The nominative focused infinitival subject in Hungarian: a PF-realization of *PRO*

§1 Hungarian subject-control verbs (e.g., *akar* 'want') select infinitival CPs whose subject (S) is normally silent *PRO*, but seems to be a nominative pronoun or lexical DP if focused. I propose that infinitival S is always caseless *PRO* in Syntax, but is realized at PF as a nominative pronoun or lexical DP if focused. Foci must be overt at PF, so focused *PRO* is uttered as a pronoun sharing the nominative pronominal/lexical matrix S's φ-features (person π, number $\#$, case κ). Some speakers can also utter *PRO* as a lexical DP identical to the lexical matrix S. This account employs only simple agreement and standard control, not multiple subject agreement, backward control, or control as movement (Szabolcsi 2009, Bartos 2006, Szécsényi 2017b).

(1) Ők$_j$ nem akar-já-∅-k   ⟨ők$_j$⟩ [C$_{I.A}$ fel olvas-ni-∅-∅   *PRO*$_j$ a vers-∅-et   ]
   3PL.NOM not want-3.O-3.S-PL.S   up read-INF-0.S-NN.S   the poem-SG-ACC
   '**They** don't want to read out the poem.'

(2) Nem akar-já-to-k   ti$_j$ [C$_{I.A}$ csak *PRO*$_j$⇒ti$_j$ fel olvas-ni-∅-∅   ⟨*PRO*$_j$⟩ a vers-∅-et   ]
   not want-3.O-2.S-PL.S 2PL.NOM   only 2PL.NOM up read-INF-0.S-NN.S   the poem-SG-ACC
   '**You** don't want it to be the case that only **you** read out the poem.'

(3) Nem akar-já-∅-k   ők$_j$ [C$_{I.A}$ csak *PRO*$_j$⇒ők$_j$ fel olvas-ni-∅-∅   ⟨*PRO*$_j$⟩ a vers-∅-et   ]
   not want-3.O-3.S-PL.S 3PL.NOM   only 3PL.NOM up read-INF-0.S-NN.S   the poem-SG-ACC
   '**They** don't want it to be the case that only **they** read out the poem.'

(4) A fiú-k-∅$_j$ nem akar-já-∅-k   ⟨a fiú-k-∅$_j$⟩ [C$_{I.A}$ csak *PRO*$_j$⇒ők$_j$ fel olvas-ni-∅-∅   ⟨*PRO*$_j$⟩ ...]
   the boy-PL-NOM not want-3.O-3.S-PL.S   only 3PL.NOM up read-INF-0.S-NN.S

(5) %Nem akar-já-∅-k   a fiú-k-∅$_j$ [C$_{I.A}$ csak *PRO*$_j$⇒a fiú-k-∅$_j$ fel olvas-ni-∅-∅   ⟨*PRO*$_j$⟩ ...]
   not want-3.O-3.S-PL.S the boy-PL-NOM   only the boy-PL-NOM up read-INF-0.S-NN.S
   (4,5): '**The boys** don't want it to be the case that only **they** read out the poem.'

§2 Matrix S and infinitival S merge in [Spec,*v*P] of their own CPs (C$_I$ denotes infinitival complementizer: see §5). Matrix S usually raises to [Spec,TopP]. In (1), non-focused *PRO* stays in infinitival [Spec,*v*P]. It is silent at PF. In (2–5), focused *PRO* raises to infinitival [Spec,FocP]. At PF, all speakers can realize *PRO* as an overt <u>pronoun</u> with the φ-features of matrix S, whether <u>pronominal</u> (2,3) or <u>lexical</u> (4). Matrix S cannot co-occur with a homophonous PF-realization of *PRO*, so pronominal matrix S (2,3) is then deleted haplologically. Some speakers also accept (5) (cf. Szécsényi 2017b), realizing *PRO* as a <u>lexical DP</u> identical to the <u>lexical</u> matrix S (also deleted haplologically). Since the focused lexical DP exists only at PF, Binding Condition C is not violated at Syntax/LF. §3 The different PF-realizations of *PRO* can be explained in Distributed Morphology (Embick 2015). In Syntax, a <u>lexical noun</u> is represented as a **root** bearing some phonological content (e.g., $\sqrt{\text{FIÚ}}$), and a syntactic-semantic **feature bundle (FB)** (incl. φ-features). A <u>pronoun</u> is represented only as a FB. *PRO* has no root or FB, so vocabulary items cannot be inserted at PF for *PRO*, unless its controller supplies a representation. To utter *PRO* as a <u>pronoun</u>, only FB is copied from pronominal (2,3) or lexical (4) matrix S. To utter *PRO* as a <u>lexical DP</u> (5), a root and FB are copied from lexical matrix S. Speakers accepting (5) allow root- and FB-copying at PF. Those rejecting (5) allow only FB-copying.
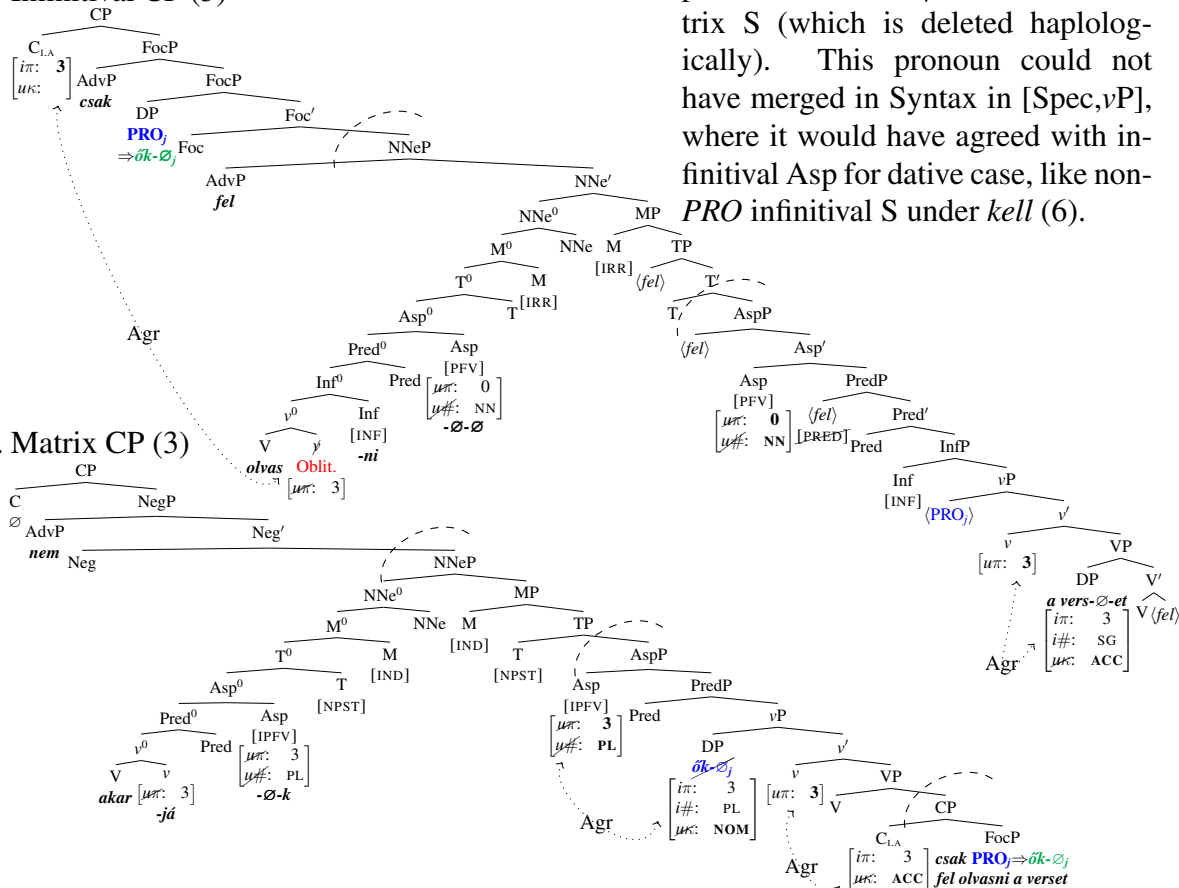
§4 My proposal, in which nominative infinitival S is a PF-realization of caseless *PRO* (instead of arising in Syntax as non-*PRO*) accords with 2 key facts. <u>First</u>, the nominative focus fails to act like a normal non-*PRO* infinitival S found under non-control verbs such as *kell* (6), which agrees with the infinitive for dative case and stays dative if focused. (Exponence of S-agreement on the infinitive is optional for overt dative S.) <u>Second</u>, as (2) shows, nominative foci never intervene in "long-distance" object agreement (LOA), where control verbs like *akar* register matrix S's π and $\#$, **and** π of the infinitival object (O) *a verset*. These facts (no dative case, no intervention in LOA) follow if infinitival S is caseless *PRO* in Syntax and realized as nominative only at PF.

(6) nem kell-∅-∅   [C$_{I.N}$ csak a fiú-k-nak$_j$ fel olvas-ni-u-k/ -∅-∅   ⟨a fiú-k-nak$_j$⟩ a vers-∅-et   ]
   not be.needed-0.S-NN.S   only the boy-PL-DAT up read-INF-3.S-PL.S/ 0.S-NN.S   the poem-SG-ACC
   'It is not the case that only **the boys** have to read out the poem.'

§5 *PRO*'s inactivity in agreement is formally captured in the derivation of (3) in (7). The agreement probes that can license <u>structural case</u> are v (for object π; <u>accusative</u>) and Asp (for subject π and $\#$; <u>dative</u> in infinitives, <u>nominative</u> in finite clauses). As AspP is the lowest phase (É. Kiss 2008), I locate S-agreement on Asp rather than T, assuming Strong Phase Impenetrability. The infinitive feature INF on Inf (above v) decides which case Asp can license. LOA demands a certain flavor of C_I, i.e., $C_{I.A}$ with unvalued <u>interpretable</u> π and uninterpretable case (later valued accusative), serving as a probe and then <u>as a goal</u> (cf. Szécsényi 2017a). LOA involves 3 instances of local Agree: infinitival O–infinitival v; infinitival v–$C_{I.A}$; $C_{I.A}$–matrix v.

§6 In infinitival CP (7a), v agrees with and licenses accusative case to O in [Spec,VP]. v's uninterpretable π is not instantly deleted after valuation, because v is φ-defective with only π, unlike φ-complete Asp with π and $\#$ (Richards 2012). v becomes a potential goal, raising cyclically to NNe (Non-Neutral phrase), to agree with $C_{I.A}$'s π probe. v's π is deleted upon Spellout of the highest phrase reached by v (NNeP here; MP in neutral clauses). At PF, v is obliterated in the context of INF, preventing morphological exponence of O's π on the infinitive. • Infinitival Asp here agrees with nothing, since caseless *PRO* in [Spec,vP], and v, are ineligible goals for case-licensing Asp. Agree is fallible, so the derivation just continues (Preminger 2014). Default values are inserted for Asp's π [0] and $\#$ [NN]; dative case is unlicensed. *PRO* raises to inner [Spec,FocP]. It is φ-featureless and invisible to $C_{I.A}$'s π probe, so does not intervene in LOA. • In matrix CP (7b), v agrees with and licenses accusative case to $C_{I.A}$, and expones infinitival O's π. Matrix Asp agrees with and licenses nominative case to matrix S. At PF, *PRO* is realized as a pronoun with the φ-features of matrix S (which is deleted haplologically). This pronoun could not have merged in Syntax in [Spec,vP], where it would have agreed with infinitival Asp for dative case, like non-*PRO* infinitival S under *kell* (6).

(7) a. Infinitival CP (3)

b. Matrix CP (3)

Under matrix *kell* (6), infinitival v agrees with infinitival O, but no LOA occurs, as *kell* has no probe on v, and embeds a CP of flavor $C_{I.N}$ with unvalued uninterpretable case but no π probe. Matrix Asp gets default π [0] and $\#$ [NN], and assigns nominative case to $C_{I.N}$, so infinitival CP is *kell*'s S. • **Refs:** Bartos 2006. És mégis mozog? É. Kiss 2008. Apparent or real? Embick 2015. Morpheme. Richards 2012. Probing past. Szabolcsi 2009. Overt nominative. Szécsényi 2017a. Definiteness. 2017b. Overt & covert.