

# WHAT GOVERNS THE DISTRIBUTION OF POSTVERBAL ADVERBS AND PP-ADVERBIALS IN FLEXIBLY VERB-FINAL LANGUAGES?

Lena Borise<sup>1</sup>, Andreas Pregla<sup>2</sup> & Balázs Surányi<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>LLF, CNRS & Université Paris Cité

<sup>2</sup>University of Potsdam, SFB 1287

<sup>3</sup>HUN-REN Research Centre for Linguistics & Pázmány Péter Catholic University

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## BACKGROUND: PRE- AND POSTVERBAL PPs IN DUTCH (NEELEMAN 2017)

(1) a. **321V**

dat hij [door een stuurfout]<sub>3</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [op het hek]<sub>1</sub> strandde  
that he by a steering-error with a bang on the fence got.stuck  
'that he got stuck on the fence with a bang because he made a steering error'

b. **V123**

dat hij strandde [op het hek]<sub>1</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [door een stuurfout]<sub>3</sub>  
that he got.stuck on the fence with a bang by a steering-error

c. **\*V321**

\*dat hij strandde [door een stuurfout]<sub>3</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [op het hek]<sub>1</sub>  
that he got.stuck by a steering-error with a bang on the fence

d. **V<sub>2</sub>321**

Hij strandde [door een stuurfout]<sub>3</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [op het hek]<sub>1</sub>  
he got.stuck by a steering-error with a bang on the fence

## Factual

What patterns of multiple postverbal adverbs and PPs do we find in flexibly verb-final languages?

## Analytical

How is the workload distributed between syntax and prosody in accounting for these patterns?

## Big-picture

What do these results tell us about the possible kinds of non-syntactic displacement?

## PREVIEW OF THE RESULTS

### Udmurt

PP-merger is not symmetric, only leftward, and free verb movement challenges the marked status of head movement.

### Hungarian

The availability and neutral status of every logically possible word order suggests a non-syntactic derivation.

### Basque (Bizkaian and Navarrese)

The distribution of postverbal adverbials questions the standard analyses of Basque and calls for PF involvement.

# ROADMAP

- 1 Background: The symmetric U20-based approach (SUBA)
- 2 Udmurt free verb movement
- 3 Hungarian radically free word order
- 4 (Dialectal) Basque adverbial patterns
- 5 Conclusion
- 6 Bigger picture: consequences for the syntax-prosody interface

## Background: The symmetric U20-based approach (SUBA)

# UNIVERSAL 20 PATTERN (ABELS 2016, CINQUE 2009, NEELEMAN 2015)

pre-head	post-head
ZP YP X	X ZP YP
YP ZP X	X YP ZP



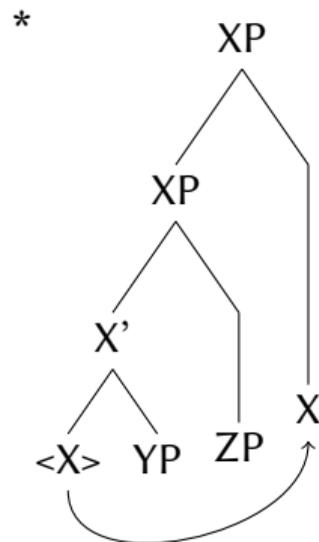
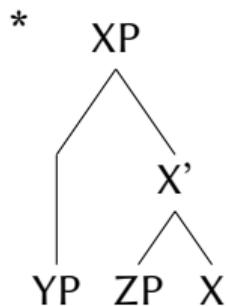
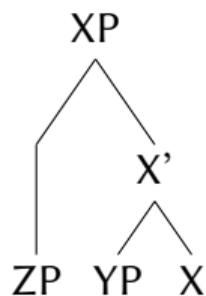
more freedom behind the head than in front of the head  
true for N and V as heads (Abels 2016, Abels & Neeleman 2012, Neeleman 2017)

# AD NEELEMAN'S AND KLAUS ABELS' EXPLANATION OF THE PATTERN

- (A) The axioms of the Symmetric U20-based approach (SUBA), advanced in Abels (2016), Abels & Neeleman (2012), Neeleman (2015, 2017)
- I. There are **independent** merger hierarchies. The order of merge is only restrained within each merger hierarchy.
  - II. Merge is **symmetric**. Structure building can take place to the left and to the right.
  - III. Neutral orders are **base-generated** or derived by  **$X^+$ -movement**.
  - IV.  $X^+$ -movement is **asymmetric**: it must be leftward.

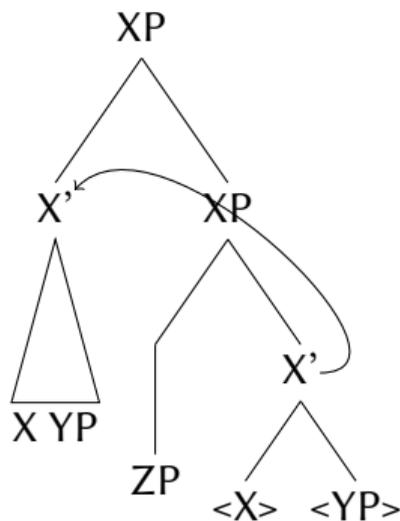
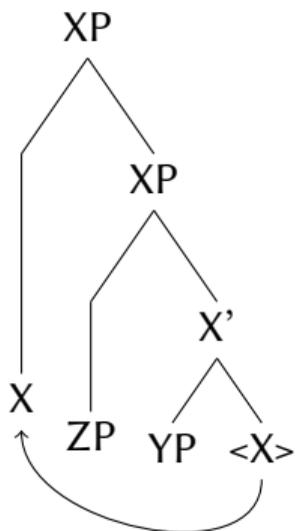
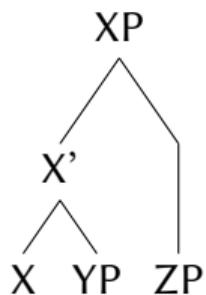
# ONLY ONE ORDER BEFORE THE HEAD

Leftward merge | Merge hierarchy violation | Rightward head movement



## MORE ORDERS BEHIND THE HEAD

Rightward merge | Leftward X movement | Symmetric Merge + Leftward X<sup>+</sup>-movement



## THREE DEPENDENTS: DUTCH PP-OVER-V

- only mirror-image orders without V movement (V2)  $\Rightarrow$  symmetric merge

(2) a. **321V**

dat hij [door een sturfout]<sub>3</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [op het hek]<sub>1</sub> strandde  
that he by a steering-error with a bang on the fence got.stuck  
'that he got stuck on the fence with a bang because he made a steering error'

b. **V123**

dat hij strandde [op het hek]<sub>1</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [door een sturfout]<sub>3</sub>  
that he got.stuck on the fence with a bang by a steering-error

c. **\*V321**

\*dat hij strandde [door een sturfout]<sub>3</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [op het hek]<sub>1</sub>  
that he got.stuck by a steering-error with a bang on the fence

## THREE DEPENDENTS: DUTCH PP-OVER-V

- more, but not all, postverbal orders with V movement  
⇒ symmetric merge + V movement (no  $V^+$ -movement; only to highest position)

(3) a. [ V ... [ 3 [ 2 [ 1 <V> ] ] ] ]

Hij **strandde** [door een stuurfout]<sub>3</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub> [op het hek]<sub>1</sub>  
he got.stuck by a steering-error with a bang on the fence

b. [ V ... [ 3 [ [ <V> 1 ] 2 ] ] ]

Hij **strandde** [door een stuurfout]<sub>3</sub> [op het hek]<sub>1</sub> [met een knal]<sub>2</sub>  
he got.stuck by a steering-error on the fence with a bang

## FULL PP-OVER-V PATTERN (NEELEMAN 2017)

	I	II	III	IV
a.	PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> V	V PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>3</sub>	V PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>1</sub>	PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> V
b.	PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> V PP <sub>1</sub>	PP <sub>1</sub> V PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>3</sub>	PP <sub>3</sub> V PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>1</sub>	PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> V PP <sub>3</sub>
c.	PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> V PP <sub>2</sub>	PP <sub>2</sub> V PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>3</sub>	PP <sub>1</sub> V PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>2</sub>	PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> V PP <sub>1</sub>
d.	PP <sub>3</sub> V PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>2</sub>	PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> V PP <sub>3</sub>	V PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>3</sub>	PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> V
e.	PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>2</sub> V	V PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>1</sub>	V PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>2</sub>	PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> V
f.	PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> V PP <sub>2</sub>	PP <sub>2</sub> V PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>1</sub>	V PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>2</sub>	PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>3</sub> PP <sub>1</sub> V



**But: we are missing cross-linguistic insights outside of DEM-NUM-A-N**

# CROSS-LINGUISTIC SUBA

- **Udmurt:** SUBA works, but raises general questions regarding the directionality of merge and the freedom of head movement.
- **Hungarian:** SUBA doesn't work, but the data are also problematic for alternative syntactic approaches.
- **Basque:** SUBA works depending on further analytical choices, but some data patterns point towards non-syntactic solutions.

# Udmurt

# NO MIRROR IMAGE EFFECTS IN UDMURT WITH PPs

(4) Standard Udmurt (colloquial; elicited; Svetlana Edygarova, p.c.)

a. **Udmurt neutral order of PPs: 2 – 1**

Mon <vetli>      Mašajen<sub>2</sub> <vetli> arñapumjñ<sub>2</sub> <vetli> řuleskj<sub>1</sub> <vetli>.  
1SG go:PST[1SG] Masha:INS                      weekend:IN                      forest:ILL

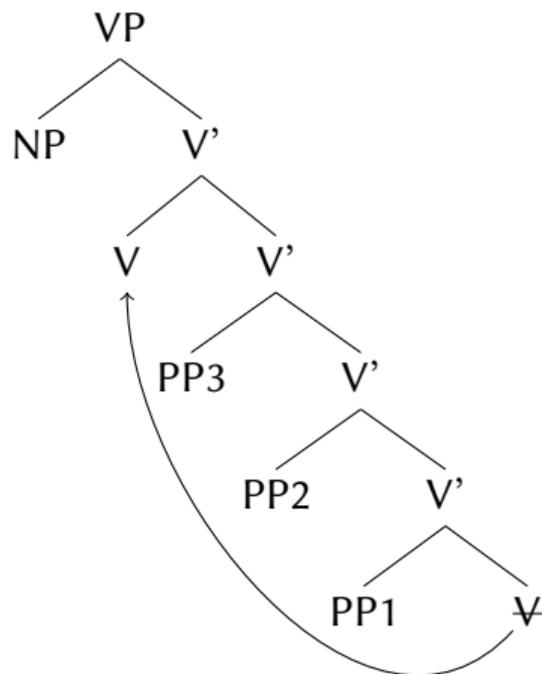
‘I went into the forest with Masha on the weekend.’

b. **Udmurt marked order of PPs: 1 – 2**

# Mon <vetli>      Mašajen<sub>2</sub> <vetli> řuleskj<sub>1</sub> <vetli> arñapumjñ<sub>2</sub> <vetli>.  
1SG go:PST[1SG] Masha:INS                      forest:ILL                      weekend:IN

‘I went into the forest with Masha ON THE WEEKEND.’

# UDMURT VERB MOVEMENT

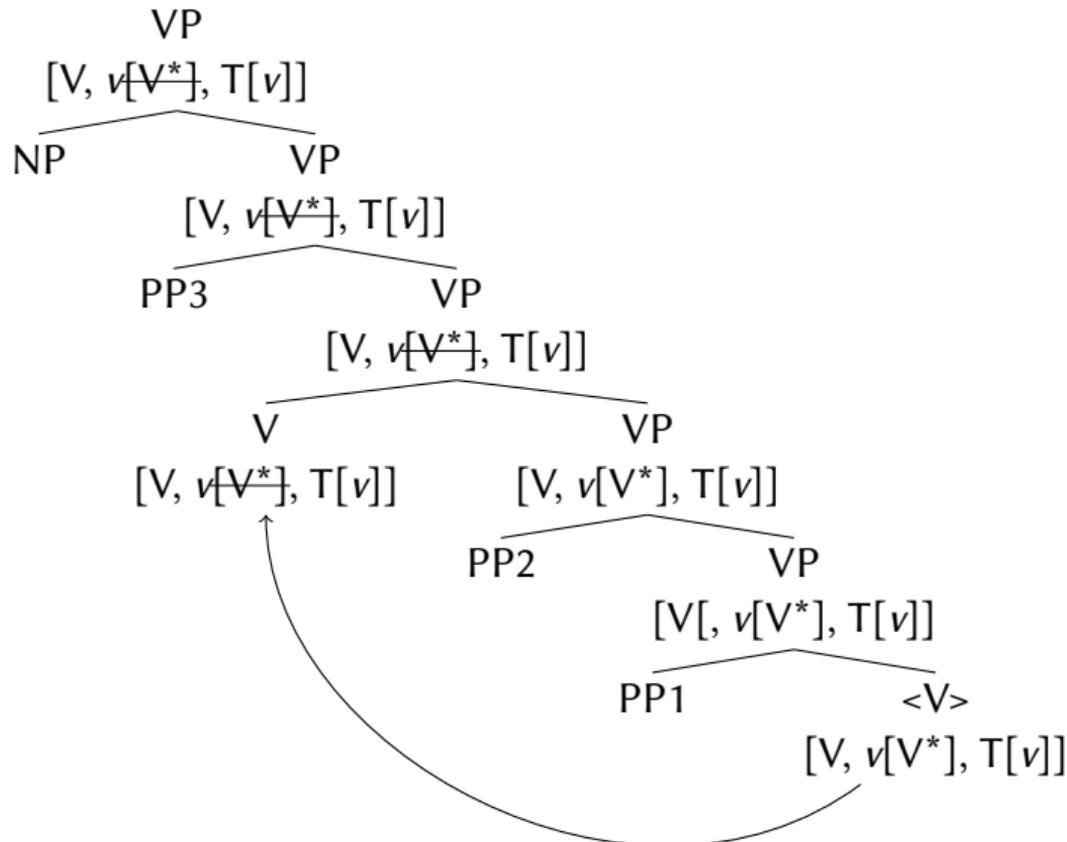


- only leftward merge (ordering statements (Abels & Neeleman 2012))
- information-structurally neutral V movement
- no predetermined landing-site  
⇒ **reprojection head movement**

## Reprojection in a nutshell:

- Head movement is adjunction of a head to the root of the tree.
- After head movement takes place, the head projects at the landing site.
- Head movement is triggered by a feature on the head.
- “extra projections are the consequence, not the cause, of verb movement” (Ackema et al. 1993)

# UDMURT V MOVEMENT VIA REPROJECTION



- a feature of V subcategorises for another feature of V;
  - a strong feature (\*) can only be satisfied via movement;
- ⇒ V movement as the only way to satisfy subcategorisation.

# OPEN PROBLEMS

- ordering statements
- Is V-movement more common than other head movement?
- What is the status of move-over-merge?
- Why does lexicon provide both strong and weak feature variants?

# Hungarian

# HUNGARIAN AS AN OV LANGUAGE

- underlying OV status: Marácz (1989), Halm (2021), Schmidt & Surányi (2019)  
⇒ verb movement gives rise to postverbal elements (PVE) (5)

(5) [<sub>CP</sub> A húg-om [<sub>PREDP</sub> meg-talál-ta<sub>V</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> a kiskutyá-d-at] [<sub>PP</sub> a  
DEF sister-1SG PV-find-PST.3SG DEF puppy-2SG-ACC DEF  
park-ban] t<sub>V</sub>]]].  
park-LOC

‘My sister found your puppy in the park.’

# HUNGARIAN MULTIPLE ADVERBIAL PPs: PREVERBAL

- preverbally: only one neutral order (6)
- otherwise: easily available (contrastive) topicalisation

- (6) [CP [TP [PREDP [PP Két alkalom-mal]<sub>3</sub> [PREDP [PP hosszú percek-ig]<sub>2</sub> [PREDP [PP nagy füst-tel]<sub>1</sub> [PREDP égett<sub>V</sub> [VP [NP a tűz] t<sub>V</sub>]]]]]] ]].  
two occasion-with long minutes-for big smoke-with burned.3SG DEF fire  
‘The fire burned with great smoke for long minutes on two occasions.’

# HUNGARIAN MULTIPLE ADVERBIAL PPs: RADICAL POSTVERBAL FREEDOM

- postverbally: **every logically available order is neutral**
- including SUBA violations, see \*V231 order in (7)  
⇒ **more than V<sup>+</sup>-movement + symmetric merge is involved**

(7) Égett            [PP hosszú percek-ig]<sub>2</sub> [PP két alkalom-mal]<sub>3</sub> [PP nagy füst-tel]<sub>1</sub>  
burned.3sc        long    minutes-for        two occasion-with        big    smoke-with  
                  [NP a    tűz].  
                  the fire

‘The fire burned with great smoke for long minutes on two occasions.’

# HUNGARIAN PVE AS MOVEMENT: INTERMINGLING ADVERBIALS

- premise: sentential adverbials are base-generated high (outside PredP)  
⇒ (8) cannot be derived by V-movement
- possible solution: deriving (8) via **phrasal PP movement**
  - SUBA violation (phrasal movement → non-neutral order)

## (8) **Low adverbials following PredP-external *unfortunately***

[CP [TP [TP [PREDP Égett [NP a tűz] ] ] [ADVP sajnos]  
burned.3sg the fire unfortunately

[PP két alkalom-mal] [PP hosszú percek-ig] ]  
two occasion-with long minutes-for

‘Unfortunately the fire burned for long minutes on two occasions.’

# THE PROFILE OF HUNGARIAN POSTPOSING (DATA IN APPENDIX)

- long rightward movement (= right-roof-constraint violation)
- scope ambiguities with respect to negation and quantifiers
- no information-structural impact
- any information-structural role (except single focus)



**Does postposing take place at PF?**

- any IS-role, including focus, postposes behind sentential adverbs (9)

(9) **Focus can be postposed**

[C: Who messed up only one exercise?]

CSAK JÁNOS rontott el sajnos CSAK EGY FELADATOT.

only Janos messed.3SG PV unfortunately only one task.ACC

‘Unfortunately ONLY JANOS messed up ONLY ONE EXERCISE.’

# PROSODIC CONSTRAINTS DISALLOW SINGLE NARROW FOCI AS PVE

- preverbal focus is prosodically conditioned (Szendrői 2003)
- single foci cannot be postposed  $\Rightarrow$  suggests PF involvement in postposing

## (10) **Single focus cannot be postposed**

- a. CSAK EGY KÁVÉT főztem.  
only one coffee.ACC cooked.1SG  
'I made only one coffee.'
- b. \*Főztem CSAK EGY KÁVÉT.  
cooked.1SG only one coffee.ACC

## PF REORDERING?

- **any** syntactic theory will struggle with Hungarian PVE
  - e.g. É. Kiss (2008) proposes non-configurational postverbal field but even non-configurationality of PredP would not suffice (high adverbs)
  - otherwise: free, untriggered *phrasal* movement
- across the board, missing 1:1 mapping of syntax to semantics
- not only local reordering

⇒ **non-syntactic derivation: PF movement**

# Basque

- arguments: marked when **postverbal** (11)

## (11) **Postverbal object**

#Nire arrebiek parkien topa dau **zure txakurkumi-e**. (Bizkaian)  
my sister.ERG park.LOC find AUX your puppy-DEF  
'My sister has found your puppy in the park.' (neutral)

- adverbials: marked when **preverbal** (12)

## (12) **Postverbal PP-adverbials**

Nire arrebiek zure txakurkumi-e topa dau **parkien**. (Bizkaian)  
my sister.ERG your puppy-DEF find AUX park.LOC  
'My sister has found your puppy in the park.' (neutral)

## POSTVERBAL MULTIPLE PP-ADVERBIALS

- both postverbal orders are neutral (13)

(13) a. Nire arrebiek zure txakurkumi-e topa sauen (Bizkaian)  
my sister.ERG your puppy-DEF find AUX

<parkien<sub>1</sub> atzo<sub>2</sub>>/ <atzo<sub>2</sub> parkien<sub>1</sub>>.  
park.LOC yesterday yesterday park.LOC

‘My sister found your puppy in the park yesterday.’

b. Xabier Miren-egaz jun san (Bizkaian)  
Xabier Miren-with go AUX

<azokara<sub>1</sub> asteburuen<sub>2</sub>>/ <asteburuen<sub>2</sub> azokara<sub>1</sub>>.  
market.to weekend.on weekend.on market.to

‘Xabier went to the market with Miren on the weekend.’

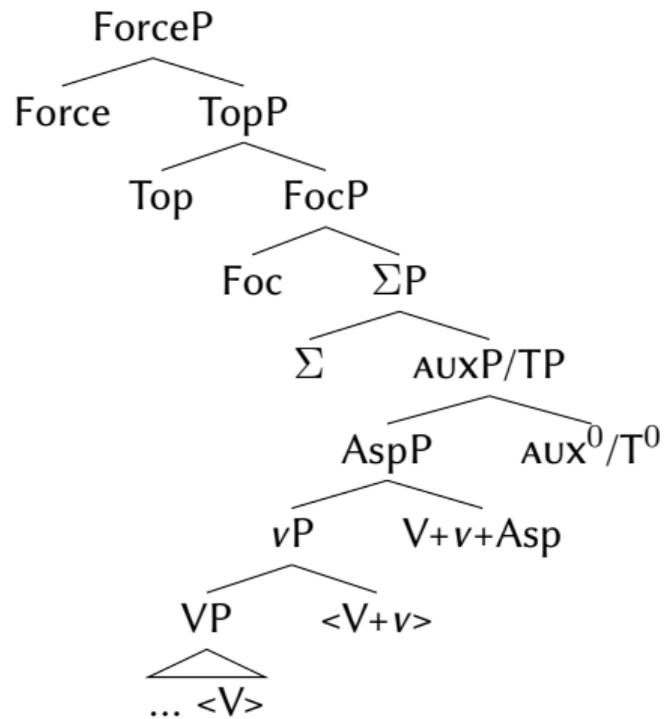
## POSTVERBAL LOW ADVERBS

- Bizkaian + Navarrese: postverbal neutral low adverbs (14)
- cf. Standard Basque: only preverbal low adverbs (A. Elordieta 2001)

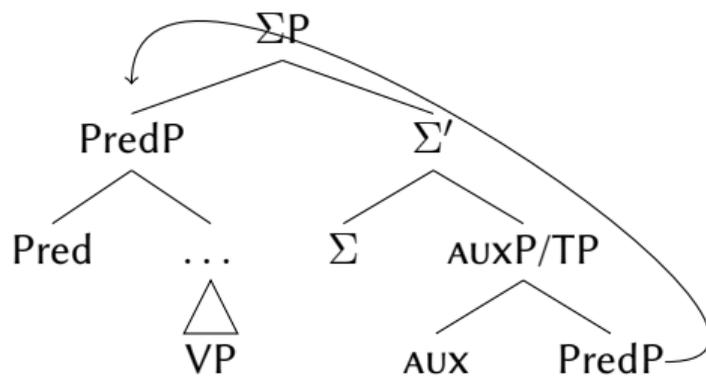
- (14) a. Nire nebiek txakurre jo dau **gogor**. (Bizkaian)  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
'My brother has hit the dog hard.'
- b. Nire anaiak txakurra jo zuen **gogorki**. (Navarrese)  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
'My brother hit the dog hard.'

# BASQUE CLAUSE STRUCTURE: HIGH AUX

switched-directionality approach  
(e.g. Duigine 2022)



head-initial approach  
(e.g. A. Elordieta & Haddican 2017)



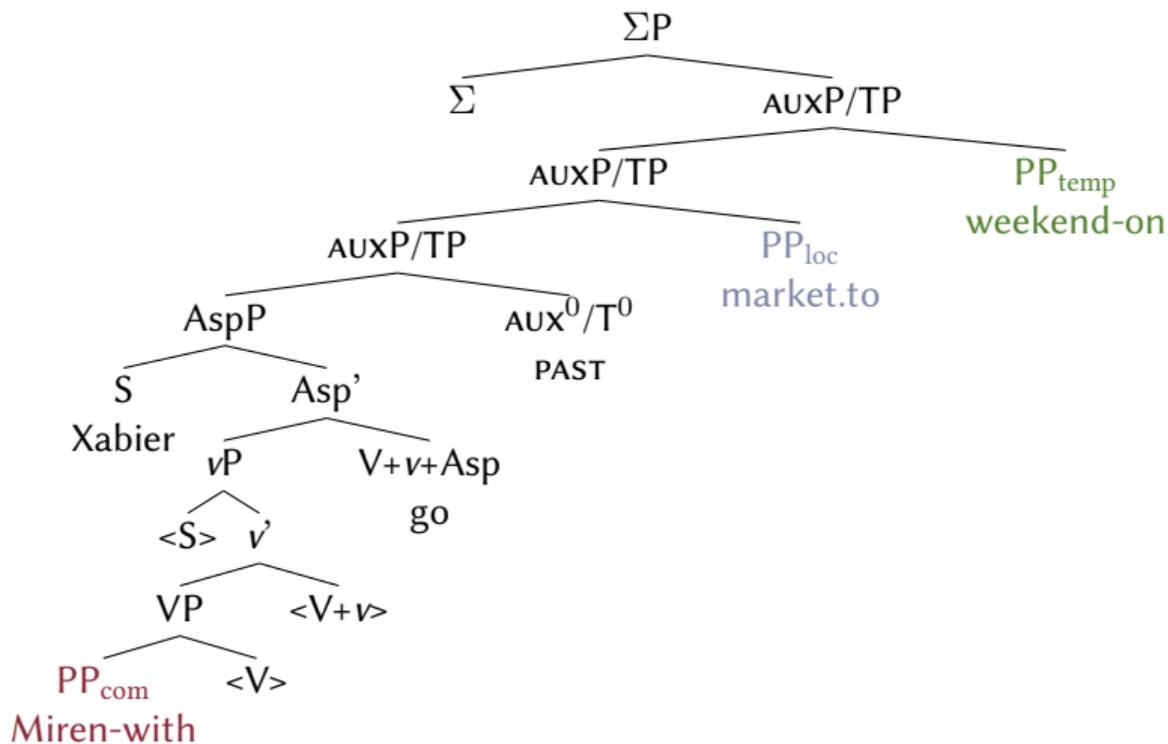
# COMBINING BASQUE APPROACHES WITH SUBA

construction	switched directionality	head initial
... V AUX PP <sub>2</sub> PP <sub>1</sub>	✓	✓
... V AUX PP <sub>1</sub> PP <sub>2</sub>	✓	☠
... V AUX LOWADV	☠	☠

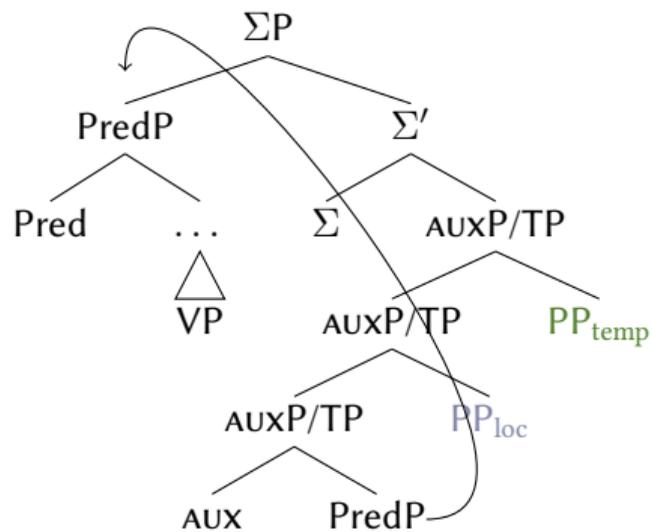


illustration and two possible solutions

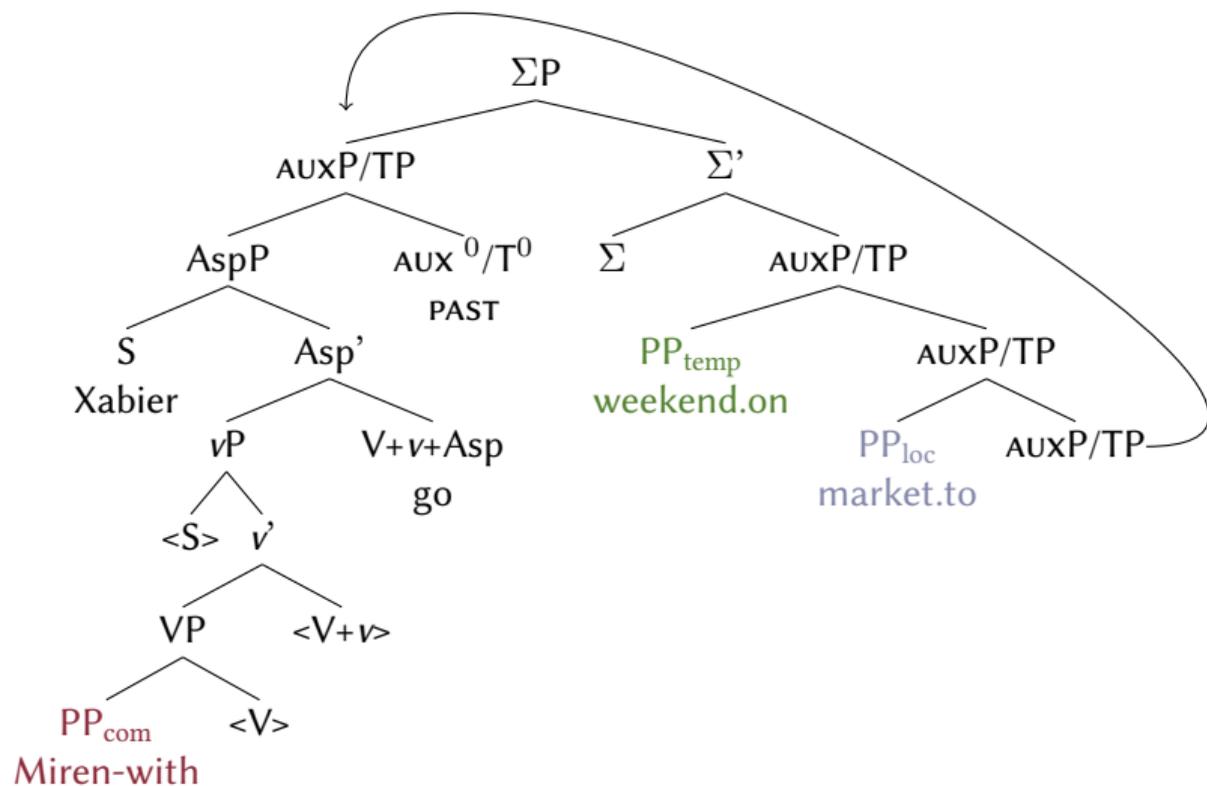
✓ SWITCHED DIRECTIONALITY: V AUX PP<sub>2</sub> PP<sub>1</sub>



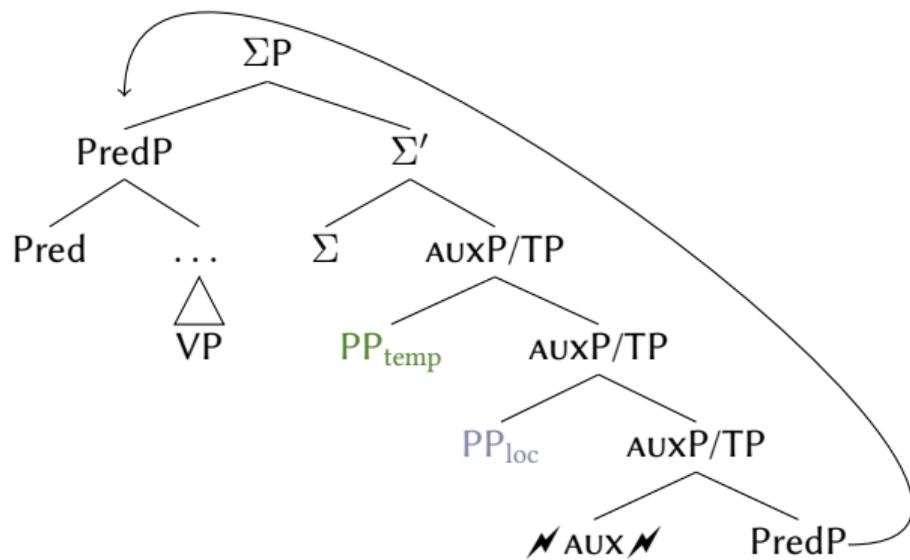
✓ HEAD INITIAL: V AUX PP<sub>2</sub> PP<sub>1</sub>



✓ SWITCHED DIRECTIONALITY: V AUX PP<sub>1</sub> PP<sub>2</sub>



☠ HEAD INITIAL: V AUX PP<sub>1</sub> PP<sub>2</sub>

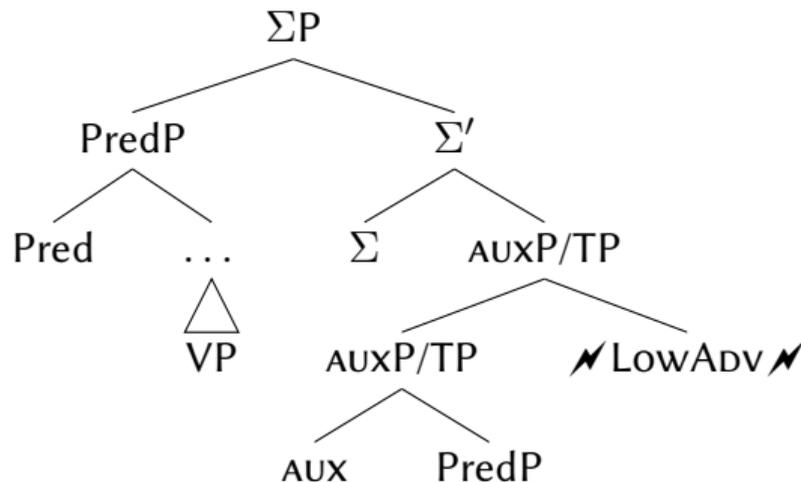




## EITHER APPROACH: V AUX LOWADV

**Problem:** for the adverb to follow the high aux, it also needs to be quite high.

- Rightward phrasal movement from within VP? Not with SUBA.
- Rightward merge to Aux? Too high, semantic mismatch.



# POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO BASQUE ADVERBIAL PLACEMENT

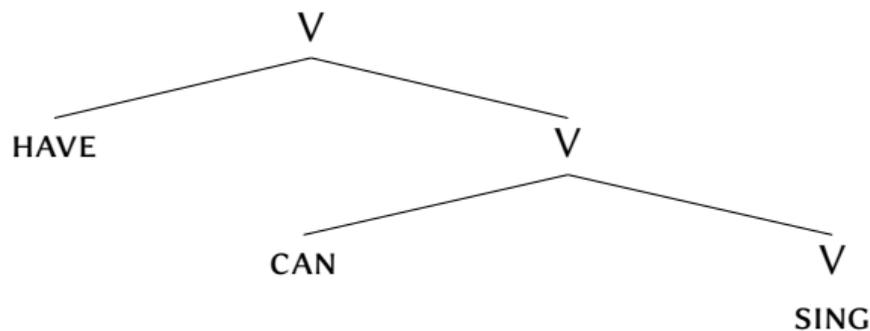
- Solution 1: AUX is not high  $\Rightarrow$  verb-clustering analysis of Basque
- Solution 2: PF movement  $\Rightarrow$  accounts for further likely phonological restrictions

## LOW ADVERBIAL PROBLEM ALSO IN GERMANIC

- (15) a. Nire nebiek txakurre jo dau **gogor**. (Bizkaian)  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
'My brother has hit the dog hard.'
- b. dat hij vroeger **prachtig** heeft kunnen zingen. (Dutch)  
since he formerly beautifully has can.INF sing.INF  
'that he formerly used to be able to sing beautifully.' (Abels 2016: 189)

## GERMANIC VERB CLUSTER (ACKEMA & NEELEMAN 2024)

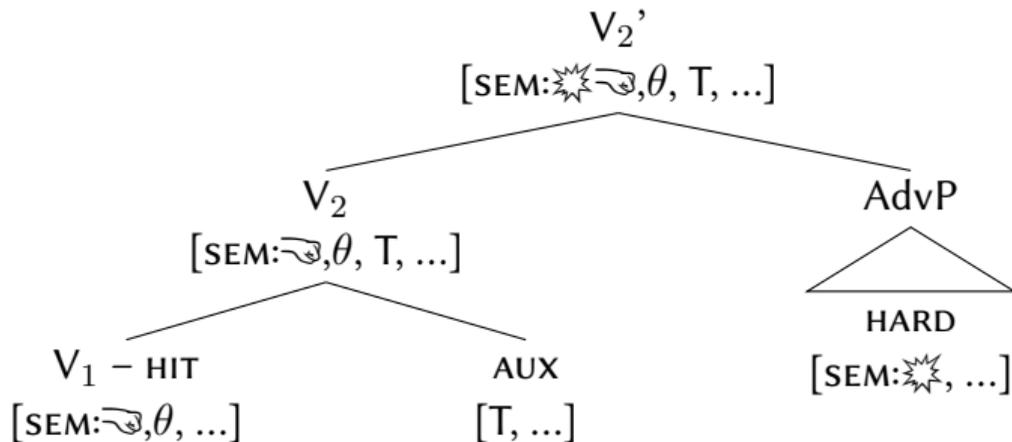
- (16) dat hij vroeger **prachtig** heeft kunnen zingen. (Dutch)  
since he formerly beautifully has can.INF sing.INF  
'that he formerly used to be able to sing beautifully.' (Abels 2016: 189)



## SOLUTION 1: BASQUE VERB CLUSTER

- (17) Nire nebiek txakurre jo dau **gogor**.  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
'My brother has hit the dog hard.'

(Bizkaian)



## BUT: FURTHER FACTORS PERTAINING TO LOW ADVERB PLACEMENT

### ■ Bizkaian:

- lexically-determined placement (18)
- competition for preverbal position (18a vs. b,c)

- (18) a. Nire nebiek txakurre jo dau **gogor**.  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
'My brother has hit the dog hard.'
- b. Nire nebiek **txarto** aparka dau kotxie.  
my brother.ERG badly park AUX car.DET  
'My brother has parked the car poorly.'
- c. Nire lagunek **ondo** eindxau (= egin dau) azterketie.  
my friend.ERG well do.AUX exam.DET  
'My friend has done well on the exam.'

## COUNTING PREVERBAL ELEMENTS IN BIZKAIAN

(19) a. Nire nebiek txakurre **jo dau** **gogor**.  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
'My brother has hit the dog hard.'

b. Txakurre **gogor** **jo dau**.  
dog.DET hard hit AUX  
'[S/he] has hit the dog hard.'

c. ??Txakurre **jo dau** **gogor**.  
dog.DET hit AUX hard

(20) a. **Gogor** **jo dau**.  
hard hit AUX  
'[S/he] hit [it] hard.'

b. \***Jo dau** **gogor**.  
hit AUX hard

## SOLUTION 2: PF OPERATION

:

- The nature of this process does not seem to be syntactic  $\Rightarrow$  **it may be prosodic**

- three-way partitioning of Bizkaian prosodic utterances (G. Elordieta 2003: 76)

SLOT 1 the obligatory immediately preverbal phrase (main prominence)

SLOT 2 the phrase that precedes the immediately preverbal one (topic/subject; if overt)

SLOT 3 the verb and PVE

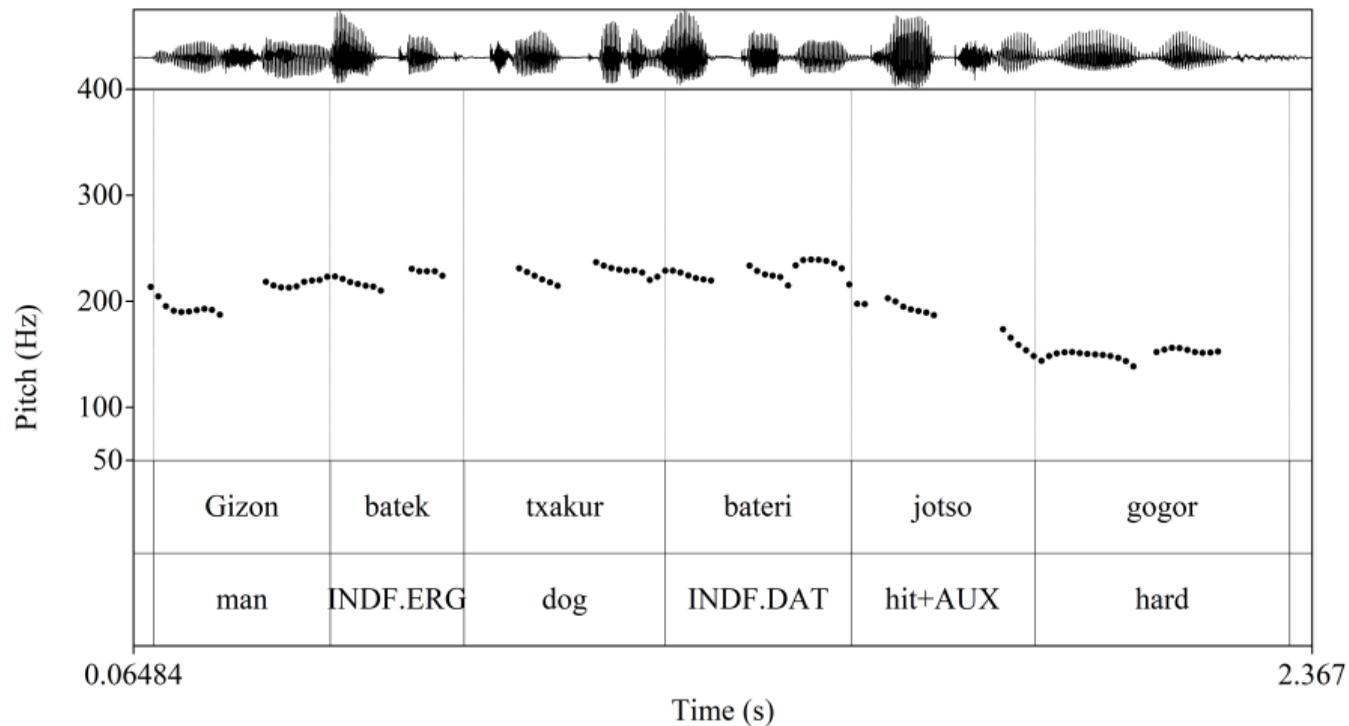
- Generalization: **Fill slots 1 and 2 first**

1 slot 1: fill with object or adverb (contingent on lexical and other factors)

2 slot 2: fill with subject (if overt)

3 slot 3: everything else

# PROSODIC PROFILE OF A BIZKAIAN CLAUSE



## ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE: THREE ADVERBS

- only one adverb can be preverbal in Bizkaian

- (21) a. Katuek **altu** miau egin sauen <**atzo** sarritzen>/ <sarritzen **atzo**>.  
cat.ERG **loudly** miau do AUX yesterday often often yesterday  
'A cat often meowed loudly yesterday.'
- b. Katuek sarritzen miau egin sauen <**altu** **atzo**>/ ??<**atzo** **altu**>.  
cat.ERG **often** miau do AUX **loudly** yesterday yesterday **loudly**  
'A cat often meowed loudly yesterday.'

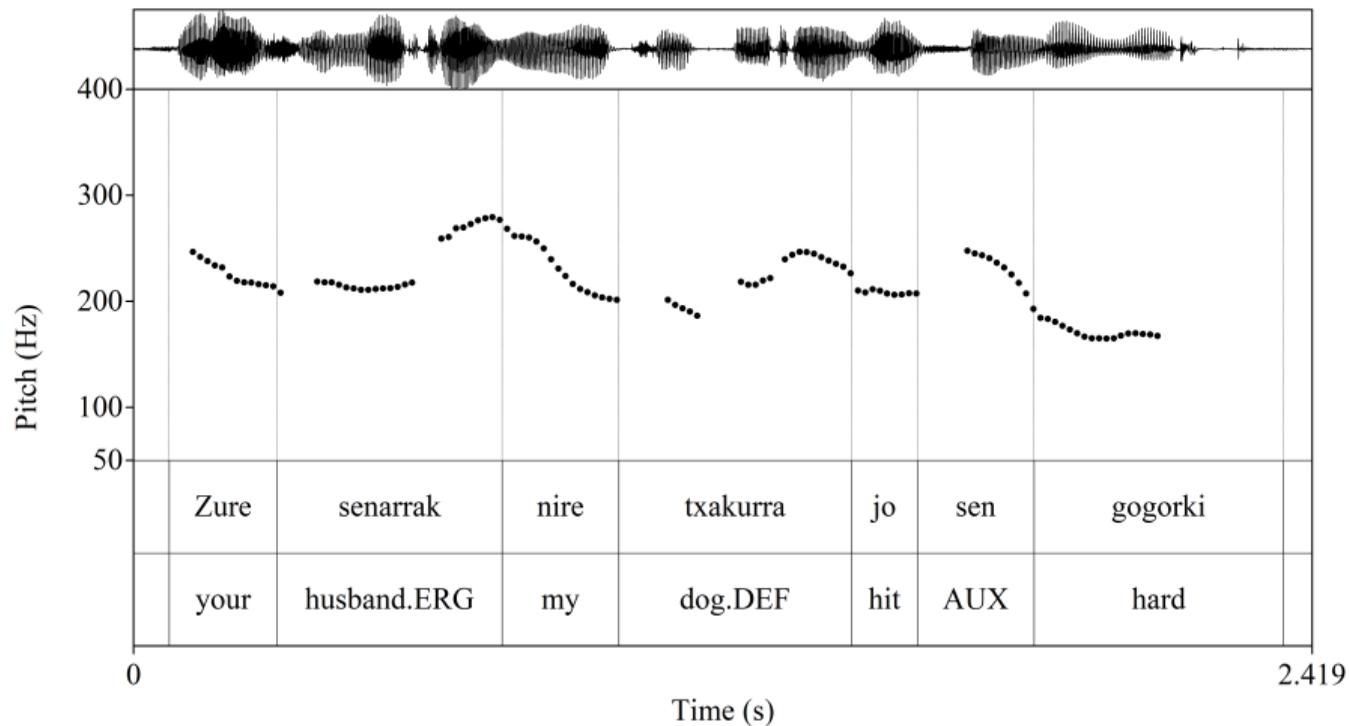
## HOWEVER: NO ‘COUNTING’ IN NAVARRESE

- (22) a. Nire anaiak txakurra **jo zuen** **gogorki**. (Navarrese)  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
‘My brother hit the dog hard.’
- b. Txakurra **jo zuen** **gogorki**.  
dog.DET hit AUX hard  
‘[S/he] hit the dog hard.’
- c. **Jo zuen** **gogorki**.  
hit AUX hard  
‘[S/he] hit [it] hard.’

## LEXICAL FACTORS NOT AT PLAY IN NAVARRESE EITHER

- (23) a. Nire anaiak txakurra **jo zuen** **gogorki**. (Navarrese)  
my brother.ERG dog.DET hit AUX hard  
'My brother hit the dog hard.'
- b. Nire anaiak kotxea **aparkatu zuen** **gaizki**.  
my brother.ERG car.DET park AUX badly  
'My brother parked the car poorly.'
- c. Nire lagunak azterketa **egin zuen** **ongi**.  
my friend.ERG exam.DET do AUX well  
'My friend did well on the exam.'

# PROSODIC PROFILE OF A NAVARRESE CLAUSE



- standard approaches to Basque syntax cannot fully accommodate postverbal PPs and adverbs
- a verb-cluster analysis accomodates all postverbal PPs and adverbs
- Bizkaian: a PF analysis seems more amenable

## Cross-linguistic PP-over-V

**Udmurt:** SUBA works; smaller theoretical questions

**Hungarian:** SUBA fails; possible PF operations

⇒ Hungarian PVE as potential testing ground for PF phrasal movement

**Hungarian:** SUBA partly works; possible PF operations

⇒ employing SUBA to inform structural analyses

⇒ general questions of handling seemingly non-syntactic phenomena

## BIGGER PICTURE: THE NATURE OF NON-SYNTACTIC/PF DISPLACEMENT

Several kinds of non-syntactic/PF processes have been identified:

- Displacement that lacks certain features of syntactic movement (e.g., is subject to total reconstruction) but does not have (known) phonological motivation
  - e.g., Sauerland & Elbourne (2002) on multiple scrambling in Japanese
  - Navarrese?
- Displacement that has explicit phonological motivation
  - e.g. Göbbel (2013) on extraposition in English
  - Bizkaian
  - Hungarian?

What does the existence of (at least) these two different kinds of non-syntactic/PF processes tell us about the nature of non-syntactic/PF displacement?

## FACTS ON HUNGARIAN PVE I

### (24) Intermingling high and low adverbials

[CP [TP [TP [PREDP Égett [NP a tűz] ] ] + [ADVP sajnos] [PP két  
burned.3SG the fire unfortunately two  
alkalom-mal] [PP hosszú percek-ig] ]  
occasion-with long minutes-for

‘Unfortunately the fire burned for long minutes on two occasions.’

### (25) Violating the right-roof constraint

Jól esne valószínűleg enni a lányoknak valamit.  
well fall.COND.3SG probably eat.INF the girls.DAT something.ACC

‘The girls probably feel like eating something.’

## FACTS ON HUNGARIAN PVE II

### (26) **Ambiguous scope of negation**

[[[ Nem rontottam el (sok feladatot) ] valószínűleg ] (sok feladatot)  
not messed.1SG PV many exercise.ACC probably many exercise.ACC  
].

‘Probably I didn’t mess up many exercises.’ (MANY > NOT / NOT > MANY)

### (27) **NCIs following negation**

a. [[[ Nem főztem (semmit) ] sajnos] (semmit)].  
not cooked.1SG nothing.ACC unfortunately nothing.ACC

‘Unfortunately, I didn’t cook anything.’

b. \*[[[ Semmit [sajnos [nem főztem]]]].  
nothing.ACCunfortunately not cooked.1SG

## FACTS ON HUNGARIAN PVE IV

### (28) **First occurrence focus cannot be postposed**

a. Csak egy kávét főztem.  
only one coffee.ACC cooked.1SG

‘I made only one coffee.’

b. \*Főztem csak egy kávét.  
cooked.1SG only one coffee.ACC

### (29) Second-occurrence focus can be postposed

[C: Who messed up only one exercise?]

CSAK JÁNOS rontott el sajnos CSAK EGY FELADATOT.  
only Janos messed.3SG PV unfortunately only one task.ACC

‘Unfortunately ONLY JANOS messed up ONLY ONE EXERCISE.’

## DIALECTAL BASQUE: PREVERBAL MULTIPLE ADVERBIALS

- preverbal placement enforced by relative clause  
⇒ only one neutral order (30)

(30) Nire arrebiek atzo<sub>2</sub> parkien<sub>1</sub> topa sauen txakurkumie osasuntsu dau.  
my sister.ERG yesterday park.LOC find AUX puppy.DEF healthy is  
'The puppy that my sister found in the park yesterday is healthy.'

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