

Even and Free Choice Any in Hungarian

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1. A number of approaches to FC *any* derive its peculiar distribution from the meaning of the morphological ingredients involved (*even*+indefinite) and comparing the interpretation of alternative sentences. (Krifka 1995, Lahiri 1998, Kadmon and Landman 1993, Lee and Horn 1994). Lahiri (1998) e.g. argues that in Hindi the scalar presuppositions of the focus particle *even* and the meaning of a cardinality predicate like *one* are inconsistent, hence the ungrammaticality of (1). In the case of FC items, this conflict is resolved in generic contexts, hence the characteristic FC distribution. This paper argues that this very attractive approach however is not right for Hungarian FC items, which, incidentally, are also composed via the incorporation of *even*.

2. Not all *evens* are created equal, and even less so in Hungarian. But while most of the discussion in this area (Guerzoni 2003, Giannakidou 2001, Rullmann 1996 etc.) is centered around the ambiguity of wide/narrow scope (PPI/NPI) *even*, in Hungarian the landscape is cut differently: The first type is what we might call “weak even” *még* with a free distribution; the second type is “strong even” *akár*, whose distribution is similar to FC items. The “weak even” *még* can appear in episodic affirmative sentences, in which case it introduces a ‘hard’ scalar presupposition (2). When the same item, *még* appears in negative contexts, it introduces an ‘easy’ (even_{NPI}-like) presupposition (3). Note also that *még* does not induce negative bias in questions (4). “Strong even” *akár* on the other hand cannot appear in episodic contexts, nor in the immediate scope of negation (5-6). It can be found in those modal contexts that license FCany, in which case it triggers a ‘hard’ (least likely) presupposition (7-8). It is excluded in sentences with universal modals (9), just like FCIs. When *akár* combines with *csak* ‘only’, it can appear in DE contexts other than negation, and in questions. In this case it triggers NPI-like ‘easy’ (most likely) presuppositions and obligatorily induces negative bias in questions (10-11).

3. While the fact that both “weak” and “strong” *evens* can have ‘easy’ and ‘hard’ presuppositions as well can be explained by the scope theory (Karttunen & Peters 1979 and others) and the presence of *csak* ‘only’ (Guerzoni 2003), the difference between *még* and *akár* in non-DE contexts is more interesting. I propose that while their scalar presuppositions do not differ, the two items behave differently wrt. what they presuppose about the truth of the alternatives they combine with. While *még* imports a standard existential presupposition (12), *akár* stands with a stronger, ‘universal’ presupposition (13). (cf. Fauconnier 1975, van Rooy 2005, and Schwarz 2005 for related proposals for some occurrences of *even*). Coupled with the assumption that alternatives are exclusive (cf. G&S, Kratzer 2005, Menendez-Benito 2005, Farkas 2005 albeit in different frameworks), we can derive the peculiar, FCI-like distribution of *akár*: the universal presupposition and the exclusivity condition on the alternatives will lead to a contradiction, except in suitable modal contexts.

4. It is probably no surprise at this point that FC any in Hungarian is formed via *akár*+indefinites (14). The distribution, as well as the universal-like reading of the FC indefinites in Hungarian then simply follows from the meaning of the incorporated “strong” *even*. The contradiction that rules out FC any in episodic and universal modal contexts, is buried inside strong *even* itself—which we saw was independently necessary to account for its distribution. Notice also that we do not need to resort to genericity to derive the universal-like reading of FC any. (cf. Dayal (1998) against the generic account).

- (1) *[Ek]_F bhii aayaa
one even came
- (2) Péter még Marit is üdvözölte
Peter even Mari too greeted
'Peter even greeted Mari'
"hard" scalar presupp: Mary was the LEAST likely person to be greeted by John
- (3) Péter nem üdvözölte még Marit sem
Peter not greeted even Mari either
'Peter did not greet even Mari'
"easy" scalar presupp: Mary was the MOST likely person to be greeted by John
- (4) Eljött még Mari is?
Came even Mari too
'Did even Mari come?'
- (5) *Péter akàr Marit is üdvözölte.
Peter even Mari too greeted
'Peter even greeted Mari'
- (6) *Péter nem üdvözölte akàr Marit sem
Peter not greet even Mari either
'Peter did not even greet Mari'
- (7) Meghívhatod akàr Marit is
Invite-can.2sg even Mari too
'You can even invite Mari'
- (8) Meg fogod kapni akàr a Mari kocsiját is
Prt will-2sg get even Mari's car too
'you will get even Mari's car'
- (9) */?Muszàj meghívnod akàr Bèlàt is.
Have-to Invite-2sg even Béla too
'You have to invite even Béla'
- (10) Ha akàr(csak) egy ember is megszólal, kiürítetem a termet.
If even (only) one person too speaks, empty-1sg the room
'If even a single person says a word, I will empty the room'
- (11) Adott neked Péter akár(csak) egy cigit? *[negative bias]*
Give you-dat Péter even (only) a cigarette
'Did Peter give you even a cigarette?'
- (12) ||még||^w(C)(p) is defined only if
a. $\forall q \in C [q \neq p \rightarrow q >_{\text{likely } w} p]$
b. there is some true proposition among
the alternatives other than the prejacent
- (13) ||akár||^w(C)(p) is defined only if
a. $\forall q \in C [q \neq p \rightarrow q >_{\text{likely } w} p]$
b. every proposition among the alter-
natives other than the prejacent is true
- (14) Meghívhatsz akár-kit.
Invite-can-2sg anyone
'you can invite anyone'