pronominal and lexical DPs in the focus position, whereas the LDA-analysis excludes lexical DPs. Admittedly, since the availability of lexical DPs is subject to native speaker variation it may well be the case that we are dealing with two differ-

ent grammars, one relying on LDA, the other deriving the constructions with lexical DPs with a movement-operation. In the latter case the lexical DP can be argued to be the lower copy of the movement chain as proposed by BARTOS (2006).

## 2. Problems for previous proposals

In this section it is pointed out that sentences with dative subjects show the same pattern as the Szabolcsi sentences with nominative subjects. The sentences of this section also show that (at least for some speakers) the embedded nominative infinitival subject can also be a lexical DP. This in itself is a problem for the Szabolcsi analysis. The end of the section discusses further data with dative DPs that originate in the matrix clause but can appear within the infinitive as well, the same way as nominative DPs under a narrow scope interpretation. In this case LDA cannot be at work, which is a further problem for Szabolcsi's approach.

The sentence triplets below with nominative (6) and dative subjects (7) have parallel scope interpretations as indicated on the right side of the data. Scope relationships are determined by whether the overt subject appears in the matrix clause, or the embedded clause. From a Case-theoretical perspective, the presence of a dative subject in the infinitival clause in (7a) is not as surprising as the appearance of a nominative one in (3) and (6a). It is straightforwardly accounted for under the assumption that the source of structural dative case is the infinitival clause: notice the optional person and number agreement on the infinitive in (7), which is convincingly argued to be the dative case assigner in TÓTH (2000) as discussed in connection with the pattern in sentence (2).<sup>5</sup> If the DP in question does not undergo movement to the TopP of the matrix clause, it can simply be assumed to have remained in the infinitival clause.<sup>6</sup>

- (6) a. %Nem akar-nak [csak a fiúk büntetés-t kap-ni].  
not want-3PL only the boys.NOM punishment-ACC get-INF  
'The boys do not want it to be the case that only they are punished.' Neg >> only
- b. Csak a fiúk<sub>i</sub> nem akar-nak [PRO<sub>i</sub> büntetés-t kap-ni].  
only the boys.NOM not want-3PL punishment-ACC get-INF  
'It is only the boys who do not want to be punished.' only >> Neg

5 In these cases the optionality of the inflection on the infinitive is the result of the obligatory overtness of the subject due to focusing, see also fn. 3. In the sentences in (6) the infinitive is always uninflected, as the matrix verb carries both tense and  $\varphi$ -feature specification and hence assigns nominative Case as introduced in the discussion of the pattern of sentence (1) at the beginning of the paper. When the finite verb is  $\varphi$ -complete, it never takes an infinitival clause containing an inflected infinitive.

6 The % sign indicates native speaker variation: whereas the judgements for the other sentences are uniform, (6a) is accepted as grammatical only by a subset of the speakers. The differences in the judgements are the result of having a lexical DP in the sentence. A pronominal nominative DP in the infinitival clause coreferent with a lexical topic DP in the matrix (6c) is uniformly judged as grammatical.

- c. A *fiúk* *nem akar-nak* [*csak ők büntetés-t kap-ni*].  
 the boys.NOM not want-3PL only they.NOM punishment-ACC get-INF  
 ‘The boys do not want it to be the case that only they are punished.’ Neg >> only
- (7) a. *Nem kell* [*csak a fiúknak büntetés-t kap-ni(-uk)*].  
 not have.to only the boys-DAT punishment-ACC get-INF-3PL  
 ‘It is not the case that only the boys have to be punished.’ Neg >> only
- b. *Csak a fiúknak<sub>i</sub> nem kell* [*t<sub>i</sub> büntetés-t kap-ni(-uk)*].  
 only the boys-DAT not have.to punishment-ACC get-INF-3PL  
 ‘It is only the boys who do not have to be punished.’ only >> Neg
- c. *A fiúk-nak nem kell* [*csak nekik büntetés-t kap-ni(-uk)*].  
 the boys-DAT not have.to only them-DAT punishment-ACC get-INF-3PL  
 ‘It is not the case that only the boys have to be punished.’ Neg >> only

To account for the scope differences we can invoke a well-established property of Hungarian: it is known as one of the languages that “wear their LFs on their sleeve”. The sentence pairs in (6) and (7) show this at work, irrespective of the source of case in the sentences. An *only*-phrase obligatorily appears in the left periphery of a Hungarian sentence: in the (a) sentences the *only*-DPs are in the scope of negation, hence they cannot appear in the left periphery of the matrix clause, as the focus position precedes the negator. However, the left periphery of the infinitive is available and this is the position where the *only*-phrase surfaces. In the (b) sentences the *only*-DPs take scope over negation which necessitates a pre-negator position in the matrix clause for both the nominative and the dative DPs. This is not a problem for either of the approaches: the nominative DP is base-generated in the matrix clause anyway according to Szabolcsi, and the dative DP, which is base-generated in the infinitival clause, can undergo scope-driven A-bar movement to the matrix clause, not a problem for the Szabolcsi-analysis either. Importantly, however, in (6a) there is a lexical DP subject in the infinitival clause, which is neither predicted, nor accounted for by Szabolcsi’s analysis: if the nominative subject is base-generated in the matrix clause and (in the typical case) controls a PRO, the prediction is that the DP appearing in the infinitive (when information structure considerations require an overt nominal) has to be a pronoun. In Szabolcsi’s analysis only (6c) is predicted to be grammatical.

Szabolcsi’s account, as noted by Szabolcsi herself, fails to capture an important aspect of the constructions: the relevant constituents that can appear in the left periphery of the infinitival clause depending on interpretation, all target the left-peripheral positions of the clause (besides *only*-phrases (6), we can also have *too*-phrases and simple *only*-less lexical DPs with obligatory focus stress as nominative subjects of infinitives), which should not be left an unexplained, accidental property of the constructions in question.



Let us summarize what we have seen so far: the difference between the two Hungarian structures, one with nominative, the other with dative DP(s), is only in where the subject DP is assigned case. If the dative subject is the subject of the infinitive, the word order facts are less problematic. When the subject is assigned (nominative) case in the finite clause the following question arises: what happens in a language that “wears its LF on its sleeve” when LF requires the subject to be interpreted in the lower clause? There are two ways of expressing focus in Hungarian: (i) the most natural way is making the focused constituent appear in the focus position of Hungarian, which is the position directly preceding the verb, or (ii) leaving it in situ with focus stress assigned to it. Both operations require overt material: the DP has to be spelled out.

An *only*-phrase in Hungarian can only appear in a FocP (as opposed to e.g. Portuguese, where it can also surface in a postverbal position (BARBOSA forth.)). When the *only*-DP is assigned dative case within the infinitival clause, all we need is moving it to the focus position of the infinitive, or, depending on interpretation, further on to the matrix clause. But what happens when we are dealing with a construction like (6), where the lexical DP is assigned nominative case in the matrix clause and it is associated with an empty category in the infinitive? If it is the matrix DP that carries the focus feature, no problem arises, it is spelled out in the left periphery of the finite clause (6b). But if the focus feature is associated with the zero subject of the infinitive, the operation is less straightforward, in several languages such constructions do not even have a well-formed spell-out. Hungarian has two options subject to speaker-variation: one with a lexical topic DP in the matrix clause and an obligatorily coreferent pronoun in the infinitival embedded clause (6c), grammatical for all the speakers. The other pattern, the one with a lexical DP focus in the infinitive (6a), is accepted only by a subset of the speakers.

There are different accounts of control on the market, now let us consider two of the mainstream approaches in line with Minimalist assumptions: one is in terms of a PRO (understood as a minimal pronoun, in recent work understood as a  $\lambda$ -abstractor) constituent controlled by a matrix argument as the empty category of the infinitival clause (e.g. LANDAU 2004, 2013, 2015), the other, the movement theory of control, assumes a trace/copy left after theta-driven movement, which results in creating a chain with two theta-roles (BOECKX ET AL. 2010, HORNSTEIN 1999) for a comprehensive discussion of the different approaches see also DAVIES – DUBINSKY (2007). While identifying the conditions for when and especially how to pronounce a PRO c-commanding its controller is not without serious problems, the movement theory of control offers a more straightforward answer to the problem raised by the need to pronounce a DP in the lower clause. Under the copy theory of movement lower copies can also be pronounced if the need arises. Following BARTOS (2006) I assume this to be the case in the constructions under discussion. The difference between BARTOS (2006) and the present proposal is my emphasis

on the need to distinguish clear cases of control and control interacting with the left periphery (which backward control often turns out to be). In order to account for the data with overt subjects in both clauses Bartos's account needs to be complemented by a mechanism accounting for the doubling of constituents, such as the big DP account of BELLETTI (2005). For reasons of space I cannot consider the different accounts of dependencies between DPs here, for a more detailed proposal concerning the Hungarian data see SZÉCSÉNYI (2017).

The construction that turns out to be especially problematic for the LDA proposal is the one in (8b) suggested by den DIKKEN (p.c). It contains a dative DP that is not associated with the infinitival clause as shown by the ungrammaticality of inflected infinitival forms.<sup>7</sup>

- (8) a. *Csak nek-em nem áll szándék-om-ban bus-szal men-ni/\*-nem.*  
 only I-DAT not stand intention-my-in bus-with go-INF/INF.1SG  
 'It is only me who does not intend to go by bus.'
- b. *Nem áll szándék-om-ban csak nek-em bus-szal men-ni/\*nem.*  
 not stand intention-my-in only I-DAT bus-with go-INF/INF.1SG  
 'It is not my intention for it to be the case that only I go by bus.'

Importantly, there is no Agree relationship between the T-head and the dative DP of the matrix clause, it holds between the dative DP and the possessive DP that is marked for person and number.<sup>8</sup> The matrix T, similarly to the pattern in (2) with the inflected infinitive, is defective, it has no  $\phi$ -features, and it carries only tense information. Person and number in this case, as opposed to (2), where it appears on the infinitive, is expressed within the matrix clause, on the possessive nominal *szándékomban* 'in my intention'. This is what rules out person and number marking appearing on the infinitive in the sentences in (8): Agree holds between the dative DP and the possessive DP in the matrix clause, and not between the dative DP and the infinitive, even in (8b), where the dative DP ends up in the infinitival clause due to LF-considerations. The problem is exactly the same as the problem related to the nominative parallels.<sup>9</sup>

7 Dative case comes from the possessive environment in the matrix clause as indicated in the glosses.

8 Notice the parallels in the two patterns of dative case assignment: in both the inflected infinitive and the possessive constructions, the source of dative case is person and number marking. Indeed, the inflected infinitive and the possessive paradigms are almost identical in Hungarian:

- (i) a. *kutya: kutyá-m kutyá-d kutyá-ja kutyá-nk kutyá-tok kutyá-juk*  
 dog dog-POSS.1SG dog-POSS.2SG dog-POSS.3SG dog-POSS.1PL dog-POSS.2PL dog-POSS.3PL  
 b. *olvas-ni: olvas-n-om olvas-n-od olvas-ni-a olvas-n-unk olvas-n-otok olvas-ni-uk*  
 read-INF read-INF-1SG read-INF-2SG read-INF-3SG read-INF-1PL read-INF-2PL read-INF-3PL

9 Actually, it may be worse. While a featural dependency is established relatively easily in the nominative case, it seems much harder to get in these possessive patterns. A reviewer notes that this type of dative pattern is equally problematic for the movement approach. I can see a potential escape hatch in

Again, in spite of the differences, we find that different word orders can be used to reflect the by now expected differences in scope interpretation. If possible, we would like to account for the data in a similar vein. Again, the movement theory of control offers a more reliable tool: which DP gets spelled out is contingent on the scope interpretation of the sentence. Notice that in (8b), dative case cannot be licensed by either the matrix T or the possessive nominal, as (i) the matrix T is not in an Agree relationship with the dative DP, and (ii) the possessive noun marked for the person and number features and the dative DP agreeing with it are not in a c-command relationship. This leads to the conclusion that the phenomenon is not contingent on Agree with matrix T, and, as a result, the LDA account cannot cover all the relevant cases.

Taking a very brief cross-linguistic perspective, it is often observed that similar constructions can be found in languages that have been argued to allow backward control, such as Korean, Malagasy, Greek, or Romanian, where the variation between forward and backward control probably reflects different topic-focus articulations (for references and more data see LANDAU 2013, 102). The shared property of these constructions relevant for our present purposes is that control interacts with typical left peripheral processes. If this turns out to be true, these cases are not clear instances of backward control, but rather control cases interacting with scope and/or information structure. To show one example we can quote the Korean data in (9) from LANDAU (2013). LANDAU (2013, 119) points out that in the Korean example “the reflexive examples differ from the PRO-examples in that they carry an exhaustive focus interpretation for the controlled subject”. Other examples parallel to the Hungarian data are discussed in SZABOLCSI (2009b).

- (9) *Inho-ka Jwuhi-eykey PRO<sub>j/i</sub> /caki<sub>j/i</sub>-ka cip-ey ka-la-ko mal-ha-yess-la.*  
 Inho-NOM Jwuhi-DAT self-NOM home-LOC go-IMP-C tell-do-PST-DC  
 ‘Inho told Jwuhi to go home.’ (LANDAU 2013, 118(209))

### 3. Control and the left periphery: the proposal

In light of the data discussed so far my proposal is the following: in the constructions in question a biclausal structure needs to be projected with the infinitive also projecting a left periphery, which has been argued for on independent grounds for Hungarian infinitival clauses (KOMLÓSY 1992, DALMI 2005, SZÉCSÉNYI 2009a,b).<sup>10</sup>

the fact that dative possessors of Hungarian possessive constructions (as opposed to possessors with unmarked/caseless/nominative DPs depending on the approach we take) are those DPs that can actually undergo movement out of a possessive DP. The details of this part of the proposal still need to be worked out, but if it turns out to be right it can serve as a strong argument for the movement based approach.

<sup>10</sup> The general observation concerning the peripheries of finite and infinitival clauses is that

After the projection of this biclausal structure, the subject of the infinitive moves to the matrix clause if necessary. This movement in general is possible out of complement clauses in Hungarian leading to important questions concerning restructuring and clause size, namely whether WURMBRAND (2001, 2015) is right in claiming that restructuring only affects clauses smaller than CPs (see section 4 for a more detailed discussion of restructuring). Importantly, however, similar movement operations are unattested in adjunct infinitives,<sup>11</sup> such as purpose clauses (10), irrespective of the difference between lexical DPs and pronouns.<sup>12</sup>

- (10) a. *Péter el-ment a bolt-ba [PRO kenyér-et ven-ni].*  
Peter.NOM PV-went the shop-to bread-ACC buy-INF  
'Peter went to the shop to buy bread.'
- b. *Csak Péter ment el a bolt-ba [PRO kenyér-et ven-ni].*  
only Peter.NOM went PV the shop-to bread-ACC buy-INF  
'Only Peter went to the shop to buy bread.'
- c. *\*El-ment a bolt-ba csak Péter/csak ő kenyér-et ven-ni].*  
away-went the shop-to only Peter/only he.NOM bread-ACC buy-INF  
intended: 'Peter went to the shop so that he be the only one to buy bread.'

The trigger for movement can have different sources depending on the construction in question:

(i) when the subject DP is nominative: according to the Movement Theory of Control the infinitival clause does not contain a big PRO. It is the lexical DP that is base generated there, which then undergoes  $\mathcal{D}$ -driven A-movement to the higher clause where the predicate can assign its respective theta-role to it.<sup>13</sup> This way the moved DP is assigned nominative Case by a  $\phi$ -complete T head. If necessary, the DP can move on to the left peripheral projections of the matrix clause;

(ii) when the DP is assigned (dative) Case in the infinitival clause it potentially undergoes (A-bar)-movement to the left periphery of the infinitival or the matrix clause for information structure considerations.

The main difference between the two cases is that the nominative DP always undergoes A-movement to the matrix clause, while the only way for the dative DP of the infinitival clause to end up in the matrix clause is via A-bar movement. What follows this is scope and information structure driven spell-out. In both cases,

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constituents of the infinitival clause typically appear in the left periphery of their selecting clauses. We tend to find left peripheral elements in infinitival clauses when something (such as scope considerations) forces the appearance of a constituent there.

11 I am grateful to one of my reviewers for raising this question.

12 The reason for the different order of the preverb and the verb in (10) is focusing. Foci appear in the position directly preceding the verb in Hungarian, in such cases even the preverb becomes postverbal.

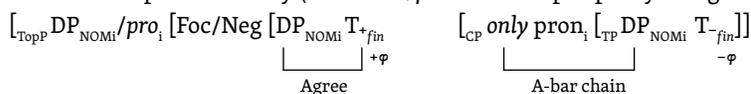
13 For an extensive discussion of theta-driven movement see BOECKX ET AL. (2010).



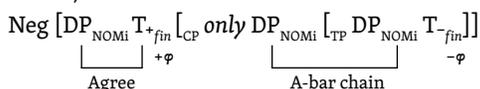
Again, Agree, while crucial in case assignment, has no role in determining which copy or copies become overt. The restriction on the pronominal form in the infinitival clause is due to the presence of a *pro* in the matrix clause, it follows from simple binding considerations: an R-expression cannot be bound, a lexical DP would be bound by the *pro* or overt DP subject of the matrix clause. If the subject of the matrix clause is lexical, it can be pronounced, potentially resulting in two nominative DPs, one in the finite clause, one in the infinitival one, with different information structure content (6c): e.g. topic in the matrix clause and focus in the embedded one.<sup>15</sup> Predictably, the infinitival subject has to be pronominal in this case as well to avoid a Principle C-violation.

Infinitives with nominative *only*-subject DPs:

(12) a. Version with pronouns only (lexical DP/*pro* in the left periphery of higher clause):



b. Version with lexical DPs (no lexical DP or *pro* in the left periphery of the higher clause):



To explain why an overt lexical DP is allowed in the infinitive in this case I propose that in this variety movement to the matrix clause is solely for theta reasons, and it is not followed by subsequent movement to any of the left peripheral positions of the matrix clause. The DP is in a left peripheral position within the infinitival clause, this is what leads to the pronunciation of the lower copy due to scope considerations. The extra assumption needed to account for the facts is that movement only for theta reasons does not induce binding principle violations. This is the difference between (12a) and (12b), which seems to be subject to speaker variation as indicated by the % symbol in (6a) and (13) below. For speakers who judge the lexical DP in the infinitive as ungrammatical, an empty topical *pro* can be assumed to be present in all the cases. Some support for this is provided by the observation that the grammaticality of this pattern improves substantially when the sentence is introduced by a frame-setting adverbial such as *szerintem* ‘in my opinion’. The number

15 It is also possible to have the DPs as foci in both of the clauses:

(i) *Csak Péter<sub>i</sub> szeretne csak ő<sub>i</sub> nyer-ni.*  
 only Peter would.like only he.NOM win-INF  
 ‘Only Peter would like it to be the case that only he wins.’

of speakers who accept sentence (13) as grammatical is higher than those accepting (6a), but there are still speakers rejecting (13) as well.

- (13) %*Szerintem nem akar-nak [csak a fiúk büntetést kap-ni].*  
 in.my.opinion not want-3PL only the boys.NOM punishment get-INF  
 ‘In my opinion, the boys do not want it to be the case that only they are punished.’

## 4. A correlation with restructuring

This section of the paper discusses questions that concern restructuring in Hungarian. In the previous sections we have seen that it is possible for a constituent to cross an infinitival CP-boundary in Hungarian. This in itself raises restructuring-related problems: in the literature on restructuring it is clauses smaller than CPs that are claimed to allow restructuring (WURMBRAND 2001, 2015).

While it is true that boundaries of certain infinitival CPs can be crossed in Hungarian, it is by no means the case that Hungarian infinitival complement clauses behave in a uniform manner in this respect. Szabolcsi discards an account of the nominative infinitival subject data in terms of restructuring claiming that non-restructuring verbs can also have such subjects. However, in the case of Hungarian, it is not obvious where restructuring happens and where it does not. In the next paragraphs we discuss some further transparency phenomena in sentences with infinitival complementation and conclude that certain restructuring diagnostics can be misleading.

As we have seen, infinitival clauses in Hungarian are CPs with their own left peripheries, but the most natural position for a constituent is in the left periphery of the main clause, even when the constituent in question belongs to the infinitive. As a result, a sentence like (14), with a matrix focus that can be understood either as a constituent of the matrix or the embedded clause, is ambiguous between a reading where the focused constituent, in our case *holnap* ‘tomorrow’, is understood as either referring to the infinitive, meeting Mary (actually the dominant interpretation), or as modifying the matrix verb, *szeretne* ‘would.like’. Sentences containing non-restructuring verbs are not ambiguous this way.

- (14) *Péter HOLNAP szeretne találko-z-ni Mari-val.*  
 Peter.NOM tomorrow would.like meet-INF Mary-with  
 ‘Peter would like to meet Mary tomorrow.’

Predictably then, when scope considerations do not force our *only*-phrases to stay within the infinitival clause, they can also surface in the focus position of the main clause, resulting in an ambiguous sentence. (15a) can be interpreted either as

expressing that (i) it is only the boys who would like to party in the evening or as (ii) the boys would like it to be the case that only they party in the evening. (15b) is a disambiguated sentence.

- (15) a. *Csak a fiúk szeretné-nek este buliz-ni.*  
 only the boys.NOM would.like-3PL evening party-INF  
 only the boys > would like, would like > only the boys
- b. *A fiúk szeretné-nek csak ők bulizni este.*  
 the boys.NOM would.like-3PL only they.NOM party-INF evening  
 \*only they > would like, would like > only they

The observation of the present paper relevant for the description of restructuring is the contrast between (15) and (16). In Hungarian, non-restructuring verbs also seem to be transparent for a number of phenomena, and it is hard to find reliable tests that separate restructuring verbs from non-restructuring ones. The sentences in (16) contain a spectacularly non-restructuring verb: all verbs with a preverb/verbal modifier belong to that group. Crosslinguistically non-restructuring verbs like *utál* 'hate' behave the same way.

- (16) a. *Csak a fiúk felejtettek el korábban kel-ni.*  
 only the boys.NOM forgot PV earlier get.up-INF  
 'Only the boys forgot to get up earlier.'  
 only the boys > forgot, \*forgot > only the boys
- b. *A fiúk el-felejtettek csak ők korábban kelni.*  
 the boys.NOM PV-forgot only they.NOM earlier get.up-INF  
 'The boys forgot to be the only ones who get up earlier.'  
 \*only they > forgot, forgot > only they

The weird situation that non-restructuring verbs find themselves in is the following: they can have an overt nominative subject in their infinitival complement (16b), but the clauses are not transparent enough to allow for the ambiguity that we find in the case of restructuring. This contrasts with the behaviour of restructuring verbs, which can also have an overt nominative subject, but, when not in the scope of an operator, this subject can also surface in the respective left peripheral position of the matrix clause leading to ambiguity. Interestingly, the lack of ambiguity characterizes exactly that group of verbs that do not allow preverb climbing/verbal complex formation either (den Dikken, p.c), one of the very few diagnostics that reliably separate restructuring verbs from non-restructuring ones in Hungarian. In (17a) we can see restructuring verbs that obligatory trigger preverb-climbing in neutral sentences to avoid appearing in a position with stress. The verb *utál* 'hate', as stated before, is a non-restructuring verb cross-linguistically, and behaves on

a par with *el-felejt* ‘forget’, this is what we can see in (17b). The explanation for the lack of preverb-climbing with verbs that already have a preverb is simple: the presence of the verb’s own preverb. Though in the case of *utál* ‘hate’ it is harder to argue for a more complex verbal structure than in the case of verbs with preverbs, accounts of restructuring often claim that the difference between restructuring and non-restructuring patterns is related to a difference in the internal structure of the verb.

- (17) a. Péter ki akar/szeretne men-ni.  
 Peter out.PV wants/would.like go-INF  
 ‘Peter wants/would like to go out.’  
 b. \*Péter ki utál/el-felejtett men-ni.  
 Peter out.PV hates/PV-forgot go-INF

The contrast observed can be accounted for once a systematic distinction is made between syntactic processes between heads and syntactic processes affecting phrases under the assumption that verbal modifiers are phrase-sized constituents as argued by e. g. KOOPMAN – SZABOLCSI (1999). Agree between Tense and DP is a process affecting the T head and the D head of a nominal expression. Following RACKOWSKI – RICHARDS (2005) and DEN DIKKEN (to appear) we can account for the more general transparency phenomena between clauses in Hungarian under the assumption that a subordinate domain is transparent if it is an Agree goal. Hungarian verbs agree with the definiteness feature of their DP objects (18), and there is a systematic distinction between the definite and indefinite agreement paradigm even when the object is clausal in nature (19). Irrespective of whether Hungarian subordinate clauses are finite or non-finite, they are Agree goals: if the subordinate clause is finite it shows definite agreement with the selecting head (19a), if it is non-finite it shows indefinite agreement as a default (19b).<sup>16</sup>

- (18) a. *El-felejt-ett-ed* a cím-ünk-et.  
 PV-forget-PST-2SG.DEF the address-1PL.POSS-ACC  
 ‘You forgot our address.’  
 b. *El-felejt-ett-él* egy fontos kérdés-t.  
 PV-forget-PST-2SG.INDEF an important question-ACC  
 ‘You forgot about an important question.’
- (19) a. *El-felejt-ett-ed* hogy találkozt-ál Mari-val.  
 PV-forget-PST-2SG.DEF that meet-PST-2SG Mary-with  
 ‘You forgot that you had met Mary.’

16 The data presented here are to a large extent simplified. For more details concerning definiteness agreement in Hungarian infinitival clauses see SZÉCSÉNYI – SZÉCSÉNYI (2016).

- b. *El-felejt-ett-él*                      *találkoz-ni*              *Mari-val.*  
 PV-forget-PST-2SG.INDEF      meet-INF              Mary-with  
 ‘You forgot to meet Mary.’

Since there are relatively few languages where the verb shows agreement with its object, this kind of agreement is made overt very rarely. At this point there are two different paths that we can take when we account for restructuring phenomena: (i) we can extend restructuring to cover all cases of Agree-based transparency and allow for a potentially very large number of constructions where restructuring has no visible reflex; (ii) we can systematically separate transparency phenomena that are based on relationships between heads and those that hold between phrases. Since what are called restructuring and non-restructuring verbs cross-linguistically do behave differently in a number of respects, and the extension could result in the loss of important generalizations, the phrase-based account seems to be more convenient at first sight, with the proviso that “unexpected verbs” can also show transparency effects in certain languages following from specific syntactic relationships between heads, such as definiteness agreement with the object in the case of Hungarian. We might, however, not want to make our choices based on mere convenience, in which case the more abstract option is preferable, and more work needs to be done in filtering out the patterns of intervention affecting phrase-sized constituents. This way we can also derive what is claimed in WURMBRAND (2014) as opposed to earlier works, namely that CPs can also undergo restructuring, something that has been argued for based on e.g. Hungarian data, but HINTERHÖLZL (2006) makes similar claims for German as well. With the consistent distinction between head- and phrase-driven operations proposed in the present paper the conditions for restructuring can be further refined: restructuring can take place both when the clause is smaller than a CP and when it is CP-sized. In the latter case the relevant condition for restructuring is that the clause serves as an Agree goal and the further restrictions are predicted to be the result of intervention effects affecting phrases.

## 5. Conclusion

With the help of an extended set of data the paper has shown that multiple Agree and long distance agreement alone cannot account for the properties of infinitival clauses surfacing with nominative subjects and argued for a movement approach with a more central role for left peripheral features. The paper has also pointed out the need for a systematic distinction between transparency phenomena based on relationships between heads and phrases based on Hungarian sentences where infinitival clauses can have nominative subjects of their own. The result is not

only a more straightforward account of the interpretations of these sentences, but a more successful integration of Hungarian restructuring data into cross-linguistic accounts of restructuring.

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