

COMPREHENSIVE GRAMMAR RESOURCES

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and Hans Broekhuis

Syntax of *Hungarian*

*Nouns and
Noun Phrases*

VOLUME 2

Edited by
Gábor Alberti
and Tibor Laczkó

Amsterdam
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Syntax of Hungarian
Nouns and Noun Phrases
Volume II

Comprehensive Grammar Resources

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Series editors:

Henk van Riemsdijk

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Hans Broekhuis

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Abbreviations and symbols

This appendix contains a list of abbreviations and symbols that are used in this volume. Sometimes conventions are adopted that differ from the ones given in this list, but if this is the case this is always explicitly mentioned in the text.

- A+section # A3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Huba Bartos ed. (to appear).
Adjectival Phrases.
- C+section # C3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Zoltán Bánréti ed. (to appear).
Coordination and Ellipsis.
- E+section # E3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Zsuzsanna Gécseg ed. (to appear).
Finite Embedding.
- F+section # F3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Tibor Laczkó & Gábor Alberti eds. (to appear).
Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases.
- M+section # M3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Balázs Surányi ed. (to appear).
Sentence Structure.
- P+section # P3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Katalin É. Kiss ed. (to appear).
Postpositions and Postpositional Phrases.
- V+section # V3.2 refers to Section 3.2. in Károly Bibok ed. (to appear).
Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases.

Abbreviations used in both the main text and the examples

AP	Adjectival Phrase	N _{PN}	Proper name
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase	NP	Noun Phrase*
AttrP	Attributive Phrase	NumP	Numeral Phrase
CP	Complementizer Phrase	PP	Postpositional Phrase
ConvP	Converbial Phrase	PartP	Participial Phrase
DP	Phrase of the (definite) article	VP	Verb Phrase
DetP	Phrase of certain determiners	VMod	Verbal Modifier
InfP	Infinitival Phrase		

*) *Noun phrase* is written in full when the NP-DP distinction is not relevant.

Symbols, abbreviations and conventions (primarily) used in the examples

'	stressed word
"	focus-stressed word
◦	unstressed word
Ref	Referent argument (external thematic role of nouns/adjectives)
Rel	Related argument (internal thematic role of relational nouns)
XXX	Small caps indicates that XXX is assigned focus accent

Abbreviations used as subscripts in the examples

1/2/3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	Ine	Inessive
2Obj	Object in 2 nd person	Ins	Instrumental
Abl	Ablative	Mod	Modality ('is permitted' / 'may' <i>-hAt</i>)
Acc	Accusative		
Ade	Adessive	Mult	Multiplicative suffix
Adv	Adverbial suffix	Nmn	Nominalizer
All	Allative	Nom	Nominative
Apl	Associative plural suffix (<i>-ék</i>)	Ord	Ordinalizer
Attr	Attributivizer	Part	Participle
Cau	Causalis	Past	Past Tense (<i>-t</i>)
Caus	Causative derivational suffix	perf	perfectivizing preverb <i>meg</i>
Coll	Collective suffix	Pl	Plural
Comp	Comparative	Poss	Possessed
Cond	Conditional	Posr	Possessor
Conv	Converb	Pred	Predicate
Dat	Dative	Prt	Particle of different kinds
DefObj	Definite object	Ptv	Partitive-like suffix (suffix <i>-ik</i>)
Del	Delative	Q	Question particle (<i>-e</i>)
Dim	Diminutive	Sg	Singular
Dist	Distributive suffix	Sub	Sublative
Ela	Elative	Subj	Subjunctive
FoE	Formalis/Essive	Sup	Superessive
Fract	Fractionalizer	Ter	Terminative
Freq	Frequentative derivational suffix	Tmp	Temporal (<i>-kor</i>)
Ill	Illative	TrE	Translative/Essive
IndefObj	Indefinite object	Vrb	Verbalizer

Diacritics used for indicating acceptability judgments

*	Unacceptable
*?	Relatively acceptable compared to *
??	Intermediate or unclear status
?	Marked: not completely acceptable or disfavored form
(?)	Slightly marked, but probably acceptable
no marking	Fully acceptable
✓	Fully acceptable (after unacceptable or marked variants)
%	Not (fully) acceptable due to non-syntactic factors <i>or</i> varying judgments among speakers
#	Unacceptable under intended reading
\$	Special status: old-fashioned, archaic, very formal, incoherent, etc.
†	Extinct

Other conventions

xx/yy	Acceptable both with xx and with yy
*xx/yy	Unacceptable with xx, but acceptable with yy
xx/*yy	Acceptable with xx, but unacceptable with yy
[y ... z]	A unit (but not necessarily a constituent) consisting of more than one word
xx / [y ... z]	Acceptable both with xx, which is a word, and with [y ... z], which is a unit (but not necessarily a constituent) consisting of more than one word
(xx)	Acceptable both with and without xx
*(xx)	Acceptable with, but unacceptable without xx
(*xx)	Acceptable without, but unacceptable with xx
.. <xx>	Alternative placement of xx in an example
XX _i ... YY _i	Coindexing indicates coreference
XX _i ... YY _j	Counter-indexing indicates disjoint reference
XX _{*i/j}	Unacceptable with index <i>i</i> , acceptable with index <i>j</i>
XX _{i/*j}	Unacceptable with index <i>j</i> , acceptable with index <i>i</i>
[XP ...]	Constituent brackets of a constituent XP

Chapter 2

Nouns: internal syntax

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Introduction: noun phrase layers (Gábor Alberti)

Let us evoke our (*SoD-NP*-based, deliberately theory-independent) general structure of the noun phrase, as demonstrated in (95) in 1.1.2.1 and in (105) in 1.1.2.2, repeated here as (640).

Recall that the NP-domain consists of the head noun, its complement(s) and its restrictive modifier(s), as is shown in (640A). Semantically speaking, the NP determines the denotation of the complete noun phrase. Modification of the noun involves modification of the set denoted by the noun phrase. Since the NP-domain itself does not encode the fact that noun phrases are normally used as referring expressions, this is the semantic function of the elements constituting the determining domain (640B). The lexical elements that are found in the determining domain—different kinds of determiners, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and classifiers—are assumed to be external to the NP, which implies that they have no effect on the denotation of the (modified) noun. Their semantic contribution is restricted to the referential and/or quantificational properties of the noun phrase as a whole.

(640) ● The general structure of the noun phrase

A. NP-domain:

[_{NP} preN-modifier(s) [_{NP} Complement *N* Complement(s)] postN-modifier(s)]

B. Determining domain

b. Pre-D zone:

[... [_{NP} ...]_{NAK} ∇ DP_{Dem} **D** ... [NP-domain] ...]

b'. Post-D zone:

[... **D** [_{NP} ...]_∅ ∇ DetP_{Dem} NumP [NP-domain] ...]

b''. Post-NP zone:

[... [NP-domain] XP* CP]

This chapter is devoted to the scrutiny of the fillers of this schema, essentially from layer to layer, starting from the inner ones and working towards the outer ones.

First of all, the innermost NP layer (640A) is discussed, namely, the pre- and postnominal complement zone; section 2.1 is devoted to this topic. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 deal with restrictive modification (640A) and non-restrictive modification (640b'-b''), within which section 2.3 discusses the special topic of appositive constructions. Then three sections scrutinize prominent points of the determining zone such as classifiers (2.4), articles and demonstratives (2.5), and numerals and quantifiers (2.6). The chapter concludes with a short section on bibliographical notes (2.7).

We call the reader's attention to subsection 1.1.2, which has given a first approximation to the fine structure of the Hungarian noun phrase from a bird's eye view and in this way it can serve as a solid basis for studying the even finer details.

2.1. Complementation (Judit Farkas and Gábor Alberti)

This section discusses the innermost NP core (641a), that is, the pre- and postnominal complement zone of the noun, within the complete NP domain (641b). We follow *SoD-NP* in distinguishing such an innermost NP core containing complements from an outer layer consisting of modifiers; though the chapter

division has been changed as follows: sections 2.1 and 2.2 correspond to chapters 2 and 3 in *SoD-NP*.

- (641) ● The general structure of the NP-domain in Hungarian
- a. [_{NP} Complement *N* Complement(s)]
 - b. [_{NP} preN-modifier(s) [_{NP} Complement *N* Complement(s)] postN-modifier(s)]

The first series of examples, which is (96) from 1.1.2.1 repeated here as (642) below, demonstrates the five positions in the complete NP-domain (641b) from the center outward, where the center is the *italicized* noun head (642a). Then (642b) and (642b') show the "appearance" of a prenominal and a postnominal complement, respectively, in the internal NP-zone according to (641a). Finally, (642c) and (642c') exemplify a prenominal modifier position and a postnominal modifier position, outside the internal NP-zone (641b).

- (642) ● The general structure of the NP-domain with a deverbal noun as its head
- a. az [_{NP} *érkezés*]
the arrival
'the arrival'
 - b. a [_{NP} Pestre *érkezés*]
the Pest.Sub arrival
'the arrival in Pest'
 - b'. a [_{NP} Pestre *érkezése* a fiadnak]
the Pest.Sub arrival.Poss.3Sg the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
'your son's arrival in Pest'
 - c. a [_{NP} váratlan [_{NP} Pestre *érkezése* a fiadnak]]
the unexpected Pest.Sub arrival.Poss.3Sg the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
'your son's unexpected arrival in Pest'
 - c'. a [_{NP} váratlan [_{NP} Pestre *érkezése* a fiadnak] 1992-ben]
the unexpected Pest.Sub arrival.Poss.3Sg the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat 1992-Ine
'your son's unexpected arrival in Pest in 1992'

Since both the status of the prenominal complement zone and that of the postnominal complement zone are controversial in the Hungarian literature, subsection 2.1.1 is largely devoted to the mere legitimization of these zones and the overview of their felicity conditions. As it is also difficult to distinguish complements (642b-b') from modifiers (642c-c'), just like in Dutch, we adapt the four (essentially universal) tests applied in *SoD-NP* to perform this task (2.1.2), also serving the general purpose of revealing the enigmatic continuum from the most prototypical "verbal-like" internal thematic arguments to totally free adjuncts. The section concludes with the brief discussion of sentential arguments (2.1.3).

As was hinted in subsection 1.2.3, four basic types of noun are distinguished with respect to complementation, namely, derived nouns (643a), *story/picture* nouns (643b), relational nouns (643c), and ordinary nouns (643d).

(643) • The classification of nouns with respect to complementation

- a. Mindenkit meglepett *az a váratlan összevesz-és-e*
 everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *that the unexpected quarrel-As-Poss.3Sg*
Peti-nek Ili-vel a távirányító-n.
Peti-Dat Ili-Ins the remote_control-Sup
 ‘The fact that Peti had an unexpected row with Ili because of the remote control was a surprise to everyone.’
- b. Ellopták *az-t a híres kép-é-t*
 steal.Past.DefObj.3Pl *that-Acc the famous picture-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
Csontváry-nak ar-ról a görög táj-ról.
Csontváry-Dat that-Del the Greek landscape-Del
 ‘That famous picture of Csontváry of that Greek landscape was stolen.’
- c. Meglátogattam *az-t a kedves húg-á-t* *Péter-nek.*
 visit.Past.1Sg *that-Acc the nice little_sister-Poss.3Sg-Acc Péter-Dat*
 ‘I visited that nice little sister of Péter’s.’
- d. Eltűnt *Péter / [az a mérnök] / [az a szép toll-a Ili-nek].*
 vanish.Past.3Sg *Péter / that the engineer / that the beautiful pen-Poss.3Sg Ili-Dat*
 ‘Péter / [That engineer] / [That beautiful pen of Ili’s] has vanished.’

Thus we adapt the practice of *SoD-NP* applied in Chapter 2 in this respect as well. Nevertheless, it is an open question whether all Hungarian nouns can be classified as belonging to one of these groups. As to this question, we call the reader’s attention to the fact that several nouns which are not derived by means of productive nominalizers, or even not derived at all, are to be regarded as irregularly derived “blocking forms” of “productively derived” potential forms (1.3). They, indeed, pattern with (eventuality-type-based) derived nouns, exactly with respect to argument taking; so they fit in the (643a)-type of the system of nouns. Belonging to this group are non-productively derived nouns such as *vadászat* ‘hunt.Nmn’ (‘hunting’) and *spontaneitás* ‘spontaneous.Nmn’ (‘spontaneity’) as well as non-derived nouns such as *ostrom* ‘siege’ and *őr* ‘guard’ (see the subsections on forms of derived nouns in 1.3, especially the series of examples in (221-223) in 1.3.1.2.1).

2.1.1. General characterization of the complement zones

Subsection 2.1.1.1 is devoted purely to the legitimization of the pre- and postnominal complement zone of nouns in Hungarian and the overview of their felicity conditions. Subsection 2.1.1.2 discusses external and internal arguments of different types of nouns. Subsections 2.1.1.3 and 2.1.1.4 are concerned with the order and the information-structural function of internal arguments, respectively, both in the prenominal complement zone and in the postnominal complement zone.

2.1.1.1. Complement zones of nouns in Hungarian?

Let us start with a brief discussion of (the problem of) the prenominal complement zone of the Hungarian noun phrase, which will be followed by a thorough discussion of (the problem of) the postnominal complement zone.

As is illustrated in the series of examples in (644), in the case of all the four types of noun phrases presented in (643) above there can be found noun phrases which have a (phonetically non-empty) prenominal complement zone (or at least,

such a construal is to be studied in specific theoretical frameworks). In (644a), a derived (ÁS-)noun is complemented by a sublative case-marked (“inherited”) bare noun (phrase), **in bold**. In (644b,d), a *story/picture* noun and an ordinary noun are complemented by proper names, respectively. Finally, the prenominal complement zone of the relational noun in (644c) is occupied by a bare noun (phrase). Note in passing that the other two main subtypes of relational nouns readily host a prenominal argument (e.g., *utcasarok* ‘street-corner’, *bokszolóorr* ‘boxer-nose’).

(644) ● Noun phrases with a prenominal complement zone

- a. Mindenkit meglepett *a váratlan **vidékre** érkezés-ed.*
 everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *the unexpected **countryside**.Sub arrive-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
 ‘The fact that you arrived in the **countryside** unexpectedly was a surprise to everyone.’
- b. Ellopták *az-t a híres **Csontváry-kép-et**.*
 steal.Past.DefObj.3Pl *that-Acc the famous **Csontváry-picture-Acc***
 ‘That famous **Csontváry** picture was stolen.’
- c. A *milliomos-unoká-k-nak* könnyű életük van.
 the *millionaire-grandchild-Pl-Dat* easy life.Poss.3Pl be.3Sg
 ‘Grandchildren of **millionaires** have easy lives.’
- d. Eltűnt *az a gyönyörű **Berger-kutya**.*
 vanish.Past.3Sg *that the beautiful **Berger-dog***
 ‘That beautiful **Berger** dog (i.e., the dog bred by Berger) has vanished.’

As was discussed in connection with the examples in (96-102) in 1.1.2.1, the status of the relevant prenominal complement zone left-adjacent to the noun head is far from trivial (Laczkó 1995: 125–154). Just like in the case of verbs, this zone is “closer” to the head than other zones. It can be found so close to the noun that their relationship may be regarded as a problem for morphology or for the lexicon, and not for syntax. A [dependent + noun] unit like this, for instance, is similar to a compound word in that it has a single stress on the first syllable of the “dependent” component of the unit. This pattern is the same as that of the [argument + verb] unit which serves as the basis for the derivation of the nominal counterpart in the case of a derived noun (see (644a)). Elements of the given zone left-adjacent to the verbal or nominal head can often be characterized by “reduced” complementhood because they tend to lose their referential power (and to gain some predicative power). We are convinced, however, that the elements concerned, which can all be expressed (in some adjusted form) as elements in the postnominal complement zone too, are worth taking into account if we intend to obtain a complete picture of the distribution of (conceptual) arguments of nominal (and verbal) heads (in terms of word order). Therefore, we continue to use the concept of a prenominal complement zone in each relevant subsection of this book. The reader should feel free to adapt his/her chosen framework to account for the data we discuss under this umbrella.

Our task is to review the Hungarian language using an ultimately language-independent strategy, which may, for the most part, be based upon universal pragmatico-semantic factors. In the given area, this universal basis is the fact that a head typically has lexically selected “dependents”. In this light, our task is to observe all forms of the syntactic appearance of these dependents, while at the same time thoroughly describing their limitations and the restrictions on these

appearances. By doing so, we intend to provide a solid empirical basis for would-be theory-dependent categorizations and accounts.

It is worth mentioning a special construction at this point, which can be called an identifying construction (645). Its ideal form is a possessive construction with an unmarked possessor (e.g., *Pécs* in (645b)), but a counterpart of the possessor can also appear in the prenominal complement zone, as is illustrated in (645c)—that is why this identifying construction is discussed here. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, it is also presented here that the given dependent cannot appear in the postnominal complement zone, where it should be realized in the form of a NAK possessor (645d). Moreover, it cannot be realized as a NAK possessor in any way (645d'). A NAK possessor (645d-d'), thus, in contrast to the unmarked forms (645b-c), inevitably triggers disjunct reference between the possessor and the possessee.

(645) ● The pre- and postnominal complement zone of identifying constructions

- a. A külföldön élő művészt tavaly kitüntette...
 the abroad.Sup live.Part artist.Acc last_year award.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 'The artist living abroad was awarded by...'
- b. ...*Pécs város-a*.
Pécs city-Poss.3Sg
 '...the city of Pécs.'
- c. ...*Pécs város* [?](^(?)*polgármestere*).
Pécs city mayor.Poss.3Sg
 '...(the mayor of) the city of Pécs.'
- d. *...*a város-a Pécsnek*.
the city-Poss.3Sg Pécs.Dat
 Intended meaning: '...the city of Pécs.'
- d'. *... *Pécsnek a város-a*.
Pécs.Dat the city-Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: '...the city of Pécs.'

Let us now turn to the general question of the postnominal complement zone. Here the problem has to do with constituency, that is, whether a phrase that semantically belongs to a noun forms a constituent with it in syntax as well. At this point we direct the reader's attention to Remark 19 below on the question (of the status) of postnominal complement zone in the Hungarian generative literature. Our discussion of the topic is essentially based on Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015).

In (646) below, the general problem is illustrated as follows: a noun phrase with its potential complement (**in bold**) has been placed in sentence in the postverbal complement zone (646a), and in the topic zone (646b). The question in (646a) is whether the instrumental case-marked noun phrase (*Ilivel* 'Ili.Ins') occupies a syntactic position in the postnominal complement zone of the ÁS-noun *összeveszésed* 'quarrel.ÁS.Poss.2Sg' or one in the complement zone of the finite verb *okozott* 'cause.Past.3Sg', separated from this noun, occupying a position just like the dative case-marked argument (*az unokahúgodnak* 'the niece.Poss.2Sg.Dat') of the verb does. A similar question in connection with (646b) is whether the instrumental case-marked noun phrase occupies a position in the postnominal complement zone of the ÁS-noun, whose phrase is now one of the topics of the finite verb (NB: the dative case-marked noun phrase also functions as a topic), or

whether it functions as a separate topic of the finite verb. There is no straightforward answer to these questions due to the absence of any explicit clues in the given sentence structures.

(646) • Noun phrases with a postnominal complement zone?

- a. ⁽²⁾Komoly csalódást okozott
 serious disappointment.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
a váratlan összevesz-és-ed Ili-vel az unokahúgodnak.
 the unexpected quarrel-Ás-Poss.2Sg Ili-Ins the niece.Poss.2Sg.Dat
 ‘The fact that you had an unexpected row **with Ili** caused a serious disappointment for your niece.’
- a’. Komoly csalódást okozott
 serious disappointment.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
 az unokahúgodnak *a váratlan összevesz-és-ed Ili-vel*.
 the niece.Poss.2Sg.Dat the unexpected quarrel-Ás-Poss.2Sg Ili-Ins
 ‘The fact that you had an unexpected row **with Ili** caused a serious disappointment for your niece.’
- a’’. Az unokahúgodnak komoly csalódást okozott
 the niece.Poss.2Sg.Dat serious disappointment.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
a váratlan összevesz-és-ed Ili-vel.
 the unexpected quarrel-Ás-Poss.2Sg Ili-Ins
 ‘The fact that you had an unexpected row **with Ili** caused a serious disappointment for your niece.’
- b. *A váratlan összevesz-és-ed Ili-vel* az unokahúgodnak
 the unexpected quarrel-Ás-Poss.2Sg Ili-Ins the niece.Poss.2Sg.Dat
 komoly csalódást okozott.
 serious disappointment.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
 ‘The fact that you had an unexpected row **with Ili** caused a serious disappointment for your niece.’
- b’. Az unokahúgodnak *a váratlan összevesz-és-ed Ili-vel*
 the niece.Poss.2Sg.Dat the unexpected quarrel-Ás-Poss.2Sg Ili-Ins
 komoly csalódást okozott.
 serious disappointment.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
 ‘The fact that you had an unexpected row **with Ili** caused a serious disappointment for your niece.’
- b’’. *A váratlan összevesz-és-ed Ili-vel*
 the unexpected quarrel-Ás-Poss.2Sg Ili-Ins
 komoly csalódást okozott az unokahúgodnak.
 serious disappointment.Acc cause.Past.3Sg the niece.Poss.2Sg.Dat
 ‘The fact that you had an unexpected row **with Ili** caused a serious disappointment for your niece.’

Note in passing that the word-order variants presented in the primed and double primed examples in (646) cannot solve the dilemma either, since the instrumental case-marked noun phrase in question may still be regarded as syntactically belonging to the verb (as its separate complement in (646a’-a’’) or as its separate topic in (646b’-b’’)) or belonging to the ÁS-noun (as its syntactic satellite in the postnominal complement zone in all cases).

All in all, neither the postverbal complement zone nor the topic field are suitable for basing a constituency test upon. The quantifier field, however, may be of some use to us.

As is demonstrated in the primed examples in (647) below, a *mind*-quantifier can be followed by another quantifier—by an *is*-quantifier, for instance—but it cannot be followed by a topic. The primeless examples in (647) show how we can

utilize this fact to verify that Hungarian nouns are generally capable of having a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone. The given structures (*in italics*) can only be analyzed as follows: the noun phrases written *in bold* are undoubtedly in the postnominal complement zones of the corresponding quantified nouns (647a,b,c,d), since if they were topics belonging to the finite verbs (after quantifiers), the sequences of words in question could not form acceptable sentences, see (647a',b',c',d').

Thus, the quantifier field is suitable for basing a reliable constituency test upon in all four subtypes of nouns, at least in cases in which there is no obstacle to testing the given noun phrase with its potential complement(s) in a quantified form (on problems of quantification in certain subtypes of derived nouns, see Table 38 in subsection 1.3.1.7, Table 45 in 1.3.3.1.3, and see also 1.3.2.1.4.3 and 1.3.2.1.4.3).

(647) ● Tests for verifying that noun phrases have a postnominal complement zone:

- I. Quantifiers
- a. ^(?)*Mindkét látogat-ás-od **Julínál** feltűnt Marinak.*
*both visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg **Julí.Ade** occur.Past.3Sg Mari.Dat*
 'Mari noticed *both of your visits to Juli's*.'
- a'. *Mindkét látogat-ás-od Marinak ^{*?}(✓is) feltűnt.*
both visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg Mari.Dat also occur.Past.3Sg
 'Mari noticed *both of your visits* (too).'
- b. ^(?)*Mindkét cikk **a főnevekről** bekerült a kötetbe.*
*both paper **the noun.Pl.Del** get_into.Past.3Sg the volume.Ill*
 'Both papers *on nouns* got into the volume.'
- b'. *Mindkét cikk a kötetbe ^{*?}(✓is) bekerült.*
both paper the volume.Ill also get_into.Past.3Sg
 'Both papers got into the volume (too).'
- c. ^(?)*Mindkét fia **Marinak** bekerült az egyetemre.*
*both son.Poss.3Sg **Mari.Dat** get_into.Past.3Sg theuniversity.Sub*
 'Both sons *of Mari* were admitted to the university.'
- c'. *Mindkét fia az egyetemre ^{*?}(✓is) bekerült.*
both son.Poss.3Sg the university.Sub also get_into.Past.3Sg
 'Both *of her sons* were admitted to the university (too).'
- d. ^(?)*Mindkét kutyája **Marinak** berohant a házba.*
*both dog.Poss.3Sg **Mari.Dat** run.Past.3Sg the house.Ill*
 'Both *of Mari's dogs* ran into the house.'
- d'. *Mindkét kutyája a házba ^{*?}(✓is) berohant.*
both dog.Poss.3Sg the house.Ill also run.Past.3Sg
 'Both *of her dogs* ran into the house (too).'

The contrastive topic constructions in (648) below also verify that (all four types of) Hungarian nouns can have a (phonetically non-empty) postnominal complement zone (see the noun phrases written *in italics and bold*). This demonstration is due to the fact that the edges of a constituent in contrastive topic position can be marked explicitly with such extra clues as a 'for instance'-construction (*Na például...*) in the left periphery of the topicalized phrase and a resumptive pronoun (*az* 'that') in its right periphery, both are illustrated in (648a-d).

(648) ● Tests for verifying that noun phrases have a postnominal complement zone:

II. Contrastive Topic

- a. Na például *a látogat-ás-od **Julinál***, az feltűnt Marinak.
 well_for_instance the visit-As-Poss.2Sg **Juli.Ade** that occur.Past.3Sg Mari.Dat
 ‘Well for instance, *your visit to Juli’s*, Mari noticed that.’
- b. Na például *a cikk **a főnevekről***, az bekerült a kötetbe.
 well_for_instance the paper **the noun.Pl.Del** that get_into.Past.3Sg the volume.Ill
 ‘Well for instance, *the paper on nouns*, that got into the volume.’
- c. Na például *a **fia** **Marinak***, az bekerült az egyetemre.
 well_for_instance the son.Poss.3Sg **Mari.Dat** that get_into.Past.3Sg the university.Sub
 ‘Well for instance, *Mari’s son*, he was admitted to the university.’
- d. Na például *a **kutyája** **Marinak***, az berohant a házba.
 well_for_instance the dog.Poss.3Sg **Mari.Dat** that run.Past.3Sg the house.Ill
 ‘Well for instance, *Mari’s dog*, it ran into the house.’

A contrastive topic, hence, can serve as an excellent basis for an adequate constituency test in Hungarian, which we make use of throughout the rest of this volume.

Such titles as those presented in (649a-a’) below also serve as evidence for the hypothesis that Hungarian nouns can have a (phonetically non-empty) postnominal complement zone, since there is no matrix verb in the given examples which may be claimed to potentially serve as the head that the given noun phrases belong to as a complement. It therefore cannot be doubted that the noun phrases written **in bold** belong to the corresponding noun heads as their complement.

(649) ● Tests for verifying that noun phrases have a postnominal complement zone:

III. Titles

- a. *Találkozás **egy fiatalember-rel***
 meeting a young_man-Ins
 ‘Meeting with a young man’ (a short story by Frigyes Karinthy)’
- a’. *Harc **a Nagyúrral***
 fight the potentate-Ins
 ‘Fight with the Lord’ (a poem by Endre Ady)’
- b. Elolvastam [a *Találkozás egy fiatalember-rel-t*] /
 read.Past.1Sg the meeting a young_man-Ins-Acc /
 *[a *Találkozás-t egy fiatalember-rel*].
 the meeting-Acc a young_man-Ins-Acc
 ‘I read the short novel *Találkozás egy fiatalemberrel*. (‘Meeting with a young man’)’
- b’. Nagyon várom *[a *találkozás egy rajongóm-mal-t*] /
 very.much wait.DefObj.1Sg the meeting a fan.Poss.1Sg-Ins-Acc /
 ✓ [a *találkozás-t egy rajongóm-mal*].
 the meeting-Acc a fan.Poss.1Sg-Ins
 ‘I’m very much looking forward to the meeting with a fan of mine.’

As is illustrated in (649b) above, titles can “conserve” right-branching noun phrases in their fixed, “frozen”, form (see (649a)): the (accusative) case suffix that belongs to the entire noun phrase appears at its right edge (NB: the title presented in (649a’)

behaves in the same way in this respect), while otherwise the given case suffix must appear on the noun head (649b’).

All in all, the existence of the type of title discussed above serves as an argument for the postnominal-complement-zone taking capacity of nouns in Hungarian. Nevertheless, their special character makes it questionable whether it is possible to base a perfect constituency test upon artificially constructed examples following this title pattern. It is a serious methodological question whether our mother-tongue competence allows grammatical judgment concerning noun phrases on the basis of “fictive titles”. We will therefore refrain from using “constructed titles” to test for constituency in what follows.

To sum up, it has been verified (in an essentially theory-independent way) that a Hungarian noun can have a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone (647-649). Nevertheless, there are sentential positions in which such “right branching” nominal constructions cannot appear, as is illustrated in the primeless examples in (650) below.

Concerning quantifiers, the *is*-quantifier construction cannot host a noun with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone (650a). This is presumably due not to its quantificational nature (cf. (647)) but to the cliticizing character of *is* ‘also/even’: as if the clitic and the postnominal satellite are “competitors” and attempt to be immediately right-adjacent to the noun head at the same time. Therefore, they cannot appear in one constituent. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that it is somewhat more acceptable (‘??’) for the clitic to be closer to the noun head (650a’’) (NB: it is difficult to decide the constituent structure of (650a’’), especially in a theory-independent manner).

Other positions that do not tolerate right branching noun phrases are focus (650b) and verbal modifier (650c). The problem also has to do with some kind of cliticizing effect: as if the finite verb (stem) and the postnominal satellite were competing for being immediately right-adjacent to the noun head.

(650) ● Positions that do not tolerate nouns with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone

- a. *[Még [az a cikk a főnevekről] is]_{Quantifier} megjelent.
 even that the paper the noun.Pl.Del also appear.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Even that paper on nouns appeared.’
- a’. ^(?)[°Még [^{°/}az °a 'cikk] °is]_{Quantifier} 'megjelent °a 'főnevekről.
 even that the paper also appear.Past.3Sg the noun.Pl.Del
 ‘Even that paper on nouns appeared.’
- a’’. ^{??}[Még az a cikk is a főnevekről]_{Quantifier} megjelent.
 even that the paper also the noun.Pl.Del appear.Past.3Sg
 ‘Even that paper on nouns appeared.’
- b. *[Az a cikk a főnevekről]_{Focus} jelent meg tegnap.
 that the paper the noun.Pl.Del appear.Past.3Sg perf yesterday
 Intended meaning: ‘It was that paper on nouns that appeared yesterday.’
- b’. ^(?)[°/°Az °a "cikk]_{Focus} °jelent °meg °tegnap °a "főnevekről.
 that the paper appear.Past.3Sg perf yesterday the noun.Pl.Del
 ‘It was that paper on nouns that appeared yesterday.’

- c. **[Cikket a főnevekről]*_{VMod} kerese_k.
paper.Acc the noun.Pl.Del look_for.1Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I am looking for *one or more papers on nouns*.'
- c'. [*Cikket*]_{VMod} °kerese_k °*a 'főnevekről*.
paper.Acc look_for.1Sg the noun.Pl.Del
 'I am looking for *one or more papers on nouns*.'

The single primed examples in (650) show the only possible way of expressing the intended meanings, according to which it is the whole noun phrase together with its postnominal complement zone, and not only a part of it, that obtains the given (*is*-quantifier, focus, or verbal modifier) position: the postnominal satellite must (syntactically) be separated from its noun head, making it possible in this way for its "competitor" to occupy the right-adjacent position to the noun head. The separated satellite bears, in the "discontinuous noun-phrase constituent", the same stress pattern as the remnant containing the noun head, as is indicated in the relevant examples, presumably in order to express their (semantic) togetherness. Note that such variants of (650a',b') in which the separated satellites bear no stress are acceptable sentences but have other meanings (in the case of (650b')), for instance, a possible alternative meaning is as follows: 'of papers on nouns, it is that paper, and not another one, that appeared yesterday', that is, the unstressed separated satellite serves as a part of the presupposition).

Remark 19. The *is*-quantifier, the focus, and the verbal modifier, presented in (650a,b,c) above, do not tolerate other sorts of "right branching" from the head, either, as is illustrated in (ii,iii,iv) below by means of a noun phrase containing a relative clause (which is to be regarded as an answer to the question in (i)). Just as in (650a',b',c') above, the only way of expressing the intended meaning is separating the postnominal satellite from its noun head (ii',iii',iv').

- *is*-quantifier, focus, and verbal modifier do not tolerate right branching in general:
 Relative clause in a DP: [... N CP]
- (i) Ki hívott meg?
 who invite.Past.3Sg perf
 'Who invited you?'
- (ii) *?Még [az a lány, akivel tegnap találkoztunk] is meghívott.
 even that the girl who.Ins yesterday meet.Past.1Pl also invite.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Even the girl we met yesterday invited me.'
- (ii') Még [az a lány] is meghívott, [_{CP} akivel tegnap találkoztunk].
 even that the girl also invite.Past.3Sg who.Ins yesterday meet.Past.1Pl
 'Even the girl we met yesterday invited me.'
- (iii) *?_[Foc] Az a lány, [_{CP} akivel tegnap találkoztunk], hívott meg.
 that the girl who.Ins yesterday meet.Past.1Pl invite.Past.3Sg perf
 Intended meaning: 'I was invited by the girl we met yesterday.'
- (iii') [_{Foc} Az a lány] hívott meg, [_{CP} akivel tegnap találkoztunk].
 that the girl invite.Past.3Sg perf who.Ins yesterday meet.Past.1Pl
 'I was invited by the girl we met yesterday.'
- (iv) *_[VMod] Azt, [_{CP} hogy elmész]], mondtad.
 that.Acc that go.2Sg say.Past.DefObj.2Sg
 Intended meaning: 'You said that you would go away.'
- (iv') [_{VMod} Azt] mondtad, [_{CP} hogy elmész]].
 that.Acc say.Past.DefObj.2Sg that go.2Sg
 'You said that you would go away.'

What makes these right branching effects relevant to our discussion is that, in the last two decades, it is exactly the focus and the *is*-quantifier constructions that have been used as constituency tests (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 291, É. Kiss 2000) on the basis of the “canonical” Hungarian generative literature (Kiefer 1992). These researchers have all but accepted the hypothesis that there is no (phonetically non-empty) postnominal complement zone, as is formulated in (vi-vi') below. Note in passing, before entering into details of the structures presented in (vi-vi'), that the particular test proposed by É. Kiss (2000), which is based on the *még ... is* ‘even’ construction, has the (seeming) advantage over the earlier focus test (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 291) that the two clitics *még* ‘still’ and *is* ‘also’ explicitly signal the two edges of the constituents to be tested. Nevertheless, this advantage is only apparent, since an *is*-quantifier does not tolerate right branching, either, so the clitic *is* ‘also’ does not signal but rather destroys the right periphery of noun phrases. Therefore, this test entirely patterns with the focus test in being unsuitable for the task of deciding whether a noun head can have a right-branching periphery.

Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015) pointed out that the constraints excluding instances of right branching from the head belong to a universal group of head final effects (v), discussed by Williams (1982), among others.

- (v) John [very **carefully**] / *[**with care**] read the book.

As Hinterhölzl (2010: 40) pointed out, head final effects should be treated as prosodic in nature and should be interpreted over intonational domains, which are claimed by Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015) to hold perfectly for all the above-discussed Hungarian phenomena (ii,iii,iv). The relevant Hungarian data, thus, can be accounted for by a generalized version of Hinterhölzl's weight condition (2010: 44).

Let us now look at those approaches which accept no (phonetically non-empty) postnominal complement zone.

According to the more radical approach (vi), which can chiefly be attributed to Anna Szabolcsi, nouns are held to have no postnominal complement zone at all; of the potential dependents that may belong to a noun, only the possessor, presented as the parenthesized DP in (vi), was given a (prenominal) position in the structure of the noun phrase.

The less radical approach (vi'), chiefly attributed to É. Kiss (see, e.g., É. Kiss 1999: 85-89), had already taken into consideration the existence of a postnominal complement zone. According to this stance, thus, it is not excluded that an N head can be associated with lexically-semantically determined dependents, which appear in its postnominal complement zone in some kind of “deep structure”; at surface structure, however, this complement zone must be empty, because of the tension between morphological and syntactic requirements formulated in (vi'.a) and (vi'.b), respectively. Note in passing (in advance) that the series of examples in (651) below shows that the phonetic weight of the case marker mentioned in (vi'.a-b) counts in a gradual way (that is, the heavier the case marker is, the less acceptable the corresponding noun phrase with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone is).

- Three approaches in the Hungarian generative literature to the question of postnominal complement zone

(vi) “No Complement” Approach: [DP ... D [NP (DP) ... N]]

(vi') “Emptied Complement” Approach: [DP NP_i D [predNP N+I Ø_i]

where NP_i is an obligatorily moved NAK possessor;

Constraint on Case Assignment (É. Kiss 1999: 77, 2002: 174):

- The case marker of an NP appears at the right edge of this NP.
- The case marker cliticizes onto the head of the NP.

(vi'') “Non-Empty Complement” Approach: [DP ... D [NP ... [N' N XP*]]]

Argument (Inheritance) Principle (Alberti and Medve 2002/2005):

- Lexical-semantic dependents of heads must appear in X' (as sisters of X).
- They can remain *in situ* (under certain circumstances).

The third approach (Alberti and Medve 2002/2005, Alberti, Farkas and Szabó 2015), formulated in (vi) above, solidly relies on the lexical-semantic necessity according to which any kind of lexical-semantic dependent of a lexical element must appear in the complement zone of the head that hosts the given lexical element (vi).a). If the N head is a deverbal nominal, for instance, the thematic arguments of the input verb are inherited and hosted in the complement zone of N. Non-deverbal nouns may have other types of lexical-semantic dependents, which can be called *conceptual arguments* (Laczkó 2000a) or *quasi-arguments* or *thematic adjuncts* (Rákosi 2009); see also 2.1.1.2.2. Nevertheless, a noun with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone is rare in practice as well as in the relevant literature, which has to do with felicity conditions. The second part of this subsection (2.1.1.1) is devoted to this topic (see (651-659)). In other words, if certain grammatical constellations coincide, filling the postnominal complement zone does yield acceptable and sometimes even optimal sentence variants (vi).b). One of the felicity conditions requires, for instance, that a noun phrase in the complement zone of N be definitely heavy phonetically; this explains why examples satisfying this criterion are rare in the literature: editors of linguistics research papers (naturally) dislike very long example sentences stretching over two or more lines.

Let us now consider a very long sentence, namely, the one presented in (viii) as well as in (ix) below, whose thorough analysis provides further evidence for the “Non-Empty Complement” Approach.

As the two labeled syntactic structures in (vii-vii’), associated with (viii-ix), show below, it cannot be decided on the basis of the right periphery of the sentence whether a constituent can be found in the complement zone of a noun head (vii), as is predicted by the “Non-Empty Complement” Approach (vi’), or in the complement zone of the verb that the phrase of the noun head belongs to (vii’), owing to the fact that the two structures yield the same word order (see also (646a-a’), in connection with which the same problem was discussed). Structure (vii’) is predicted by the “Emptied Complement” Approach (vi’), and can be regarded as a result of extraposition to VP (É. Kiss 1999): the verb takes every constituent that (originally/ semantically) belonged to the complement of any other constituent as its own syntactic dependent.

A potential test based on Behaghel’s Law, often used by É. Kiss herself (e.g., 2009), can be used in order to make a distinction between the two structures with the same surface word order (viii-ix). This law predicts that the optimal order of the satellites of V in the right periphery of the Hungarian sentence is such that heavy phrases tend to come last (as is also illustrated in (660) below).

Let us consider the “competing” structures presented in (viii) and (ix) below (attributed to the same long but fully acceptable sentence). If we assume, in harmony with the “Non-Empty Complement” Approach (vii), that there are two basic constituents in the complement zone of the verb—a long one and an even longer one—then Behaghel’s Law is satisfied (viii). If we assume, however, in harmony with the “Emptied Complement” Approach (vii’) that there are four noun phrases in the complement zone of the verb, then we face a violation of Behaghel’s Law, as is illustrated in (ix), where, for instance, the last dependent would be the second least heavy phrase, instead of the heaviest one.

- “Behaghel Test” on the constituent status of noun phrases with non-empty complement zone: I. Verbs and nouns with several semantic arguments

(vii) “Non-Empty Complement” Approach: [_{VP} ... V ... DP ... [_{DP} ... N ... DP₁ ... DP_k ...]]

(vii’) “Emptied Complement” Approach: [_{VP} ... V ... DP ... [_{DP} ... N ... Ø₁ ... Ø_k ...] ... DP₁ ... DP_k ...]

(viii) Elmondattad végül
 recite.Caus.Past.DefObj.2Sg finally
 [a két kis cserfes hódmezővásárhelyi unokahúgoddal]
 the two little talkative Hódmezővásárhely.Adj niece.Poss.2Sg.Ins
 [a gyerekkorunkból ismert tréfás kis verset
 the childhood.Poss.1Pl.Ela known funny little poem.Acc
 Móricztól a három dühös tehénről?]
 Móricz.Abl the three angry cow.Del
 ‘Did you finally make your two little talkative nieces from Hódmezővásárhely
 recite the funny little poem, known from our childhood, by Móricz about the
 three angry cows?’

- (ix) Elmondattad végül
 recite.Caus.Past.DefObj.2Sg finally
 [a két kis cserfes hódmezővásárhelyi unokahúgoddal]
 the two little talkative Hódmezővásárhely.Adj niece.Poss.2Sg.Ins
 [a gyerekkorunkból ismert tréfás kis verset]
 the childhood.Poss.1Pl.Ela known funny little poem.Acc
 [Móricztól]
 Móricz.Abl
 [a három dühös tehénről]?
 the three angry cow.Del
 'Did you finally make your two little talkative nieces from Hódmezővásárhely
 recite the funny little poem, known from our childhood, by Móricz about the
 three angry cows?'
- (ix') *Elmondattad végül
 recite.Caus.Past.DefObj.2Sg finally
 [Móricztól]
 Móricz.Abl
 [a három dühös tehénről]
 the three angry cow.Del
 [a gyerekkorunkból ismert tréfás kis verset]
 the childhood.Poss.1Pl.Ela known funny little poem.Acc
 [a két kis cserfes hódmezővásárhelyi unokahúgoddal]?
 the two little talkative Hódmezővásárhely.Adj niece.Poss.2Sg.Ins
 Intended meaning: 'Did you finally make your two little talkative nieces from
 Hódmezővásárhely recite the funny little poem, known from our childhood, by
 Móricz about the three angry cows?'

Example (ix') above shows the same problem from another angle. We arranged the four complements proposed by the "Emptied Complement" Approach in the order that Behaghel's Law would predict—and obtained an unacceptable word order.

All in all, if the "Emptied Complement" Approach were correct, the phrases that follow the verb would be arranged according to Behaghel's Law, independent of their semantic belonging to the verb itself or nouns whose phrases belong to the verb. That is not the case, however, as is illustrated in (ix') above, as well as in (x',xi') below, in which simpler verbal and nominal argument structures are considered. The "Non-Empty Complement" Approach correctly predicts the ideal order of phrases following the verb (viii,x,xi): the satellites of nouns must remain *in situ* after the noun heads they belong to.

- "Behaghel Test" on the constituent status of noun phrases with a non-empty complement zone: II. Verbs and nouns with a single semantic argument

- (x) Sokat gondolkodtam
 a_lot.Acc think.Past.1Sg
 [a biztonsági emberek összeesküvéséről a király ellen].
 the security people conspiracy.Poss.3Sg.Del the king against
 'I have been thinking a lot about the conspiracy of the security staff against the king.'
- (x') *Sokat gondolkodtam
 a_lot.Acc think.Past.1Sg
 [a király ellen].
 the king against
 [a biztonsági emberek összeesküvéséről ∅].
 the security people conspiracy.Poss.3Sg.Del
 Intended meaning: 'I have been thinking a lot about the conspiracy of the
 security staff against the king.'
- (xi) Sokat gondolkodtam
 a_lot.Acc think.Past.1Sg
 [Mária találkozásáról Péterrel].
 Mária meeting.Poss.3Sg.Del Péter.Ins
 'I have been thinking a lot about Mária's meeting with Péter.'

- (xi') *Sokat gondolkodtam
a lot.Acc think.Past.1Sg
[Péterrel]_i
Péter.Ins
[Mária találkozásáról ∅].
Mária meeting.Poss.3Sg.Del
Intended meaning: 'I have been thinking a lot about Mária's meeting with Péter.'

Note in passing that the short-answer construction presented in (xii-xiii) below seems to provide further evidence for the existence of nouns “remaining together” with their phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone, but that is not the case. In other words, one might think that if a question pertains to a thing which is typically to be referred to with a noun phrase, then the corresponding short answer will form a constituent.

It would not be easy, however, to argue against the claim that the structure of the short answer is the elliptical variant of some discontinuous constituent (xiii); that of the (mirror) focus construction (Alberti and Medve 2000) of the corresponding complete answer, for instance, demonstrated in (xiv) below (see also Lipták 2011).

- Short answers: another evidence for right branching noun phrases?

- (xii) Melyik verset mondod el?
which poem.Acc tell.DefObj.2Sg away
'Which poem will you recite?'
- (xiii) Azt a tréfás kis [N gyerekverset]
that.Acc the funny little nursery_rhyme.Acc
[DP Móricztól] [DP a különböző színű tehenekről].
Móricz.Abl the different color.Attr cow.Pl.Del
'That funny little nursery rhyme by Móricz about the cows with different colors.'
- (xiii') Azt a tréfás kis gyerekverset mondom el
that.Acc the funny little nursery_rhyme.Acc tell.DefObj.1Sg away
Móricztól a különböző színű tehenekről.
Móricz.Abl the different color.Attr cow.Pl.Del
'I will recite that funny little nursery rhyme by Móricz about the cows with different colors.'
- (xiv) [FP [DP ... N ∅_k∅_m]_i V_i+F [V ∅_t... ∅_i...] ... DP_k DP_m ...]

Let us now consider another phenomenon used to decide complementhood, namely, anaphora.

If there is coreference between a complement that is assumed, according to the “Non-Empty Complement” Approach, to belong to a noun head (denoted by β in schema (xv) below) and a complement of the matrix verb (α), the former is predicted to appear in the form of a pronoun, since α and β are assumed to belong to different complement domains. The typical examples of the literature (xvi-xvi'), however, at least at first glance, provide evidence *against* the approach in question, and seem to corroborate an alternative approach according to which noun phrase β, as regards its anaphoric behavior, belongs to the domain of the verb, together with the antecedent, that is, with noun phrase α. In schema (xv'), this alternative approach is referred to as the Approach*, instead of the “No Complement” Approach or the “Emptied Complement” Approach. The reason for this is that it is not clear at which phase of syntactic derivation these approaches intend to account for the anaphoric relations.

- Anaphoric phenomena: I. Evidence against the “Non-Empty Complement” Approach?

- (xv) “Non-Empty Compl.” Appr.: [VP ... V ... DP^α ... [DP ... N ... DP^β ...] ...] → DP^β pronoun
(xv') Approach*: [VP ... V ... DP^α ... [DP ... N] ... DP^β ...] → DP^β anaphor
- (xvi) Az idős művész^α készített / festett
the elderly artist make.Past.3Sg / paint.Past.3Sg
egy képet *róla^β / *magáról^β.
a picture.Acc Del.3Sg / himself.Del
'The elderly artist made / painted a picture of himself.'

- (xvi') Az idős művész^α mutatott
 the elderly artist show.Past.3Sg
 egy régi képet *róla^β / 'magáról^β.
 a old picture.Acc Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 'The elderly artist showed an old picture of himself.'

It will be pointed out that in the case of examples (xvi-xvi') many circumstances infelicitous for the "Non-Empty Complement" Approach happen to coincide. The second half of this remark is devoted to the revelation of these decisive circumstances.

The first "infelicitous" circumstance is that in (xvi) the creator of the picture cannot be interpreted as different from the Agent of the verb in the state of affairs expressed by the verb. The anaphoric appearance of the Theme of the picture, hence, is due to the coreferential relation between the Theme of the picture and the unnamed creator of the picture (the Agent of the noun), denoted by γ in the labeled syntactic structure demonstrated in (xvii) below. This structure is thus already compatible with the "Non-Empty Complement" Approach.

- (xvii) [_{VP} ... V ... **DP^α** ... [_{DP} ... N PRO^γ... **DP^β**...] ...]

It seems, at first glance, that this argumentation does not hold for example (xvi'), because the content of (xvi') does not imply that the creator of the picture (γ) inevitably coincides with the Agent of *showing* (α). Nevertheless, it can be argued that language *does* express a relative point of view according to which γ is identical with α . Participant α may be regarded as identical with the "momentary" creator, or "re-creator", or "pseudo-creator", of the picture. Thus, it is possible to attribute structure (xvii) to sentence (xvi'), too.

It is worth considering a phenomenon analogous to the relationship between *készít* 'make' and *mutat* 'show'. As is exemplified in (xviii) below, *alakul* 'get formed' is a special verb in Hungarian due to its inherent existential meaning component. One of its special properties is that its Theme cannot appear in a neutral sentence as a definite noun phrase due to the fact that it is claimed to come into existence (Szabolcsi 1986, Alberti 1997); this forms the basis of the analogy with the verb *készít* 'make'.

- (xviii) Alakult / Érkezett egy / *a kórus.
 get_formed.Past.3Sg / arrive.Past.3Sg a / the choir
 'There [got formed] / arrived a choir.'

This special property also holds for the verb *érkezik* 'arrive', as is also shown in (xviii) above. The aforementioned analogy has to do with the fact that the latter verb belongs to the same group of verbs with an existential meaning component as the former, in spite of the fact that an arriving choir is not an entity which is claimed to be just coming into existence. According to the "relative" viewpoint of language, however, *arriving* does count as a kind of coming into existence from the speaker's momentary viewpoint (hence, *érkezik* 'arrive' is analogous to *mutat* 'show').

The series of examples in (xix-xx') below presents another aspect of anaphoric phenomena, still by means of the verb *mutat* 'show'. The intended interpretation in all answers (xix'-xx') to the question in (xix) is that the Theme of the picture (β) is different from its genuine creator (γ).

• Anaphoric phenomena: II. Movement and explicit creator

- (xix) Mit mutatott neked az idős művész?
 what.Acc show.Past.3Sg Dat.2Sg the elderly artist
 'What did the elderly artist show you?'

- (xix') Na például azt a régi képet ?róla^β / ?magáról^β,
 well for_instance that.Acc the old picture.Acc Del.3Sg/ himself.Del
 azt csak nagyon vonakodva mutatta meg.
 that.Acc only very.much hesitate.Conv show.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf
 'Well for instance, as for that old picture of him, he was unwilling to show it.'

- (xix") Na például azt a régi képedet ^(?)róla^β / ^{??}magáról^β,
 well for_instance that.Acc the old picture.Poss.2Sg.Acc Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 azt csak nagyon vonakodva mutatta meg.
 that.Acc only very.much hesitate.Conv show.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf
 'Well for instance, as for your old picture of him, he was unwilling to show it.'
- (xx) Megmutatta neked az idős művész
 show.PastDefObj.3Sg Dat.2Sg the elderly artist
 a képeimet a családtagjairól?
 the picture.Poss.Pl.1Sg.Acc the family_member.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Del
 'Did the elderly artist show you my pictures of his family members?'
- (xx') Csak a feleségéről / *róla^β / ^(?)magáról^β
 only the wife.Poss.3Sg.Del / Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 mutatta meg a képedet.
 show.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the picture.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 'The only picture of yours that he showed me was of his wife / himself.'

In the case of example (xix'), the anaphoric behavior under discussion is studied in the 'for instance'-construction, which is an ideal constituency test in Hungarian (see the comments on (648) above). It can be considered as evidence for the schema presented in (xv) above that, inside the extracted noun phrase, γ may not only appear as an anaphor, but also as a pronoun; see the coinciding grammaticality judgments '?' associated with both variants in (xix'). The former alternative is due to the reinterpretation demonstrated in (xvii) while the emergence of the latter alternative can be attributed to the fact that, in the course of uttering the sentence, the matrix verb appears so late that its "re-creating" effect may remain ineffective.

The grammaticality judgments concerning example (xix") above provide strong evidence for the "re-creator" hypothesis sketched in connection with (xvi'); because it turns out that the explicit appearance of the genuine creator of the picture promptly blocks, not surprisingly, the interpretation in which the genuine creator is replaced with the momentary re-creator.

The focus construction shown in (xx') above (to be understood as an answer to the question in (xx)) yields a very interesting type of data. Here noun phrase β appears as an anaphor, even in spite of the fact that the genuine creator is present. What presumably matters is that β is in the focus construction of the verb, that is, it is to be regarded as a constituent in the domain of the verb, at least in the surface structure. This fact suggests that anaphoric relations are calculated on the basis of the surface word order or the final syntactic structure.

In the schemas presented in (xv-xv') above, both the semantic character of the N head and that of the matrix verb are decisive factors in anaphoric phenomena.

Examples (xxi) and (xxii) below (the first of which coincides with (xvi') above) serve as a basis of comparison. In (xxi'), another type of right-branching noun phrase is investigated. In (xxii'), the matrix verb is changed. The intended interpretations remain unchanged in that the Theme of the object denoted by the accusative case-marked noun (β) is considered to be different from the genuine creator (γ).

• Anaphoric phenomena: III. The impact of the choice of the N head

- (xxi) Az idős művész^α mutatott
 the elderly artist show.Past.3Sg
 egy régi képet *róla^β / ^γmagáról^β.
 a old picture.Acc Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 'The elderly artist showed an old picture of himself.'
- (xxi') Az idős művész^α mutatott
 the elderly artist show.Past.3Sg
 egy régi interjút ^{??}vele^β / *magával^β.
 a old interview.Acc Ins.3Sg / himself.Ins
 'The elderly artist showed an old interview with him.'

The fact that in both (xxi') above and (xxii') below the tested noun phrase β cannot appear in the form of an anaphor corroborates the thesis sketched above, according to which its appearance as an anaphor in (xvi') is only due to many independent circumstances infelicitous for the "Non-Empty Complement" Approach (xv).

Interjú 'interview' is more "event-like" than *kép* 'picture' in the minimal pair demonstrated in (xxi-xxi') above, so it does not accept the pseudo-creator "proposed" by the matrix verb instead of the genuine creator. The difference cannot be attributed to the deverbal character of *interjú* since no verb stem can be found in this word in Hungarian. It seems that its semantic content is such that the anaphoric appearance of its Theme argument only tolerates an interpretation in which the Theme is identical with the (genuine) creator of the interview. On the other hand, *kép* 'picture' counts as less event-like in the sense that if its creator is unnamed, we readily forget about him or her, and we can accept the Agent of the showing event as a "momentary" (re-)creator.

Let us now interpret the difference in the minimal pair (xxii-xxii') below, that is, the difference between *mutat* 'show' and *megbocsát* 'forgive': while the former verb is suitable for proposing that its subject can serve as a pseudo-creator, the latter verb is not suitable for this purpose. It is obvious that showing can be construed as a kind of creation, in contrast with forgiving.

• Anaphoric phenomena: IV. The impact of the choice of the matrix V

(xxii) Az idős művész ^{α} nem tudta megmutatni
 the elderly artist not can.Past.DefObj.3Sg show.Inf
 azt a régi képet ^{??}róla ^{β} / ^{??}magáról ^{β} .
 that.Acc the old picture.Acc Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 'The elderly artist could not show that old picture of himself.'

(xxii') Az idős művész ^{α} nem tudta megbocsátani
 the elderly artist not can.Past.DefObj.3Sg forgive.Inf
 azt a régi képet ^(?)róla ^{β} / *magáról ^{β} .
 that.Acc the old picture.Acc Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 'The elderly artist could not forgive that old picture of himself.'

The role of the binder, that is, noun phrase α in (xv-xv'), has been played by the subject of the matrix verb in all the examples considered so far. An object, however, can also be an appropriate potential binder. As is shown in (xxiii'-xxiii'') below (which are to be regarded as answers to the question in (xxiii)), the tested noun phrase β must unequivocally be expressed in the form of a pronoun, and not in the form of an anaphor. This fact definitely provides evidence for the "Non-Empty Complement" Approach (xv).

• Anaphoric phenomena: V. The binder in an object position

(xxiii) Mi zaklatta fel azt az idős színészt?
 what upset.Past.DefObj.3Sg up that.Acc the elderly actor.Acc
 'What upset that elderly actor?'

(xxiii') Na például az a régi kép róla ^{β} / *magáról ^{β} ,
 well_for_instance that the old picture Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 az nagyon felzaklatta.
 that very.much upset.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 'Well for instance, as for that old picture of him, that upset him very much.'

(xxiii'') Az idős színészt ^{α} nagyon felzaklatta
 the elderly actor.Acc very.much upset.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 az a régi kép ^(?)róla ^{β} / *magáról ^{β} .
 that the old picture Del.3Sg / himself.Del
 'That old picture of him upset the elderly actor very much.'

- (xxiv) Mari mindig össze akar veszejteni engem veled
 Mari always together want.3Sg lose.Caus.Inf me Ins.2Sg
 azokkal a régi képekkel
 that.PI.Ins the old picture.PI.Ins
 *magamról / ?rólam /
 myself.Del / Del.1Sg /
 *magadról / (?^o)rólad /
 yourself.Del / Del.2Sg /
 ?magáról / ??róla /
 herself.Del / Del.3Sg /
 *magunkról_{excl.} / ?rólunk_{excl.} /
 ourselves.Del / Del.1Pl /
 ??magunkról_{incl.} / ??rólunk_{incl.} /
 ourselves.Del / Del.1Pl
 'Mari always wants me to have a quarrel with you by using those pictures of
 myself / me / yourself / you / herself / her / ourselves / us.'

As for the latter example presented in (xxiv) above with its numerous variants, it also provides evidence for the "Non-Empty Complement" Approach (xv).

It is in total harmony with this approach (and with the "re-creator" auxiliary hypothesis) that if the antecedent is the Agent of the matrix verb (*Mari*), the anaphoric form is preferred (^o*magáról* 'herself.Del') with an almost as acceptable pronominal alternative (^o*róla* 'Del.3Sg'), while if the antecedent is another argument of the matrix verb (*you* or *me*), only the corresponding pronominal forms are accepted (non-Agents cannot serve as "momentary re-creators").

Last but not least, let us consider the four copies of the two delative case-marked first person plural noun phrases *rólunk* 'Del.1Pl' and *magunkról* 'ourselves.Del'. As is predicted on the basis of (xv), the pronominal version *rólunk* is required if the intended antecedent of the noun phrase in question is *you* and *me*, the non-subject arguments of the matrix verb. We call this the exclusive version of *we*, since the subject is excluded from the antecedent set. In the inclusive reading, however, in which *Mari* also belongs to the set denoted by the pronoun *we*, the anaphoric version of the delative case-marked noun phrase is required.

Let us now consider the felicity conditions on which the acceptability of nouns with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone depends.

The first influencing factor is the phonetic weight of the case marker of the noun head. As is illustrated by means of a derived noun (*meghívás* 'invitation') in the series of examples in (651) below, the heavier the case marker is, the less acceptable the corresponding noun phrase with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone is (cf. (vi'.a-b) in Remark 19 above). This is a general tendency, whose detailed discussion is provided in connection with Table 47 in 2.1.1.3. Here, three felicity conditions are considered at the same time, yielding a more sophisticated picture. The basic characteristic of this tendency is that the most acceptable noun phrases with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone are in the phonetically unmarked Nominative case (651a), while the less acceptable ones are those whose noun head is immediately followed by a postposition (651e), with the differently (explicitly) case-marked noun heads providing in-between cases with respect to acceptability (651b-d).

(651) ● Dependence on the weight of the inflection on the noun head

- a. Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása
 well_for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg
 a fiadnak, az nagyon bosszant.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that very.much annoy.3Sg
 'Well for instance, *your son's invitation without any previous agreement*, that annoys me very much.'

- b. Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-t*
 well_for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Acc
a fiadnak, azt nagyon ellenzem.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that.Acc very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your son’s invitation without any previous agreement*, I am against that very much.’
- c. ^(?)Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-n*
 well_for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Sup
a fiadnak, azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that.Sup very.much surprise.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your son’s invitation without any previous agreement*, that is a big surprise to me.’
- d. [?]Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-tól*
 well_for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-AbI
a fiadnak, attól nagyon kiborultam.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that.Sup very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your son’s invitation without any previous agreement*, I freaked out about that very much.’
- e. ^{??}Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása miatt*
 well_for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg *because_of*
a fiadnak, amiatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that.because_of very angry be.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your son’s invitation without any previous agreement*, I am very angry about that.’

We claim, without illustration, that the acceptability of phrases with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone of *story/picture* nouns, relational nouns and ordinary nouns show the same dependence on the phonetic weight of the case marker (and postposition) on the noun head.

As is pointed out by Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 258/(87)), what counts in the above respect is not only the phonetic weight of the case marker on the noun head but also some kind of comparison between this weight and the weight of the marker on the head of the satellite phrase in the postnominal complement zone (NB: here we restrict ourselves to the examination of nouns with postnominal complement zones consisting of a single satellite phrase).

As is illustrated in the series of examples in (652) below, it is the ratio of the two phonetic weights that counts: it is preferred for the marker on the noun head to be lighter than the marker on the satellite. That is why the most acceptable example (‘(?)’) is the one in (652a), in which the noun head bears a case suffix with the satellite bearing a postposition, while the least acceptable example (‘??’) is the one in (652c), in which the opposite distribution of the two kinds of markers is tested. It is worth noting that, although the example in (652a) and the one in (651d) contain noun heads with case markers of the same phonetic weight, the former is somewhat more acceptable than the latter, due to the favorable ratio of weights. As is shown in (652b,d), if the two phonetic weights in question coincide, the corresponding examples are associated with in-between grammaticality judgments (‘?’), at least according to the intuition of the authors of this section. Note in passing that Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 258/(87)) marked example (652d) as practically

unacceptable (*?'), which suggests that, at least to certain speakers, even the sum of the weight of the marker on the noun head and on the satellite counts: the sum must not be too great.

(652) ● Comparison of the case marker of the noun head with that of its argument

- a. ⁽²⁾Sokat gondolkodtam
 a_lot.Acc think.Past.1Sg
a biztonsági emberek összeesküvésé-ről a király ellen.
the security person.Pl conspiracy.Poss.3Sg-Del the king against
 'I have been thinking a lot about the conspiracy of the security staff against the king.'
- b. [?]Sokat gondolkodtam Mária találkozásá-ról Péter-rel.
 a_lot.Acc think.Past.1Sg Mária meeting.Poss.3Sg-Del Péter-Ins
 'I have been thinking a lot about Mária's meeting with Péter.'
- c. ^{??}Sokan érdeklődtek Mária találkozása felől Péter-rel.
 many.people inquire.Past.3Pl Mária meeting.Poss.3Sg about Péter-Ins
 'Many inquired about Mária's meeting with Péter.'
- d. [?]Sokan érdeklődtek
 many.people inquire.Past.3Pl
a biztonsági emberek összeesküvése felől a király ellen.
the security person.Pl conspiracy.Poss.3Sg about the king against
 'Many inquired about the conspiracy of the security staff against the king.'

The third factor to be considered as a felicity condition is some kind of "phonetic balance" within noun phrases. The series of examples in (653) below illustrates this requirement.

The grammaticality judgments associated with the examples in (653a-b) below suggest that if a heavy complement zone is chosen in a noun phrase, the pre-head zone must not be light. In other words, a heavy complement zone should be "legitimized" by a heavy pre-head zone. Note in passing that a disproportionately heavy pre-head zone, however, is not preferred, either, as is shown by the comparison of (653c) and (653b).

(653) ● The balance of phonetic weight within noun phrases

- a. ^{*?}Na például a versei iránt Adynak a halálról,
 well for_instance the poem.Poss.Pl.3Sg towards Ady.Dat the death.Del
 azok iránt egyre jobban érdeklődöm.
 that.Pl towards ever more be_interested_in.1Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, as for Ady's poems about death, I am getting more and more interested in those.'
- b. [?]Na például az utolsó évekből származó, mostanában népszerűvé
 well for_instance the last year.Pl.Ela coming_from nowadays popular.TrE
 váló versei iránt Adynak a halálról,
 become.Part poem.Poss.Pl.3Sg towards Ady.Dat the death.Del
 azok iránt egyre jobban érdeklődöm.
 that.Pl towards ever more be_interested_in.1Sg
 'Well for instance, as for Ady's poems from his last years about death, which nowadays are becoming more and more popular, I am getting more and more interested in those.'

- c. ^{??}Na például *Adynak az utolsó évekből származó, mostanában*
 well for_instance *Ady.Dat the last year.Pl.Ela coming_from nowadays*
népszerűvé váló, a halálról szóló versei iránt,
popular.TrE become.Part the death.Del concern.Part poem.Poss.Pl.3Sg towards
azok iránt egyre jobban érdeklődöm.
 that.Pl towards ever more be_interested_in.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, as for *Ady’s* poems from the last years about death, which nowadays are becoming more and more popular, I am getting more and more interested in those.’

The fourth factor influencing the acceptability of noun phrases with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone is some kind of “phonetic balance” within sentences. As is illustrated in the series of examples in (654b-c) below by means of the variants of the sentence in (654a), the same noun phrase (with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone) is more acceptable as a topic if the comment part of the sentence is approximately of the same size; compare (654b) and (654c).

(654) ● The balance of weight within sentences

- a. *Ábrahám* megnősült.
Ábrahám get_married.Past.3Sg
 ‘*Ábrahám* got married.’
- b. [?]*Az új haverja az egyetemről annak a kelekótya fiának*
the new friend.Poss.3Sg the university.Del that.Dat the foolish son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
megnősült.
get_married.Past.3Sg
 ‘*The new friend of that foolish son of yours from the university* got married.’
- c. ^(?)*Az új haverja az egyetemről annak a kelekótya fiának*
the new friend.Poss.3Sg the university.Del that.Dat the foolish son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
tegnap mindenki számára teljesen váratlanul megnősült.
yesterday everyone for.Poss.3Sg.Sub completely unexpectedly get_married.Past.3Sg
 ‘*The new friend of that foolish son of yours from the university* got married yesterday, which was a big surprise to everyone.’

The fifth factor that has an influence on the acceptability of noun phrases with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone is the coincidence of case markers within noun phrases.

There are two ways for case markers to coincide with each other: (i) the noun head bears the same case as its satellite, which is illustrated in the series of examples in (655-657) below; or (ii) the noun has two satellites bearing the same case, which is illustrated in (658) below and, in more detail, in the subsection on argument order in complement zones (2.1.1.3).

The series of examples in (655-656) below illustrate that it is not preferred for a noun to bear the same case marker as its satellite. Furthermore, the heavier the coinciding case marker is, the less acceptable the construction is (cf. (651) above); where the possessor-denoting *-nAk* suffix (in contrast to the other types of *-nAk* suffix) counts as “as heavy” in the above respect as a postposition, presumably due to its too many functions in a Hungarian DP, compare the (c’)-examples to the (c)-examples in (655-656). It is a further unfavorable factor if the satellite with the same case marker immediately follows the noun head (655).

(655) ● Coinciding case markers [DP ... N_{+α} ... DP_{+α} ...] I.

- a. ^{??}Na például [a váratlan megjelenésé-**n** [a koncert-**en**]],
 well for_instance the unexpected appearance.Poss.3Sg-Sup the concert-Sup
 azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 that.Sup very.much surprise.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *as for his unexpected appearance at the concert*, that is a big surprise to me.’
- b. ^{??}Na például [a teljesen indokolatlan félelmé-**től** [a nagyobb testű kutyák-**től**]], attól nagyon kiborultam.
 well for_instance the completely causeless fear-Abl the bigger body.Attr
 dog.Pl-Abl that.Sup very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *as for his causeless fear of bigger dogs*, I freaked out about that very much.’
- c. ^{??}Na például [a házam sikeres eladásá-**nak** [egy gazdag külföldi-**nek**]], annak nagyon örülök.
 well for_instance the house.Poss.1Sg successful sell.Poss.3Sg-Dat
 a rich foreigner-Dat that.Dat very.much be_pleased.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *as for the successful selling of my house to a rich foreigner*, I am very pleased with that.’
- c’. *Na például [a sikeres eladásá-**nak** [annak a romos házam-**nak**]],
 well for_instance the successful sell.Poss.3Sg-Dat that.Dat the ruined house.Poss.1Sg-Dat
 annak nagyon örülök.
 that.Dat very.much be_pleased.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *as for the successful selling of that ruined house of mine*, I am very pleased with that.’
- d. *Na például [az örökös veszekedései **miatt** [az elveszett kulcsok **miatt**]], azok miatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
 well for_instance the eternal quarrel.Poss.Pl.3Sg because_of
 the lose.Part key.Pl because_of that.Pl because_of very angry be.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *as for his eternal quarrels because of the lost keys*, I am very angry about that.’

If, however, another satellite (e.g., the possessor) of the noun head intervenes between the noun head and the satellite bearing the same case marker, the acceptability of the construction increases. This is illustrated in (656).

(656) ● Coinciding case markers [DP ... N_{+α} ... DP_{+α} ...] II.

- a. ⁽²⁾Na például [a váratlan megjelenésé-**n** [a fiadnak] [azon az éjfélig tartó koncert-**en**]], azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 well for_instance the unexpected appearance.Poss.3Sg-Sup the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
 that.Sup the midnight.Ter last.Part concert-Sup that.Sup very.much surprise.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your son’s unexpected appearance in the concert lasting until midnight*, that is a big surprise to me.’
- b. ^{??}Na például [a teljesen indokolatlan félelmé-**től** [a fiadnak] [a nagyobb testű kutyák-**től**]], attól nagyon kiborultam.
 well for_instance the completely causeless fear-Abl the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
 the bigger body.Attr dog.Pl-Abl that.Sup very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your son’s causeless fear of bigger dogs*, I freaked out about that very much.’

- c. ^{??}Na például [a házam sikeres eladatásá-**nak** [azzal a megbízható céggel][egy gazdag külföldi-**nek**]], annak nagyon örülök.
 well_for_instance the house.Poss.1Sg successful make_sell.Poss.3Sg-Dat that.Ins the reliable firm.Ins a rich foreigner-Dat that.Dat very.much be_pleased.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *successfully having my house sold by that reliable firm to a rich foreigner*, I am very pleased with that.’
- c’. ^{*?}Na például [a sikeres eladatásá-**nak** [azzal a megbízható céggel] [annak a romos házam-**nak**]], annak nagyon örülök.
 well_for_instance the successful make_sell.Poss.3Sg-Dat that.Ins the reliable firm.Ins that.Dat the ruined house.Poss.1Sg-Dat that.Dat very.much be_pleased.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *successfully having that ruined house of mine sold by that reliable firm*, I am very pleased with that.’
- d. ^{*?}Na például [az örökös veszekedései **miatt** [a fiadnak] [az elveszett kulcsok **miatt**]], azok miatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
 well_for_instance the quarrel.Poss.Pl.3Sg because_of the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the lose.Part key.Pl because_of that.Pl because_of very angry be.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *your son’s eternal quarrels because of the lost keys*, I am very angry about that.’

The series of examples in (657) below shows a fact that might be surprising in the light of the scarcely acceptable examples in (655-656) above: the coincidence of the case markers *ab ovo* has no significant influence on the acceptability of the noun phrase if the satellite of the noun appears in the prenominal modifier zone in a *való*-construction. Recall, however, that a NAK possessor cannot appear in an attributive *való*-construction (see (657c’), and see also (130e) in 1.1.3.1), making the comparison impossible in this case. Note in passing that it can appear in the left periphery of the noun phrase (without *való*) but its co-occurrence with another *-nAk* suffix on the noun head that its phrase belongs to (657c’) is as unacceptable as the analogous postnominal co-occurrence presented in (656c’) above.

(657) ● Coinciding case markers [DP ... N_{+α} ... DP_{+α} ...] III.

- a. Na például [a kelekótya fiadnak [a koncert-**en** való] váratlan megjelenésé-**n**]], azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 well_for_instance the foolish son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the concert-Sup be.Part unexpected appearance.Poss.3Sg-Sup that.Sup very.much surprise.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your foolish son’s unexpected appearance at the concert*, that is a big surprise to me.’
- b. Na például [a kelekótya fiadnak [a nagyobb testű kutyák-tól való] indokolatlan félelmé-**től**]], attól nagyon kiborultam.
 well_for_instance the foolish son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the bigger body.Attr dog.Pl-Abl be.Part causeless fear-Abl that.Sup very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your foolish son’s causeless fear of bigger dogs*, I freaked out about that very much.’
- c. ⁽²⁾Na például [[a fiam-**nak** való] tegnapi bemutatásod-**nak**]], annak nagyon örülök.
 well_for_instance the son.Poss.1Sg-Dat be.Part yesterday.Adj introduction.Poss.2Sg-Dat that.Dat very.much be_pleased.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your yesterday’s introduction to my son*, I am very pleased with that.’

- c'. Na például *[[annak a romos házam-nak ^{*?(*való)}]]*
 well for_instance that the ruined house.Poss.1Sg-Dat be.Part
a sikeres eladásá-nak], annak nagyon örülök.
the successful sell.Poss.3Sg-Dat that.Dat very.much be_pleased.1Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *the successful sale of that ruined house of mine*, I am very pleased with that.'
- d. ^(?)Na például *[a hisztis fiadnak [az elveszett kulcsok*
 well for_instance the moaning son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the lose.Part key.Pl
miatt való] tegnapi veszekedése miatt],
because_of be.Part yesterday.Adj quarrel.Poss.3Sg because_of
amiatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
that.because_of very angry be.1Sg
 'Well for instance, *your moaning son's eternal quarrels because of the lost keys*, I am very angry about that.'

The grammaticality judgments presented in the series of examples in (655-657) are summarized in Table 46 below, which clearly shows all the tendencies mentioned in connection with the given examples. The two basic tendencies are the “vertical” one, according to which the heavier the coinciding case marker, the less acceptable the construction is, and the “horizontal” one, according to which it is preferred to separate the coinciding markers (and in the relevant respect, a *való*-construction is the ideal “separator”).

Table 46: *The impact of case coincidence in noun phrases*

	(657)	(656)	(655)
(a) -n	✓	(?)	??
(b) Obl	✓	??	*?
(c) -nAk (non-Possessor)	(?)	??	*?
(c') -nAk (Possessor)	—	*?	*
(d) PP	(?)	*?	*

Another source of (formally) coinciding case markers is the coexistence of a NAK possessor and a dative case-marked satellite (a ‘-nAk-non-possessor’), both belonging to the same noun head. The crucial difference between these two -nAk-phrases is that the noun head agrees (in person and number) only with the NAK possessor. The series of examples in (658) below is devoted to the systematic overview of the acceptability of the different post- and/or prenominal placement combinations of the two -nAk-phrases.

Before discussing details, it must be noted that this felicity condition, as well as those illustrated in the remaining part of subsection 2.1.1.1, more or less pertains to argument order in the postnominal complement zone, and hence it is scrutinized in subsection 2.1.1.3.

It is dispreferred to place both -nAk-phrases in the postnominal complement zone (658a-a’), especially in a [-nAk-non-possessor > NAK possessor] order (658a) (it is slightly preferred to place the NAK possessor right-adjacent to the noun head agreeing with it, see (658a’)). A possible reason for this high degree of dispreference is that in the postnominal complement zone there is no syntactic or

morphological clue to distinguish the two types of *-nAk*-phrases (unless the *NAK* possessor is a pronoun), such as the *való*-construction in the prenominal modifier zone, which is available only to the *-nAk*-non-possessor. Hence, if (at least) one of the *-nAk*-phrases can be found in the prenominal modifier zone, the ambiguity disappears, which renders the variants much more acceptable, indeed, as is exemplified in (658b-c).

(658) ● Coinciding case markers of arguments [_{DP} ... N ... DP_{-nAk} ... DP_{-nAk} ...]

- a. *Na például [*a tétovázás nélküli felajánlása*
well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
[a környékbeli sárkányok-nak][a legszebb szűzlányok-nak]],
the neighborhood.Attr dragon.Pl-Dat the most_beautiful virgin.Pl-Dat
az nagyon barbár szokás.
that very barbaric custom
Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *offering the most beautiful virgins without hesitation to the dragons in the neighborhood*, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- a'. ^{??}Na például [*a tétovázás nélküli felajánlása*
well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
[a legszebb szűzlányok-nak][az országra támadó környékbeli
the most_beautiful virgin.Pl-Dat the country.Sub attack.Part neighborhood.Attr
sárkányok-nak]], az nagyon barbár szokás.
dragon.Pl-Dat that very barbaric custom
‘Well for instance, *offering the most beautiful virgins without hesitation to the dragons in the neighborhood attacking the country*, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- b. [?]Na például [*[a kiéhezett környékbeli sárkányok-nak való]*
well for_instance the famish.Part neighborhood.Attr dragon.Pl-Dat be.Part
tétovázás nélküli felajánlása [a legszebb szűzlányok-nak]],
hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg the most_beautiful virgin.Pl-Dat
az nagyon barbár szokás.
that very barbaric custom
‘Well for instance, *offering the most beautiful virgins without hesitation to the famished dragons in the neighborhood*, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- b'. Na például [*[a legszebb szűzlányok-nak]*
well for_instance the most_beautiful virgin.Pl-Dat
a tétovázás nélküli felajánlása [a kiéhezett környékbeli
the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg the famish.Part neighborhood.Attr
sárkányok-nak]], az nagyon barbár szokás.
dragon.Pl-Dat that very barbaric custom
‘Well for instance, *offering the most beautiful virgins without hesitation to the famished dragons in the neighborhood*, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- c. ^(?)Na például [*[a legszebb szűzlányok-nak]*
well for_instance the most_beautiful virgin.Pl-Dat
[a kiéhezett környékbeli sárkányok-nak való]
the famish.Part neighborhood.Attr dragon.Pl-Dat be.Part
tétovázás nélküli felajánlása], az nagyon barbár szokás.
hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg that very barbaric custom
‘Well for instance, *offering the most beautiful virgins without hesitation to the famished dragons in the neighborhood*, that is a very barbaric custom.’

Of the three unambiguous combinations (658b-c), the variant presented in (658b') is the most, indeed fully, acceptable one. Its presumable advantageous features are as follows: (i) the two *-nAk*-phrases are “well separated” in that one is in the postnominal complement zone while the other is in the prenominal modifier zone (in contrast to (658c), in which both *-nAk*-phrases are in the prenominal modifier zone), (ii) the NAK possessor is a “distinguished” dependent of the noun head (due to the agreement between them), whose preferred place within the noun phrase is the one preceding the D (see the relevant comment on (130c,g) in subsection 1.1.3.1).

What was observed in connection with the word-order variants presented in (658a-a') above can also be generalized as follows: if the postnominal complement zone of a noun consists of (at least) two phrases one of which is a NAK possessor, this is preferably placed right-adjacent to the noun head. This is presumably due to the fact that the noun head agrees with it (in person and number), which ensures a distinguished role for it among the dependents of the noun head. This felicity condition is exemplified in (659).

(659) ● Ordering the possessor and the non-possessor argument of the noun

- a. Na például [*az a váratlan elküldése* [*a futár-nak*] [*Budapest-re*]],
 well for_instance that the unexpected_sending.Poss.3Sg the courier-Dat Budapest-Sub
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *that unexpected sending of the courier to Budapest*, that was a mistake.’
- b. [?]Na például [*az a váratlan elküldése* [*Budapest-re*][*a futár-nak*]],
 well for_instance that the unexpected_sending.Poss.3Sg Budapest-Sub the courier-Dat
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *that unexpected sending to Budapest of the courier*, that was a mistake.’

The pair of examples presented in (660) illustrates a further felicity condition, which can be regarded as an instance of Behaghel’s Law; see also the examples in (viii-xi’) in Remark 19 above. The particular form of this felicity condition is as follows: if the postnominal complement zone of a noun consists of (at least) two phrases of which none is a NAK possessor, the shorter (phonetically lighter) phrase (always) precedes the longer (phonetically heavier) one. That is why the variant in (660a) is preferred to (that is, more acceptable than) the variant in (660b).

(660) ● The phonetic weight of arguments of the noun

- a. Na például [*azt a tréfás kis gyerekverset*
 well for_instance that.Acc the funny little nursery_rhyme.Acc
 [*Móricztól*] [*a különböző színű tehenekről*]], azt elmondhatom.
 Móricz.Abl the different colored cow.Pl.Del that.Acc recite.Mod.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *that funny little nursery rhyme by Móricz about the cows with different colors*, I can recite that.’

- b. [?]Na például [azt a tréfás kis gyerekverset
 well for_instance that.Acc the funny little nursery_rhyme.Acc
 [a különböző színű tehenekről] [Móricztól]], azt elmondhatom.
 the different colored cow.Pl.Del Móricz.Abl that.Acc recite.Mod.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, that funny little nursery rhyme about the cows with different colors by
 Móricz, I can recite that.’

The nature of thematic roles is another factor which influences the order of arguments in the postnominal complement zone of the N head. A Co-Agent, for instance, preferably precedes the Theme in the postnominal complement zone, as is illustrated in (661a); the opposite order is highly marked (661b).

(661) ● Dependence on thematic roles

- a. ^(?)Na például [az örökös vita [Péterrel][Mariról]], az nagyon bosszant.
 well for_instance the eternal debate Péter.Ins Mari.Del that very.much annoy.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the eternal debate with Péter about Mari, that annoys me very much.’
- b. ^{??}Na például [az örökös vita [Mariról] [Péterrel]], az nagyon bosszant.
 well_for_instance the eternal debate Mari.Del Péter.Ins that very.much annoy.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the eternal debate about Mari with Péter, that annoys me very much.’

2.1.1.2. Arguments of nouns

The notion of complementation is usually associated with the verbal domain. Verbs have argument structures, specifying the number and thematic roles of their arguments. Arguments of verbs are (typically) divided into internal and external arguments (see subsection 2.1.2 in *SoD-NP*; on the debate on internal and external arguments in the Hungarian clause structure, see M9 and V2). The internal argument in a sense completes the predicate, as a result of which it can be predicated of the external argument. The semantic arguments of the verb are normally realized as syntactic arguments: the external argument typically corresponds to the subject (i.e., the nominative case-marked argument), whereas internal arguments generally surface in Hungarian as accusative or oblique case-marked noun phrases or postpositional phrases.

Nouns may function as predicates as well, and are therefore also able to take arguments. We follow subsection 2.1.2 of *SoD-NP* in distinguishing external and internal arguments in the case of nouns as well; subsections 2.1.1.2.1 and 2.1.1.2.2 are devoted to their discussion, respectively.

2.1.1.2.1. The external argument of nouns

This short subsection discusses the syntactic mapping of external arguments of nouns (662), in all the four types demonstrated in the introduction to this section.

(662) ● The external argument of nouns in the four types

- a. Ez_{Ref} [az első össze-vesz-és-e Petinek Iliel] /
 this the first together-lose-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Peti.Dat Ili.Ins /
 [most össze-vesz-és]?
 now together-lose-ÁS
 apprx. ‘Is this [the first occasion when Peti had a row with Ili] / [a quarrel now]?’

- a'. Ili_{Ref} [*az első bemond-ó-ja ennek a hírnek*] / *bemond-ó?*
 Ili the first announce-ó-Poss.3Sg this.Dat the piece_of_news.Dat / announce-ó-Poss.3Sg
 'Is Ili [the first to announce this piece of news] / [an announcer]?'

 a''. Ili-t_{Ref} *kiváló bemond-ó-nak tartom.*
 Ili-Acc excellent announce-ó-Dat consider.DefObj.1Sg
 'I consider Ili an excellent announcer.'
- b. [*Ez a kicsi kép*]_{Ref} *az a híres festménye*
 this the tiny picture that the famous painting.Poss.3Sg
Vermeernek a gyöngyfülbegalós lányról?
 Vermeer.Dat the pearl_earring.Attr girl.Del
 'Is this tiny picture that famous painting by Vermeer of the girl with pearl earrings?'
- c. [*Ez a kislány*]_{Ref} *a nagynénje Péternek?*
 this the littly_girl the aunt.Poss.3Sg Péter.Dat
 'Is this little girl the aunt of Péter?'
- d. *Ez*_{Ref} *egy tölgyfa?*
 this an oak_tree
 'Is this an oak tree?'

When the noun is used as the head of a nominal predicate in a copular construction, or in a 'consider'-construction, for instance, the mapping is rather straightforward: in (662a'-a'') above, say, the external argument corresponds to the noun phrase *Ili*, which functions as the subject or the object of the clause, respectively. However, when the noun is used as the head of a noun phrase in argument position, it tends to be syntactically alevant (see (663a'',d) below): rather than behaving like a predicate with one or more arguments, the noun phrase that it is part of acts as an argument of some other predicate. Nevertheless, it may retain its internal arguments or other kinds of dependents, as is illustrated in (663a,a',b,c). Correspondingly, such noun phrases do not denote a property, but typically have a referential function: they identify the entity or set of entities about which something is predicated. In (663a), for instance, the noun phrase *az első összeveszése Petinek Ilivel* 'the first occasion when Peti had a quarrel with Ili' has the same function as the noun phrase *ez* 'this' in (662a), that is, it acts as the external argument of a nominal predicate. Since the usual labels for semantic roles (e.g., Agent, Theme, Experiencer) are especially created for expressing the roles of the arguments in the event structure denoted by verbal predications, we follow *SoD-NP* in simply referring to the external argument of nouns as the 'referent' (Ref), that is, the entity to which the property denoted by the nominal predicate applies.

This does not mean, however, that nouns heading a noun phrase in an argument position do not have a predicative function: such nouns can be said to predicate something of their referential argument, that is, of the entity or set of entities referred to by means of the noun phrase. The noun phrase *egy tölgyfa* 'an oak_tree' in (663d), for instance, can be paraphrased as $[\exists x \text{ oak_tree}(x)]$, that is, 'there is an entity *x* such that the predicate OAK_TREE applies to *x*'. Correspondingly, the entire sentence presented in (663d) can be assigned the (highly simplified) semantic interpretation shown in the same example, which involves the conjunction of two predicates: there is an entity *x* such that the predicates OAK_TREE and I-DO-NOT-GIVE-UP-THE-PLAN-OF-BUILDING-A-HOUSE-BECAUSE-OF both apply to *x*.

- (663) • The implicit external argument of nouns in the four types
- a. [Az *első összevesz-és-e Petinek Ilivel*]_{Ref} látványos volt.
the first quarrel-AS-Poss.3Sg Peti.Dat Ili.Ins spectacular be.Past.3Sg
 ‘The first occasion when Peti had a row with Ili was spectacular.’
- a’. Tegnap letartóztatták az *első bemond-ó-já-t ennek a hírnek*.
yesterday arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl the first announce-ó-Poss.3Sg this.Dat the piece_of_news.Dat
 ‘The first person to announce this piece of news was arrested yesterday.’
- a’’. Tegnap letartóztatták *azt az ismert bemond-ó-t*.
yesterday arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl that the known announce-ó-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 ‘That known announcer was arrested yesterday.’
- b. ⁽²⁾Megleپödtem *azon a híres festményén*
surprise.Past.1Sg that.Sup the famous painting.Poss.3Sg.Sup
Vermeernek a gyöngyfüلbevalós lányról.
Vermeer.Dat the pearl_earring.Attr girl.Del
 ‘That famous painting by Vermeer of the girl with pearl earrings was a surprise to me.’
- c. [A *nagynénjét Péternek*]_{Ref} nagyon kedves asszonynak tartom.
the aunt.Poss.3Sg.Acc Péter.Dat very nice lady.Dat consider.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘I consider the aunt of Péter a very nice lady.’
- d. Nem adom fel a házépítés tervét *egy tölgyfa miatt*.
not give.DefObj.1Sg up the house.building plan.Poss.3Sg.Acc an oak_tree because_of
 ‘I do not give up the plan of building a house because of an oak tree.’
 Ex [OAK_TREE (x) & I-DO-NOT-GIVE-UP-THE-PLAN-OF-BUILDING-A-HOUSE-BECAUSE-OF (x)]

By means of the terminology introduced above, the function of the four types of nouns in the predicative structure of the sentences can be formulated as follows. In (662a-a’), phrases of different subtypes of derived nouns are predicated about events (662a) and persons (662a’-a’’), while the (a)-examples in (663) illustrate cases in which something is predicated about (the denotata of) phrases of derived nouns (663a) or such noun phrases serve as objects (663a’-a’’). As for the (b)-examples, the phrase of a *story/picture* noun is shown in a predicative function in (662b) while the same noun phrase serves as the superessive case-marked argument of a verbal predicate. The (c)-examples are devoted to the illustration of the predicative use (662c) and the external-argument use (663c) of the noun phrase of a relational noun (NB: the predicate of which the latter noun phrase is the external argument is the expression *nagyon kedves asszony* ‘very nice lady’). Finally, the phrase of an ordinary noun is shown as a predicate in (662d) and as part of a postpositional phrase that belongs to the predicate of the given sentence as an adjunct (663d).

The discussion above, which is based on Williams (1981), shows that nouns always have an external argument, but that this argument is not syntactically expressed when the noun is the head of a noun phrase functioning as the syntactic argument of some other predicate, as in the examples presented in (663). The external argument of the noun can (and must) be syntactically realized only when the noun is heading a noun phrase that *syntactically* functions as a predicate, as in the (662)-examples.

2.1.1.2.2. *Internal arguments of nouns*

In the course of overviewing internal arguments and conceptual arguments of nouns (in the four types demonstrated in the introduction to this section), it is worth discussing them divided into possessors (666-669) and non-possessor dependents (670-673). This division as a chief principle of systematization is dictated by the type of nouns that is richest in dependents occupying the postnominal complement zone, namely, that of derived nouns, in addition to the fact that it is the possessor that the noun head agrees with, ensuring a distinguished role for it among dependents.

Before discussing the details, let us point out that in this subsection, only dependents of nouns that can be regarded as *arguments*, and not as *adjuncts*, in the same (sometimes quite obscure) sense as these concepts are used for verbal predicates are considered. The decisive difference between them (which, unfortunately, cannot be “sharpened” into a clear-cut criterion in certain cases) is that an adjunct gets associated with a head in the way described in (664) below, essentially on the basis of Komlósy’s (1992: 310) description (see also Komlósy 1994).

- (664) ● A satellite of a head is an *adjunct* if (a), (b), and (c) are all satisfied:
- a. Its syntactic presence is not obligatory, that is, it is not “expected” by the head.
 - b. Its formal properties are not influenced by the head.
 - c. Its semantic contribution to the ultimate cumulated meaning of the sentence it occurs in can be calculated without taking into account the meaning of the head.

This definition hints that arguments need not satisfy the negated counterparts of all three criteria in (664a-c), presented in (665a-c) for the sake of clarity, though we can assume that there is a core group of prototypical arguments that do satisfy all the three criteria in (665a,b,c) (see Chapter 2 in *SoD-NP*).

- (665) ● A satellite of a head is some kind of *argument* if (a), (b), or (c) is satisfied, and can be called a prototypical argument if (a), (b), and (c) are all satisfied at the same time.
- a. Its syntactic presence is obligatory, that is, the head requires its presence in the sentence.
 - b. Its formal properties are influenced by the head.
 - c. Its semantic contribution to the ultimate cumulated meaning of the sentence it occurs in is to be calculated on the basis of the meaning of the head.
 - d. It is an *optional* argument if requirement (a) is not satisfied.
 - e. It is a *thematic* argument if its semantic contribution satisfies the description of one of the thematic roles, the set of which is assumed to be definitely small.
 - e’. It is a *conceptual* argument if its semantic contribution can be calculated in a rich lexical network around the lexical item of its head (in the course of a potentially unbounded method of calculation that consists of steps moving from node to node in the network).

It is obvious, for instance, that there are *optional arguments* (665d) beyond this core group of prototypical arguments, which satisfy only the second two criteria (665b-c). What we call *conceptual arguments* of nouns, is another subgroup of non-prototypical arguments, which is difficult to compare with thematic arguments of verbs. Their comparison does not depend on optionality but on some kind of bounded or unbounded (semantic) classifiability. Arguments of verbs can be classified into subtypes according to thematic roles, the set of which is assumed to be definitely small (665e)—at least this is our (perhaps false) illusion pertaining to verb semantics. Conceptual arguments of nouns pattern with thematic arguments of verbs in that their semantic contribution is to be calculated on the basis of the meaning of the head (i.e., the given nouns or verbs), but in the case of conceptual arguments this meaning contribution cannot be classified “in advance” and “in a bounded way” but is calculated in a rich lexical network around the given noun (665e’).

My house, for instance, can refer not only to such default relationships (in the aforementioned lexical network) as my owning the given house, and/or my living there, but such (arbitrarily expanded) relationships as my being the homeless person who inspects the garbage cans of the house or my being the agent whose task is to make the residents fill in some questionnaire.

Note in passing that it is not excluded *ab ovo* that certain dependents of certain verbs can be regarded as conceptual arguments (665e’) or certain nouns have (inherited) thematic arguments (665e).

Potential tests for distinguishing different subtypes of arguments from each other and from adjuncts are discussed in subsection 2.1.2; here, in this subsection, our task is to take stock of different types of (thematic and conceptual) arguments, that is, non-adjunct-like, postnominal satellites of different types of nouns. In the course of this, we simply follow *SoD-NP* in using certain thematic labels, without committing ourselves by this to an assumption that the given arguments are real thematic arguments in the above sense (665e). Hence, we use the term *argument* as an umbrella term for (obligatory and optional) thematic arguments and conceptual arguments.

Let us now investigate what kind of arguments the four types of nouns can have, by starting with the overview of the roles that the *possessor* of a noun can play.

As for the possessor of complex-event(uality)-related derived nouns, it necessarily corresponds either to the Theme (666a) or the Agent (666a’) argument of the input verb, depending on the given type of derivation. The interested reader can find all relevant rules and observations in the subsections devoted to argument structures or argument-structure inheritance in section 1.3. Table 37 in 1.3.1.7 provides a summary of the relevant mapping relations in the case of deverbal nouns.

(666)● Possessor types of derived nouns

- a. *A tegnapi meg-operál-ás-a [Péter bácsinak]_{Theme}*
the yesterday.Adj perf-operate-AS-Poss.3Sg Péter uncle.Dat
nagyon jól sikerült.
very well succeed.Past.3Sg
 ‘Operating on uncle Péter yesterday was very successful.’

- a'. Az a *tehetséges fel-fedez-ett-je Péternek*_{Agent}
that the talented up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg Péter.Dat
 tegnap is jól szerepelt.
 yesterday also well perform.Past.3Sg
 appr. 'That talented person discovered by Péter performed well yesterday, too.'
- b. A *tegnapi tíz operáció-ja [Dr. Bárdossynak]*_{Agent}
the yesterday.Adj ten operation-Poss.3Sg Dr. Bárdossy.Dat
 nagyon jól sikerült.
 very well succeed.Past.3Sg
 'Doctor Bárdossy's ten operations yesterday were very successful.'
- b'. A *tegnapi operáció-ja [Péter bácsinak]*_{Theme}
the yesterday.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg Péter uncle.Dat
 nagyon jól sikerült.
 very well succeed.Past.3Sg
 'Uncle Péter's operation yesterday was very successful.'
- c. Ez volt a *legemlékezetesebb operáció-ja [ennek a hétnek]*_{Temp}
this be.Past.3Sg the most_memorable operation-Poss.3Sg this.Dat the week.Dat
 'This was the week's most memorable operation.'
- c'. Idén ez volt a *kedvenc operáció-ja [a diákoknak]*.
this_year this be.Past.3Sg the favorite operation-Poss.3Sg the student.Pl.Dat
 'This year this was the students' most favorite operation.'

In the case of the possessor of an event(uality)-type-related noun, it is not prescribed which argument of the input (verb, adjective or noun) it corresponds to or whether there is a corresponding input argument at all. As for the former case, when the given argument happens to coincide with one of the thematic arguments of the input (which can be reached in the aforementioned lexical-semantic network by a single elementary step, as is illustrated in the next paragraph), we provide the original thematic role. In the latter case, in which no input thematic argument corresponds to the given output argument (but its semantic contribution is to be calculated on the basis of the lexical-semantic network potentially by several steps), occasional memo labels are used, such as 'Temp(oral)' (666c) or 'Owner' (if the conception of the given discussion dictates so).

The described phenomenon is illustrated by means of a SED-noun (1.3.1.2.2.1) in (666b-c'), the possessor of which happens to correspond to the Agent of the corresponding input verb (666b), while in (666b'-c'), the possessor of the same derived noun corresponds, respectively, to the input Theme, to a temporal expression, and to a plural participant the semantic contribution of which can be calculated on the basis of the lexical-semantic network around the noun *operáció* 'operation' as follows: medical students typically watch operations in order to gain experience in the given field and they may like certain operations and dislike others.

The series of examples in (667) below is devoted to the demonstration of different types of possessors belonging to *story/picture* nouns (with slightly different readiness for being a possessor). The types illustrated are tested in subsection 2.1.2 in order to establish their degree of argumenthood. It is sufficient here to consider the mere existence of the possibilities, in the course of which the practice of *SoD-NP* is followed in that the (semantically) relevant three dependents

of nouns belonging to the given type are labeled as Agent (667a), Theme (667a'), and Owner (667a''), as if arguments of *write/paint*-like verbs were discussed, in the case of the former two labels, and the subject argument of an *own*-like verb, in the last case (NB: these activities are the most important ones in our world related to pictures or stories, so they underlie the lexical-semantic network around *story/picture* nouns). Note in passing that the Theme is less likely ('?') to be expressed as a possessor than the Agent or the Owner is (667a,a''), or as a relative case-marked noun phrase (671a).

(667) • Possessor types of *story/picture* nouns

- a. Az a híres képe Vermeernek_{Agent} nekem is nagyon tetszett.
that the famous picture.Poss.3Sg Vermeer.Dat Dat.1Sg also very.much like.Past.3Sg
 'I also liked *that famous picture of Vermeer* very much.'
- a'. [?]Az a híres képe [a gyöngyfülbevalós lánynak]_{Theme}
that the famous picture.Poss.3Sg the pearl_earring.Attr girl.Dat
 nekem is nagyon tetszett.
 Dat.1Sg also very.much like.Past.3Sg
 'I liked *that famous picture of the girl with pearl earrings* very much, too.'
- a''. Az a híres képe [Rothschild úrnak]_{Owner}
that the famous picture.Poss.3Sg Rothschild mister
 nekem is nagyon tetszett.
 Dat.1Sg also very.much like.Past.3Sg
 'I liked *that famous picture of Mister Rothschild* very much, too.'
- b. Az a híres képe [a Mauritshuis múzeumnak]_{Location}
that the famous picture.Poss.3Sg the Mauritshuis museum.Dat
 nekem is nagyon tetszett.
 Dat.1Sg also very.much like.Past.3Sg
 'I liked *that famous picture of the Mauritshuis* very much, too.'
- b'. Ez a legjobb képe [ennek az évszázadnak]_{Temp.}
this the best picture.Poss.3Sg this.Dat the century.Dat
 'This is *the best picture of this century*.'
- b''. Ez a kedvenc képe [a diákjaimnak].
this the favorite picture.Poss.3Sg the student.Poss.Pl.1Sg.Dat
 'This is *the favorite picture of my students*.'

In (667b-b'') above, "further" dependents of the same *story/picture* noun *kép* 'picture' are shown, such as the location of the exhibition of the picture (667b), the period within which it has been created (667b'), and the bystanders who admire it (667b''), the roles of which are also to be calculated on the basis of the relevant lexical-semantic network, but presumably in several steps.

Of the possessor types of relational nouns (668), there is a primary possessor type, which is the one on the basis of which the given relational noun is called a relational noun. This is illustrated in (668a), in which the social relation noun *anya* 'mother' is used as the possessee in the given inalienable possessive relationship. In (668b-b''), alienable possessor types are substituted for the primary possessor type, the semantic contributions of which are to be calculated via perambulations whose inevitable first step pertains to the primary inalienable possessor type. That is, in (668b-b'), such children's mothers are compared with each other with respect to

their maternal excellence that live in a certain world (668b) or in a certain period of time (668b’). In (668b’), too, mothers of certain children are considered: those of the children taught by the denoted group of kindergartners.

(668) ● Possessors of relational nouns

- a. Ott van *az anyja* [*annak a kisfiúnak*]_{Rel.}
 there be.3Sg the mother.Poss.3Sg that.Dat the little_boy.Dat
 ‘There is the mother of that little boy.’
- b. ⁽²⁾Te vagy *a legjobb anyája* [*ennek a rideg világnak*].
 you be.2Sg the best mother.Poss.3Sg this.Dat the cold world.Dat
 ‘You are the best mother of this cold world.’
- b’. ⁽³⁾Te vagy *a legjobb anyája* [*ennek az évszázadnak*]_{Temp.}
 you be.2Sg the best mother.Poss.3Sg this.Dat the century.Dat
 ‘You are the best mother of this century.’
- b’’. ⁽⁴⁾Ő *a kedvenc anyája* [*az óvónőknek*].
 she the favorite mother.Poss.3Sg the kindergartner.Pl.Dat
 ‘She is the favorite mother of the kindergartners.’

Note in passing that the phonetic form of the possessee sometimes indicates the character of the (in)alienable possessive relationship (compare *anyája* ‘mother.Poss.3Sg’ in the (b)-examples to *anyja* ‘mother.Poss.3Sg’ in the (a)-example). This question is discussed in 2.2.1.2.1.2.

Ordinary nouns, presented in (669) below, in harmony with their classification as such, can be supplied only with possessors the semantic contribution of which patterns with that of the “secondary” possessor types illustrated in (666c-c’), (667b-b’’) and (668b-b’); in this noun type, thus, there is no “primary” possessor type (669a). Admirers (669b), places (669b’), and periods of time (669b’’) can be referred to by possessors of ordinary nouns, the semantic contributions of which can be calculated on the basis of the fact that almost everything may be liked or disliked (669b), can be found in a certain place where there are similar objects which can be compared to it ((669b’) and (669b’’)). Ordinary nouns, thus, can be supplied with possessors only on the basis of these kinds of non-specific factors (NB: it is questionable how broad the extension of “ordinary nouns” is on the basis of this strong requirement; cf. the series of examples in (673) below).

(669) ● Possessors of ordinary nouns

- a. [There is no “primary” possessor type in this noun subtype.]
- b. Ez *a kedvenc tölgyfája* [*a nagyapámnak*].
 this the favorite oak_tree.Poss.3Sg the grandfather.Poss.1Sg.Dat
 ‘This is the favorite oak tree of my grandfather.’
- b’. Ez *a legöregebb tölgyfája* [*a városunknak*].
 this the oldest oak_tree.Poss.3Sg the city.Poss.1Pl.Dat
 ‘This is the oldest oak tree of our city.’
- b’’. Ez *a legszebb tulipánja* [*ennek az évnek*]_{Temp.}
 this the most_beautiful tulip.Poss.3Sg this.Dat the year.Dat
 ‘This is the most beautiful tulip of this year.’

Let us now turn to the question of what kinds of non-possessor arguments the four types of nouns can have.

Let us start with the non-possessor arguments of derived nouns. The series of examples in (670) below illustrates different oblique case-marked arguments (670a,b) and postpositional arguments (670a',b'), which belong to complex-event(uality)-related nouns (670a-a') and event(uality)-type-related nouns (670b-b'). All these dependents have a counterpart in the input constructions, but the input counterparts of the two postpositional phrases presented in (670b') are different from those presented in (670a-b) in that their markers are not retained in the course of derivation (NB: the input constructions are *szerelemes valakibe* 'be_in_love_{Adj} someone.Ill' and *bízik valakiben* 'trust someone.Ine'; see (524c-c') in 1.3.2.1.2.1). The degree of argumenthood of the arguments in question is discussed in subsection 2.1.2.

(670) ● Non-possessor arguments of derived nouns

- a. *A tegnapi beszélget-és-ünk Ilivel*_{Co-Agent} [*a politikáról*]_{Theme}
the yesterday.Adj talk-ÁS-Poss.1Pl Ili.Ins the politics.Del
 nem sikerült túl jól.
 not succeed.Past.3Sg too well
 'Our talk with Ili about politics yesterday was not very successful.'
- a'. *A tegnapi össze-esküv-és-ünk [Mari ellen]*_{Theme}
the yesterday.Adj together-swear-ÁS-Poss.1Pl Mari against
 nem sikerült túl jól.
 not succeed.Past.3Sg too well
 'Our conspiracy against Mari yesterday was not very successful.'
- b. *Nagyon fárasztó az örökös család-ás Mariban*_{Theme}.
very tiring the eternal be_disappointed-ÁS Mari.Ine
 'Getting disappointed in Mari again and again is very tiring.'
- b'. *A szerelmem / bizalmam [Mari iránt]*_{Theme} töretlen.
the love.Poss.1Sg / trust.Poss.1Sg Mari towards unbroken
 'My [love towards] / [trust in] Mari is unbroken.'

For an overview of the wide-ranging thematic variety of arguments in the case of derived nouns, see section 1.3 (and especially the subsections on the 'basic types of input verbs/adjectives').

Note in passing that different types of derived nouns show radical differences in the extent of their compatibility with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone; see the corresponding subsections on argument structure (inheritance) in section 1.3. For instance, ÁS-nouns, in contrast to Ó-nouns, readily host arguments in their postnominal complement zones (see 1.3.1.2.2.1 and 1.3.1.3.2.1, respectively).

The examples in (671) below illustrate different types of oblique case-marked arguments of *story/picture* nouns. The first two types, presented in (671a), express the same roles expressed by possessors in (667a-a'): namely, the role of the Agent, the creator of the given rhyme, and that of the Theme, the topic of the rhyme. In (671b), a third (presumably also inherent) participant of the conceptual frame of *story/picture* nouns is illustrated: namely, the audience, which, however, cannot be expressed as a postnominal NAK possessor with the intended meaning (e.g., ^{??}*a regénye a lányoknak* 'the novel.Poss.3Sg the girl.Pl.Dat'), but is somewhat more acceptable as a prenominal unmarked possessor (e.g., ^{??}*a lányok regénye* 'the girl.Pl

novel.Poss.3Sg'), and is definitely impeccable as a bare noun in the prenominal complement zone (e.g., *lányregény* 'girl.novel').

(671) ● Non-possessor arguments of *story/picture* nouns

- a. Elmondom *azt a tréfás kis gyerekverset*
 recite. DefObj.1Sg *that.Acc the funny little nursery_rhyme.Acc*
[Móricztól]_{Agent} [a különböző színű tehenekről]_{Theme}
Móricz.Abl the different colored cow.Pl.Del
 'I will recite *that funny little nursery rhyme by Móricz about the cows with different colors.*'
- b. Ez *egy romantikus regény [lányoknak]_{Beneficiary}*
 this *a romantic novel girl.Pl.Dat*
 'This is *a romantic novel for girls.*'

Example (672a) illustrates a relational-noun-specific argument in the subtype of social relation nouns, and (672b) shows a special kind of argument in the subtype of body-part relation nouns, which is quite productive but only in the given existential construction.

(672) ● Non-possessor arguments of relational nouns

- a. Tegnap megnősült *az egyik első unokatestvérem [anyai ágon].*
 yesterday get_married.Past.3Sg *the one_of first cousin.Poss.1Sg mother.Adj branch.Sup*
 'Yesterday *a first-cousin of mine on my mother's side got married.*'
- b. Petinek van *szeme [a focihoz].*
 Peti.Dat *be.3Sg eye.Poss.3Sg the soccer.All*
 'Peti has *a feel for soccer.*'

In (673) below, the question of arguments of ordinary nouns is addressed. As will be discussed in 2.1.2, ordinary nouns can be characterized as having neither (prototypical) thematic arguments, since they cannot inherit any inherent, nor subtype-specific, arguments (673a), since no individual subtype is specified.

(673) ● Non-possessor arguments of ordinary nouns?

- a. [There is no subtype-specific argument type in this noun subtype.]
- b. Jó volt *a tegnapi meccse*
 good *be.Past.3Sg the yesterday.Adj match.Poss.3Sg*
a Barcának [a Bayern ellen]_{Co-Agent} [a Bajnokok Ligája-trófeáért]_{Goal}
the Barça.Dat the Bayern against the Champion.Pl League.Poss.3Sg-trophy.Cau
 'Yesterday's match *Barça against Bayern for the Champions League trophy* was good.'

The example presented in (673b) above provides a challenge for the definition of ordinary nouns. The noun *meccs* 'match' cannot be regarded as either a regularly or irregularly derived noun, or even a *story/picture* noun, or a relational noun, but it still has the same specific arguments as, say, such nouns as *csata* 'battle' or *játszma* 'game', which inherit the given arguments as irregularly derived nouns related to the verbs *csatázik* 'fight' and *játszik* 'play'. This phenomenon suggests that there might be similar subtypes of nouns to the *story/picture* subtype, proposed in *SoD-NP* as the only special subtype besides those widely accepted: namely, a *fight/game* subtype. As for the levels of argumenthood, see subsection 2.1.2.

Other aspects of the problem of non-inherent (non-subtype-specific) arguments are illustrated in the series of examples in (674) below.

Since practically everything can serve as an item of goods (674a), ordinary nouns (674b), as hyponyms of this category with such subtype-specific arguments as price and goal/beneficiary, inevitably “inherit” such arguments; which obviously also holds for all other subtypes of nouns if (and only if) their given representatives happen to serve as goods (674c-c”).

There is an even more general hypernym: namely, “entities related to a certain period of time”, in the case of which the time of their creation (and/or duration of their existence) can serve as an argument. Representatives of the subtype of ordinary nouns (674d), as well as those of all other subtypes of nouns (674e-e”), may happen to serve as hyponyms of this hypernym.

(674) ● Non-inherent (optional) non-possessor arguments of nouns?

- a. Láttam *egy remek árut* [1000 euróért].
see.Past.1Sg *a high-quality goods.Acc 1000 euro.Cau*
'I saw a high-quality item of goods for 1000 euros.'
- b. Láttam *egy kalapot* [a *holnapi partira*] [1000 euróért].
see.Past.1Sg *a hat.Acc the tomorrow.Adj party.Sub 1000 euro.Cau*
'I saw a hat for tomorrow's party for 1000 euros.'
- c. Találtam *egy fúr-ó-t* [a *holnapi munkához*] [10 euróért].
find.Past.1Sg *a drill-ó-Acc the tomorrow.Adj work.All 10 euro.Cau*
'I found a drill for tomorrow's work for 10 euros.'
- c'. Itt *egy film* [a *holnapi partira*] [10 euróért].
there *a film the tomorrow.Adj party.Sub 10 euro.Cau*
'Here is a film for tomorrow's party for 10 euros.'
- c''. Tudok *béranját* [Smithéknek] [10.000 euróért].
know.1Sg *surrogate_mother.Acc Smith.Apl.Dat 10.000 euro.Cau*
'I know a surrogate mother for the Smiths for 10.000 euros.'
- d. Láttam *egy kalapot* [a *XVI. századból*].
see.Past.1Sg *a hat.Acc the 16th century.Ela*
'I saw a hat from the 16th century.'
- e. Találtam *egy fúr-ó-t* [a *XVI. századból*].
find.Past.1Sg *a drill-ó-Acc the 16th century.Ela*
'I found a drill from the 16th century.'
- e'. Ez *egy romantikus regény* [a *XIX. századból*].
this *a romantic novel the 19th century.Ela*
'This is a romantic novel from the 19th century.'
- e''. Ő *egy tipikus apa* [a *XVI. századból*].
he *a typical father the 16th century.Ela*
'He is a typical father from the 16th century.'

Since the above-discussed (subtype generating) hypernyms are so general that practically every noun can be regarded as their hyponyms (in some kind of mental ontology that underlies the human mental lexicon), it is questionable whether there are “ordinary nouns” at all, in the strict sense that they do not belong to any kind of subtype (e.g., stories, pictures, kinships, goods, “entities with life duration”). It is, thus, a difficult methodological question whether it is worth attempting to retain the intuitive concept of ‘ordinary nouns’ in a way that they would be defined as nouns which “inherit” satellites only from “very general hypernyms” (NB: according to

such a definition, the given satellites would count as *non-inherent conceptual arguments*, which should be distinguished from totally free adjuncts). The answer ultimately depends on what are “encoded” in language (and what belong only to language-external factors); which, however, is one of the final questions which this book will not answer but towards the solution of which it will provide a large set of data and many observations (2.1.2). In this book we use the term *argument* as an umbrella term for (obligatory and optional) thematic arguments and conceptual arguments and, in the course of discussing a subtype of nouns, we usually concentrate only on the arguments peculiar to the given subtype.

2.1.1.3. Argument order in complement zones

This subsection discusses the topic of argument orders both in the prenominal and in the postnominal complement zones of all the three subtypes of nouns which potentially have more than one (subtype-specific) argument. Ordinary nouns, thus, are not covered by this subsection.

Let us start with the discussion of argument order in the prenominal complement zone. The subtype of relational nouns is not considered here, because only a counterpart of the possessor can appear in the relevant position (see (644c) in 2.1.1.1).

In the case of derived nouns, the most typical pattern is the one consisting of a Theme and a preverb, strictly in this order, illustrated in (675a) below (for further examples, see (242–243) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub IV). Sporadically, the preverb is replaced with a lative case-marked argument (675a’); there are no further productive patterns (cf. the potential pattern illustrated in (264) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI).

(675) • Argument order in the prenominal complement zone

- a. *adat-fel-dolgoz-ás / politikus-le-hallgat-ás / üveg-vissza-vált-ó*
item-up-work-Ás / politician-down-listen-Ás / bottle-back-change-ó
 ‘[data processing] / [politician bugging] / [a place where bottles are returned]’
- a’. [?] *Gyülölöm a kismacska-vízbe-fojt-ás gyakorlatát.*
hate.DefObj.1Sg the kitten-water.Ill-suffocate-Ás practice.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘I hate the practice of drowning kittens.’
- b. *Csontvály-táj-kép / Shakespeare-király-dráma*
Csontvály-landscape-picture / Shakespeare-king-drama
 ‘[landscape by Csontvály] / [history play by Shakespeare]’
- b’. *Leiner Laura-kamasz-regény*
Leiner Laura-teenager-novel
 ‘young adult novel by Laura Leiner’
- b’’. ^{*,?} *kamasz-család-regény / *család-kamasz-regény*
teenager-family-novel / family-teenager-novel
 Intended meaning: ‘family novel for young adults’

The subtype of *story/picture* nouns can also be characterized by a definite pattern, which is as follows: [Agent > Theme/Beneficiary > noun stem] (cf. (671) in 2.1.1.2.2). In such constructions, a Theme is more typically preceded by an Agent (675b) than a Beneficiary (675b’). It is practically not possible to place a Theme and a Beneficiary in the prenominal complement zone at the same time in either

order (675b”) (though there is a slight asymmetry with respect to acceptability between the two basically unacceptable variants).

Note in passing that a special subtype of derived nouns, namely, HATNÉK_{SED}-nouns, shows an extraordinary behavior with respect to filling their prenominal complement zone with a potentially huge conglomerate of (potentially operator-like) phrases with a single stress on the first syllable of the entire sequence (676). The interested reader can consult the discussion of the series of examples presented in (494) in subsection 1.3.1.5.2.1, which demonstrates that, in spite of the seemingly unlimited freedom, there *are* underlying syntactic rules.

(676) ● The extraordinary prenominal complement zone of HATNÉK_{SED}-nouns

- a. Ilire már megint rájött [...].
 Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili was overcome by a desire [...].’
- b. ⁽²⁾...a minden-hírt-kapásból-kommentál-hatnék
 the every-piece_of_news.Acc-promptly-comment-HATNÉK
 ‘... to comment on every piece of news promptly’
- c. ⁽²⁾...a mindenkit-mindenkivel-ok-nélkül-össze-veszejt-hetnék
 the everyone.Acc-everyone.Ins-reason-without-together-lose.Caus-HATNÉK
 ‘...to make everyone have a quarrel with everyone without any reason’
- d. [?]...a minden-ügyben-csak-a-férje-véleményét-ki-kér-hetnék
 the every-case.Ine-only-the-husband.Poss.3Sg-opinion.Poss.3Sg.Acc-out-ask-HATNÉK
 ‘...to consult only her husband in every case’

As for argument-order possibilities in this extraordinary prenominal complement zone, our *a priori* hypothesis is that the same argument orders are acceptable (within the narrower domain to be defined in the future) as in the case of verbal constructions with potentially extensive information structures.

Let us now turn to argument-order possibilities in postnominal complement zones. As the questions of ideal argument-order possibilities are practically felicity conditions at the same time, most of them have already been touched upon in our discussion, see the series of examples presented in (658-661) in subsection 2.1.1.1.

Let us start the discussion with the subtype of derived nouns, which, especially *Ás*-nouns, may have the richest postnominal complement zones; accordingly, this special subgroup will also serve illustrative purposes in what follows.

The following four series of examples in (677-680) provides a uniform investigation of two factors immediately related to postnominal argument order: the order between possessor and non-possessor (see (659)) and between arguments with different phonetic weights (see (660)); and the phonetic weight of the inflection on the noun head that the given postnominal complement zone belongs to (see (651), in subsection 2.1.1.1), a factor that has an influence on the acceptability of every noun with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone. Table 47 below offers a comprehensive summary of our findings, providing not only a global picture of the interaction of the tendencies in question but also a more nuanced picture of the role of the phonetic weight of the inflection on the noun head than the picture that we were able to provide in the series of examples in (651).

All four tests presented in (677-680) show the same tendency as the one established on the basis of (651): the heavier the case marker is, the less acceptable

the corresponding noun phrase with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone. That is, the most acceptable noun phrases with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone are in the phonetically unmarked Nominative case, as is unequivocally illustrated in the four corresponding (a)-examples in (677-680), while the less acceptable ones are those whose noun head is immediately followed by a postposition, see the four (e)-examples, with the differently case-marked noun heads providing in-between cases with respect to acceptability, see the four series of (b-d)-examples.

Of the four series of examples, it can be expected on the basis of the observations made in subsection 2.1.1.1 that series (677) is the most acceptable one (with the predicted worsening tendency parallel to the increasing marker weight), since here the possessor precedes the non-possessor and the phonetically light argument precedes a significantly heavier one. This expectation is borne out, with the best three variants (677a-c) being (almost) fully acceptable and with the less acceptable variant, namely, the one containing a noun head with a postposition (677e), being minimally acceptable ('??').

(677) • Dependence on the weight of the inflection on the noun head:

- I. *Possessor* + *heavy oblique* order in the postnominal complement zone
- a. Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg
[a főnöknek] [arra az éjjelig tartó koncertre], az nagyon bosszant.
 the boss.Dat that.Sub the midnight.Ter lasting concert.Sub that very.much annoy.3Sg
 'Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to that concert lasting until midnight, without any previous agreement, that annoys me very much.'
 - b. Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-t
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Acc
[a főnöknek] [arra az éjjelig tartó koncertre],
 the boss.Dat that.Sub the midnight.Ter lasting concert.Sub
 azt nagyon ellenzem.
 that.Acc very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 'Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to that concert lasting until midnight, without any previous agreement, I am against that very much.'
 - c. ⁽²⁾Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-n
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Sup
[a főnöknek] [arra az éjjelig tartó koncertre],
 the boss.Dat that.Sub the midnight.Ter lasting concert.Sub
 azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 that.Sup very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 'Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to that concert lasting until midnight, without any previous agreement, that is a big surprise to me.'
 - d. [?]Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-tól
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Abl
[a főnöknek] [arra az éjjelig tartó koncertre],
 the boss.Dat that.Sub the midnight.Ter lasting concert.Sub
 attól nagyon kiborultam.
 that.Abl very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 'Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to that concert lasting until midnight, without any previous agreement, I freaked out about that very much.'

- e. ^{??}Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása **miatt**
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg **because_of**
[a főnöknek] [arra az éjfélig tartó koncertre],
 the boss.Dat that.Sub the midnight.Ter lasting concert.Sub
 amiatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
 that.because_of very angry be.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to that concert lasting until midnight, without any previous agreement, I am very angry about that.’

In the second test series, presented in (678) below, the possessor still precedes the non-possessor but there is no (significant) difference between them in phonetic weight, in this way satisfying Behaghel’s Law not “spectacularly” but only as a borderline case. As the grammaticality judgments in (678) show, the less acceptable variants (678d-e) become even less acceptable, relative to the series in (677), while retaining the worsening tendency parallel to the increasing marker weight. Thus we can conclude from this that it is somewhat preferred for the second postnominal argument to be significantly heavier than the first one.

(678) ● Dependence on the weight of the inflection on the noun head:

- II. *Possessor* + *not heavy oblique* order in the postnominal complement zone
- a. Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg
[a főnöknek] [a koncertre], az nagyon bosszant.
 the boss.Dat the concert.Sub that very.much annoy.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, that annoys me very much.’
- b. Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-t
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Acc
[a főnöknek] [a koncertre], azt nagyon ellenzem.
 the boss.Dat the concert.Sub that.Acc very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, I am against that very much.’
- c. ^(?)Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-n
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Sup
[a főnöknek] [a koncertre], azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 the boss.Dat the concert.Sub that.Sup very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, that is a big surprise to me.’
- d. ^{??}Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-tól
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Abl
[a főnöknek] [a koncertre], attól nagyon kiborultam.
 the boss.Dat the concert.Sub that.Abl very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, I freaked out about that very much.’
- e. ^{*?}Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása **miatt**
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg **because_of**
[a főnöknek] [a koncertre], amiatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
 the boss.Dat the concert.Sub that.because_of very angry be.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, I am very angry about that.’

In (679), light non-possessors precede heavy possessors. As the corresponding grammaticality judgments (with the usual vertical worsening tendency) are not only significantly worse than those in the ideal series in (677) but also somewhat worse than those in (678), the requirement concerning the first position of the possessor in the postnominal complement zone is preferred (to the other requirement demanding the “spectacular” satisfaction of Behaghel’s Law).

(679) ● Dependence on the weight of the inflection on the noun head:

- III. *Oblique* + *heavy possessor* order in the postnominal complement zone
- a. Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása*
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg
[a koncertre] [annak a botfülű főnöködnék], az nagyon bosszant.
 the concert.Sub that.Dat the tone-deaf boss.Poss.2Sg.Dat that very.much annoy.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of that tone-deaf boss of yours to the concert, without any previous agreement, that annoys me very much.’
- b. ^(?)Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-t*
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Acc
[a koncertre] [annak a botfülű főnöködnék],
 the concert.Sub that.Dat the tone-deaf boss.Poss.2Sg.Dat
azt nagyon ellenzem.
 that.Acc very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of that tone-deaf boss of yours to the concert, without any previous agreement, I am against that very much.’
- c. [?]Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-n*
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Sup
[a koncertre] [annak a botfülű főnöködnék],
 the concert.Sub that.Dat the tone-deaf boss.Poss.2Sg.Dat
azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 that.Sup very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of that tone-deaf boss of yours to the concert, without any previous agreement, that is a big surprise to me.’
- d. ^{??}Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-tól*
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Abl
[a koncertre] [annak a botfülű főnöködnék],
 the concert.Sub that.Dat the tone-deaf boss.Poss.2Sg.Dat
attól nagyon kiborultam.
 that.Abl very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of that tone-deaf boss of yours to the concert, without any previous agreement, I freaked out about that very much.’
- e. ^{*?}Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása miatt*
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg because_of
[a koncertre] [annak a botfülű főnöködnék],
 the concert.Sub that.Dat the tone-deaf boss.Poss.2Sg.Dat
amiatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
 that.because_of very angry be.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of that tone-deaf boss of yours to the concert, without any previous agreement, I am very angry about that.’

In the fourth test, presented in (680) below, both the requirement concerning the first place of the possessor in the postnominal complement zone and the requirement demanding the “spectacular” satisfaction of Behaghel’s Law are violated. As is predicted, these are less acceptable variants than the corresponding ones in the other three series, with the less acceptable variants (in the vertical dimension) being unequivocally insufficiently acceptable (680c-e).

(680) • Dependence on the weight of the inflection on the noun head:

- IV. *Oblique* + not heavy possessor order in the postnominal complement zone
- a. ^(?)Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg
 [a koncertre] [a főnöknek], az nagyon bosszant.
 the concert.Sub the boss.Dat that very.much annoy.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, that annoys me very much.’
- b. [?]Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-t
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Acc
 [a koncertre] [a főnöknek], azt nagyon ellenzem.
 the concert.Sub the boss.Dat that.Acc very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, I am against that very much.’
- c. ^{??}Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-n
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Sup
 [a koncertre] [a főnöknek], azon nagyon csodálkozom.
 the concert.Sub the boss.Dat that.Sup very.much oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, that is a big surprise to me.’
- d. ^{*?}Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívásá-tól
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg-Abl
 [a koncertre] [a főnöknek], attól nagyon kiborultam.
 the concert.Sub the boss.Dat that.Abl very.much freak_out.Past.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, I freaked out about that very much.’
- e. ^{*}Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghívása miatt
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr invitation.Poss.3Sg because_of
 [a koncertre] [a főnöknek], amiatt nagyon dühös vagyok.
 the concert.Sub the boss.Dat that.because_of very angry be.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the invitation of the boss to the concert, without any previous agreement, I am very angry about that.’

The shades of gray in Table 47 below clearly demonstrate all three tendencies discussed above: decreasing acceptability parallel to (i) increasing weight of inflection on noun head (see the columns top-down), (ii) less “spectacular” satisfaction of Behaghel’s Law (compare the second and fourth columns to the first and third ones) and (iii) depriving the possessor of its “distinguished” right-adjacency to the noun head in the postnominal complement zone (compare the second two columns to the first two ones).

Table 47: *Dependence on the weight of the inflection on the noun head, on the possessor–non-possessor order, and on Behaghel’s Law*

	I: [N POSS OBL]	II: [N POSS OBL]	III: [N OBL POSS]	IV: [N OBL POSS]
-∅ NOM	✓	✓	✓	(?)
-t ACC	✓	✓	(?)	?
-n SUP	(?)	(?)	?	??
OBL	?	??	??	*?
PP	??	*?	*	*

An advantageous by-product of this three-dimensional investigation is that the influence of the phonetic weight on the noun head can be characterized by means of a more subtle scale than on the basis of the one-dimensional test shown in (651) in subsection 2.1.1.1. Five grades of phonetic weight can be distinguished in this way, as is also shown in the leftmost column of the table: Nominative < Accusative < Superessive < (one-syllable) oblique case marking < postposition. The three in-between cases require a short comment: Accusative and Superessive can be regarded as lighter than other case markings because the latter ones are *always* realized in the form of a separate (additional) syllable while the former two cases do not necessarily form an additional syllable (cf. *ha-jó-tól* ‘ship.Abl’ *versus* *ha-jót* ‘ship.Acc’ and *ha-jón* ‘ship.Sup’). Furthermore, Accusative is lighter than Superessive because the latter forms an additional syllable more frequently than the former does (cf. *űrt* ‘space.Acc’ *versus* *ű-rön* ‘space.Sup’). Note in passing that Nominative is lighter than Accusative in the same sense because the former never forms an additional syllable compared to the latter (cf. *hal* ‘fish.Acc’ *versus* *ha-lat* ‘fish.Acc’).

The above-discussed requirement of placing the possessor closer to the noun head than other arguments in the postnominal complement zone also holds in the (infelicitous) special case when the case markers of the two arguments coincide. This happens when the given postnominal complement zone consists of a NAK possessor and a *-nAk*-non-possessor; which is, however, a constellation typically implying ambiguity. The two word-order variants of such a case were illustrated in (658a-a’) in subsection 2.1.1.1, repeated here as (681a-b) below. Note that the grammaticality judgments clearly show how infelicitous the coincidence of case markers is (presumably partly due to the aforementioned systematic ambiguity), especially in the case of phrases next to each other. As is exemplified in (681c), however, separating the two *-nAk*-phrases by means of a third argument somewhat improves the acceptability of the construction (‘??’ → ‘?’). This leads us to the following generalization: although it is dispreferred for two phrases in one and the same complement zone to be marked with the same case suffix, this constellation is not excluded *ab ovo*: if the two phrases in question (i) can be identified on the basis of word order, and (ii) are separated from each other by one or more further satellites of the head of the given complement zone, the constellation in question is more or less tolerated (see also (684c)).

(681) ● Coinciding case markers of arguments [_{DP} ... N ... DP_{-nAk} ... DP_{-nAk} ...]:

I. Word-order variants and separation

- a. *Na például a tétovázás nélküli felajánlása
 well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
 [a környékbeli sárkányok-**nak**] [a legszebb szűzlányok-**nak**],
 the neighborhood.Attr dragon.Pl-Dat the most_beautiful virgin.Pl-Dat
 az nagyon barbár szokás.
 that very barbaric custom
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, offering the most beautiful virgins to the dragons in the neighborhood without hesitation, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- b. ^{??}Na például a tétovázás nélküli felajánlása
 well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
 [a legszebb szűzlányok-**nak**] [az országra támadó környékbeli
 the most_beautiful virgin.Pl-Dat the country.Sub attack.Part neighborhood.Attr
 sárkányok-**nak**], az nagyon barbár szokás.
 dragon.Pl-Dat that very barbaric custom
 ‘Well for instance, offering the most beautiful virgins to the dragons in the neighborhood attacking the country without hesitation, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- c. [?]Na például [az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli bemutatataása
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr introduce.Caus.AS.Poss.3Sg
 [Ili-**nek**] [a fiammal] [az egyik osztálytársá-**nak**]
 Ili-Dat the son.Poss.1Sg.Ins the one_of classmate.Poss.3Sg-Dat
 az nagyon rossz ötlet volt.
 that very bad idea be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, having Ili introduced by my son to one of his classmates, without any previous agreement, that was a very bad idea.’

The ambiguity potentially coming from the coexistence of two *-nAk*-phrases in a postnominal complement zone does not emerge if the person features of the given *-nAk*-phrases are different, since the agreement suffix on the noun head that the given complement zone belongs to unequivocally identifies the NAK possessor. As is exemplified in (682a-b’), however, none of such potential variants with two explicit *-nAk*-phrases are sufficiently acceptable—for different reasons.

In (682a) below, the variant with an explicit (2Sg) pronoun as a NAK possessor is practically unacceptable in spite of the facts that the given word-order variant satisfies both Behaghel’s Law and the “Possessor-Comes-First” Rule. The unacceptability is in harmony with the strong bias of Hungarian towards (“economical”) pro-drop forms: if the pronoun in question does not appear explicitly, the corresponding variant, also presented in (682a), is fully acceptable.

(682) ● Coinciding case markers of arguments [_{DP} ... N ... DP_{-nAk} ... DP_{-nAk} ...]:II. *-nAk*-phrases with different person features

- a. Kedves királynány! Na például a tétovázás nélküli felajánlás-od
 dear princess well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering-Poss.2Sg
 (^{??}*neked*) [a portyázó sárkány-**nak**], az ocsmány dolog volt.
 Dat.2Sg the maraud.Part dragon-Dat that awful thing be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Dear princess! Well for instance, offering you to the marauding dragon without hesitation, that was awful.’

- b. Kedves sárkány! Na például *a tétovázás nélküli felajánlás-a*
 dear dragon well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering-Poss.3Sg
 *^(??)*neked* [*a gyönyörű királynő-nak*], az ocsmány dolog volt.
Dat.2Sg the maraud.Part dragon-Dat that awful thing be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Dear dragon! Well for instance, *offering you the beautiful princess without hesitation*, that was awful.’
- b’. Kedves sárkány! Na például *a tétovázás nélküli felajánlás-a*
 dear dragon well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering-Poss.3Sg
 [*a gyönyörű királynő-nak*] *^(*?)*neked*), az ocsmány dolog volt.
the maraud.Part dragon-Dat Dat.2Sg that awful thing be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Dear dragon! Well for instance, *offering you the beautiful princess without hesitation*, that was awful.’

In (682b-b’), it is the *-nAk*-non-possessor that the pronoun expresses. Since in this case the noun head does not show the person feature of this argument, the pronoun cannot be dropped (at least if we retain the intended meaning according to which it is the dragon that the princess is offered to). This is indicated by the asterisks above. As was mentioned, the two word-order variants with an explicit pronominal *-nAk*-non-possessor are not acceptable, either. The relevant variant in (682b) violates the “Possessor-Comes-First” Rule, while the one in (682b’) violates Behaghel’s Law.

In the series of examples in (683), it is tested whether it counts if the two *-nAk*-phrases are in different numbers. It might be thought that the answer is negative in the case of two non-pronominal *-nAk*-phrases, due to the anti-agreement phenomenon, according to which the possessee indicates 3Sg agreement in spite of the presence of a 3Pl possessor (see the relevant comments on Table 14 in 1.1.1.4.1). However, this is not the case, as exemplified in (683) below.

Let us now consider the four possibilities presented in (683a-b’), in which, of the two *-nAk*-phrases, one is in the singular while the other is in the plural. The two (a)-examples, with the non-possessor preceding the possessor, are worth comparing to the fully unacceptable construction in (681a) above, in which the “Possessor-Comes-First” Rule is also violated. The variant with the *NAK* possessor in the singular in (683a’), is somewhat better (*?) than the (681a) variant, in contrast to the alternative variant in (683a), which “remains” fully acceptable. As for the two “competing” (b)-examples in (683), which satisfy the “Possessor-Comes-First” Rule, the variant with the *NAK* possessor in the singular (683b’) is also somewhat better (??) than the corresponding (681b) variant (??), relative to which the (683b) alternative is even less acceptable (*?). Thus the conclusion is that the *NAK* possessor, which the noun head (normally) agrees with, is preferred to be singular, presumably due to a kind of assumption that the noun head primarily indicates singularity (in spite of the fact that a 3Sg possessee is also compatible with a 3Pl possessor, see Bartos (2000b: 678); cf. a similar phenomenon discussed in 1.1.1.4.2).

(683) ● Coinciding case markers of arguments [DP ... N ... DP_{-nAk} ... DP_{-nAk} ...]:

III. -nAk-phrases with different number features

- a. *Na például a *tétovázás nélküli felajánlása*
 well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
[a portyázó sárkány-nak] [a legszebb környékbeli
 the maraud.Part dragon-Dat the most_beautiful neighborhood.Attr
szűzlány-ok-nak], az nagyon barbár szokás.
 virgin-Pl-Dat that very barbaric custom
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *offering the most beautiful virgins of the neighborhood to the marauding dragon without hesitation*, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- a'. *[?]Na például a *tétovázás nélküli felajánlása*
 well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
[a portyázó sárkány-ok-nak] [a féltve őrzött királylány-nak],
 the maraud.Part dragon-Pl-Dat the fear_for.Conv guard.Part princess-Dat
 az nagyon barbár szokás.
 that very barbaric custom
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *offering the heavily guarded princess to the marauding dragons without hesitation*, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- b. *[?]Na például a *tétovázás nélküli felajánlása*
 well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
[a legszebb szűzlány-ok-nak] [az országra támadó környékbeli
 the most_beautiful virgin-Pl-Dat the country.Sub attack.Part neighborhood.Attr
sárkány-nak], az nagyon barbár szokás.
 dragon-Dat that very barbaric custom
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *offering the most beautiful virgins to the dragon in the neighborhood attacking the country without hesitation*, that is a very barbaric custom.’
- b'. ?[?]Na például a *tétovázás nélküli felajánlása*
 well for_instance the hesitation without.Attr offering.Poss.3Sg
[a féltve őrzött királylány-nak] [az országra támadó
 the fear_for.Conv guard.Part princess-Dat the country.Sub attack.Part
környékbeli sárkány-ok-nak], az nagyon barbár szokás.
 neighborhood.Attr dragon-Pl-Dat that very barbaric custom
 ‘Well for instance, *offering the heavily guarded princess to the dragons in the neighborhood attacking the country without hesitation*, that is a very barbaric custom.’

The last factor to discuss here which influences the order of arguments in the postnominal complement zone of a derived noun is their thematic role. The data presented in the series of examples in (684) below and the observations associated with them are to be regarded as a point of departure for future research.

A Co-Agent, for instance, preferably precedes the Theme in the postnominal complement zone (684b) rather than following it (684b'), as was also shown in (661) in 2.1.1.1.

As is exemplified in (684c), the natural order of the quadruple of a (Forced) Agent, a Source, a Goal and an Instrument in the postnominal complement zone is exactly this. Putting the Source and the Goal in the opposite order results in a highly marked construction (684c'). Placing a (Forced) Agent immediately next to an Instrument in any order results in unacceptable constructions (684c''), presumably due to their coinciding case suffixes (cf. (681c) above). As is illustrated in (684c'''), a (Forced) Agent is quite acceptable ('?') even at the end of a postnominal

complement zone, while constructions with an Instrument heading the complex postnominal complement zone or appearing between a Source and a Goal are not sufficiently acceptable (i.e., at least ‘?’).

A Goal and a Beneficiary are “weakly ordered”, as is illustrated in (684d-d’), in that both of their orders are acceptable, with a slight preference for the [Beneficiary > Goal] order.

(684) ● Dependence on thematic roles

- a. Na például [...], az nagyon bosszant.
well for_instance that very.much annoy.3Sg
‘Well for instance, [...], that annoys me very much.’
- b. ⁽²⁾az örökös vita Péterrel_{Co-Agent} Mariról_{Theme}
the eternal debate Péter.Ins Mari.Del
‘the eternal debate with Péter on Mari’
- b’. ^{??}az örökös vita Mariról_{Theme} Péterrel_{Co-Agent}
the eternal debate Mari.Del Péter.Ins
‘the eternal debate with Péter on Mari’
- c. ⁽²⁾a bőrönd átcipeltetése Péterrel_{Agent}
the suitcase transport.Cau.Ás.Poss.3Sg Péter.Ins
[a lakásból]_{Source} [a sufniba]_{Goal} [a talicskával]_{Ins}
the flat.Ela the shed.Ill the wheelbarrow.Ins
‘having the suitcase transported from the flat to the shed by Péter with the wheelbarrow’
- c’. ^{??}a bőrönd átcipeltetése [a sufniba]_{Goal} [a lakásból]_{Source}
the suitcase transport.Cau.Ás.Poss.3Sg the flat.Ela the shed.Ill
‘having the suitcase transported from the flat to the shed’
- c”. a bőrönd átcipeltetése ^{??}[P-rel_{Agent} t-val_{Ins}]/*[t-val_{Ins} P-rel_{Agent}]
the suitcase transport.Cau.Ás.Poss.3Sg P-Ins wb-Ins / wb-Ins P-Ins
Intended meaning: ‘having the suitcase transported by Péter with the wheelbarrow’
- c”’. a bőrönd átcipeltetése ⟨P-rel_{Agent}/^{??}t-val_{Ins}⟩
the suitcase transport.Cau.Ás.Poss.3Sg P-Ins / wb-Ins
a lakásból_{Source} ⟨^{??}P-rel_{Agent}/^{??}t-val_{Ins}⟩ a sufniba_{Goal} ⟨[?]P-rel_{Agent} /[✓]t-val_{Ins}⟩
the flat.Ela P-Ins / wb-Ins the shed.Ill P-Ins / wb-Ins
‘having the suitcase transported from the flat to the shed by Péter with the wheelbarrow’
- d. a lakás eladása [két németnek]_{Beneficiary} [100.000 euróért]_{Goal}
the flat sell.Ás.Poss.3Sg two German.Dat 100.000 euro.Cau
‘the sale of the flats to two Germans for 100 thousand euros’
- d’. ⁽²⁾a lakás eladása [100.000 euróért]_{Goal} [két németnek]_{Beneficiary}
the flat sell.Ás.Poss.3Sg 100.000 euro.Cau two German.Dat
‘the sale of the flats to two Germans for 100 thousand euros’

What is common in all these observations is that, of two participants comparable with respect to activity, the more active participant preferably precedes the less active one.

Let us now turn to the analogous questions of argument-order preferences in the case of *story/picture* nouns.

The minimal pair in (685) below illustrates that the three tendencies discussed in connection with derived nouns also hold for the postnominal complement zone of *story/picture* nouns. That is, the acceptability of a word-order variant decreases

parallel to (i) the increasing weight of inflection on the noun head, (ii) the violation or a less “spectacular” satisfaction of Behaghel’s Law, (iii) depriving the possessor of its “distinguished” right-adjacency to the noun head in the postnominal complement zone. We thus claim, without a very lengthy systematic illustration, that what is demonstrated in Table 47 above exactly holds for the postnominal complement zone of *story/picture* nouns, too (from square to square).

(685) ● The repeated illustration of the dependence of the phonetic weight of the inflection on the N, the [possessor>non-possessor] order and the phonetic weight of arguments of *story/picture* nouns

- a. Na például az a tréfás kis gyerekverse
 well for_instance that the funny little nursery_rhyme.Poss.3Sg
 [Móricznak] [a különböző színű tehenekről], az nagyon jó.
 Móricz.Dat the different colored cow.Pl.Del that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny little nursery rhyme of Móricz about the cows with different colors, that is very good.’
- b. *Na például az iránt a tréfás kis gyerekverse iránt
 well for_instance that towards the funny little nursery_rhyme towards
 [a különböző színű tehenekről] [Móricz (Zsigmond)-nak],
 the different colored cow.Pl.Del Móricz (Zsigmond)-Dat
 az iránt sokan érdeklődnek.
 that towards many.people be_interested_in.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, that funny little nursery rhyme of (Zsigmond) Móricz about the cows with different colors, many are interested in that.’

Thematic roles also influence the order of arguments in the postnominal complement zone of a *story/picture* noun (cf. the series of examples in (684)). Here it is an advantageous factor that there are only three particular thematic roles to be compared, namely, Agent, Theme and Beneficiary.

These are compared with each other pairwise in (686a-c’) below, and the results provide a clear-cut picture: the Agent prefers to precede the Theme (686a-a’), but to be preceded by the Beneficiary (686b-b’), while the Theme also prefers (at least slightly) to follow the Beneficiary (686c-c’). We also claim (without systematically illustrating all the six permutations) that the straightforwardly predictable [Beneficiary > Agent > Theme] order provides the most acceptable triplet, which is almost fully acceptable (686d).

(686) ● Dependence on thematic roles in the case of *story/picture* nouns

- a. Na például az a tréfás vers [Móricz Zsigmondtól]_{Agent}
 well for_instance that the funny poem Móricz Zsigmond.Abl
 [a három tehénről]_{Theme}, az nagyon jó.
 the three cow.Del that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem by Móricz about the three cows, that is very good.’
- a’.[?] Na például az a tréfás vers [a három tehénről]_{Theme}
 well for_instance that the funny poem the three cow.Del
 [Móricz Zsigmondtól]_{Agent}, az nagyon jó.
 Móricz Zsigmond.Abl that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem by Móricz about the three cows, that is very good.’

- b. ^{??}Na például az a tréfás vers [Móricz Zsigmondtól]_{Agent}
 well for_instance that the funny poem Móricz Zsigmond.Abl
 [a kisgyerekeknek]_{Beneficiary}, az nagyon jó.
 the kid.Pl.Dat that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem by Móricz for kids, that is very good.’
- b’. ^(?)Na például az a tréfás vers [a kisgyerekeknek]_{Beneficiary}
 well for_instance that the funny poem the kid.Pl.Dat
 [Móricz Zsigmondtól]_{Agent}, az nagyon jó.
 Móricz Zsigmond.Abl that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem by Móricz for kids, that is very good.’
- b’’. Na például az a tréfás verse ^{??}⟨Móricznak_{Agent}⟩
 well for_instance that the funny poem.Poss.3Sg Móricz.Dat
 [a kisgyerekeknek]_{Beneficiary} ⟨*Móricz Zsigmondnak_{Agent}⟩, az nagyon jó.
 the kid.Pl.Dat Móricz Zsigmond.Dat that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem of (Zsigmond) Móricz for kids, that is very good.’
- c. [?]Na például az a tréfás vers [a három tehénről]_{Theme}
 well for_instance that the funny poem the three cow.Del
 [a kisgyerekeknek]_{Beneficiary}, az nagyon jó.
 the kid.Pl.Dat that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem for kids about the three cows, that is very good.’
- c’. ^(?)Na például az a tréfás vers [a kisgyerekeknek]_{Beneficiary}
 well for_instance that the funny poem the kid.Pl.Dat
 [a három tehénről]_{Theme}, az nagyon jó.
 the three cow.Del that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem for kids about the three cows, that is very good.’
- d. ^(?)Na például az a tréfás vers [a kisgyerekeknek]_{Beneficiary}
 well for_instance that the funny poem the kid.Pl.Dat
 [Móricz Zsigmondtól]_{Agent} [a három tehénről]_{Theme}, az nagyon jó.
 Móricz Zsigmond.Abl the three cow.Del that very good
 ‘Well for instance, that funny poem for kids by Móricz about the three cows, that is very good.’

It is worth noting briefly that *story/picture* nouns are also subject to case-marking coincidence (cf. (681) above). In (686b’), for instance, the Agent and the Beneficiary are expressed as a NAK possessor and a *-nAk*-non-possessor, respectively. As is shown by the grammaticality judgments associated with the two word-order variants, such a coincidence is never felicitous—even the better [possessor_{Agent} > non-possessor_{Beneficiary}] order is highly marked (‘??’), and the violation of the “Possessor-Comes-First” Rule makes the given constellation definitely unacceptable.

Since relational nouns have fewer arguments, they can have no postnominal complement zones with two or more non-possessor arguments. That is why it is only the order of a possessor and a non-possessor that needs to be investigated.

The minimal pair in (687) below illustrates that the three tendencies discussed in connection with derived nouns also hold for the postnominal complement zone of relational nouns. That is, the acceptability of a word-order variant decreases parallel to (i) the increasing weight of inflection on the noun head, (ii) the violation or a less “spectacular” satisfaction of Behaghel’s Law, (iii) depriving the possessor of its “distinguished” right-adjacency to the noun head in the postnominal complement

zone. We thus claim, without a very lengthy systematic illustration, that what is demonstrated in Table 47 above holds exactly for the postnominal complement zone of relational nouns, too (from square to square).

(687) ● The repeated illustration of the dependence of the phonetic weight of the inflection on the N, the [possessor>non-possessor] order and the phonetic weight of arguments of relational nouns

- a. Na például az a jóképű unokaöccse [Ilinek] [anyai ágon]
 well for_instance that the handsome nephew.Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat mother.Adj branch.Sup
 ő mindig nagyon udvarias.
 that always very polite
 ‘Well for instance, *that handsome nephew of Ili on her mother’s side*, he is always very polite.’
- b. *Na például az iránt a jóképű unokaöccse iránt
 well for_instance that towards the handsome nephew.Poss.3Sg towards
 [anyai ágon] [Szabadi Ilinek], az iránt sokan érdeklődnek.
 mother.Adj branch.Sup Szabadi Ili.Dat that towards many.people be_interested_in.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *that handsome nephew of Ili Szabadi on her mother’s side*, many are interested in him.’

2.1.1.4. Operators in complement zones

Since research into information structure plays a crucial role in the Hungarian generative literature, it is worth investigating whether the pre- and postnominal complement zones can host different types of operators. We call the reader who is interested in operators’ attention to the subsections on information structure in section 1.3, devoted to different types of derived nouns, the derivational basis of which is the primary source of the internal information structure of nouns.

Let us first consider the capability of the prenominal complement zone for hosting operators.

As is briefly illustrated in the series of examples in (688) below (by means of *mind*-quantifiers and *csak*-foci, which proved to serve readily as noun-phrase-internal operator expressions in the aforementioned section 1.3), the prenominal complement zone, in general, cannot host the arguments as operators in the case of either derived nouns (688a), or *story/picture* nouns (688b), or relational nouns (688c). This is obviously in connection with the fact that nominal expressions that can appear in this zone at all are single words or non-fully-fledged expressions while operators are based on a degree of referentiality which is incompatible with ‘non-fully-fledgedness’.

(688) ● Operators in prenominal complement zone?

- a. *Ili tudott Péter *mindkét* °városba °küld-és-é-ről.
 Ili know.Past.3Sg Péter both city.Sub send-AS-Poss.3Sg-Del
 Intended meaning (with the stress pattern indicated): ‘Ili knew that *Péter was sent to both cities.*’
- b. *Ez egy *minden-király*-dráma.
 this an every-king-drama
 Intended meaning: ‘This is a *history play about every king.*’
- c. *Péter egy *csak-milliomos*-unoka.
 Péter an only-millionaire-grandchild
 Intended meaning: ‘Péter is a *grandchild with only millionaires as his grandparents.*’

The only potential exception is the extraordinary subtype of HATNÉK_{SED}-noun constructions, presented in the series of examples in (494) in subsection 1.3.1.5.2.1, which shows unique behavior with respect to filling their prenominal complement zone with a (potentially) huge conglomerate of phrases as a whole, stressed on the first syllable of the entire sequence. This “unboundedly expandable” prenominal complement zone can quite readily host a variety of operators such as *mind*-quantifiers (689b,c-d), *is*-quantifiers (689c), *csak*-foci (689d), negative foci (689e), and other negative operator types (689f). However, *wh*-phrases cannot appear here (689g), presumably due to the fact that they require wide scope, in contrast to the narrow-scope reading which is obligatory in the case of operators in the prenominal complement zone, witnessed by (689b-f).

(689) ● Operators in prenominal complement zone of HATNÉK_{SED}-nouns

- a. A főnökre már megint rájött [...].
the boss.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg
'The boss was overcome by a desire [...].'
- b. ^(?)...a **minden-kérést-kapásból-el-utasít-hatnék**
the every-request.Acc-promptly-away-order-HATNÉK
'... to reject every request promptly'
- c. ^(?)...a **minden-konferenciára-a-szeretőjét-is-magával-vi-hetnék**
the every-conference.Sub-the-lover.Poss.3Sg.Acc-also-himself.Ins-carry-HATNÉK
'...to take even his lover with him to every conference'
- d. ^(?)...a **minden-konferenciára-csak-magát-delegál-hatnék**
the every-conference.Sub-only-himself.Acc-delegate-HATNÉK
'...to delegate only himself to every conference'
- e. ^(?)...a **nem-a-legrátermettebb-kollégát-elő-léptet-hetnék**
the not-the-ablest-colleague.Acc-forward-step.Cau-HATNÉK
'...to promote not the ablest colleague'
- f. ^(?)...a **senkivel-sem-beszélget-hetnék**
the no-one.Ins-either-talk-HATNÉK
'...to talk to no-one'
- g. *...a **szeretőjének-mennyi-prémiumot-ad-hatnék**
the lover.Poss.3Sg.Dat-how_much-bonus.Acc-give-HATNÉK

Note in passing that the appearance of *mind*-quantifiers in the prenominal complement zone of HATNÉK_{SED}-noun constructions is not only “tolerated” but definitely preferred as a coexisting operator in complex information structures (see (689c-d)). This can be attributed to the trigger role of *mind*-quantifiers which they can play in the “institutionalized” meaning type (especially) typical of the given subtype of HATNÉK_{SED}-nouns.

The postnominal complement zone much more readily hosts the same kinds of key operators, especially in the case of derived nouns. Separate subsections of this chapter are devoted to the question of compatibility with *mind*-quantifiers (2.1.1.4.1), *is*-quantifiers (2.1.1.4.2), foci (2.1.1.4.3), negative foci (2.1.1.4.4), negative quantifiers (2.1.1.4.5), and *wh*-phrases (2.1.1.4.6). A summary (2.1.1.4.7) concludes subsection 2.1.1.4, in which the particular arguments of the four types of nouns are characterized on the basis of their inclination to “undertake” different

operator functions, which ultimately characterizes their “argumenthood”, as will be corroborated and exploited in the subsection on testing argumenthood *versus* adjuncthood (2.1.2). It must be noted at this point that in this subsection (2.1.1.4) the two basic subtypes of derived nouns will be discussed separately (given that lexicalized derived nouns pattern with certain subtypes of non-derived nouns rather than with on-line created derived nouns); instead of the aforementioned four noun types, thus, five types will be referred to.

Two test constructions are used in subsections 2.1.1.4.1-2.1.1.4.6. These are presented in (690a-b) below.

The first is the ‘for instance’-construction (690a), which guarantees the constituency of the sequences of words tested, as was illustrated in (648) in 2.1.1.1. Recall that this test is suitable for revealing internal information structure (see the relevant comments on (304) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII): an operator within this “island” cannot be interpreted with wide scope reading (WSR), only a narrow-scope one (NSR).

(690) ● Test constructions

- a. Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli el-bocsát-ás-a*
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Attr away-allow-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[mindkét titkárnőnek], az hiba volt.
 both secretary.Dat that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 NSR: ‘Well for instance, *the (simultaneous) dismissal [of both secretaries] without any previous agreement*, that was a mistake.’
- b. Hiba volt *[az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli el-bocsát-ás-a*
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the previous agreement without.Attr away-allow-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[mindkét titkárnőnek]].
 both secretary.Dat
⁽¹⁾NSR: ‘*The (simultaneous) dismissal [of both secretaries] without any previous agreement* was a mistake.’
⁽²⁾WSR: ‘*In the case of [both secretaries], the dismissal of each of them without any previous agreement* was a mistake.’
- b’. Hiba volt *[az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli el-bocsát-ás-a]*
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the previous agreement without.Attr away-allow-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[mindkét titkárnőnek].
 both secretary.Dat

The other test construction used in this subsection, which tolerates wide scope too, is one in which the given nominal expressions with phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zones are placed postverbally, practically in the right periphery of test sentences.

As was illustrated in (646a-a’) in 2.1.1.1, however, it must be taken into account that it is not very useful to base a constituency test on the postverbal complement zone, because if the phrase of a noun with its potential complement is placed in sentence in the postverbal complement zone, it cannot be decided unequivocally whether the given complement occupies a syntactic position in the postnominal complement zone of the noun in question (e.g., *elbocsátása* ‘away.allow.ÁS.Poss.3Sg’ in (690b)) or one in the complement zone of the finite verb (e.g., *volt* ‘be.Past.3Sg’ in (690b’)), separated from the noun.

Although there is no straightforward answer to this question due to the absence of any explicit clues in the given sentence structures, Behaghel's Law can help to a certain extent in the following way: if a phonetically quite light noun phrase tested belonged separately to the matrix verb, it would precede a heavier noun phrase, so, say, the order presented in (690b') above would be dispreferred and, hence, more or less marked (see (viii-ix') in Remark 19 and (660), all in subsection 2.1.1.1). That is not the case, however: the word-order variant presented in (690b-b') is fully acceptable, which provides an argument for the sentence structure presented in (690b) and against the one presented in (690b').

Nevertheless, it is theory-dependent whether Behaghel's Law is regarded as a constraint that holds for complement zones with operators as well, or operator status (due to its semantic significance) is regarded as overriding such phonetic effects.

2.1.1.4.1. *Mind-quantifier*

The first operator to discuss is the type of *mind*-quantifiers, which proved to serve readily as noun-phrase-internal operator expressions in the section on derived nouns (1.3).

Let us thus start the investigation with the two basic subtypes of derived nouns promising a relevant difference with respect to the capability of hosting noun-phrase-internal operators on the basis of the observations made in the aforementioned section. One is the subtype of on-line created derived nouns, the prototypical representative of which is the complex-event denoting (deverbal nominal) *ÁS*-noun (691). The other is the subtype of lexicalized derived nouns; SED-nouns, the event-type denoting counterparts of *ÁS*-nouns, can serve as the ideal representative of this subtype (692).

As is exemplified in (691) below, on-line created derived nouns host *mind*-quantifiers readily in their postnominal complement zones, both within a 'for instance'-construction (691a,b) and within the postverbal zone (691a',b') independent of the possessor status (691a-a') or non-possessor status (691b-b') of the operator expressions under investigation. The grammaticality judgments unequivocally show that the given operator expression can always be associated with a narrow-scope reading, demonstrating that it obtains an information-structural function in the internal information structure of the corresponding *ÁS*-nouns—even if it is placed in the postnominal complement zone, which is held to be an atypical place for operators (NB: assigning an ideal syntactic structure to expressions containing operators in the post-head zone poses a great challenge for syntactic theories (see, e.g., É. Kiss 1992: 167–171 and Surányi 2010: Section 2.5); in this book, however, our only task is to establish that operators can be found in certain positions in the word order “we hear”).

(691) • *Mind*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of derived nouns:

I. On-line created derived nouns

- a. Na például *a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a*
 well for_instance the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 [*mindkét fiadnak*]_{Theme} az hiba volt.
 both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that mistake be.Past.3Sg

NSR: 'Well for instance, inviting [*both of your sons*] to the concert, that was a mistake.'

- a'. Hiba volt *a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a* [*mindkét fiadnak*]_{Theme}
 mistake be.Past.3Sg *the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat*
⁽¹⁾NSR: 'Inviting (simultaneously) [both of your sons] to the concert was a mistake.'
[✓]WSR: 'In the case of [both of your sons], inviting each of them to the concert was a mistake.'
- b. Na például *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meg-hív-ás-od*
 well for_instance *the previous agreement without.Adj perf-invite-As-Poss.2Sg*
 [*mindkét koncertre*], *az hiba volt.*
both concert.Sub that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 NSR: 'Well for instance, inviting you [to both concerts] without any previous agreement, that was a mistake.'
- b'. ⁽²⁾Hiba volt *az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meg-hív-ás-od*
 mistake be.Past.3Sg *the previous agreement without.Adj perf-invite-As-Poss.2Sg*
 [*mindkét koncertre*].
both concert.Sub
⁽³⁾NSR: 'Inviting you [to both concerts] without any previous agreement was a mistake.'
[?]WSR: 'In the case of [both concerts], inviting you to each of those was a mistake.'

If the embedding *ÁS*-noun construction is placed postverbally, the operator expression in the postnominal complement zone can be associated with a wide-scope reading, too (691a',b'). If the quantifier is the possessor, it is somewhat easier to get the wide-scope reading (691a'), but if the quantifier is an oblique case-marked argument, the narrow-scope reading is significantly easier to get (691b'). The latter type of argument, thus, has a stronger affinity towards taking narrow, internal, scope.

In contrast to on-line created derived nouns, the operator expressions as possessors in the postnominal complement zones of lexicalized derived nouns (692a-a') cannot be associated with a narrow-scope reading, either within a 'for instance'-construction (692a) or within the postverbal zone (692a') (but see (229b) in 1.3.1.2.2.2). If the operator expressions in question are expressed as non-possessors, the picture is not so black and white: they show some inclination ('??') for taking narrow scope (692b), but only if there is no possibility of associating a wide-scope reading with the given test sentence variant (cf. (692b')).

As is exemplified in (692a',b'), the given *mind*-quantifiers can readily be associated with a wide-scope reading.

(692) ● *Mind*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of derived nouns:

- II. Lexicalized derived nouns
- a. *Na például *a reggeli operáció-ja* [*mindkét sebésznek*]_{Agent}
 well for_instance *the morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg both surgeon.Dat*
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
 *NSR: 'Well for instance, the operation [by both surgeons] in the morning was successful.'
- a'. Sikeres volt *a reggeli operáció-ja* [*mindkét sebésznek*]_{Agent}
 successful be.Past.3Sg *the morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg both surgeon.Dat*
 *NSR: 'The operation [by both surgeons] in the morning was successful.'
[✓]WSR: 'In the case of [both surgeons], the operations by each of them in the morning were successful.'

- b. ^{??}Na például a tegnapi záróvizsga [mindkét tantárgyból],
 well for_instance the yesterday.Adj final_exam both subject.Ela
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
^{??}NSR: ‘Well for instance, yesterday’s final exam [from both subjects], that was successful.’
- b’. Jól sikerült a tegnap reggeli záróvizsga [mindkét tantárgyból].
 well succeed.Past.3Sg the yesterday morning.Adj final_exam both subject.Ela
^{*}NSR: ‘Yesterday morning’s final exam [from both subjects] was successful.’
[✓]WSR: ‘In the case of [both subjects], yesterday morning’s final exams from each of them were successful.’

Let us now turn to *story/picture* nouns and execute the same kinds of tests.

As is exemplified in (693a-a’’) below, none of the Agent, the Theme, nor the Owner possessor can be associated with a narrow-scope reading (in either test construction). There is, however, a radical difference between the three kinds of possessors with respect to inclination for taking wide scope (693a’): only the Agent and the Owner possessors can take wide scope readily, at least in a test construction that is neutral with respect to what role the given possessor expression plays. By ‘neutral’ we mean that ‘your sons’ can be interpreted as creators, topics and collectors equally readily (cf. (667a’) in 2.1.1.2.2). Thus, in a “competitive” test, the interpretation according to which the possessor refers to the Theme is highly suppressed. Since this competition is basically of a semantic nature, it is worth considering such a semantically “biased” test construction (also in the next subsections) as the one presented in (693a’’) below, in which the words *modell* ‘model’ and *foto* ‘photo’ can serve as triggers of a priming effect (in favor of the Theme-interpretation in question while, obviously, suppressing the two competing interpretations). As can be seen, the given syntactic construction itself does not *ab ovo* reject the given interpretation but is clearly readily (‘(?)’) compatible with it. Note in advance that in Table 49 in the summarizing subsection (2.1.1.4.7) the average of the results of the “competitive” test and the “biased” test will be given in the case of the Theme possessor, while in the case of the Agent and the Owner possessor, it is reasonable to give only the results of the neutral “competitive” test construction. In this way it is possible to simultaneously account for the dispreferred status of the Theme possessor (*versus* the Agent possessor and the Owner possessor) and the *ab ovo* syntactic compatibility between the construction tested and the intended meaning with a Theme possessor.

As for non-possessor *mind*-quantifiers belonging to *story/picture* nouns as arguments, they can also take wide scope more or less readily (693b’), while there are significant differences with respect to taking narrow scope between the three types of non-possessors, on the one hand, as well as between the two test constructions, on the other. Only the Theme and the Beneficiary can take narrow scope to a certain extent (‘?’), as is illustrated in (693b), but only if the given variant has no “competing” wide-scope reading (693b’).

(693) ● *Mind*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of *story/picture* nouns

- a. *Na például az a gyönyörű kép-e
 well for_instance that the beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
 [mindkét fiadnak]_{Agent / Theme / Owner} az nagyon értékes.
 both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that very valuable
 *NSR: ‘Well for instance, that beautiful picture [by both of your sons]_{Agent} / [of both of your sons]_{Theme} / [owned by both of your sons]_{Owner} that is very valuable.’
- a’. Nagyon látványosak a csütörtökön eladott kép-ei
 very spectacular.Pl the Thursday.Sup sell.Part picture-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 [mindkét fiadnak]_{*(?)Agent / *(?)Theme / *(?)Owner}
 both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
 *NSR: ‘The pictures by / of / [owned by] both of your sons sold on Thursday are very spectacular.’
 (3)/(?)?(?)WSR: ‘In the case of [both of your sons], the pictures by / of / [owned by] each of them sold on Thursday are very spectacular.’
- a’’. Nagyon látványosak a csütörtökön készített fotó-i
 very spectacular.Pl the Thursday.Sup make.Part photo-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 [mindkét modellnek]_{*(?)Agent / *(?)Theme / *(?)Owner}
 both model.Dat
 *NSR: ‘The photos by / of / [owned by] both of the models made on Thursday are very spectacular.’
 ?(3)/(?)?(?)WSR: ‘In the case of [both of the models], the photos by / of / [owned by] each of them made on Thursday are very spectacular.’
- b. Na például az a remek cikk [mindkét ^{*(?)}szakértőtől]_{Agent} /
 well for_instance that the great paper both expert.Abl /
^{?(?)}döntősről]_{Theme} / ^{?(?)}korosztálynak]_{Beneficiary}, az nagyon tetszik.
 finalist.Del / age_group.Dat that very.much please.3Sg
 *?(?)NSR: ‘Well for instance, that great paper [by both experts] / [about both finalists] / [for both age groups], I like that very much.’
- b’. Nagyon professzionálisak a tavalyi áttekintő cikkeik
 very professional.Pl the last_year.Adj review.Part paper.Pl
 [mindkét ^{*(?)}szakértőtől]_{Agent} / ^{*(?)}döntősről]_{Theme} / ^{*(?)}korosztálynak]_{Beneficiary}.
 both expert.Abl / finalist.Del / age_group.Dat
 *?(?)NSR: ‘Last year’s overview papers [by both experts] / [about both finalists] / [for both age groups] are very professional.’
 (3)/(?)?(?)WSR: ‘In the case of [both experts / finalists / [age groups]], the overview papers by / of / for each of them are very professional.’

As for non-possessor *mind*-quantifiers belonging to *story/picture* nouns as arguments, they can also take wide scope more or less readily (693b’), while there are significant differences with respect to taking narrow scope between the three types of non-possessors, on the one hand, and between the two test constructions, on the other hand. Only the Theme and the Beneficiary can take narrow scope to a certain extent (‘?’), as is illustrated in (693b), but only if the given variant has no “competing” wide-scope reading (693b’).

There emerge two relevant observations at this point. First, of the six argument types belonging to *story/picture* nouns, there are two which can (sufficiently readily) take narrow scope, namely, the relative case-marked Theme and the dative case-marked Beneficiary (693b); which may be regarded as evidence for their being thematic arguments (and not “only” conceptual arguments). Second, if a word-order

variant has a wide-scope reading, the potential narrow-scope reading is totally suppressed (cf. the primed examples in (691) above), even in the case of the two thematic arguments just mentioned (693b'). This latter fact, together with the fact that even the sufficiently acceptable narrow-scope readings are quite marked ('?'), suggests that the above-proposed thematic character is only "weak".

We can make the following interim summary at this point. Certain dependents of noun heads can be characterized as having a very close relationship to the head noun, on the basis of which they may be called thematic arguments (691). Other dependents show a less close relationship to the head noun, namely, the relative case-marked Theme and the dative case-marked Beneficiary (693b) of *story/picture* nouns and the "inherited" oblique case-marked dependents of lexicalized derived nouns (692b). This, however, is a closer relationship than the one between the noun head and the prototypical conceptual arguments such as the three kinds of possessors of *story/picture* nouns (693a), and the possessors of lexicalized derived nouns (692a). The in-between dependents are called *weak thematic arguments* (for our present purposes in this section).

Dependents of relational nouns (694) show a similar behavior to dependents of lexicalized derived nouns (692). A *mind*-quantifier in the postnominal complement zone of a relational noun expressed as a possessor (694a-a') cannot take narrow scope but readily takes wide scope (694a') if this possibility is not excluded in the given test construction. If the operator expressions in question are expressed as non-possessors, they show some inclination ('??') for taking narrow scope (694b), but only if there is no possibility of associating a wide-scope reading with the given test sentence variant (cf. (694b')).

(694) • *Mind*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of relational nouns

- a. *Na például a jelenlévő unoká-i [mindkét öregúrnak],
 well for_instance the present grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg both old_man.Dat
 ők nagyon udvariasak.
 they very polite.Pl
 *NSR: 'Well for instance, the grandchildren present [of both old gentlemen], they are very polite.'
- a'. Nagyon udvariasak a jelenlévő unoká-i [mindkét öregúrnak].
 very polite.Pl the present grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg both old_man.Dat
 *NSR: 'The grandchildren present [of both old gentlemen] are very polite.'
 ^WSR: 'In the case of [both old gentlemen], the grandchildren present of each of them are very polite.'
- b. ??Na például Péter harmad-unokatestvér-ei [mindkét szülő ágán],
 well for_instance Péter third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg both parent side.Poss.3Sg.Sup
 ők nagyon kedvesek.
 they very nice.Pl
 ??NSR: 'Well for instance, Péter's third cousins [on both parents' sides], they are very nice.'
- b'. (2)Nagyon kedvesek Péter harmad-unokatestvér-ei [mindkét szülő ágán].
 very nice.Pl Péter third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg both parent side.Poss.3Sg.Sup
 *NSR: 'Péter's third cousins [on both parents' sides], they are very nice.'
 (2)WSR: 'In the case of [both parents' sides], Péter's third cousins on each of the sides are very nice.'

On the basis of these tests, thus, possessors of relational nouns can be regarded as (prototypical) conceptual arguments while oblique case-marked arguments seem to be weak thematic arguments in the above sense.

Let us now turn to ordinary nouns. Recall that a “real” ordinary noun can have only a possessor as an argument (see subsection 2.1.1.2, in which it was argued that if a noun has an oblique case-marked argument, it is a (perhaps irregularly) derived noun, a relational noun, a *story/picture* noun, or the member of a group of nouns which can be regarded as similar to that of *story/picture* nouns in all respects relevant to our discussion). Let us, thus, test a possessor that appears as a *mind*-quantifier expression in the postnominal complement zone of an ordinary noun (695).

(695) ● *Mind*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of ordinary nouns

- a. *Na például a kedvenc ujjatlan póló-i [mindkét fiannak],
 well_for_instance the favorite sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg both son.Poss.1Sg.Dat
 azok nagyon viccesek.
 that.Pl very funny.Pl
 *NSR: ‘Well for instance, the favorite sleeveless T-shirts [of both of my sons], those are very funny.’
- a’. ⁽²⁾Nagyon viccesek a kedvenc ujjatlan póló-i [mindkét fiannak].
 very funny.Pl the favorite sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg both son.Poss.1Sg.Dat
 *NSR: ‘The favorite sleeveless T-shirts [of both of my sons] are very funny.’
⁽³⁾WSR: ‘In the case [of both of my sons], the favorite sleeveless T-shirts of each of them are very funny.’

As is exemplified in (695a-a’) above, a *mind*-quantifier can take only a wide scope in the postnominal complement zone of an ordinary noun. Hence, as is expected, ordinary nouns have no internal information structures (with thematic arguments) but have only conceptual arguments in their postnominal complement zones.

All in all, the arguments of on-line created derived nouns and oblique case-marked arguments (but not the possessor arguments) of the other types of nouns can take narrow scope, that is, they show evidence (to a greater extent in the former case, and to a lesser extent in the latter case) for having internal information structures. For nouns, the capability of having internal information structure is presumably related to having thematic arguments, whose “argumenthood” may be regarded as stronger or weaker, depending on the readiness of the recallability of the potential narrow-scope reading in appropriate test contexts.

2.1.1.4.2. *Is*-quantifier

The same thirteen typical arguments of the five noun types are tested in this subsection as in the previous subsection, with *is*- rather than *mind*-quantifiers under consideration. It is worth comparing the grammaticality judgments for the corresponding tests in these two subsections (together with those in the following three subsections).

The series of examples presented in (696) below is worth comparing to those in (691) in the previous subsection: complex-event denoting ÁS-noun constructions are tested in both series. It is easy to summarize the comparison as follows: an *is*-quantifier is capable of taking either a narrow scope (696a-b’) or a wide scope

(696a',b'), independent of its expression as a possessor (696a-a') or a non-possessor (696b-b'), but uniformly less readily than a *mind*-quantifier, especially with respect to taking narrow scope.

(696) • *Is*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of derived nouns:

I. On-line created derived nouns

- a. [?]Na például a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a
 well for_instance the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 [a fiadnak is]_{Theme} az hiba volt.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also that mistake be.Past.3Sg
[?]NSR: 'Well for instance, inviting [your son, too], to the concert, that was a mistake.'
- a'. ^(?)Hiba volt a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 [a fiadnak is]_{Theme}.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also
[?]NSR: 'Inviting [your son, too], to the concert was a mistake.'
^(?)WSR: 'In the case of [your son, too], inviting him to the concert was a mistake.'
- b. [?]Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meg-hív-ás-od
 well for_instance the previous agreement without.Adj perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.2Sg
 [a koncertre is], az hiba volt.
 the concert.Sub also that mistake be.Past.3Sg
[?]NSR: 'Well for instance, inviting you [to the concert, too], without any previous agreement, that was a mistake.'
- b'. ^{??}Hiba volt az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meg-hív-ás-od
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the previous agreement without.Adj perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.2Sg
 [a koncertre is].
 the concert.Sub also
[?]NSR: 'Inviting you [to the concert, too], without any previous agreement, was a mistake.'
^{??}WSR: 'In the case of [the concert, too], inviting you there, without any previous agreement, was a mistake.'

The weak inclination of thematic arguments of ÁS-nouns for taking narrow scope predicts an even weaker inclination for this of dependents of lexicalized derived nouns (697), of *story/picture* nouns (698), of relational nouns (699), and of ordinary nouns (700). As is exemplified in (697-700), this prediction is borne out spectacularly: no narrow-scope readings are available at all in the case of the examples in question.

(697) • *Is*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of derived nouns:

II. Lexicalized derived nouns

- a. *Na például a reggeli operáció-ja [az új sebésznek is]_{Agent}
 well for_instance the morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg the new surgeon.Dat also
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
 *NSR: 'Well for instance, the operation in the morning [in which the new surgeon also took part] was successful.'

- a'. ⁽²⁾Sikeres volt a tegnap reggeli operáció-ja
 successful be.Past.3Sg the yesterday morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg
 [az új sebésznek is]_{Agent}
 the new surgeon.Dat also
 *NSR: 'The operation yesterday morning [in which the new surgeon also took part] was successful.'
⁽³⁾WSR: 'In the case of [the new surgeon, too], the operation by him in the morning was successful.'
- b. *Na például a tegnapi vizsga [mondattanból is],
 well for_instance the yesterday.Adj exam syntax.Ela also
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
 *NSR: 'Well for instance, yesterday's exam [which also included syntax], that was successful.'
- b'. ⁽²⁾Jól sikerült a tegnap reggeli vizsga [mondattanból is].
 well succeed.Past.3Sg the yesterday morning.Adj exam syntax.Ela also
 *NSR: 'Yesterday morning's exam [which also included syntax] was successful.'
⁽³⁾WSR: 'In the case of [syntax, too], yesterday morning's exam in it was successful.'

As for wide-scope readings, both possessors and non-possessors readily take wide scope in the case of lexicalized derived nouns (697a',b'), while, in the case of *story/picture* nouns, the three possessor types (698a'-a'') and the Theme non-possessor (698b') take wide scope quite readily (as for the (a'')-test concerning the Theme possessor, see the comments on the similar "biased" test presented in (693a'') in 2.1.1.4.1). Thus, of the oblique case-marked dependents of a *story/picture* noun, the Theme has the closest relationship to the noun (698b'), but, at the same time, of the three possessor types, it "scores worst".

(698) • *Is*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of *story/picture* nouns

- a. *Na például az a gyönyörű kép-e
 well for_instance that the beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
 [a fiadnak is]_{Agent/Theme/Owner} az nagyon értékes.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also that very valuable
 *NSR: 'Well for instance, that beautiful picture [in the painting of which your son, too, took part] / [in which your son, too, can be seen] / [the owners of which your son, too, belongs to], that is very valuable.'
- a'. Nagyon látványosak a csütörtökön eladott kép-ei
 very spectacular.Pl the Thursday.Sup sell.Part picture-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 [a fiadnak is]_{*(3)Agent / *?(3)Theme / *(3)Owner}
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also
 *NSR: 'The pictures sold on Thursday [in the painting of which your son, too, took part] / [in which your son, too, can be seen] / [the owners of which your son, too, belongs to], are very spectacular.'
^{(3)??(3)}WSR: 'In the case of [your son, too], the pictures by / of / [owned by] him sold on Thursday are very spectacular.'
- a''. ⁽²⁾Nagyon látványosak a csütörtökön készített fotó-i
 very spectacular.Pl the Thursday.Sup make.Part photo-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 [a szőke modellnek is]_{Theme}
 the blond model.Dat also
 *NSR: 'The photos made on Thursday [in which the blonde model, too, can be seen] are very spectacular.'
⁽³⁾WSR: 'In the case of [the blonde model, too], the photos of her made on Thursday are very spectacular.'

- b. *Na például az a remek cikk [a szakértőtől_{Agent} /
well for_instance that the great paper the expert.Abl /
győztesről_{Theme} / kamaszoknak_{Beneficiary} is], az nagyon tetszik.
winner.Del / teenager.Pl.Dat also that very.much please.3Sg
*NSR: ‘Well for instance, that great paper [the writing of which the expert, too, has taken part in] / [the topics of which the winner, too, belongs to] / [the audience of which young adults, too, belong to], I like that very much.’
- b’. Nagyon professzionálisak a tavalyi áttekintő cikkek
very professional.Pl the last_year.Adj review.Part paper.Pl
[a *[?]szakértőtől_{Agent} / *^(?)győztesről_{Theme} / *^{??}kamaszoknak_{Beneficiary} is].
the expert.Abl / winner.Del / teenager.Pl.Dat also
*NSR: ‘Last year’s overview papers [the writing of which the expert, too, has taken part in] / [the topics of which the winner, too, belongs to] / [the audience of which young adults, too, belong to] are very professional.’
^{?(?)??}WSR: ‘In the case of [the expert / winner / age group of young results], too], last year’s summary papers [by him] / [of him] / [for them] are very professional.’

As for *is*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of relational nouns, both possessors and non-possessors readily take wide scope, as is illustrated in the primed examples in (699).

(699) • *Is*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of relational nouns

- a. *Na például a jelenlévő unoká-i [annak az öregúrnak is],
well for_instance the present grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg that.Dat the old_man.Dat also
ők nagyon udvariasak.
they very polite.Pl
*NSR: ‘Well for instance, the grandchildren present [of that old gentleman, who are grandchildren of others, too], they are very polite.’
- a’. ^(?)Nagyon sikeresek a külföldön élő unoká-i [Ilinek is].
very successful.Pl the abroad.Sup live.Part grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg Ili.Dat also
*NSR: ‘The grandchildren [of Ili, who are grandchildren of others, too], and who live abroad, are very successful.’
^(?)WSR: ‘In the case of [Ili, too], her grandchildren living abroad are very successful.’
- b. *Na például Péter harmad-unokatestvér-ei [anyai ágon is],
well for_instance Péter third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg mother.Adj branch.Sup also
ők nagyon kedvesek.
they very nice.Pl
*NSR: ‘Well for instance, Péter’s third cousins [on his mother’s side, who are also his third cousins on his father’s side], they are very nice.’
- b’. ^(?)Nagyon kedvesek Péter harmad-unokatestvér-ei [anyai ágon is].
very nice.Pl Péter third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg mother.Adj branch.Sup also
*NSR: ‘Péter’s third cousins [on his mother’s side, who are also his third cousins on his father’s side] are very nice.’
^(?)WSR: ‘In the case of [his mother’s side, too], Péter’s third cousins on that side are very nice.’

Is-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of ordinary nouns also readily take wide scope (700a’).

(700) • *Is*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone of ordinary nouns

- a. *Na például *a kedvenc ujjatlan póló-i* [a *fiamnak is*],
 well for_instance the favorite sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat also
 azok nagyon viccesek.
 that.Pl very funny.Pl

*NSR: ‘Well for instance, *the favorite sleeveless T-shirts [of my son which also belong to the favorite ones of someone else]*, those are very funny.’

- a’. ^(?)Nagyon viccesek

very funny.Pl

a kedvenc ujjatlan póló-i [a *fiamnak is*].
 the favorite sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat also

*NSR: ‘*The favorite sleeveless T-shirts [of my son which also belong to the favorite ones of someone else]* are very funny.’

^(?)WSR: ‘*In the case [of my son, too], his favorite sleeveless T-shirts* are very funny.’

All in all, an *is*-quantifier can take narrow scope only if it is a thematic argument of an on-line created derived noun, but even in this case, not that readily; weak thematic arguments (as *is*-quantifiers) cannot take narrow scope. All this has to do with some difference between *mind*-quantifiers and *is*-quantifiers with respect to the recallability of their meaning within internal information structures of nominal expressions (compare the analogous series of examples presented in this subsection to those presented in 2.1.1.4.1). As for taking wide scope, it is the radical difference in this respect between the six argument types of *story/picture* nouns that is worth highlighting here, since this difference may be used as an argument in favor of saying that a possessor and a non-possessor of a *story/picture* noun are primarily to be interpreted as the Agent/Owner and the Theme of the given story or picture, respectively. Although this formulation is undoubtedly quite obscure, results of the relevant tests are likely to provide valuable information on the precise degree and/or character of argumenthood (see subsection 2.1.2).

2.1.1.4.3. *Focus*

Hungarian focus is widely known for explicitly demonstrating its scope by obligatorily appearing immediately left-adjacent to the verb stem, which predicts that a focus expression cannot appear in the postverbal zone. This latter prediction is unequivocally borne out: every word-order variant based on the “postverbal” test construction is fully unacceptable with a wide scope, as is illustrated in the primed examples in (701-705) below.

The issue may be raised that a focus expression embedded in a matrix constituent tends to render this constituent a focus expression, too, within the sentential environment of the embedding constituent. Example (701a’’) below is an attempt to present such a situation—and a potential test based on this idea. However, given that a focused constituent must not be right branching (due to the obligatory adjacency between the verb stem and the head of the given constituent), so its postnominal complement zone must be phonetically empty (see the comments on (iii-iii’) in Remark 19 in 2.1.1.1), the constituent structure of sentence (701a’’) cannot be what has been intended. That is, the noun phrase *csak a fiadnak* ‘only of your son’ is not in the postnominal complement zone of the noun head *meghívása*

‘perf.invite.ÁS.Poss.3Sg’, but it is extracted and focused alone, with the remnant noun phrase *a koncertre való meghívása* ‘inviting (him) to the concert’ serving as a topic. This latter analysis belongs to the highly marked wide-scope reading shown in (701a’); the narrow-scope reading, also presented in (701a’), is not available.

As is exemplified in (701a-b’), the generalization that a focus expression embedded in a matrix constituent tends to render this constituent a focus expression does not invariably hold for foci in internal information structures of noun phrases (with a “narrow scope”). Nevertheless, a neutral placement of the matrix constituent—for instance, a position in the postverbal zone—is not “sufficient”: this word-order variant is highly marked (‘?’), even in the case of the “most viable” ÁS-noun construction (701a’,b’) and fully unacceptable in all other cases (see all the primed examples in (702-705).

Perhaps surprisingly, however, placing the given noun phrases with the embedded focus expression in their postnominal complement zones in a “for instance”-construction sometimes provides quite acceptable variants, as was already observed in subsection VII of 1.3.1.2.4.1 (see the comments on (309b’’)). The fact that the ‘for instance’-construction makes it possible to place the focus in the postnominal complement zone is presumably due to the operator character of this matrix construction and the close relationship between focus and contrastive topic (Ürögdi 2012: 82): it is as if some operator character of a matrix construction lent operator character to the whole embedded phrase, including its complement.

From now on, we concentrate on the “for instance” test-construction (presented in the primeless examples), which permits only narrow-scope readings. Hence, let us investigate which argument types of which noun types can (more or less readily) appear as postnominal focus expressions.

As is exemplified in (701a,b), both possessor arguments (701a) and non-possessor arguments (701b) of on-line created derived nouns quite readily (‘?’) appear as postnominal focus expressions, in harmony with their thematic-argument status (which was also demonstrated in the previous two subsections).

(701) ● Focus in the postnominal complement zone of derived nouns:

I. On-line created derived nouns

- a. [?]Na például *a koncertre való meghívás-a*
 well for_instance the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 [csak a fiadnak]_{Theme}, az hiba volt.
 only the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that mistake be.Past.3Sg
[?]NSR: ‘Well for instance, inviting [only your son] to the concert, that was a mistake.’
- a’. ^{??}Hiba volt *a koncertre való meghívás-a*
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 [csak a fiadnak]_{Theme}
 only the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
^{??}NSR: ‘It was a mistake to invite [only your son] to the concert.’
 *WSR: ‘It is only [your son] whose invitation to the concert was a mistake.’

- a". ^{??}A koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a
the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[csak a fiadnak]_{Theme} volt hiba.
only the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat be.Past.3Sg mistake
 *NSR: 'It was a mistake, and the only mistake, to invite [only your son] to the concert.'
 ??WSR: 'It is only [your son]whose invitation to the concert was a mistake.'
- b. [?]Na például az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meg-hív-ás-od
well for_instance the previous agreement without.Adj perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.2Sg
[csak a koncertre], az hiba volt.
only the concert.Sub that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ?NSR: 'Well for instance, inviting you, without any previous agreement, [only to the concert], that was a mistake.'
- b'. ^{??}Hiba volt az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meg-hív-ás-od
mistake be.Past.3Sg the previous agreement without.Adj perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.2Sg
[csak a koncertre].
only the concert.Sub
 ??NSR: 'Inviting you, without any previous agreement, [only to the concert], was a mistake.'
 *WSR: 'It is only [to the concert]that inviting you there, without any previous agreement, was a mistake.'

In the case of lexicalized derived nouns, an interesting difference can be observed between the two kinds of dependents: the possessor in (702a) cannot appear as a postnominal focus expression while the non-possessor in (702b) shows some inclination ('?') for functioning as a narrow-scope focus in the internal information structure of the irregularly derived noun *záróvizsga* 'final exam' (NB: a final exam is a complex examination that may cover not only more than one semester but also more than one subject). This difference can be explained as follows. In the case of lexicalized derived nouns, the possessor is chosen freely (in contrast to on-line created derived nouns), so it need not correspond to a particular input thematic argument, while an oblique case-marked dependent, just like in the case of on-line created derived nouns, necessarily corresponds to the input thematic argument, if any, case marked in the same way. In (702a), for instance, the possessor expresses the Agent of the input verb while the designated possessor of the corresponding ÁS-noun counterpart (*megoperálása* 'perf.operate.ÁS.Poss.3Sg') is the Theme. In (702b), however, the relative case-marked noun phrase expresses the input Theme in the case of the lexicalized derived noun *záróvizsga* 'final exam' as well as in the case of its on-line created ÁS-noun counterpart *záróvizsgázás* 'taking a final exam'. In the case of lexicalized derived nouns, thus, in contrast to on-line created derived nouns, the possessor is not a thematic argument. As for oblique case-marked arguments, they unequivocally behave as thematic arguments in the case of on-line created derived nouns, while, in the case of lexicalized derived nouns, they show a certain degree of thematic-argumenthood (see also Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7).

(702) ● Focus in the postnominal complement zone of derived nouns:

II. Lexicalized derived nouns

- a. *Na például *a reggeli operáció-ja* [*csak az új sebésznek*]_{Agent}
 well for_instance the morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg only the new surgeon.Dat
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
 *NSR: ‘Well for instance, *the operation in the morning [which was executed by the new surgeon alone]* was successful.’
- a’. *Sikeres volt *a tegnapi reggeli operáció-ja*
 successful be.Past.3Sg the yesterday morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg
 [*csak az új sebésznek*]_{Agent}
 only the new surgeon.Dat
 *NSR: ‘*The operation yesterday morning [which was executed by the new surgeon alone]* was successful.’
 *WSR: ‘*It holds [only for the new surgeon] that the operation by him in the morning* was successful.’
- b. ?Na például *a tegnapi záróvizsga* [*csak mondatból*],
 well for_instance the yesterday.Adj final_exam only syntax.Ela
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
 ?NSR: ‘Well for instance, *yesterday’s final exam [the only subject of which was syntax]*, that was successful.’
- b’. *?Jól sikerült *a tegnapi reggeli záróvizsga* [*csak mondatból*].
 well succeed.Past.3Sg the yesterday morning.Adj final_exam only syntax.Ela
 *NSR: ‘*Yesterday morning’s final exam [the only subject of which was syntax]* was successful.’
 *WSR: ‘*It holds [only for syntax] that yesterday morning’s final exam in it* was successful.’

The ‘for instance’-test in (703a,b) below shows a picture of the six argument types of *story/picture* nouns which is similar to the above-sketched picture concerning argument types of lexicalized derived nouns (702a,b). The possessor types under investigation (Agent, Theme, and Owner) all categorically refuse to serve as a postnominal (narrow-scope) focus (703a), while the delative case-marked Theme and the dative case-marked Beneficiary quite readily do so (perhaps with a negligible difference in favor of the former (703b)). Thus, the non-possessor Theme, in contrast to any kind of possessor, especially shows quite strong inclination for behaving as a thematic argument.

(703) ● Focus in the postnominal complement zone of *story/picture* nouns

- a. *Na például *az a gyönyörű kép-e*
 well for_instance that the beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
 [*csak a fiadnak*]_{Agent / Theme / Owners} az nagyon értékes.
 only the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that very valuable
 *NSR: ‘Well for instance, *that beautiful picture [painted by your son alone] / [the only topic of which is your son] / [the only owner of which is your son]*, that is very valuable.’

- a'. *Nagyon látványosak a csütörtökön eladott kép-ei
 very spectacular.Pl the Thursday.Sup sell.Part picture-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 [csak a fiadnak]_{Agent / Theme / Owner}
 only the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
 *NSR: 'The pictures sold on Thursday [painted by your son alone] / [the only topic of which is your son] / [the only owner of which is your son] are very spectacular.'
 *WSR: 'It holds [only for your son] that the pictures by / of / [owned by] him sold on Thursday are very spectacular.'
- b. Na például az a remek cikk [csak a ^{*/?}szakértőtől]_{Agent} /
 well for_instance that the great paper only the expert.Abl /
[?]győztesről]_{Theme} / [?]kamaszoknak]_{Beneficiary}], az nagyon tetszik.
 winner.Del / teenager.Pl.Dat that very.much please.3Sg
^{*/?/?}NSR: 'Well for instance, that great paper [written only by the expert] / [the only topic of which is the winner] / [the only audience of which is the group of young adults], I like that very much.'
- b'. Nagyon professzionálisak a tavalyi áttekintő cikkek
 very professional.Pl the last_year.Adj review.Part paper.Pl
 [csak a ^{*/}szakértőtől]_{Agent} / ^{*/?}győztesről]_{Theme} / ^{*/?}kamaszoknak]_{Beneficiary}].
 only the expert.Abl / winner.Del / teenager.Pl.Dat
^{*/?/?}NSR: 'Last year's overview papers [written only by the expert] / [the only topic of which is the winner] / [the only audience of which is the group of young adults] are very professional.'
 *WSR: 'It holds [only for the expert / winner / [group of young adults]] that last year's overview papers [by him] / [of him] / [for them] are very professional.'

The same tendency is corroborated in the case of relational nouns (704): the non-possessor postnominal dependent in (704b), in contrast to the possessor in (704a), shows some inclination ("??") to serve as a narrow scope focus. Note in passing that this highly marked status, instead of a less marked status, can partly be attributed to the special meaning of the sentence in (704b), in which those third cousins who qualify as third cousins on both the maternal and the paternal side, in quite an incestuous kinship, are referred to. The superessive case-marked argument of the relational noun, thus, can be regarded as showing non-negligible inclination for behaving as a thematic argument.

(704) ● Focus in the postnominal complement zone of relational nouns

- a. *Na például a jelenlévő unoká-i
 well for_instance the present grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 [csak annak az öregúrnak], ők nagyon udvariasak.
 only that.Dat the old_man.Dat they very polite.Pl
 *NSR: 'Well for instance, the grandchildren present [of that old gentleman, who are not grandchildren of others in the context], they are very polite.'
- a'. *Nagyon sikeresek a külföldön élő unoká-i [csak Ilinek].
 very successful.Pl the abroad.Sup live.Part grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg only Ili.Dat
 *NSR: 'The grandchildren [of Ili, who are not grandchildren of others in the context], and who live abroad, are very successful.'
 *WSR: 'It holds [only for Ili] that her grandchildren living abroad are very successful.'

- b. ^{??}Na például Péter harmad-unokatestvér-ei [csak anyai ágon],
 well for_instance Péter third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg only mother.Adj branch.Sup
 űk nagyon kedvesek.
 they very nice.Pl
^{??}NSR: ‘Well for instance, Péter’s third cousins [on his mother’s side, who are not his third cousins on his father’s side], they are very nice.’
- b’. *Nagyon kedvesek Péter harmad-unokatestvér-ei [csak anyai ágon].
 very nice.Pl Péter third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg only mother.Adj branch.Sup
^{??}NSR: ‘Péter’s third cousins [on his mother’s side, who are not his third cousins on his father’s side], are very nice.’
^{??}WSR: ‘It holds [only for his mother’s side] that Péter’s third cousins on that side are very nice.’

Ordinary nouns also corroborate the tendency that a possessor cannot appear as a focus expression in the postnominal complement zone (705a).

(705) ● Focus in the postnominal complement zone of ordinary nouns

- a. *Na például a kedvenc ujjatlan póló-i [csak a fiamnak],
 well for_instance the favorite sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg only the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat
 azok nagyon viccesek.
 that.Pl very funny.Pl
^{??}NSR: ‘Well for instance, the favorite sleeveless T-shirts [of my son which are not among the favorites of someone else], those are very funny.’
- a’. *Nagyon viccesek
 very funny.Pl
 a kedvenc ujjatlan póló-i [csak a fiamnak].
 the favorite sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg only the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat
^{??}NSR: ‘The favorite sleeveless T-shirts [of my son which are not among the favorites of someone else] are very funny.’
^{??}WSR: ‘It holds [only for my son] that his favorite sleeveless T-shirts are very funny.’

All in all, foci in postnominal complement zones never take wide scope and their capability of taking narrow scope shows a positive correlation with the degree of their argumenthood.

2.1.1.4.4. *Negative focus*

Since negated constituents in Hungarian function as foci, what was said about focus in the previous subsection also holds for them. Therefore, a negative focus expression in a postnominal complement zone can never have a wide scope, as is illustrated in (706a’,b’) below. The “postverbal” test will not be made use of further in this subsection (but see the two tables in the summarizing subsection 2.1.1.4.7).

Let us thus turn to the investigation of narrow-scope taking, starting with the case of on-line created derived nouns (706). As is illustrated in the primeless examples, the variants with a negated possessor (706a) and with a negated non-possessor (706b) in the postnominal complement zone are not convincingly acceptable, but not fully unacceptable, either.

(706) ● Negative focus in the postnominal complement zone:

I. On-line created derived nouns

- a. ^{??}Na például *a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a*
 well for_instance the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-Ás-Poss.3Sg
[nem a fiadnak]_{Theme} az hiba volt.
 not the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat that mistake be.Past.3Sg
^{??}NSR: ‘Well for instance, *inviting to the concert [not your son but someone else]*, that was a mistake.’
- a'. ^{*?}Hiba volt *a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a*
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-Ás-Poss.3Sg
[nem a fiadnak]_{Theme}
 not the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat
^{*?}NSR: ‘It was a mistake to *invite to the concert [not your son but someone else]*.’
^{*WSR}: ‘It is *[not your son]whose invitation to the concert* was a mistake.’
- b. ^{??}Na például *Petinek a meg-hív-ás-a [nem a rockkoncertre]*,
 well for_instance Peti.Dat the perf-invite-Ás-Poss.3Sg not the rock_concert.Sub
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
^{??}NSR: ‘Well for instance, *inviting Peti [not to the rock concert but elsewhere]*, that was a mistake.’
- b'. ^{*?}Hiba volt *Petinek a meg-hív-ás-a [nem a rockkoncertre]*.
 mistake be.Past.3Sg Peti.Dat the perf-invite-Ás-Poss.3Sg not the rock_concert.Sub
^{*?}NSR: ‘*Inviting Peti [not to the rock concert but to elsewhere]*, was a mistake.’
^{*WSR}: ‘It is *not [the rock concert]that inviting Peti to* was a mistake.’

Since even the on-line created derived nouns, which have “scored best” so far in the “for instance” test-constructions (with respect to hosting narrow-scope operators in their postnominal complement zones), now score so poorly, we will refrain from presenting the many fully unacceptable test-variants. The more or less acceptable variants are shown in the series of examples in (707) below.

What is common in these not fully unacceptable constructions is that the narrow-scope taking negated phrases are all oblique case-marked noun phrases. Moreover, note that, of the eleven argument types under investigation of the four non-on-line-created-derived-noun subtypes, all and only the oblique case-marked arguments appear in this list. None of the possessors of any noun types appears in the list of arguments showing some inclination for taking narrow scope.

(707) ● Negative focus in the postnominal complement zone:

II. Further cases which are not fully unacceptable

A. Lexicalized derived nouns:

- a. ^{??}Na például *a tegnapi vizsga [nem mondattanból]*,
 well for_instance the yesterday.Adj exam not syntax.Ela
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
^{??}NSR: ‘Well for instance, *yesterday’s exam [the subject of which was not syntax]*, that was successful.’

B. *Story/picture* nouns:

- b. ^{??}Na például az a remek cikk [nem a szakértőtől_{Agent} /
 well for_instance that the great paper not the expert.Abl /
 győztesről_{Theme} / kamaszoknak_{Beneficiary}], az nagyon tetszik.
 winner.Del / teenager.Pl.Dat that very.much please.3Sg
^{??}NSR: ‘Well for instance, that great paper [written not by the expert but by someone else] / [the
 topic of which is not the winner but someone else] / [the audience of which is not the young
 adults’ age group but another age group], I like that very much.’

C. Relational nouns:

- c. [?]Na például Péter harmad-unokatestvér-ei [nem anyai ágon],
 well for_instance Péter third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg only mother.Adj branch.Sup
 ők nagyon kedvesek.
 they very nice.Pl
[?]NSR: ‘Well for instance, Péter’s third cousins [not on his mother’s side], they are very nice.’

As for the most acceptable variant, which is a special oblique case-marked argument of a relational noun (707c), its convincingly acceptable status (‘?’) may be attributed to the fact that there are only two “sides” that can reasonably be referred to in the given context, so the negated expression unambiguously refers to the paternal side. This uniqueness obviously does not hold for the examples in (707a-b), which may influence the acceptability of interpretations (especially in an out of the blue context).

The lesson we can learn from these tests is that only the oblique case-marked dependents of these noun types show some thematic-argumenthood, contrasting with the dependent types expressed as possessors.

2.1.1.4.5. *Negative quantifier*

This subsection is devoted to the question of whether it is possible for negative quantifiers to appear in the postnominal complement zones of the five subtypes of nouns.

Negative quantifiers are special in that they require double negation. In the case of narrow-scope reading, this special requirement implies that a negative particle (i.e., *nem* ‘not’) must appear within the phrase of the noun whose postnominal complement zone contains the given negative quantifier. As is exemplified in the series of examples in (708) below, this is possible only in the case of the on-line created derived nouns, which are highly verbal (708a-a’). With these nouns, the derived form of the input verb stem readily accepts the negative particle in its prenominal complement zone (right-adjacent to the preverb, if any). The less verbal noun types, such as lexicalized derived nouns (708b-b’) and non-derived nouns (708c-d), categorically reject the negative particle; but unless it appears there, a narrow-scope negative quantifier is not licensed to appear in the postnominal complement zone (see the relevant variants in (708b-d), again).

(708) • Negative universal quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone:

I. Potential narrow-scope readings

A. On-line created derived nouns:

- a. Na például *a meg* *^(?)*nem* *operál-ás-a* [*senkinek*],
 well for_instance the perf not operate-AS-Poss.3Sg no-one.Dat

az *hiba* volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg

^(?)NSR: 'Well for instance, *operating* [*on no-one*], that was a mistake.'

- a'. Na például *Peti meg* *^(?)*nem* *hívása* [*semmilyen koncertre*],
 well for_instance Peti perf not call-AS-Poss.3Sg no concert.Sub

az *hiba* volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg

^(?)NSR: 'Well for instance, *inviting Peti* [*to no concerts*], that was a mistake.'

B. Lexicalized derived nouns:

- b. *Na például *a tegnapi* (*nem*) *operáció-ja* [*semelyik sebésznek*],
 well for_instance the yesterday.Adj not operation-Poss.3Sg none_of surgeon.Dat

az *hiba* volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg

- b'. *Na például *a* (*nem*) *vizsga* [*semelyik tantárgyból*], az *hiba* volt.
 well for_instance the not exam none_of subject.Ela that mistake be.Past.3Sg

C. *Story/picture* nouns:

- c. *Na például *a tegnapi* (*nem*) *cikk* [*semelyik szakértőtől*_{Agent} /
 well for_instance the yesterday.Adj not paper none_of expert.Abl /
*döntősről*_{Theme} / *korosztálynak*_{Beneficiary}], az *nekem* történetesen *tetszik*.
finalist.Del / *age_group.Pl.Dat* that Dat.1Sg happened_to please.3Sg

D. Relational nouns:

- d. *Na például *a* (*nem*) *anyja* [*semelyik jelenlévő gyerekek*],
 well for_instance the not mother-Poss.3Sg none_of present child.Dat

ő nagyon *kedves*.
 she very nice

Let us now turn to the potential wide-scope readings. All the thirteen argument types (under investigation) of the five noun types can more or less readily take wide scope from inside a postnominal complement zone (709); what is required is only the appearance of a negative particle left-adjacent to the verb stem (which is responsible for the external scope), in the absence of which the modified versions of the examples presented in (709) would be fully unacceptable, as illustrated in (709a'').

(709) • Negative universal quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone:

II. Potential wide-scope readings

A. On-line created derived nouns:

- a. ^(?)Nem volt *hiba* *a meg-operál-ás-a* [*senkinek*].
 not be.Past.3Sg mistake the perf-operate-AS-Poss.3Sg no-one.Dat

^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [*everyone*] that *operating on him/her* was not a mistake.'

- a'. ^{??}Nem volt *hiba* *a meg-hív-ás-od* [*semelyik koncertre*].
 not be.Past.3Sg mistake the perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg none_of concert.Sub

^{??}WSR: 'It holds for [*every concert*] that *inviting you to it* was not a mistake.'

- a". *Hiba volt a meg-hív-ás-od [semelyik koncertre].
mistake be.Past.3Sg the perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg none_of concert.Sub
Intended WSR: 'It holds for [every concert] that inviting you to it was not a mistake.'
- B. Lexicalized derived nouns:
- b. ^(?)Nem volt sikeres az operáció-ja [semelyik sebésznek].
not be.Past.3Sg successful the operation-Poss.3Sg none_of surgeon.Dat
^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [every surgeon] that the operation by him/her was not successful.'
- b'. ^(?)Nem volt sikeres a vizsga [semelyik tantárgyból].
not be.Past.3Sg successful the exam none_of subject.Ela
^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [every subject] that the exam in it was not successful.'
- C. *Story/picture* nouns:
- c. Nem professzionálisak a képei
not professional.Pl the picture.Poss.Pl.3Sg
[semelyik fiamnak ^(?)Agent / ^(?)Theme / ^(?)Owner].
none_of son.Poss.1Sg.Dat
^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [every son of mine] that the pictures by / of / [owned by] him are not professional.'
- c'. ^(?)Nem professzionálisak a fotói
not professional.Pl the photo.Poss.Pl.3Sg
[semelyik modellnek Theme].
none_of model.Dat
^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [every model] that the photos of her are not professional.'
- c". Nem professzionálisak a cikkek [semelyik [?]szakértőtől_{Agent} /
not professional.Pl the paper.Pl none_of expert.Abl /
^(?)döntősről_{Theme} / ^(?)korosztálynak_{Beneficiary}].
finalist.Del / age_group.Pl.Dat
^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [every expert / finalist / [age group]] that the papers by/off/for him/her/it are not professional.'
- D. Relational nouns:
- d. Nem ismerem az anyját [semelyik jelenlévő gyerekek].
not know.DefObj.1Sg the mother.Poss.3Sg none_of present child.Dat
WSR: 'It holds for [every child present] that I do not know the mother of him/her.'
- d'. ^(?)Nem ismerem Péter unokatestvéreit [semelyik ágon].
not know.DefObj.1Sg Péter cousin.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc none_of branch.Sup
^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [every side] that I do not know Péter's cousins on that side.'
- E: Ordinary nouns:
- e. ^(?)Nem szeretem az ujjatlan pólóit [semelyik fiamnak].
not like.DefObj.1Sg the sleeveless T-shirt.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc none_of son.Poss.1Sg.Dat
^(?)WSR: 'It holds for [every son of mine] that I do not like the sleeveless T-shirts of his.'

Let us now scrutinize the three cases which are significantly less acceptable (compared to the average '(?)') in the series of examples in (709) above. All the arguments concerned belong to *story/picture* nouns (709C): it is difficult to take external scope for the ablative case-marked Agent (709c"), for the dative case-marked Beneficiary (709c"), and for the Theme possessor, at least in the neutral, "competitive", test construction presented in (709c) (but see the "biased" test construction presented in (709c'), which is analogous to (693a") in 2.1.1.4.1 and to (698a") in 2.1.1.4.2). Nevertheless, the Theme expressed as a relative case-marked

noun phrase (709c”) and the Agent as a possessor (709c) can readily take external scope. All this may suggest that (i) the Theme “insists” on its peculiar case marking, perhaps due to its thematic-argumenthood, while (ii) the Agent and the Owner, which are preferably expressed as a possessor, are distinguished members of the conceptual network that belongs to *picture* nouns (NB: *to paint* and *to own* are what people primarily do with pictures).

To sum up, negative quantifiers can take narrow scope only in the case of on-line created derived nouns while they can quite readily take wide scope with slight argument-type-dependent differences.

2.1.1.4.6. *Wh-phrases*

This short subsection discusses the question of whether *wh*-phrases can appear in the postnominal complement zone.

The answer is a definite “no”, as is briefly illustrated in (710) below. Since a *wh*-phrase “insists on” the presence of focus in its scopal domain, it cannot have a wide scope on the conditions tested (see (710a-a’)) for the reasons discussed in the subsection on focus in the postnominal complement zone (2.1.1.4.3). A *wh*-phrase is also not capable of taking noun-phrase-internal narrow scope. In the case of example (710b), this is for semantic reasons: the meaning of the matrix predicate (*hiba volt* ‘(it) was a mistake’) is incompatible with an argument with an interrogative content, as is exemplified in (710b’). The analogous pair of examples in (710c-c’) demonstrates that a noun phrase cannot host a narrow-scope *wh*-phrase in its postnominal complement zone (710c) even if the matrix predicate is compatible with an argument with an interrogative content (710c’). Note in passing that this incapability of *wh*-phrases for taking narrow scope within a noun phrase holds not only for *wh*-phrases in the postnominal complement zone but also for *wh*-phrases anywhere within a noun phrase (cf. the comments on (313) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII).

(710) ● *Wh-phrases in the postnominal complement zone?*

- a. *Hiba volt a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a kinek?
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg who.Dat
- a’. *Hiba volt az előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meg-hív-ás-od hova?
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the previous agreement without.Adj perf-invite-AS-Poss.2Sg where
- a’’. *Nagyon professzionálisak a tavalyi áttekintő cikkek
 very professional.Pl the last_year.Adj review.Part paper.Pl
 kitől_{Agent} / kiről_{Theme} / kiknek_{Beneficiary}?
 who.Abl / who.Del / who.Pl.Dat
- b. *Na például a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a
 well for_instance the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg
 [kinek]_{Theme}, az hiba volt.
 who.Dat that mistake be.Past.3Sg
- b’. *Hiba volt, hogy kit hívtak meg a koncertre.
 mistake be.Past.3Sg that who.Acc invite.Past.3Pl perf the concert.Sub

- c. *Na például a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-á-t
 well for_instance the concert.Sub be.Part perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 [kinek]_{Theme} azt megkérdeztem.
 who.Dat that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, the question who had been invited to the concert, I asked that.'
- c'. Megkérdeztem, hogy kit hívtak meg a koncertre.
 ask.Past.1Sg that who.Acc invite.Past.3Pl perf the concert.Sub
 'I asked who had been invited to the concert.'

All in all, a *wh*-phrase cannot appear in the postnominal complement zone of any noun type (with either a narrow or a wide scope).

2.1.1.4.7. Summary

This subsection provides two tables summarizing the extent particular arguments of the five types of nouns can appear in the postnominal complement zone as different types of operators with internal ("narrow") scope (Table 48) or external ("wide") scope (Table 49). They are based on the data presented in subsections 2.1.1.4.1-2.1.1.4.6.

In Table 48 each cell contains two grammaticality judgments due to the fact that both test constructions demonstrated in (690a-b) in the introduction to subsection 2.1.1.4 *ab ovo* make a narrow-scope reading possible. The first grammaticality judgments belong to the 'for instance'-construction, demonstrated in (690a), in the case of which only a narrow-scope reading is possible, while the second grammaticality judgments belong to the postverbal test context, demonstrated in (690b), in the case of which, besides the narrow-scope reading, there is also a possibility of a wide-scope reading. As can be seen, the structural possibility of wide-scope readings (independent of the failure of the actual realization of these potential wide-scope readings in certain cases, cf. Table 49) definitely "suppress" the competing narrow-scope readings, uniformly in each case: the second grammaticality judgment is worse than the first one in each cell (unless the first grammaticality judgment is already an asterisk).

As for the six operator types investigated, there are significant differences between them with respect to their possible occurrence in the postnominal complement zone. The *mind*-quantifier tends to score best as an internal-scope taker while *wh*-phrases can never take internal scope, constituting the opposite extreme. Of the four further operator types investigated, the (*csak*-) focus and the negative (*nem*-) focus can be distinguished from the *is*-quantifier and the negative (*se*-) quantifier on the basis of the fact that the latter two can take internal scope only in the case of *ÁS*-nouns (as a representative of complex-eventuality-related, on-line created derived nouns) while the former show some inclination for taking internal scope in certain other cases as well, in which oblique case-marked arguments (and not possessors) are involved. Nevertheless, as can be seen in the table, there is no strictly monotonous preference order among the five investigated operator types which can appear in the postnominal complement zone: there is an argument type, for instance, namely the superessive argument (of a certain kind) of relational nouns, in the case of which it is the negative focus that scores best. It must also be

noted that the grammaticality judgments are subject to accidental semantic circumstances to a certain extent, as was often hinted in subsections 2.1.1.4.1-2.1.1.4.5.

Table 48: Readiness of arguments of different types of nouns to take internal scope in the postnominal complement zone

			<i>mind</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>wh</i>
ÁS-N	possessor	Theme	✓ / (?)	? / ??	?? / *?	(?) / *	? / ??	* / *
ÁS-N	Sub	Goal	✓ / (?)	? / ??	?? / *?	(?) / *	? / ??	* / *
<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	? / *?	? / *?	?? / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
<i>s/p</i> -N	Dat	Benef.	? / *	? / *?	?? / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
rel-N	Sup		?? / *?	?? / *	? / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
SED-N	Ela	Theme	?? / *	? / *?	?? / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	Agent	*? / *	*? / *	?? / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Theme	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Agent	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Owner	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
SED-N	possessor	Agent	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
rel-N	possessor		* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *
ord-N	possessor		* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *	* / *

Let us now consider the other side of the coin. Among the four plus one types of nouns studied, it is the group of ÁS-nouns, in connection with the complex-eventuality-related and/or on-line created character of its members, that can be characterized by unequivocally having internal information structure. That is, their possessor and non-possessor arguments can both take internal scope. In the case of the further four types, however, the oblique case-marked arguments show some (though never very strong) inclination for having internal scope while the arguments expressed as possessors can be uniformly characterized as refusing to take any internal scope. Recall that this difference between possessors of the former group and those of the latter four groups can obviously be attributed to the fact that in the case of on-line created derived nouns, the possessor is a thematic argument and therefore always corresponds to a designated input argument (see subsection 1.3.1.2.2.1, and subsection II in 1.3.1.2.4.2 and in 1.3.1.3.4.2, for instance). In the case of the other four groups, the possessor does not correspond to a designated (thematic) role (cf. (229b) in 1.3.1.2.2.2) but there are only stronger or weaker preferences for certain interpretations (see the relevant comments on (693a'-a'') in 2.1.1.4.1, for instance).

Let us now summarize to what extent particular arguments of the five types of nouns can appear in the postnominal complement zone as different types of operators with external scope. As can be seen in Table 49, *mind*-quantifiers, negative (*se-*) quantifiers and *is*-quantifiers can more or less readily take external scope as postnominal operators while (*csak-*) foci, negative (*nem-*) foci and *wh*-phrases can never take external scope. Moreover, this order is a monotonous preference order, as is clearly shown by the shades of gray (i.e., it holds for every

argument type α and every operator type ω that the grammaticality judgment associated with the $\langle \alpha, \omega \rangle$ pair is better than (or at least the same as) that associated with the $\langle \alpha, \omega' \rangle$ pair if, and only if, ω' is ranked lower according to the aforementioned order; and there is also a similar ordering between the argument types investigated).

Table 49: Readiness of arguments of different types of nouns to take external scope in the postnominal complement zone

			<i>mind</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>wh</i>
rel-N	possessor		✓	✓	(?)	*	*	*
SED-N	possessor	Agent	✓	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
SED-N	Ela	Theme	✓	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
ÁS-N	possessor	Theme	✓	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
ord-N	possessor		(?)	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
rel-N	Sup		(?)	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Agent	(?)	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Owner	(?)	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	(?)	(?)	(?)	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	Agent	(?)	?	?	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Theme	?	?	?	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	Dat	Benef.	?	??	??	*	*	*
ÁS-N	Sub	Goal	?	??	??	*	*	*

It can also be observed that possessors are excellent wide-scope takers, a fact obviously connected with their incapability of taking narrow scope (in four of the five noun types considered). This can be formulated more exactly as follows: in the case of all the noun types in Table 49, the possessor argument scores best (see the first, second, fourth, fifth, and seventh rows). Nevertheless, non-possessor arguments are also quite good wide-scope takers (in the case of the three operator types suitable for this at all). The preferred status of possessor arguments may have to do with the fact that the noun head stands in an agreement relation with its possessor (in contrast to its non-possessor arguments): an argument can more readily take external scope if its internal relation to its nominal head is explicitly, and hence reliably, marked, because in this case there is no uncertainty about whether the given argument belongs to the given nominal head.

It can also be observed that the oblique case-marked argument of just the ÁS-noun type is (one of) the poorest wide-scope taker(s). This may be attributed to the fact that the oblique case-marked arguments of the group of ÁS-nouns are unequivocally excellent narrow-scope takers: in this group, thus, the possibility of taking narrow scope suppresses the corresponding wide-scope reading, at least to a certain extent.

The six investigated argument types of *story/picture* nouns can also be found in the lower half of the table, perhaps due to the “competition” among them demonstrated by the relevant comments on (693a’-a”) in 2.1.1.4.1, for instance

(these comments also provide the precise calculation and interpretation of the grammaticality judgments presented).

The type of *story/picture* nouns can serve as a “laboratory” in which interesting phenomena can be studied. For instance, in the case of a semantic role, it matters with respect to narrow and wide-scope taking whether it is expressed as a possessor or a non-possessor (see both tables above). Consider the case of the Theme of a *story/picture* noun, for example. This can be expressed as a possessor as well as a delative case-marked argument. In the former case, it cannot take internal scope and it less readily (“?”) takes external scope, in the latter, it is a quite good internal- as well as external-scope taker. There are also significant differences between the possessor-like and oblique case-marked expressions of the Agent of *story/picture* nouns (but partly in another way: in harmony with the aforementioned general tendency, the possessor Agent is a better wide-scope taker than the ablative case-marked Agent).

Is it possible to account for the differences between the realizations of the same role on the basis of the definition of different forms of argumenthood given in (665) in subsection 2.1.1.2.2?

We put forward the tentative hypothesis that a certain extent of the capability for having internal scope is related to a similar extent of thematic argumenthood. This is due to a verb underlying the group of *story/picture* nouns which is abstract in the sense that its meaning involves kinds of creation (e.g., telling, writing, painting, photographing) but has a designated thematic grid with an Agent, a Theme and a Beneficiary (which are not obligatorily realized syntactically). Thus, generally the source of thematic argumenthood is a designated thematic grid of a verb which (i) is exactly defined in the case of on-line created derived nouns, (ii) is easily available (to speakers) in the case of lexicalized derived nouns (since speakers are capable of recognizing/identifying the derivational basis), or (iii) is abstract, belonging to the given subtype of nouns. As for the difference between the second and the third case, Table 48 shows that it is practically irrelevant whether it is possible to find a particular verb underlying the noun (like *operál* ‘operate’ in the case of *operáció* ‘operation’), or not (no particular verb can be associated with the *story/picture* noun *kép* ‘picture’, for instance, but the aforementioned abstract verb of creation underlies the group with its designated thematic roles). The on-line created character (in the first case), however, immediately implies a designated verb, guaranteeing the smooth internal-scope taking shown in the first two rows of Table 48. It is peculiar to on-line created nouns that not only oblique case-marked arguments but also possessors express a designated role. In the case of other nouns, possessors can be associated with different roles, which can be identified on the basis of the lexical-semantic network that the definition of conceptual argumenthood in (665) in subsection 2.1.1.2.2 was based on. That is why possessors in the non-on-line-created groups behave differently from the semantically corresponding non-possessor arguments: the role of a possessor must be calculated on the basis of the aforementioned lexical-semantic network, and not on the basis of a designated “underlying verb” with its thematic grid. Nevertheless, the two different ways of “semantic calculation”, namely, thematic and conceptual, may lead to the same semantic role, implying different scope-taking capabilities. The

Agent role of the *story/picture* noun *kép* ‘picture’, for instance, can be reached either immediately, through the underlying abstract verb of creation (in this case it appears as an ablative case-marked (weak) thematic argument), or indirectly, through the semantic network (in this case it appears as the possessor of the *story/picture* noun). In the latter case, it must be considered that typically a picture can be owned, admired, and, equally importantly, painted. The role of the possessor, thus, must be selected from such roles as that of the owner of the given picture and that of those who admire it; and it is obvious that the roles of the painter, the theme and the audience also belong to this group of potential roles. Note in passing that the role of the owner can be expressed only by means of a possessor because the supposed “underlying verb of creation” does not make it possible to immediately get to this role.

All in all, the fact that the particular argument types of the five types of nouns can be characterized on the basis of their inclination to “undertake” different operator functions can ultimately be applied in the characterization of their “argumenthood”, as will be corroborated and exploited in the subsection on testing argumenthood *versus* adjuncthood (2.1.2).

2.1.2. Tests for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts

This subsection is devoted to the essentially unresolved central question in the generative literature of distinguishing arguments from adjuncts (see Lohndal 2012, for instance).

The task is difficult since, in the postnominal zone, for instance, they can have the same form. *Máriával* ‘Mária.Ins’, for instance, is an adjunct in (711a-a”) but an argument in (711b-b”). Structurally, modifiers are optionally adjoined at a higher level within the noun phrase [see the schema in (640) in the introduction to Chapter 2], but in certain cases it is also possible for a modifier to stand closer to the head than an argument (see (126b) in 1.1.2.4 in addition to (711a”,b”).

Remark 20. The contradiction between the structure-based order of arguments (in the postnominal complement zone) and adjuncts (in the postnominal modifier zone) and the aforementioned data with “mixed word orders” can be easily resolved in theoretical approaches in which the internal noun phrase (see (i) below and the schema in (640A) in the introduction to Chapter 2) is hosted in the complement zone of some higher node Z, as is shown in (ii), within which the satellites can (or must) be re-arranged according to Behaghel’s Law (É. Kiss 2009); schema (ii), thus, demonstrates a situation in which YP_i , which comes from the postnominal modifier zone, happens to precede XP_j , which comes from the postnominal complement zone.

- (i) [... [NP ... [NP ... N X_1P ... X_kP] Y_1P ... Y_lP] ...]
- (ii) [ZP ... Z ... [... [NP ... [NP ... N ... \emptyset_j ...] ... \emptyset_i ...] ...] ... YP_i ... XP_j ...]

The node Z is chosen to be a Pred(icative) and/or a T(ense) head in the sentence level in the seminal approach by É. Kiss (2006a, 2008). It can be argued that on the noun-phrase level it can be the K (Case) head that provides the postnominal complement zone within which the satellites that belong to the noun phrase in any way are “linearized” (Farkas and Alberti 2016).

The lengthy section 2.2 in *SoD-NP* approaches the topic of distinguishing arguments from adjuncts as follows (p. 136): “As with verbs, complements of nouns are (in principle at least) obligatory elements: they fill the argument slots in the argument structure of the noun and are therefore needed to complete the denotation of the noun.”

The close connection between argumenthood and obligatoriness—“in principle at least,” as is added above—is a point of departure for Hungarian generative linguists as well, as is shown in (711a,b) by the grammaticality judgments proposed by Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 257/(85)): marked sentence variants are given if arguments (*Pestre* ‘Pest.Sub’ in (711a) and *Máriával* ‘Mária.Ins’ in (711b)) are replaced with adjuncts (*Máriával* ‘Mária.Ins’ in (711a) and *Pesten* ‘Pest.Sup’ in (711b)). As is shown in (711a’,b’), however, things are much more complicated: the two factors of omitting an argument and inserting an adjunct must be analyzed separately. The marked status (‘?’) of the second variant in (711a) is due to argument omission, as is shown by the grammaticality judgment associated with the variant in (711a’) with an empty postnominal zone; adjunct insertion itself yields only slight worsening (‘(?)’) (if Behaghel’s Law is satisfied), see the variants in (711a’-a’’) with the postnominal zone consisting of both satellites.

(711) ● Arguments and adjuncts after the noun head

- a. *János megérkezése [Pestre] / [?][Máriával] ma is beszédtema.*
János arrival.Poss.3Sg Pest.Sub / Mária.Ins today also topic
 ‘János’s arrival [in Pest] / [with Mária] is still a hot topic today.’
- a’. *János megérkezése [?]([?][Pestre] [Máriával]) ma is beszédtema.*
János arrival.Poss.3Sg Pest.Sub Mária.Ins today also topic
 ‘János’s arrival ([in Pest] [with Mária]) is still a hot topic today.’
- a’’. *^(?)János megérkezése [Máriával] [Budapestre] ma is beszédtema.*
János arrival.Poss.3Sg Mária.Ins Budapest.Sub today also topic
 ‘János’s arrival [with Mária] [in Budapest] is still a hot topic today.’
- b. *A fiúk találkozása [Máriával] / [?][Pesten] ma is beszédtema.*
the boy.Pl meeting.Poss.3Sg Mária.Ins / Pest.Sup today also topic
 ‘The boys’ meeting [with Mária] / [in Pest] is still a hot topic today.’
- b’. *A fiam találkozása *^(?)[Máriával] [Budapesten] ma is beszédtema.*
the son.Poss.1Sg meeting.Poss.3Sg Mária.Ins Budapest.Sup today also topic
 ‘My son’s meeting ([with Mária] [in Budapest]) is still a hot topic today.’
- b’’. *^(?)A fiam találkozása [Pesten] [Máriával] ma is beszédtema.*
the son.Poss.1Sg meeting.Poss.3Sg Pest.Sup Mária.Ins today also topic
 ‘My son’s meeting [in Pest] [with Mária] is still a hot topic today.’
- c. *Mindenkit meglepett az a váratlan össze-vesz-és-e-d*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg that the unexpected together-lose-AS-Poss.2Sg
 **(Ili-vel) a távirányító-n.*
Ili-Ins the remote_control-Sup
 ‘The fact that you had an unexpected row (with Ili) over the remote control was a surprise to everyone.’

- c'. Mindenkit meglepett az a váratlan össze-vesz-és-e-d
 everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg that the unexpected together-lose-As-Poss.2Sg
 Ili-vel (a távirányító-n).
 Ili-Ins the remote_control-Sup
 'The fact that you had an unexpected row with Ili (over the remote control) was a surprise to everyone.'
- d. Na például az a remek cikk ([a legjobb szakértőtől_{Agent}] /
 well for_instance that the great paper the best expert.Abl /
 [a győztesről_{Theme}] / [a kamaszoknak_{Beneficiary}]), az nagyon tetszik.
 the winner.Del / the teenager.Pl.Dat that very.much please.3Sg
 'Well for instance, that great paper ([by the best expert] / [about the winner] / [for young adults]), I like that very much.'

In (711b'), it is shown that argument omission can result in not only markedness, as in (711a'), but also full unacceptability. Note in passing that the argument omission in (711b) does not result in unacceptability, in contrast to (711b'), because *találkozik* 'meet' is a symmetric verb, whose instrumental case-marked argument (referring to the Co-Agent(s)) is omissible if its subject is plural, since in this case the plural subject can be interpreted as a group containing not only the Agent(s) but also the Co-Agent(s). The comparison between (711b'') and (711b') shows that the [argument > adjunct] order in the postnominal complement zone is preferred to the opposite order (if Behaghel's Law is met), or at least as acceptable as the opposite order, see (711a'-a'').

In certain cases, argument omission yields no worsening at all, as is illustrated in (711c') above. Note, however, that the same deverbal nominal construction also illustrates through its other argument that argument omission can yield full unacceptability (711c), as in (711b').

All these examples so far (711a-c') show that obligatoriness of arguments of nouns practically ranges from entire obligatoriness to entire omissibility with in-between degrees. Note that the extent of obligatoriness of the particular arguments of the particular ÁS-nouns presented above is the same as the extent of obligatoriness of the corresponding arguments in the corresponding input verbal constructions. This essentially holds for all types of on-line created derived nouns (while lexicalized derived nouns show a much more varied picture in this respect), as was discussed in the subsections on the presence and obligatoriness of arguments in section 1.3. Obligatoriness, thus, is not suitable for basing tests on in order to distinguish arguments from adjuncts—in the case of the satellites of nouns either (as in the case of the satellites of verbs). This negative stance is reinforced by such non-derived noun types as the group of *story/picture* nouns, in the case of which all the (oblique case-marked) arguments are totally omissible (711d).

Remark 21. We retain our stance that obligatoriness is not a suitable test for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts because the variation with respect to optionality presented in the series of examples in (711) cannot be explained on the basis of the systematic universal circumstances when a normally obligatory argument can be left out, presented in (i-iv') below on the basis of similar examples in *SoD-NP* (pp. 140–144).

The most common case in which the argument is not syntactically expressed is when the referent of the argument is recoverable from the context. In (i) the required information is provided by the extra-linguistic and, in (i'), by the linguistic context.

Examples (ii-ii') illustrate that certain arguments of a noun need not be expressed in generic and in predicative contexts.

- (i) Ismered *az alkotót?*
know.DefObj.2Sg *the creator.Acc*
[pointing at a work of art] 'Do you know *the creator*?'
- (i') Egy *fiú sétált a szüleivel a parkban.*
a boy walk.Past.3Sg the parent.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Ins the park.Ine
Az anya adott a gyerekeknek egy almát.
the mother give.Past.3Sg the child.Dat an apple.Acc
'A boy walked with his parents in the park. *The mother* gave the child an apple.'
- (ii) Egy *apának tudnia kell a kötelességét.*
a *father* know.Inf.3Sg must.3Sg *the responsibility.Poss.3Sg.Acc*
'A *father* must know his responsibilities.'
- (ii') Mari *jó anya.*
Mari *good mother*
'Mari is a *good mother*.'
- (iii) Az *összes anya* *elkésett.*
the all mother late.Past.3Sg
'All *the mothers* came late.'
- (iii') Egy / Öt *apa is szívesen csatlakozna hozzánk.*
a / five *father* also with_pleasure join.Cond.3Sg All.1PI
'[A *father* is] / [Five *fathers* are] eager to join us, too.'
- (iii'') Egyetlen *apa sem csatlakozott hozzánk.*
single father either join.Past.3Sg All.1PI
'No *father* joined us.'
- (iv) A *gyümölcs-fogyasztás* *nagyon egészséges.*
the fruit-consuming very healthy
'*Eating fruits* is very healthy.'
- (iv') *A *körtének a gyümölcs-fogyasztás-a* *nagyon egészséges.*
the pear.Dat the fruit-consuming-Poss.3Sg very healthy

Complements can also be left unexpressed when a noun is quantified universally (iii), existentially (iii'), or when it is negated (iii'').

Example (iv) illustrates incorporation of one of the arguments of a deverbal noun. Incorporation is quite a common process which results in adicity reduction of the derived noun in a certain sense, as the argument slot filled by the incorporated argument is no longer available (iv'). This means that whereas the derived noun normally requires the fully fledged expression of a particular argument, this is no longer possible if this argument has been incorporated (iv'). On the topic of this partial omission of argument slots, also see 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI and (644) in 2.1.1.1.

Thus, of the four types of tests to distinguish arguments from adjuncts proposed in *SoD-NP* (listed in (54) on page 136), we refrain from applying those based on obligatoriness of satellites. However, we adapt the other three to Hungarian in the following particular forms: a test based on (precopular) predicative constructions (2.1.2.3), a test based on pronominalization (2.1.2.4), and a test based on extraction (2.1.2.5). We also apply two more tests based on the properties investigated in subsection 2.1.1.4 among certain types of arguments of nouns, namely: the inclination for taking internal scope (2.1.2.1) and external scope (2.1.2.2). The five tests will be applied to a wider group of satellite types of nouns, which contains all the argument types tested in 2.1.1.4 and also contains further argument and adjunct

types—or more precisely, satellites of nouns which are *a priori* held to be arguments or adjuncts.

First of all, let us consider in (712) below the potential adjunct types to be tested. Examples (712a-c) present a superessive, an inessive, and an elative case-marked locative expression, respectively. Example (712d) presents an expression referring to the material the referent of the matrix noun phrase is made of. The last two examples in (712e-e') present temporal expressions within an (on-line created, complex-event denoting) ÁS-noun construction and an (event-type denoting) SED-noun construction, respectively.

(712) • Adjunct types used in tests

- a. Na például ^(?)(az) a szőke lány [a fényképen],
 well for_instance that the blond girl the photo.Sup
 ő nagyon tetszik nekem.
 (s)he very.much please.3Sg Dat.1Sg
 'Well for instance, *the/that blonde girl [in the picture]*, I like her very much.'
- b. Na például ^(?)(az) a szőke lány [a csíkos pulóverben],
 well for_instance that the blond girl the striped pullover.Ine
 ő nagyon tetszik nekem.
 (s)he very.much please.3Sg Dat.1Sg
 'Well for instance, *the/that blonde girl [in the striped pullover]*, I like her very much.'
- c. Na például [?](az) a szőke lány [a PVSK-ból],
 well for_instance that the blond girl the PVSK-Ela
 ő nagyon tetszik nekem.
 (s)he very.much please.3Sg Dat.1Sg
 'Well for instance, *the/that blonde girl [from PVSK]*, I like her very much.'
- d. Na például ^{??}(az) az óra [színaranyból],
 well for_instance that the watch fine_gold.Ela
 az nagyon tetszik nekem.
 that very.much please.3Sg Dat.1Sg
 'Well for instance, *the/that watch [of fine gold]*, I like that very much.'
- e. Na például *Ilinek* ^(*?)(az) a meg-látogat-ás-a [múlt csütörtökön],
 well for_instance Ili.Dat that the perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg last Thursday.Sup
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, *visiting Ili [last Thursday]*, that was a mistake.'
- e'. Na például [?](az) a látogatásod [múlt csütörtökön],
 well for_instance that the visit.Poss.2Sg last Thursday.Sup
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, *the/that visit of yours [last Thursday]*, that was a mistake.'

Note that, as has also already been mentioned in connection with the series of examples in (711) above, noun phrases with adjuncts in their postnominal zones tend to yield somewhat marked sentences. It can be observed in (712a-d,e') above that the optimal (fully acceptable) versions of such expressions are those supplied with a demonstrative element. The reason for this might be that the demonstrative element calls our attention to the fact that the adjunct must be taken into

consideration (in a “restrictive way”) in order to identify the denotatum of the matrix noun phrase in question, like in the case of restrictive subordination (see E3.4). As for example (712e), it was discussed in connection with example (328a) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI, that ÁS-noun constructions are not compatible with demonstrative pronouns (presumably due to some kind of “double identification”).

In the test sentences in the whole subsection, we seek to use the optimal versions, which depend on many different factors; if the optimal version is one with a matrix noun phrase containing a demonstrative element, then this version will be tested (but otherwise, versions with no demonstrative element will be used).

The series of examples in (713) below present the discussed potential argument types which did not appear in subsection 2.1.1.4. We have enriched our inventory of argument types to be tested for different reasons.

Further non-possessor argument types of derived nouns have been involved, for instance, because the test based on pronominalization (2.1.2.4) is sensitive to whether a noun “insists” on a particular case suffix, like the ÁS-noun *felbérelés* ‘up.hire.ÁS’ insists on a sublative case-marked noun phrase, or requires only the specification of the locative / ablative / lative trichotomy, like the SED-noun *szökés* ‘escape’ requires an ablative expression (e.g., *a karmai közül* ‘the claw.Poss.PI.3Sg from_among’, *Pécsről* ‘Pécs.Del’).

(713) ● Further argument types used in tests

- a. Na például *Ede fel-bérel-és-e [a képlóásra]*_{Goal}
 well for_instance Ede up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the picture.steal.ÁS.Sub
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *hiring Ede [to steal the picture]*, that was a mistake.’
- b. Na például *a szökés [az Alcatrazból]*_{Source} az szinte lehetetlen feladat.
 well for_instance the escape the Alcatraz.Ela that almost impossible mission
 ‘Well for instance, *the escape [from Alcatraz]*, that is an almost impossible mission.’
- c. Jó volt *a tegnapi meccse*
 good be.Past.3Sg the yesterday.Adj match.Poss.3Sg
*[a Seattle-nek]*_{Agent}*[a Denver ellen]*_{Co-Agent} *[a Lombardi-trófeáért]*_{Goal}
 the Seattle-Dat the Denver against the Lombardi-trophy.Cau
 ‘Yesterday’s match [of Seattle] [against Denver] [for the Lombardi trophy] was good.’
- d. Örömmel tölt el *a bizalmad [a fiaim iránt]*_{Theme}
 joy.Ins fill.3Sg away the trust.Poss.2Sg the son.Poss.Pl.1Sg towards
 ‘I am pleased with *your trust in my sons*.’

A group of *fight/game* nouns has also been involved in our study, with the three potential argument types presented in (713c) above (cf. (673b) in 2.1.1.2.2).

Finally, we have also involved in our study a postpositional expression type that belongs to a lexicalized SSD-noun, whose special property is that it corresponds to an oblique case-marked input argument (cf. (524a,c-c”) in 1.3.2.1.2.1).

2.1.2.1. Tests based on taking internal scope

It is investigated in this subsection (in order to attempt to distinguish arguments from adjuncts) whether the new satellite types presented in the series of examples in (712-713) in the introduction to 2.1.2—which are “new” relative to the argument

types listed in Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7—can have internal scope. Our *a priori* hypothesis on the basis of the data in Table 48 is that argumenthood has a strong positive correlation with inclination for taking internal scope.

Of the two test constructions and of the six operator types used in subsection 2.1.1.4, here we use only the ‘for instance’-construction and only for *mind*-quantifiers, as the “postverbal” test construction permits wide-scope readings, too (for further data, see Table 71 in 2.2.2). This proved to “suppress” the competing narrow-scope readings in each case (see the second grammaticality judgments in the cells of Table 48), which is why inclination for taking internal scope most readily manifests itself in the unambiguous “for instance” test sentences. As for the operator types, the *mind*-quantifier tended to “score best” (in Table 48), and if an argument type still happened to score better in the case of another operator type (for some accidental semantic reason), then there was only one degree difference with respect to grammaticality judgment. We claim that this basic preference of *mind*-quantifiers holds for the new satellite types investigated in this subsection, and so we limit ourselves to this single test construction (cf. Table 71 in 2.2.2).

As shown in the examples in (714a-d,e’) below, the hypothesized adjunct types categorically reject internal scope (though it is possible to assign some meaning to them; example (714b), for instance, could be used in the following situation: there are two striped pullovers which the models could choose, but one has put on both pullovers). This rejection of internal scope corroborates our *a priori* hypothesis that inclination for taking internal scope is peculiar to (thematic) arguments. There is only one exception: the temporal expression that belongs to an ÁS-noun can definitely readily take internal scope (714e). As it is reasonable to assume that (i) such temporal expressions are adjuncts in the corresponding input verbal constructions and (ii) this status is retained in the course of derivation, the phenomenon can be explained by attributing preference to a generalization that every dependent within the input construction also retains its input (internal) scope (see the first two rows in Table 48). The aforementioned rule implies a strong correlation between adjuncthood and incapability for having internal scope. That is, even adjuncts retain their original scope only in the case of on-line derivation, as is illustrated by the grammaticality judgment (*?*) associated with the non-on-line-created but lexicalized construction of a derived noun with an adjunct in (714e’).

(714) • *Mind*-quantifiers in the case of adjuncts: Potential narrow-scope readings

- a. *Na például az a szőke lány [mindkét fényképen],
 well for_instance that the blond girl both photo.Sup
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl [in both pictures], she is very pretty.’
- b. *Na például az a szőke lány [mindkét csíkos pulóverben],
 well for_instance that the blond girl both striped pullover.Ine
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl [in both striped pullovers], she is very pretty.’

- c. ²?Na például *az a szőke lány [mindkét egyesületből],*
 well for_instance that the blond girl both club.Ela
ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *that blonde girl [from both sports clubs]*, she is very pretty.’
- d. *Na például *az az óra [mindkét nemesféméből],*
 well for_instance that the watch both precious_metal.Ela
az elveszett.
 that disappear.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *that watch [of both precious metals]*, it has disappeared.’
- e. Na például *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a [mindkét napon],*
 well for_instance Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both day.Sup
az túlzás volt.
 that exaggeration be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *visiting Ili [on both days]*, that was an exaggeration.’
- e’. ²?Na például *a látogatásod [mindkét napon],*
 well for_instance the visit.Poss.2Sg both day.Sup
az túlzás volt.
 that exaggeration be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *your visiting us [on both days]*, that was an exaggeration.’

Let us now investigate whether the “new” argument types can have internal scope (715).

All the data are in harmony with the earlier findings presented in Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7: (i) the (sublative case-marked) argument of the ÁS-noun in (715a) readily takes internal scope, (ii) non-possessor arguments of lexicalized derived nouns (715b,d) and of a *fight/game* noun (715c’-c’’) show some inclination for taking internal scope, (iii) the possessor argument of the *fight/game* noun, just like all possessors belonging to other groups of nouns than the special group of on-line created derived nouns, rejects taking internal scope (715c).

(715) ● *Mind*-quantifiers in the case of further argument types:

- Potential narrow-scope readings
- a. Na például *Ede fel-bérel-és-e [mindkét munkára],*
 well for_instance Ede up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both work.Sub
az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *hiring Ede [for both jobs]*, that was a mistake.’
- b. ²Na például *a szökés [mindkét csapdából],*
 well for_instance the escape both trap.Ela
az kevés kísérleti egerünknek sikerül.
 that a_few experimental mouse.Poss.1Pl.Dat succeed.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the escape [from both traps]*, few of our experimental mice can perform that successfully.’
- c. *Na például *a tegnapi meccs-e*
 well for_instance the yesterday.Adj match-Poss.3Sg
[mindkét kedvenc irányítómnak], az érdekes volt.
 both favorite quarterback.Poss.1Sg.Dat that interesting be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: appr. ‘Well for instance, *yesterday’s match [in which both of my favorite quarterbacks took part]*, that was interesting.’

- c'. [?]Na például az a tegnapi meccs [mindkét fiam ellen],
 well for_instance that the yesterday.Adj match both son.Poss.1Sg against
 az vicces volt.
 that funny be.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, yesterday's match [in which I played against both of my sons], that was funny.'
- c''. [?]Na például az a tegnapi meccs [mindkét tróféáért],
 well for_instance that the yesterday.Adj match both trophy.Cau
 az érdekes volt.
 that interesting be.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, yesterday's match [which was played for both trophies (at the same time)],
 that was interesting.'
- d. [?]Na például a bizalmad [mindkét fiam iránt],
 well for_instance the trust.Poss.2Sg both son.Poss.1Sg towards
 az nagyon megható.
 that very touching
 'Well for instance, your trust [in both of my sons], that is very touching.'

All in all, adjuncts reject taking internal scope except for adjuncts belonging to on-line created derived nouns, while arguments show more or less inclination for taking internal scope, with the exception of possessors not belonging to on-line created derived nouns. We call the reader's attention to Table 54 in the summarizing subsection 2.1.2.6, in which the degrees of argumenthood or adjuncthood of the satellite types discussed in this subsection and in subsection 2.1.1.4 (see Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7) are demonstrated, ranked primarily on the basis of the grammaticality-judgment values that the internal-scope test provides.

2.1.2.2. Tests based on taking external scope

In this subsection, it is investigated (still in order to attempt to distinguish arguments from adjuncts) whether the new satellite types presented in the series of examples in (712-713) in the introduction to 2.1.2 can have external scope. Our *a priori* hypothesis on the basis of the data in Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7 is that argumenthood has a basic positive correlation with the inclination for taking external scope, due to the readily recognizable connection between the noun head and its given argument. In the absence of such a connection, there is a strong tendency: the hearer attempts to interpret an adjunct as belonging immediately to the verb of the sentence. In (716a) below, for instance, it is impossible to get rid of the (absurd) reading according to which what is going on in the picture is that the two girls are just being lost.

For testing whether certain arguments can take external scope, we use the postverbal test construction (demonstrated in (690b) in the introduction to 2.1.1.4) and only for *mind*-quantifiers (for further data, see Table 72 in subsection 2.2.2), for the following reasons: (i) only the postverbal test construction permits external scope at all (in contrast to the "for instance" test construction), (ii) *mind*-quantifiers, as can be seen in the (monotonously shaded) Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7, scored the best of the six operator types used in subsection 2.1.1.4 in taking external scope (in the precise sense that there is no argument type for which there is a type of operator that scores better than that argument type as a *mind*-quantifier). We claim that this preference of *mind*-quantifiers holds for the new satellite types investigated in this

subsection, which is why we limit ourselves to this single test construction (cf. Table 72 in 2.2.2).

As is shown in the series of examples in (716), the adjuncts tested behave quite differently with respect to taking external scope.

The superessive and the inessive case-marked locative expression (716a,b) and the type of material specifying adjuncts (716d), on the one hand, definitely reject an external-scope interpretation. This is in harmony with the expected correlation between adjuncthood and incapability of taking external scope.

On the other hand, three adjunct types show some inclination for taking external scope. This inclination is quite obvious in the case of the temporal expression that belongs to an on-line created derived noun (716e) since its connection with its noun head, in spite of its adjunct status, is recognizable on the basis of the on-line process of derivation itself. As for (716e'), the corresponding connection is less recognizable, though not fully unrecognizable, on the basis of the less automatic derivational relation, which is reflected in the given grammaticality judgment ('??'). The grammaticality judgment ('?') associated with example (716c) is surprising since the fairly strong inclination for taking external scope by the expression referring to a group that a person belongs to cannot be explained on the basis of any kind of derivation, the noun *lány* 'girl' not being a derived noun. A potential explanation could be based on the reclassification of the given elative case-marked satellite as an argument, which is a "very weak" thematic argument (in the sense sketched in the interim summary of subsection 2.1.1.4.1) of a hypothetical third group of special nouns (in addition to the groups of *story/picture* nouns and *fight/game* nouns, see the comments on (673b) in 2.1.1.2.2), the group of those who are "members" of social groups.

(716) • *Mind*-quantifiers in the case of adjuncts: Potential wide-scope readings

- a. *Tegnap elvesztek *a lányok* [*mindkét fényképen*].
 yesterday disappear.Past.3Pl *the girl.Pl both photo.Sup*
 Intended meaning: 'It holds for [both photos] that the girls who can be seen in either of them have disappeared yesterday.'
- b. *Tegnap berúgtak *a lányok* [*mindkét csíkos pulóverben*].
 yesterday get_drunk.Past.3Pl *the girl.Pl both striped pullover.Ine*
 Intended meaning: 'It holds for [both striped pullovers] that the girls who wore either of them got drunk yesterday.'
- c. ?Tegnap berúgtak *a lányok* [*mindkét egyesületből*].
 yesterday get_drunk.Past.3Pl *the girl.Pl both club.Ela*
 'It holds for [both sports clubs] that the girls who are from either of them got drunk yesterday.'
- d. *?Tegnap elvesztek *az órák* [*mindkét nemesféméből*].
 yesterday disappear.Past.3Pl *the watch.Pl both precious_metal.Ela*
 Intended meaning: 'It holds for [both precious metals] that the watches [made of either of them] disappeared yesterday.'
- e. ?Hiba volt *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*mindkét napon*].
 mistake be.Past.3Sg *Ili perf-visit-AS-Poss.3Sg both day.Sup*
 'It holds for [both days] that visiting Ili on either of the days was a mistake.'
- e'. ??Hiba volt *a látogatásod* [*mindkét napon*].
 mistake be.Past.3Sg *the visit.Poss.2Sg both day.Sup*
 'It holds for [both days] that your visits on either of the days were mistakes.'

Note in passing that the difference between (716c,e') and (716a,b,d) with respect to inclination for taking external scope also manifests itself, though very slightly, in the difference between the corresponding examples in (714c,e') and in (714a,b,d) in 2.1.2.1 with respect to inclination for taking internal scope.

Let us now investigate whether the “new” argument types presented in the series of examples in (713) in the introduction to 2.1.2 can have external scope (717).

All the data are in harmony with the earlier findings presented in Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7. The possessor of a *fight/game* noun (like other possessors) is an excellent wide-scope taker (717c) (obviously in connection with its incapability for taking narrow scope). The preferred status of possessor arguments may have to do with the fact that the noun head stands in an agreement relation with its possessor (in contrast to its non-possessor arguments): an argument can more readily take external scope if its internal relation to its nominal head is explicitly, and hence reliably, marked, because in this case there is no uncertainty about whether the given argument belongs to the given nominal head at all. Nevertheless, all types of non-possessor arguments are also quite good wide-scope takers (717a,b,c'-d), due to their sufficiently recognizable argumenthood.

(717) • *Mind*-quantifiers in the case of further argument types:

- Potential wide-scope readings
- a. [?]Hiba volt Ede fel-bérel-és-e [mindkét munkára].
mistake be.Past.3Sg Ede up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both work.Sub
'It holds for [both jobs] that Hiring Ede for either of them was a mistake.'
- b. ^(?)A kísérleti egereinknek sikerült
the experimental mouse.Poss.Pl.1Pl.Dat succeed.Past.3Sg
a szökés [mindkét csapdából].
the escape both trap.Ela
'It holds for [both traps] that our experimental mice performed a successful escape from either of them.'
- c. Érdekes volt a tegnapi meccs-e
interesting be.Past.3Sg the yesterday.Adj match-Poss.3Sg
[mindkét kedvenc irányítómnak].
both favorite quarterback.Poss.1Sg.Dat
'It holds for [both favorite quarterbacks of mine] that yesterday's matches in which either of them took part were interesting.'
- c'. [?]Jó volt a tegnapi meccs [mindkét fiam ellen].
good be.Past.3Sg the yesterday.Adj match both son.Poss.1Sg against
'It holds for [both sons of mine] that yesterday's matches in which I played against either of them were good.'
- c''. ^(?)Érdekes volt a tegnapi meccs [mindkét trófeáért].
interesting be.Past.3Sg the yesterday.Adj match both trophy.Cau
'It holds for [both trophies] that yesterday's matches which were played for either of them were interesting.'
- d. [?]Örömmel tölt el a bizalmad [mindkét fiam iránt].
joy.Ins fill.3Sg away the trust.Poss.2Sg both son.Poss.1Sg towards
'It holds for [both sons of mine] that I am pleased with your trust in either of them.'

All in all, as is demonstrated in Table 50 below (which also contains the satellite types presented in Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7), (i) arguments show convincing inclination for taking external scope (presumably due to the reliable recognizability of the syntactic connection between the argument and the head), while (ii) adjuncts reject this interpretation, (iii) excepting adjuncts belonging to derived nouns, in which case the syntactic connection between the adjunct and the head is more or less recognizable on the basis of the derivational connection (with the extent of its recognizability depending exactly on the type of the derivational connection). As for the exceptional satellite type expressing membership (see the row of ‘mem-N Ela’ in Table 50), presented in example (716c), it also fits this profile—at the cost of reclassifying it as an argument. We will return to this question of classification in the following subsections.

Table 50: Argumenthood or adjuncthood of different satellite types of nouns ranked on the basis of the grammaticality-judgment values that the external-scope test provides

NOUN TYPE			EXT-SC
Ás-N	possessor	Theme	✓
f/g-N	possessor	Agent	✓
rel-N	possessor		✓
SED-N	possessor	Agent	✓
SED-N	Ela	Theme	✓
SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	Source	(?)
s/p-N	possessor	Owner	(?)
ord-N	possessor		(?)
s/p-N	possessor	Agent	(?)
s/p-N	Del	Theme	(?)
s/p-N	Abl	Agent	(?)
f/g-N	Cau	Goal	(?)
rel-N	Sup		(?)
Ás-N	Sub	Goal _{st}	?
Ás-N	Sub _{AdvP}	Goal _{loc}	?
SED-N	towards	Theme	?
s/p-N	possessor	Theme	?
s/p-N	Dat	Benef.	?
f/g-N	against	Co-Ag.	?
mem-N	Ela		?
Ás-N		Temporal	?
SED-N		Temporal	??
—	Ela	Material	*?
—	Sup	Location	*
—	Ine	Dress	*

2.1.2.3. Tests based on precopular predicative constructions

In this subsection it is discussed whether different types of satellites of nouns can appear in (a certain kind of) precopular predicative constructions. From now on, we test the integrated group of satellite types given in Table 48 (and in Table 49) in 2.1.1.4.7 and in the introduction to subsection 2.1.2. Our *a priori* hypothesis is a generalization of a thesis in *SoD-NP* concerning adjunct and argument *van*-PPs (p. 145): whereas adjuncts can occur in precopular predicative positions due to their independent formal and semantic characteristics, arguments cannot.

Satellites appearing as possessors are worth testing separately from non-possessors because they are the only satellites with which the noun heads stand in an agreement relation. Moreover, two different precopular predicative constructions can be formed with them: one with the original dative case-marked noun phrases (see the primed examples in (718-720) below), and one with the given satellites modified so that the possessor suffix *-é* (see Table 16 in 1.1.1.5) is attached to the non-case-marked form of the given noun phrases (now see the primeless examples in (718-720)).

Comparing the two test constructions, the results of those with the original case marking (presented in the primed examples in (718-720)) are almost always worse than the results of those with the possessor suffix *-é* (presented in the primeless examples). The single exception is the possessor of the on-line created (deverbal *ÁS*-noun) construction, illustrated in the (a)-examples in (718); but in this case even the better variant is definitely unacceptable. As this type of satellite is a prototypical thematic argument, according to the data in Tables 48 and 49, these results are in harmony with our point of departure which assumes arguments cannot occur in precopular predicative constructions. Thus, from now on we can limit ourselves to considering only the (better) test results in the primeless examples.

(718) ● Precopular constructions in the case of possessors: I. Derived nouns

- a. **Az a reggeli meg-operál-ás szerintem Ilié volt.*
that the morning.Adj perf-operate-ÁS according_to.1Sg Ili.Posrbe.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that it was *Ili* who was operated on in the morning.'
- a'. ^{??}*Az a reggeli meg-operál-ás-a szerintem Ilinek volt.*
that the morning.Adj perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg Ili.Dat be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that it was *Ili* who was operated on in the morning.'
- b. ^{??}*Az a reggeli operáció szerintem dr. Bárdossyé volt.*
that the morning.Adj operation according_to.1Sg Dr. Bárdossy.Posr be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that that morning operation was by *Dr. Bárdossy*.'
- b'. ^{??}*Az a reggeli operáció-ja szerintem dr. Bárdossynak volt.*
that the morning.Adj operate-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg Dr. Bárdossy.Dat be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that that morning operation was by *Dr. Bárdossy*.'

Possessors of non-on-line created derived nouns (718b) and non-derived nouns (719-720) show a varied picture with respect to inclination for occurring in precopular predicative constructions. Given that they can uniformly be considered to be arguments on the basis of the external-scope test (see subsection 2.1.2.2 and Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7), but not thematic arguments on the basis of the internal-scope test (see subsection 2.1.2.1 and Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7), the in-between

grammaticality judgments ('??'/'?') are expected (in proportion to this in-between degree of argumenthood), which is given in most cases (see (718b), (719a-b), and (720a)). Nevertheless, there are such fully acceptable constructions as the one containing the Owner of *story/picture* nouns in (719a) and the possessor of ordinary nouns in (720c), and such unacceptable constructions as the one containing the Agent of *fight/game* nouns in (719c). As for the unacceptable last construction, its poor status with respect to acceptability might be attributed to the accidental factor that the variant in (719c) can be interpreted as a perfect sentence with the meaning that "it is my favorite quarterback that decided the given match with his excellent play." As for the acceptable former two constructions, it might be relevant that the given possessor arguments have no oblique case-marked (thematic) counterparts; thus, in this particular sense, they might be regarded as "less argument-like" than possessors that have oblique case-marked thematic arguments as semantic counterparts (see (721c) below, for instance, and (671) in 2.1.1.2.2).

(719) ● Precopular constructions in the case of possessors: II. *Story/picture* nouns and *fight/game* nouns

- a. Az a gyönyörű kép szerintem [a fiadé]^{?Agent / *?Theme / ^Owner} volt.
 that the beautiful picture according_to.1Sg the son.Poss.2Sg.Posr be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that that beautiful picture was [created by your son] / [of your son] / [owned by your son].'
- a'. Az a gyönyörű kép-e szerintem
 that the beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg
 [a fiadnak]^{*?Agent / *?Theme / ??Owner} volt.
 the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that that beautiful picture was [created by your son] / [of your son] / [owned by your son].'
- b. ??Az a gyönyörű fotó szerintem [a szőke modellé]_{Theme} volt.
 that the beautiful photo according_to.1Sg the blond model.Posr be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that that beautiful picture was [of the blonde model].'
- b'. *?Az a gyönyörű fotó-ja szerintem
 that the beautiful photo-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg
 [a szőke modellnek]_{Theme} volt.
 the blond model.Dat be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that that beautiful picture was [of the blonde model].'
- c. *?Az a tegnapi meccs szerintem
 that the yesterday.Adj match according_to.1Sg
 [a kedvenc irányítómé] volt.
 the favorite quarterback.Poss.1Sg.Posr be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that that match yesterday was [in which my favorite quarterback took part].'
- c'. *?Az a tegnapi meccs-e szerintem
 that the yesterday.Adj match-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg
 [a kedvenc irányítómnak] volt.
 the favorite quarterback.Poss.1Sg.Dat be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that that match yesterday was [in which my favorite quarterback took part].'

Note that the Theme of *story/picture* nouns are investigated in a “competitive” (719a) and a “biased” (719b) test construction because, in the former, the interpretation of the possessor as a Theme is “suppressed” by the two competing interpretations according to which the possessor is taken to be an Agent or an Owner (see the relevant comments on (693a’-a”) in 2.1.1.4.1). Nevertheless, the grammaticality judgments associated with the two test variants (‘*?’/ ‘?’) do not differ significantly; the poor acceptability corroborates our earlier observation that it is not preferred that the possessor of *story/picture* nouns is interpreted as a Theme, and is not assumed to suggest that the given satellite type is highly adjunct-like.

Our last comment on possessors pertains to possessors of relational nouns (720a,b). In the case of kinship relations, the possessor shows very poor (‘?’) inclination for occurring in precopular predicative constructions (720a) while in the case of part-whole relations, the possessor scores much better in the same test construction (720b), at least in certain tenses and/or moods. Accounting for this varied picture is left to future research.

(720) ● Precopular constructions in the case of possessors: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. ^{??}*Az a hallgatag nagymama* szerintem
that the taciturn grandma according_to.1Sg
[azé a cserfes kislányé].
that.Posr the talkative little_girl.Posr
 ‘I think that *that taciturn grandma* is [*the grandmother of that talkative little girl*].’
- a’. ^{*?}*Az a hallgatag nagymamá-ja* szerintem
that the taciturn grandma-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg
[annak a cserfes kislánynak] van.
that.Dat the talkative little_girl.Dat be.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I think that *that taciturn grandma* is [*the grandmother of that talkative little girl*].’
- b. *Ez az ág* szerintem [*azé a fáé*] ^(?)*volt* / ^(?)*lehet*.
this the branch according_to.1Sg that.Posr the tree.Posr be.Past.3Sg / be.Mod.3Sg
 ‘I think that *this branch* is / was / [may be] [*from that tree*].’
- b’. ^{*}*Ez az ág-a* szerintem
this the branch-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg
[annak a fának] van / *volt* / *lehet*.
that.Dat the tree.Dat be.3Sg / be.Past.3Sg / be.Mod.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I think that *this branch* is / was / [may be] [*from that tree*].’
- c. *Az az ujjatlan póló* szerintem [*a fiadé*] *volt*.
that the sleeveless T_shirt according_to.1Sg the son.Poss.2Sg.Posr be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *that sleeveless T-shirt* was [*that of your son’s*].’
- c’. ^{??}*Az az ujjatlan póló-ja* szerintem [*a fiadnak*] *volt*.
that the sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *that sleeveless T-shirt* was [*that of your son’s*].’

What is clear about the data in (718-720) in general is that the occurrence of the NAK possessor in the precopular predicative construction is extremely dispreferred and the alternative variant with the possessor suffix *-é* can have a few specific (idiom-like) meanings, which suppress those intended, so this variant is not reliably suitable for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts, either.

The series of examples presented in (721) below is devoted to the group of the oblique case-marked or postpositional satellite types which are *a priori* assumed to be more or less argument-like expressions.

In this group, too (cf. (718)), arguments of on-line created (deverbal ÁS-) nouns, illustrated in the (a)-examples, score worst; which is in total harmony with their high degree of argumenthood (see Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7).

(721) ● Precopular constructions in the case of non-possessors

- a. *[?]*Ede fel-bérel-és-e* szerintem [egy másik munkára] volt.
Ede up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg *an other concert.Sub* be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I think that *Ede's* hiring was [a hiring for another job].'
- a'. ^{??}*Az előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való meg-hív-ás-od* szerintem
the previous agreement without be.Part perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.2Sg according_to.1Sg
 [egy másik koncertre] volt.
an other concert.Sub be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that your invitation, without any previous agreement, was [an invitation to another concert].'
- b. *A tegnapi vizsga* szerintem [egy másik tantárgyból] volt.
the yesterday.Adj exam according_to.1Sg *an other subject.Ela* be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that yesterday's exam was [in another subject].'
- b'. [?]*A tegnapi szökés* szerintem [az Alcatrazból] volt.
the yesterday.Adj escape according_to.1Sg *the Alcatraz.Ela* be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that yesterday's escape was [an escape from Alcatraz].'
- c. *Az a tegnapi cikk* szerintem ^(?)[attól a külpolitikai szakértőtől_{Agent}]/
that the yesterday.Adj paper according_to.1Sg *that.Abl the foreign_policy.Adj expert.Abl* /
^{??}[a két döntősről_{Theme}]/[?][a fiatalabb korosztálynak_{Beneficiary}] volt.
the two finalist.Del / *the younger age_group.Dat* be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that yesterday's paper was [written by that expert in foreign policy] / [about the two finalists] / [for the younger age group].'
- d. *Az a tegnapi meccs* szerintem [?][a Fradi ellen] /
that the yesterday.Adj match according_to.1Sg *the Fradi against* /
^(?)[a Lombardi trófeáért] volt.
the Lombardi trophy.Cau be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that that match yesterday was (a match) [against Fradi] / [for the Lombardi trophy].'
- e. ^{??}*Ilinek az a harmad-unokatestvére* szerintem [az anyai ágon] volt.
Ili.Dat that the third-cousin.Poss.Pl.3Sg according_to.1Sg *the mother.Adj branch.Sup* be.Past.3Sg
 'I think that that third cousin of Ili's was [a third cousin on her mother's side].'
- f. [?]*Az a töretlen bizalmad* emlékezetem szerint [Ede iránt] volt.
that the unbroken trust.Poss.2Sg memory.Poss.1Sg according_to *Ede towards* be.Past.3Sg
 'Your unbroken trust, as I recall, was [trust in Ede].'

As for non-possessor arguments of non-on-line created derived nouns and non-derived nouns, they, in general, show more or less inclination ('✓'-'??') for occurring in precopular predicative constructions. The Theme of *story/picture* nouns (721c) and the superessive case-marked argument of relational nouns (721e) score worst ('??'); hence, the test based on precopular predicative constructions shows them to be prominently argument-like, in total harmony with the results of the internal-scope test and the external-scope test (see Tables 48 and 49 in

2.1.1.4.7). What score best are the relative case-marked Theme of lexicalized derived nouns (721b), the Agent of *story/picture* nouns (721c), and the Goal of *fight/game* nouns (721d); the test based on precopular predicative constructions, thus, reveals them to be poorly argument-like (among non-possessors), in harmony with the results of the internal-scope test in the latter cases but not in the former case (see Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7). Accounting for the high level of acceptability of the relative case-marked Theme of lexicalized derived nouns in precopular predicative constructions (721b) is left to future research; the phenomenon might have to do with the formal and semantic similarity of the construction in (721b) to the fully acceptable one presented in (722d) below, which contains an adjunct.

The satellites classified *a priori* as adjuncts behave exactly in the expected way: they readily occur in precopular predicative constructions (722).

(722) ● Precopular constructions in the case of adjuncts

- a. *A neked tetsző lány szerintem [a másik fényképen] volt.*
the Dat.1Sg please.Part girl according_to.1Sg the other photo.Sup be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *the girl you like* was [*in the other photo*].’
- b. *A neked tetsző lány szerintem tegnap*
the Dat.1Sg please.Part girl according_to.1Sg yesterday
[abban a furcsa csíkos pulóverben] volt.
that.Inse the strange striped pullover.Ine be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *the girl you like* was [*in that strange striped pullover*] yesterday.’
- c. ⁽²⁾*A neked tetsző lány szerintem [a PVSK-ból] volt.*
the Dat.1Sg please.Part girl according_to.1Sg the PVSK-Ela be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *the girl you like* is [*from PVSK*].’
- d. *A neked tetsző óra szerintem [színaranyból] volt.*
the Dat.1Sg please.Part watch according_to.1Sg fine_gold.Ela be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *the watch you like* is [*of fine gold*].’
- e. ⁽²⁾*Ili meg-látogat-ás-a szerintem [egy másik napon] volt.*
Ili perf-visit-Ás-Poss.3Sg according_to.1Sg an other day.Sup be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *visiting Ili* was [*on another day*].’
- e’. *Az a látogatásod szerintem [egy másik napon] volt.*
that the visit.Poss.2Sg according_to.1Sg an other day.Sup be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I think that *that visit of yours* was [*on another day*].’

Note that the test based on precopular predicative constructions proves that the relative case-marked satellite in (722c) is quite highly adjunct-like (cf. the relevant comment on (716c) in 2.1.2.2). It also proves that the temporal expressions belonging to derived nouns in (722e-e’) are highly adjunct-like. Thus, this test, in contrast to the internal-scope test, is essentially insensitive to a verbal derivational basis, even in the case of on-line derivation (see 2.1.2.1).

All in all, has our expectation that adjuncts can occur in precopular predicative positions and arguments cannot be borne out?

What can be claimed is that the (somewhat surprisingly large) set of satellite types under investigation which score well in the test based on precopular predicative constructions contains as a proper subset the satellite types which are almost unquestionably to be regarded as adjuncts (including even satellites of derived nouns corresponding to adjuncts in the corresponding input verbal

constructions), but it does not contain such highly argument-like satellite types as “inherited” arguments of on-line created derived nouns; see Table 51 below.

Table 51: Argumenthood or adjuncthood of different satellite types of nouns ranked on the basis of the grammaticality-judgment values that the test based on precopular predicative constructions provides

NOUN TYPE			PRED
—	Ela	Material	✓
—	Sup	Location	✓
—	Ine	Dress	✓
SED-N		Temporal	✓
ord-N	possessor		✓
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Owner	✓
ÁS-N		Temporal	(?)
<i>mem</i> -N	Ela		(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	Agent	(?)
<i>f/g</i> -N	Cau	Goal	(?)
SED-N	Ela	Theme	(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	Dat	Benef.	?
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Agent	?
<i>f/g</i> -N	against	Co-Ag.	?
SED-N	towards	Theme	?
SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	Source	?
rel-N	possessor		?
<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	??
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Theme	??
rel-N	Sup		??
SED-N	possessor	Agent	??
ÁS-N	Sub _{AdvP}	Goal _{loc}	??
<i>f/g</i> -N	possessor	Agent	*?
ÁS-N	Sub	Goal _{st}	*?
ÁS-N	possessor	Theme	*?

2.1.2.4. Tests based on pronominalization

In this subsection it is discussed whether different types of satellites of nouns can be pronominalized. Our *a priori* hypothesis is a generalization of a thesis in *SoD-NP* concerning (adjunct and argument) postnominal PPs (p. 147): after appropriate introductory contexts (see all the primeless examples throughout this subsection), arguments can undergo pronominalization while adjuncts cannot.

Possessors are tested in the first two series of examples (723-724). Note that in Hungarian, due to agreement, possessive pronominal forms are preferably pro-dropped, especially NAK possessors, which can appear in the postnominal zone, in

contrast to unmarked possessors. That is why special non-neutral (*éppen*-) constructions are used in the test variants presented in (723-724). These make pro-drop impossible and are favorable with respect to the balance between prenominal and postnominal zone (see (653) in 2.1.1.1).

In (723), possessors of derived nouns are considered.

(723) ● Pronominalization in the case of possessors: I. Derived nouns

- a. A: *A tegnapi meg-operál-ás-a [Ilinek] meglepetést keltett.*
the yesterday.Adj perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat surprise.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
 ‘Operating [on Ili] yesterday caused a surprise.’
- a’. ⁽²⁾B: *Igen, a meg-operál-ás-a [éppen neki] engem is meglepett.*
yes the perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg just Dat.3Sg I.Acc also surprise.Past.3Sg
 ‘Yes, operating [on just her] was a surprise to me, too.’
- b. A: *Elmaradt a tegnapi operáció-ja [dr. Bárdossynak].*
be_cancelled.Past.3Sg the yesterday.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg Dr. Bárdossy.Dat
 ‘[Dr. Bárdossy’s] operation yesterday was cancelled.’
- b’. ⁽²⁾B: *Elmaradt az az oly régen beharangozott*
be_cancelled.Past.3Sg that the such long_ago announce.Part
operáció-ja [éppen neki]?!
operation-Poss.3Sg just Dat.3Sg
 ‘Has that operation [by just him] announced so long ago been cancelled?!’

As is expected, the possessor of an on-line created (deverbal ÁS-) noun can readily undergo pronominalization (723a’), in harmony with all the test results so far. The possessor of a lexicalized derived noun also scores well in the given test (723b’), which is somewhat surprising at first glance in the light of the (quite varied) corresponding test results up to now.

However, given that all types of possessors of non-derived nouns can more or less readily undergo pronominalization quite uniformly (724), the test result given in (723b’) cannot be regarded as an individual exception, but we are led to the conclusion that the test based on pronominalization intensively indicates any kind of argumenthood (and not only thematic argumenthood).

(724) ● Pronominalization in the case of possessors: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. A: *Megégett az a gyönyörű kép-e [Ilinek] ⁽²⁾Agent / [?]Theme / ⁽²⁾Owner!*
get_burned.Past.3Sg that the beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat
 ‘That beautiful picture [by Ili] / [of Ili] / [owned by Ili] has got burned.’
- a’. B: *Megégett az a gyönyörű kép-e*
get_burned.Past.3Sg that the beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
[éppen neki] [?]Agent / [?]Theme / ⁽²⁾Owner?
just Dat.3Sg
 ‘Has that beautiful picture [by just her] / [of just her] / [owned just by her] got burned?’
- b. ⁽²⁾A: *Megégtek a gyönyörű fotó-i [a szőke modellünknek] [?]Theme!*
get_burned.Past.3Pl the beautiful photo-Poss.Pl.3Sg the blond model.Poss.1Pl.Dat
 ‘The beautiful photos [of our blonde model] has got burned.’

- b'. ⁽²⁾B: *Megégték azok a gyönyörű fotó-i*
 get_burned.Past.3Pl *that.Pl the beautiful picture-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
[éppen neki]]_{Theme?}
just Dat.3Sg
 'Has those beautiful photos [of just her] got burned?'
- c. A: *Tegnap elmaradt a meccs-e [a kedvenc irányítómnak].*
 yesterday be_cancelled.Past.3Sg *the match-Poss.3Sg the favorite quarterback.Poss.1Sg.Dat*
 '[My favorite quarterback's] match was cancelled yesterday.'
- c'. ⁽²⁾B: *Elmaradt a meccs-e [éppen neki]?!'*
 be_cancelled.Past.3Sg *the match-Poss.3Sg just Dat.3Sg*
 'Has [just his] match been cancelled?!'
- d. A: *Tegnap elájult a nagymamá-ja [a szomszéd lánynak].*
 yesterday faint.Past.3Sg *the grandmother-Poss.3Sg the next_door girl.Dat*
 'The grandmother of the girl next door fainted yesterday.'
- d'. [?]B: *Elájult a nagymamá-ja [éppen neki]?'*
 faint.Past.3Sg *the grandmother-Poss.3Sg just Dat.3Sg*
 'Did the grandmother of just her faint?'
- e. A: *Tegnap elveszett az egyik póló-ja [Ilinek].*
 yesterday disappear.Past.3Sg *the one_of T_shirt-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat*
 'One of the T-shirts of Ili's disappeared yesterday.'
- e'. [?]B: *Elveszett az egyik póló-ja [éppen neki]?'*
 disappear.Past.3Sg *the one_of T_shirt-Poss.3Sg just Dat.3Sg*
 'Did one of the T-shirts of just her disappear?'

Let us now turn to oblique case-marked and postpositional satellites. It must be noted in advance that two types of pronouns can substitute for them. One type can be characterized by preserving the corresponding case suffix or postposition, which is the “good solution”, for instance, in (725a-a’) and in (725e-e’) below. The other type can be called an adverbial pronominal form; this is the “good solution”, for instance, in (725d’). The choice depends on whether the given argument is subcategorized for as a noun phrase case-marked in a particular way or a postpositional phrase with a particular postposition, as in the case of the former type, or whether only a group of (case) markers is required lexically (Komlósy 1992: 343–345), as in the case of the latter type.

Non-possessors of derived nouns pattern with possessors of derived nouns in quite readily undergoing pronominalization, according to the above-discussed type of subcategorization. The pronominalization test, thus, indicates their argumenthood, slightly more strongly than the internal scope test (see Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7 and subsection 2.1.2.1).

- (725) ● Two kinds of pronominalization in the case of non-possessors: I. Derived nouns
- a. A: *Ede fel-bérel-és-e [a képlopásra] meglepetést keltett.*
Ede up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the picture.steal.ÁS.Sub surprise.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
 'Hiring Ede [to steal the picture] caused a surprise.'
- a'. B: *Igen, Ede fel-bérel-és-e [éppen ⁽²⁾arra /*oda] engem is meglepett.*
yes Ede perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg just that.Sub/ there I.Acc also surprise.Past.3Sg
 'Yes, hiring him [just for that (job)] was a surprise to me, too.'

- b. A: *Ili meg-hív-ás-a [a tegnapi rockkoncertre] meglepetést keltett.*
Ili perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg the yesterday.Adj rock_concert.Sub surprise.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
 ‘Inviting [Ili] to yesterday’s rock concert caused a surprise.’
- b’. B: *Igen, Ili meg-hív-ás-a [éppen ^{*)}arra /^{?)}oda] engem is meglepett.*
yes Ili perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg just that.Sub/ there I.Acc also surprise.Past.3Sg
 ‘Yes, inviting her [just there] was a surprise to me, too.’
- c. A: *A tegnapi vizsga [mondattanból] mindenkinek jól sikerült.*
the yesterday.Adj exam syntax.Ela everyone.Dat well succeed.Past.3Sg
 ‘Everyone was successful in yesterday’s exam [in syntax].’
- c’. B: *Igen, még nekem is jól sikerült a vizsga [^{?)}abból/ ^(?)onnan].*
yes even Dat.1Sg also well succeed.Past.3Sg the exam that.Ela / from_there
 ‘Yes, even I was successful in the exam [in that (subject)].’
- d. A: *Szinte képtelenség a szökés [az Alcatrazból].*
almost impossibility the escape the Alcatraz.Ela
 ‘It is almost impossible to escape [from Alcatraz].’
- d’. B: *Igen, szerintem is képtelenség a szökés [^{*)}abból/ ^(?)onnan].*
yes according_to.1Sg also impossibility the escape that.Ela / from_there
 ‘Yes, I also think that it is impossible to escape [from there].’
- e. A: *Töretlen a bizalmam [Ede iránt].*
unbroken the trust.Poss.1Sg Ede towards
 ‘My trust [in Ede] is unbroken.’
- e’. B: *Töretlen a bizalmad [iránta /^{*)}oda] a törtétek után?!*
unbroken the trust.Poss.2Sg towards.3Sg / there the happen.T.PI after
 Intended meaning: ‘Is your trust [in him] unbroken after what happened?!’

Non-possessors of non-derived nouns basically pattern with the above-discussed three groups in that they quite readily undergo pronominalization (726), but there are three exceptions, and the pronominalization test indicates the argumenthood of certain cases too strongly compared to results of the internal scope test (see Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7 and subsection 2.1.2.1). Of the three exceptions, in the case of the Beneficiary of *story/picture* nouns (726a’) and the Goal of *fight/game* nouns (726b’), the poor or missing inclination for undergoing pronominalization essentially correlates with their relatively low ranking (among weakly thematic non-possessor arguments of non-derived nouns) with respect to the internal scope test (see Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7 and subsection 2.1.2.1). This does not hold for the third exception, the superessive argument of relational nouns (726c’), since it is ranked high (among the weakly thematic arguments, see Table 48 again). The poor acceptability in this case, however, can quite straightforwardly be attributed to the almost-idiomatic character of the given argument type; by this we mean that the noun head *ág* ‘branch’ must be inevitably present in the phrase, which is so strong a selectional constraint that makes pronominalization impossible.

(726) ● Two kinds of pronominalization in the case of non-possessors: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. A: Nagyon professzionális a tegnapi cikk ^(?)[a szakértőnk_{Agent}]/
 very professional the yesterday.Adj paper the expert.Poss.1Pl.Abl /
 ✓ [Federerről_{Theme}]/^(?)[a teniszrajongóknak_{Beneficiary}].
 Federer.Del / the tennis_fan.Pl.Dat
 ‘Yesterday’s paper [by our expert] / [about Federer] / [for tennis fans] is very professional.’
- a’. B: Igen, valóban nagyon professzionális az a cikk ^(?)tőle / *onnan_{Agent} /
 yes indeed very professional that the paper Abl.3Sg/ from_there /
^(?)róla / *onnan_{Theme} / ^(?)nekik / *oda_{Beneficiary}.
 Del.3Sg / from_there / Dat.3Pl / there
 ‘Yes, that paper [by him] / [about him] / [for them] is indeed very professional.’
- b. A: Tegnap elmaradt a meccsem [Federer ellen_{Co-Agent}]/
 yesterday be_cancelled.Past.3Sg the match.Poss.1Sg Federer against /
^(?)[a Lombardi tróféáért_{Goal}].
 the Lombardi trophy.Cau
 ‘My match yesterday [against Federer] / [for the Lombardi trophy] was cancelled.’
- b’. B: Elmaradt a meccsed ^(?)ellene_{Co-Agent} / *azért_{Goal}?!
 be_cancelled.Past.3Sg the match.Poss.2Sg against.3Sg / that.Cau
 ‘Has your match [against him] / [for that] been cancelled?!’
- c. ^(?)A: Nagyon kedves az az unokatestvéred [anyai ágon].
 very nice that the cousin.Poss.2Sg mother.Adj branch.Sup
 ‘That cousin of yours [on your mother’s side] is very nice.’
- c’. *B: Igen, valóban nagyon kedves az unokatestvérem [azon / ott].
 very indeed very nice the cousin.Poss.1Sg that.Sup / there
 Intended meaning: ‘Yes, my cousin [on that side] is very nice.’

Adjuncts (727-728) are expected to reject pronominalization, since the semantic contribution of an adjunct to the semantic content of the sentence that contains it must be calculated purely on the basis of the information the form of the given adjunct itself provides (and pronominalization eliminates exactly this information).

(727) ● Two kinds of pronominalization in the case of adjuncts: I. Derived nouns

- a. A: Tíz órát vett igénybe Ili meg-látogat-ás-a [kedden].
 ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Tuesday.Sup
 ‘Visiting Ili [on Tuesday] took ten hours.’
- a’. B: Igen, tényleg rengeteg időt vett igénybe
 yes indeed very_much time.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill
 Ili meg-látogat-ás-a [*azon / *]akkor].
 Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg that.Sup / at_that_time
 ‘Yes, visiting Ili [at that time] took much time, indeed.’
- b. A: Dr. Bárdossy látogatása [ebéd után] mindig jól sikerül.
 Dr. Bárdossy visit.Poss.3Sg lunch after always well succeed.3Sg
 ‘Dr. Bárdossy’s visit [after lunch] is always successful.’
- b’. B: Igen, tényleg mindig jól sikerül
 yes indeed always well succeed.3Sg
 Dr. Bárdossy látogatása [*[az után] / *]akkor].
 Dr. Bárdossy visit.Poss.3Sg that after / at_that_time
 Intended meaning: ‘Yes, Dr. Bárdossy’s visit [after lunch] is always successful, indeed.’

As is exemplified in the series of examples presented in (727-728), not only the adjuncts of non-derived nouns (728) and that of a lexicalized derived noun (727b') reject pronominalization but even the adjunct of an on-line created derived noun (727a'), in spite of its "inherited" close relationship with its noun head, which caused the internal scope test to indicate that this type is highly argument-like (see (714e) in 2.1.2.1).

(728) ● Two kinds of pronominalization in the case of adjuncts: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. ^(?)A: Nagyon tetszett az a szőke lány [a(z) fényképen / emelvényen].
 very.much please.Past.3Pl that the blond girl the photo.Sup / podium.Sup
 'I liked that blonde girl [[in the photo] / [on the podium]] very much.'
- a'. B: Igen, nekem is tetszett az a szőke lány [*azon / *[?]ott].
 yes Dat.1Sg also please.Past.3Sg that the blond girl that.Sup / there
 'Yes, I liked that blonde girl [there (in the photo)], too.'
- a''. ^(?)A: Nagyon tetszik az a szőke lány [ott].
 very.much please.3Sg that the blond girl there
 'I like that blonde girl [there] (pointing at her), very much.'
- b. A: Nagyon tetszett az a szőke lány [a furcsa csíkos pulóverben].
 very.much please.Past.3Pl that the blond girl the strange striped pullover.Ine
 'I liked that blonde girl [in the strange striped pullover] very much.'
- b'. *B: Igen, nekem is tetszett az a szőke lány [abban].
 yes Dat.1Sg also please.Past.3Sg that the blond girl that.Ine
 Intended meaning: 'Yes, I liked that blonde girl [in that (strange striped pullover)], too.'
- c. ^(?)A: Nagyon tetszett az a szőke lány [a PVSZ-ból].
 very.much please.Past.3Pl that the blond girl the PVSZ-Ela
 'I liked that blonde girl [from PVSZ] very much.'
- c'. B: Igen, nekem is tetszett az a szőke lány [*abból / *[?]onnan].
 yes Dat.1Sg also please.Past.3Sg that the blond girl that.Ela / from_there
 Intended meaning: 'Yes, I liked that blonde girl [from PVSZ], too.'
- d. [?]A: Nagyon tetszett az a régi óra [színaranyból].
 very.much please.Past.3Pl that the old watch fine_gold.Ela
 'I liked that old watch [of fine gold] very much.'
- d'. B: Igen, nekem is tetszett az a régi óra [[?]abból / *[?]onnan].
 yes Dat.1Sg also please.Past.3Sg that the old watch that.Ela / from_there
 Intended meaning: 'Yes, I liked that old watch [made of fine gold], too.'

Note in passing that a sentence like the one in (728a''), which patterns with the fully unacceptable test sentence presented in (728a') in containing a postnominal zone with the adverbial pronoun *ott* 'there', is fully acceptable with an interpretation according to which the pronoun does not refer back to an antecedent part of text but it refers deictically to an entity in the external world.

All in all, the large set of satellite types under investigation which score well in the test based on pronominalization contains as a proper subset the satellite types which are regarded as prototypical arguments, but it does not contain the highly adjunct-like satellite types (including even satellites of derived nouns corresponding to adjuncts in the corresponding input verbal constructions); see Table 52 below. Note that this distribution of the set of satellite types under investigation using the pronominalization test tends to be the opposite of the distribution (of the same set of

satellite types) using the test based on precopular predicative constructions (cf. the summarizing paragraph of the previous subsection).

Table 52: Argumenthood or adjuncthood of different satellite types of nouns ranked on the basis of the grammaticality-judgment values that the pronominalization test provides

NOUN TYPE			PRO
SED-N	towards	Theme	✓
ÁS-N	possessor	Theme	(?)
ÁS-N	Sub	Goal _{st}	(?)
SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	Source	(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	Agent	(?)
<i>f/g</i> -N	against	Co-Ag.	(?)
<i>f/g</i> -N	possessor	Agent	(?)
SED-N	possessor	Agent	(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Owner	(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Theme	?
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	Agent	?
rel-N	possessor		?
ord-N	possessor		?
ÁS-N	Sub _{AdvP}	Goal _{loc}	?
SED-N	Ela	Theme	?
<i>s/p</i> -N	Dat	Benef.	??
<i>mem</i> -N	Ela		*?
ÁS-N		Temporal	*?
SED-N		Temporal	*?
—	Ela	Material	*?
—	Sup	Location	*?
rel-N	Sup		*
<i>f/g</i> -N	Cau	Goal	*
—	Ine	Dress	*

2.1.2.5. Tests based on extraction

The point of departure in this subsection is the observation that arguments of nouns, due to their recognizable relationship with the noun head, can be extracted from noun phrases, in contrast to adjuncts.

Tests to distinguish arguments from adjuncts can be based on this assumption in numerous ways, given that an extracted satellite of a noun can fulfill different information-structural functions in the sentence, and it is also possible that, after extracting the given satellite, the matrix noun phrase is given different information-structural functions. The two methods can also be combined by assigning information-structural functions to both the extracted satellite of a noun and the

remnant noun phrase. Testing different test variants (though quite unsystematically) has led us to the conclusion that they are different from each other with respect to suitability for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts to so negligible an extent that we only discuss the results of just one test variant in this subsection (NB: it is left to future research to verify this conjecture). The test variant selected is a simple one in which the extracted satellite of a noun under investigation fulfills a focus information-structural function in the sentence while the remnant remains postverbal.

In this subsection, too, it is the group of possessors of different noun types that is scrutinized first. As is exemplified in (729) below, all possessor types readily undergo the kind of extraction in question. Even the Theme of *story/picture* nouns, “suppressed” in (729c), scores very well in the “biased” text context shown in (729c’) (see the relevant comments on (693a’-a’’) in 2.1.1.4.1).

(729) ● Extraction in the case of possessors

- a. [*Ilinek*] vett igénybe tíz órát a meg-operál-ás-a.
Ili.Dat take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill ten hour.Acc the perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 ‘Operating [ON ILI] took ten hours.’
- b. ⁽³⁾[*Dr.Bárdossynak*]_{Agent} vett igénybe tíz órát az operáció-ja.
Dr. Bárdossy.Dat take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill ten hour.Acc the operation-Poss.3Sg
 ‘[DR. BÁRDOSSY’S] operation took ten hours.’
- c. [*A fiadnak*]_{Agent/Theme/Owner} égett meg egy gyönyörű kép-e.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat burn.Past.3Sg perf a beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
 ‘A beautiful picture [CREATED BY YOUR SON] / [OF YOUR SON] / [OWNED BY YOUR SON] got burned.’
- c’. [*A szőke modellnek*]_{Theme} égett meg néhány gyönyörű fotó-ja.
the blond model.Dat burn.Past.3Sg perf a_few beautiful photo-Poss.3Sg
 ‘A few beautiful photos [OF THE BLONDE MODEL] got burned.’
- d. [*Federernek*] néztem meg tegnap a meccs-é-t.
Federer.Dat watch.Past.1Sg perf yesterday the match-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 ‘Yesterday I watched [FEDERER’S] match.’
- e. [*Ilinek*] találkoztam tegnap az unoká-já-val.
Ili.Dat meet.Past.1Sg yesterday the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘I met [ILI’S] grandchild yesterday.’
- f. [*A fiadnak*] égett meg az egyik póló-ja.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat burn.Past.3Sg perf the one_of T-shirt-Poss.3Sg
 ‘One of the T-shirts [OF YOUR SON] got burned.’

Presumably, it is the agreement between nouns and the arguments belonging to them as possessors that makes the connection in question so easily recognizable that there is no obstacle to extracting the satellite type discussed in the series of examples in (729) above.

As for non-possessor arguments of nouns (730-731), the picture is somewhat more varied: the grammaticality judgments range from ‘(?)’ to ‘*?’. Non-possessors are unequivocally more difficult to extract and the resulting constructions are subject to accidental deteriorative factors to a greater extent, presumably due to the absence of such a reliable indicator as agreement.

(730) ● Extraction in the case of non-possessors: I. Derived nouns

- a. [?] [A *képlópásra*] volt a legnagyobb hiba *Ede fel-bérel-és-e*.
the picture.steal.ÁS.Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg the greatest mistake Ede up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 ‘Hiring Ede [TO STEAL THE PICTURE] was the greatest mistake.’
- a’. ^{??} [A *rockkoncertre*] volt a legnagyobb hiba *Ili meg-hív-ás-a*.
the rock_concert.Sub be.Past.3Sg the greatest mistake Ili perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 ‘Inviting Ili [TO THE ROCK CONCERT] was the greatest mistake.’
- b. ^(?) [Mondattanból] sikerült tegnap a vizsga.
syntax.Ela be.Past.3Sg yesterday the exam
 ‘The exam [IN SYNTAX] was successful yesterday.’
- b’. ^(?) [Az Alcatrazból] sikerült nekik a szökés.
the Alcatraz.Ela succeed.Past.3Sg Dat.3Pl the escape
 ‘Yesterday they succeeded in an escape [FROM ALCATRAZ].’
- c. [?] [Ede iránt] lepett meg a töretlen bizalmad.
Ede towards surprise.Past.3Sg perf the unbroken trust.Poss.2Sg
 ‘Your unbroken trust [IN EDE] was a surprise to me.’

The most surprising result in the series of examples presented in (730) above is the highly marked (“??”) status of the construction in which it is just an ÁS-noun the argument of which is extracted (730a’). The following logical explanation suggests itself. The connection between the noun head of an on-line created derived noun phrase construction and its argument is so close that extracting the argument in question is definitely dispreferred. Example (730a), with the grammaticality judgment “?” associated with it, also corroborates this hypothesis. As can be seen in Table 54 in the summarizing subsection (2.1.2.6), non-possessor arguments of ÁS-nouns less readily take external scope, which can also be straightforwardly explained by referring to their “too close” internal connection. As for the fact that example (730a’) is somewhat less acceptable than example (730a), it can be attributed to the difference between the given argument types explicated in connection with examples (725a’,b’) in subsection 2.1.2.4: while in the type illustrated in (730a) it is a particular case suffix that makes it possible to recognize the connection between the noun and its extracted argument, in the type illustrated in (730a’) the extracted argument can bear different case suffixes, obviously making it more difficult to identify it. It must be noted, however, that the same difference between oblique case-marked arguments of lexicalized derived nouns does not count (compare the grammaticality judgments associated with (730b) and (730b’)).

In the series of examples presented in (731) below, the ablative case-marked Agent of *story/picture* nouns (731a), the dative case-marked Beneficiary in the same group (731a), and the Goal of *fight/game* nouns (731b) are the argument types least readily undergoing extraction. As can be seen in Table 54 in the summarizing subsection (2.1.2.6), these three argument types are ranked relatively low among oblique case-marked argument types with respect to argumenthood using other tests, too. In their case, thus, scoring poorly in the extraction test can be regarded as an indication of a quite low degree of argumenthood.

The superessive case-marked argument of relational nouns is also worthy of mention. Its test results presented in (731c-c’) are drastically contradictory, which suggests an unknown underlying interfering factor. Our tentative hypothesis is

based on the assumption that extraction ultimately implies some kind of contact between the extracted expression and the matrix predicate; and the superessive case-marked argument of relational nouns in the particular case is compatible only with individual-level predicates (731c'). In the case of the unacceptable variant presented in (731c), the aforementioned contact between the given argument and the stage-level predicate strongly evokes an otherwise absurd alternative interpretation (which is a concrete locative interpretation according to which someone is visited somewhere).

(731) ● Extraction in the case of non-possessors: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. Szerintem ^{??}[attól a külpolitikai szakértőtől_{Agent}] / ^(?)[a győztesről_{Theme}] /
 according_to.1Sg that.Abl the foreign_policy.Adj expert.Abl / the winner.Del /
^{**}[a fiatalabb korosztálynak_{Beneficiary}] volt a legprofibb a cikk.
 the younger age_group.Dat be.Past.3Sg the most_professional the paper
 'I think that the paper [WRITTEN BY THAT EXPERT IN FOREIGN POLICY] / [ABOUT THE TWO FINALISTS] / [FOR THE YOUNGER AGE GROUP] was the most professional one.'
- b. ^(?)[Federer ellen_{Co-Agent}] / ^{??}[a Lombardi tróféáért_{Goal}]
 Federer against / the Lombardi trophy.Cau
 néztem meg tavaly a meccsedet.
 watch.Past.1Sg perf last_year the match.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 'Last year I watched your match [AGAINST FEDERER] / [FOR THE LOMBARDI TROPHY] / [FOR THE YOUNGER AGE GROUP].'
- c. ^{**?}[Anyai ágon] látogatott meg tegnap egy unokatestvér-em.
 mother.Adj branch.Sup visit.Past.3Sg perf yesterday a cousin-Poss.1Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Yesterday I was visited by a cousin [ON MY MOTHER'S SIDE].'
- c'. ^(?)[Anyai ágon] kedvesek az unokatestvér-eim.
 mother.Adj branch.Sup nice.Pl the cousin-Poss.Pl.1Sg
 'My cousins are nice [ON MY MOTHER'S SIDE].'

As was expected, adjuncts categorically resist undergoing extraction, see the series of examples in (732). The only exception is the relative case-marked satellite in (732c), which show some inclination for extraction. This indicates, in harmony with similar observations in the subsection on external-scope taking (2.1.2.2), that the satellite in question is somewhat more argument-like than the others presented in this series of examples.

(732) ● Extraction in the case of adjuncts

- a. *^[Az első fényképen] vészett el tegnap a szőke lány.
 the first photo.Sup disappear.Past.3Sg away yesterday the blond girl
 Intended meaning: 'The blonde girl [IN THE FIRST PHOTO] disappeared yesterday.'
- b. *^[A fura csíkos pulóverben] csalódott bennünk a szőke lány.
 the strange striped pullover.Ine be_disappointed.Past.1Sg Ine.1Pl the blond girl
 Intended meaning: 'The blonde girl [IN THE STRANGE STRIPED PULLOVER] was disappointed at us.'
- c. ^{??}[A PVSZ-ból] csókolt meg tegnap egy csinos szőke lány.
 the PVSZ-Ela kiss.Past.3Sg perf yesterday a pretty blond girl
 'A pretty blonde girl [from PVSZ] kissed me yesterday.'
- d. ^{**?}[Színaranyból] vészett el tegnap egy óra.
 fine_gold.Ela disappear.Past.3Sg away yesterday a watch
 'A watch [OF FINE GOLD] disappeared yesterday.'

- e. *[Kedden] volt két hétig beszédtema Ili meg-látogat-ás-a.
Tuesday.Sup be.Past.3Sg two week.Ter topic Ili perf-visit-Ás-Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Visiting Ili [ON TUESDAY] served as a hot topic for two weeks.'
- e'. *[Kedden] volt két hétig beszédtema dr. Bárdossy egyik látogatása.
Tuesday.Sup be.Past.3Sg two week.Ter topic Dr. Bárdossy one_of visit.Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Dr. Bárdossy's visit [ON TUESDAY] served as a hot topic for two weeks.'

On the whole, all the satellite types which show some argumenthood, but none of the prototypical adjuncts under investigation, more or less readily undergo the kind of extraction discussed in this subsection, though not always strictly in proportion to the degree of argumenthood calculable on the basis of the other tests; see Table 53 below.

Table 53: *Argumenthood or adjuncthood of different satellite types of nouns ranked on the basis of the grammaticality-judgment values that the extraction test provides*

NOUN TYPE			EXTR
Ás-N	possessor	Theme	✓
SED-N	Ela	Theme	✓
s/p-N	possessor	Owner	✓
f/g-N	possessor	Agent	✓
rel-N	possessor		✓
ord-N	possessor		✓
SED-N	possessor	Agent	(?)
s/p-N	possessor	Agent	(?)
s/p-N	possessor	Theme	(?)
SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	Source	(?)
s/p-N	Del	Theme	(?)
f/g-N	against	Co-Ag.	(?)
Ás-N	Sub	Goal _{st}	?
SED-N	towards	Theme	?
rel-N	Sup		?
Ás-N	Sub _{AdvP}	Goal _{loc}	??
s/p-N	Abl	Agent	??
f/g-N	Cau	Goal	??
mem-N	Ela		??
s/p-N	Dat	Benef.	*?
—	Ela	Material	*?
Ás-N		Temporal	*
SED-N		Temporal	*
—	Sup	Location	*
—	Ine	Dress	*

2.1.2.6. Summary

This subsection, on the basis of the data presented in subsections 2.1.1.4.1-2.1.2.5, summarizes whether (and if so, to what extent) particular satellites in the postnominal zone of different types of nouns are to be regarded as arguments or as adjuncts.

The results are presented in Table 54 below in the following way. The first three columns (from left to right) identify the satellite types under investigation by providing the type of the noun that the given satellite belongs to, its possessor status or case suffix (or postposition), and/or its thematic or other kind of semantic role, respectively. The last five columns record the results of the five tests for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts. As the shading indicates, the results are primarily ranked according to the internal-scope test (see the column headed by ‘INT-SC’). It is then ranked according to the external-scope test (‘EXT-SC’), the extraction test (‘EXTR’), the pronominalization test (‘PRO’), and the test based on precopular predicative constructions (‘PRED’), in that order. The data are simply taken from the corresponding subsections from 2.1.2.1 to 2.1.2.5. The following comments are in order here. In the case of the internal- and external-scope test, the “new” data presented in subsections 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.2 are completed with the best grammaticality-judgment values characterizing the inclination for taking internal/external scope of argument types demonstrated in Tables 48 and 49 in 2.1.1.4.7. Furthermore, there were sporadic cases when more than one grammaticality judgment was associated with a particular satellite type in the case of a particular test (for different reasons; see, for instance, the case of the “suppressed” Theme possessor of *story/picture* nouns, exemplified in (693a’-a”) in 2.1.1.4.1); in such cases the mean is considered in Table 54.

The shading of the table is to be understood as follows: the lighter a cell is, the more argument-like the given satellite type is. For the sake of uniform alignment in this system, a “reverse” shading is applied in the last column, since in the test based on precopular predicative constructions, in contrast to the other four tests, adjuncts, underlined in the table, score better than arguments. As for the expressions in the table written in **bold**, they will be returned to somewhat later.

Table 54: *Argumenthood and adjuncthood of different satellite types of nouns on the basis of five tests providing grammaticality-judgment values*

NOUN TYPE			INT-SC	EXT-SC	EXTR	PRO	PRED
ÁS-N	possessor	Theme	✓	✓	✓	(?)	*?
ÁS-N	Sub	Goal_{st}	✓	?	?	(?)	*?
ÁS-N	Sub _{AdvP}	Goal_{loc}	✓	?	??	?	??
ÁS-N		Temporal	✓	?	*	*?	(?)
SED-N	Ela	Theme	?	✓	✓	?	(?)
SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	Source	?	(?)	(?)	(?)	?
s/p-N	Del	Theme	?	(?)	(?)	(?)	??
rel-N	Sup		?	(?)	?	*	??
f/g-N	against	Co-Ag.	?	?	(?)	(?)	?
SED-N	towards	Theme	?	?	?	✓	?
s/p-N	Dat	Benef.	?	?	*?	??	?
s/p-N	Abl	Agent	??	(?)	??	(?)	(?)
f/g-N	Cau	Goal	??	(?)	??	*	(?)
mem-N	Ela		*?	?	??	*?	(?)
SED-N		Temporal	*?	??	*	*?	✓
f/g-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	✓	✓	(?)	*?
rel-N	possessor		*	✓	✓	?	?
SED-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	✓	(?)	(?)	??
s/p-N	possessor	<i>Owner</i>	*	(?)	✓	(?)	✓
ord-N	possessor		*	(?)	✓	?	✓
s/p-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	(?)	(?)	?	?
s/p-N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	*	?	(?)	?	??
—	Ela	<u>Material</u>	*	*?	*?	*?	✓
—	Sup	<u>Location</u>	*	*	*	*?	✓
—	Ine	<u>Dress</u>	*	*	*	*	✓

The two most outstanding properties of the ranking presented in the table are as follows. Three of the six satellite types *a priori* taken to be adjuncts (see the introduction to subsection 2.1.2) are ranked lowest (practically uniformly according to all tests), indeed, but three of them are ranked much higher.

Of the three exceptions, the relative case-marked satellite type referring to membership shows a slight degree of argumenthood, not only according to the test considered primarily but also according to the external-scope test and the extraction test; which raises the idea of reclassifying the given satellite type as a weak thematic argument of, say, *member* nouns (in addition to *story/picture* nouns and *fight/game* nouns). We do not consider this reclassification to be a theoretical problem: adjuncthood and argumenthood need not necessarily be decided once and

for ever and there may emerge newer and newer special groups like that of *story/picture* nouns (cf. the comments on (673b) in 2.1.1.2.2).

As for the other two exceptions, namely the two temporal expressions of derived nouns, it is yet to be revealed what exactly the internal-scope test indicates. Given that deverbal nominals are considered, we can scrutinize the input counterparts of the given temporal expressions within the verbal construction serving as the basis of derivation, which are undoubtedly adjuncts, but which are also undoubtedly connected to the input verb (as such). Thus, what the internal-scope test indicates is this “inherited” connection, which can be recognized readily in the case of an on-line created derived nominal construction (see the ‘✓’ in the row of ‘ÁS-N, Temporal’) and much less readily in the case of the construction of a lexicalized noun (see the ‘*?’ in the row of ‘SED-N, Temporal’). In other words, scopal relations are inherited in the course of derivation even in the case of adjuncts (due to the fact that in Hungarian sentences, adjuncts take scope just like arguments).

The internal-scope test, thus, indicates “some kind of connection” between nouns and their satellites, one of whose sources might be the above-discussed derivational “inheritance”. As for other potential sources, the ranking of the data in the table (i.e., the fact that possessors are ranked low) proves that the internal-scope test is biased towards one kind of argumenthood, referred to as ‘thematic argumenthood’, *versus* another kind of argumenthood, referred to as ‘conceptual argumenthood’ (as is explicated in the final part of subsection 2.1.1.4.7 in connection with the difference between the expression of one and the same semantic role as a possessor and its expression as an oblique case-marked argument). The row of ‘SED-N, Temporal’ separates the higher ranked group of inherited and weak thematic argument types (under the row of ‘ÁS-N, Temporal’, above which the three-member group of “inherited” thematic arguments can be found) from the lower ranked group of possessors of non-on-line created derived nouns and non-derived nouns, that is, from conceptual arguments (and the three-member group of prototypical adjuncts at the bottom of the table). It should be recalled (see subsection 2.1.1.4.7) that in the case of on-line created derived nouns, the possessor is always a thematic argument, that is, it always corresponds to a designated input argument (see subsection 1.3.1.2.2.1, and subsection II in 1.3.1.2.4.2 and in 1.3.1.3.4.2, for instance), while otherwise the possessor does not correspond to a designated (thematic) role (cf. (229b) in 1.3.1.2.2.2) but there are only stronger or weaker preferences towards certain interpretations (see the relevant comments on (693a’-a”) in 2.1.1.4.1, for instance).

What is the relationship between the above-discussed two kinds of connection between nouns and their satellites that the internal-scope test indicates: that between “inherited connection” and “thematic connection”? As was explicated thoroughly in subsection 2.1.1.4.7, this relationship whose source is referred to as thematic argumenthood is always a designated thematic grid of a verb which (i) is exactly defined (via precisely defined inheritance) in the case of on-line created derived nouns, (ii) is easily available (to speakers) in the case of lexicalized derived nouns (since speakers are capable of recognizing/identifying the derivational basis, which can be regarded as a kind of inheritance unshaped in advance), or (iii) is an abstract verb that belongs to such special subtypes of nouns as those of *story/picture*

nouns and *fight/game* nouns. Given that these special groups of nouns contain several such (irregularly) derived nouns as *festmény* ‘paint.Nmn’ (‘painting’), *összefoglaló* ‘summarize.Ó’ (‘summary’), *összefoglalás* ‘summarize.ÁS’ (‘summary’), and *mérkőzés* ‘fight.ÁS’ (‘match’) and *visszavágó* ‘rematch.Ó’ (‘rematch’), the special groups of nouns can be regarded as inheriting a common underspecified “underlying verb” with a specified thematic grid.

In other words, in the particular case of *story/picture* nouns, for instance, a certain extent of capability for having internal scope is related to a similar extent of thematic argumenthood. The latter is due to a verb underlying the group of *story/picture* nouns which is abstract in the sense that its meaning involves all kinds of creation (e.g., telling, writing, painting, photographing) but which has a designated thematic grid with an Agent, a Theme and a Beneficiary (which are not obligatorily realized syntactically). The role of a possessor (in this group), however, must be calculated on the basis of the lexical-semantic network that the definition of conceptual argumenthood in (665) in subsection 2.1.1.2.2 rests upon, and not on the basis of a designated “underlying verb” with its thematic grid. Nevertheless, the two different ways of “semantic calculation”, namely, the thematic way and the conceptual way, may lead to the same semantic role. This implies different scope-taking capabilities (compare the scope-taking capabilities of the Agent of *story/picture* nouns as an ablative case-marked argument and as a possessor) as well as radical differences in the grammaticality-judgment values provided by the extraction test and the test based on precopular predicative constructions, as can be seen in the corresponding rows of Table 54.

Let us now return to the three-member group of highest ranked satellite types of on-line created (ÁS-) nouns, which are the strong thematic arguments, due to their “inherited” verbal thematic roles. It must be pointed out in passing that inheritedness is marked in **bold** in the table (also in the case of SED-nouns, with the exception of the SED-noun construction in which the input case suffix itself is not inherited but is replaced with the postposition *iránt* ‘towards’). What may be surprising at first glance is that only the thematic possessor scores excellently in all the five tests, the two non-possessor argument types score quite poorly in the external-scope test and in the extraction test. As was explicated in a comment on examples (730a-a’) in subsection 2.1.2.5, the connection between the noun head of an on-line created derived noun phrase construction and its argument is so close that (i) internal-scope taking suppresses external-scope taking, and (ii) extracting the argument in question from the internal domain is quite dispreferred. Oblique case-marked strong thematic arguments, thus, score worse in these two tests than non-thematic possessors do, which can be characterized by having uniformly good results in taking external scope and undergoing extraction, obviously due to agreement. These latter two properties can be regarded as typical of conceptual arguments (marked *in italics* in Table 54 above).

Let us also return to the group of oblique case-marked arguments from the elative case-marked Theme of a SED-noun to the elative case-marked satellite of a *member* noun. These can be called the group of weak thematic arguments. The degree of thematic argumenthood in their case ranges from an almost strong thematic argumenthood, typical of inherited arguments of SED-nouns (NB: the degree of

argumenthood is weakened presumably due to the non-on-line-created character of derivation; cf. subsection 1.3.1.2.2.1 and especially the relevant comments on the series of examples in (226)), to the extremely weak thematic argumenthood we have attributed to the aforementioned satellite of *member* nouns on the basis of certain test results. Typical members of the group of weak thematic arguments are the oblique case-marked arguments of *story/picture* nouns and *fight/game* nouns, mixed with each other; which corroborates our point of departure that *fight/game* nouns form a special group in the same way as *story/picture* nouns (see the relevant comments on (673b) in 2.1.1.2.2). Note that the possessors of these two types also pattern with each other in the group of conceptual arguments, as can be seen in Table 54 above. The above-mentioned exceptional SED-noun-argument in the case of which the input case suffix is replaced with the postposition *iránt* ‘towards’, mixed among arguments of *story/picture* nouns and *fight/game* nouns, is also to be regarded as a weak thematic argument with a slightly weaker degree of argumenthood (at least according to the internal-scope test) than that of normal SED-noun-arguments. This position can be straightforwardly attributed to the fact that its marker is not an inherited case suffix.

As was established above, both the internal-scope test and the external-scope test have inappropriate features with respect to measuring the strength of cohesion between arguments and noun heads. The former is biased towards any kind of “inheritedness” against the conceptual kind of argumenthood, as is demonstrated in the first row and in the last row of Table 55 below, respectively; while the latter somewhat disprefers exactly those (oblique case-marked) inherited strong arguments (because of some competition between certain external- and internal-scope readings) in favor of non-thematic possessors (in the case of which internal-scope readings do not emerge; see the first three columns).

Table 55: Characterization of different argument and adjunct types according to the internal-scope test and the external-scope test

EXT. INT.	✓	(?)	?	??	*?	*
✓	satellite types of ÁS-nouns (inherited arguments and adjuncts)					
(?)						
?	weak thematic					
??		argu- ments				
*?			sat. of <i>member</i> nouns	inh’ed adj. of SED-N		
*	non-thematic possessors				non-inherited adjuncts	

It is worth noting that the two-dimensional Table 55 excellently demonstrates the above-defined groups of satellite types as coherent islands. Prototypical adjuncts, for instance, occupy the bottom right corner while inherited satellite types belonging to AS-nouns occupy the top left corner, within which the thematic possessor, as the prototypical (inherited) strong thematic argument, occupies the top left cell. The directions “to the left” and “upwards”, thus, are related to argumenthood while the directions “to the right” and “downwards” to **adjuncthood**; this, however, does not exclude the possibility that the entire bottom left island (of non-thematic possessors) is occupied by arguments, which situation is due to the extreme bias of the internal-scope test against conceptual (non-inherited) arguments.

In order to get rid of the above-mentioned inappropriate features of the internal-scope test (and the external-scope test), we offer, as a point of departure for future research, the reranking of the data presented in Table 54 above in the way demonstrated in Table 56 below. The crucial point is that, on the one hand, it is the internal-scope test that immediately provides information about potential (internal) argument structures of noun heads, so we do not intend to give priority to any of the four “indirect” tests, but, on the other, its infelicitous bias should be got rid of. A reasonable solution is to rank the data only secondarily according to the internal-scope test and primarily according to the median of the quintuples of the grammaticality-judgment values presented in Table 54. The *median* of a finite list of values, by definition, can be found by arranging them from lowest value to highest value and picking the middle one (which is the third one in the case of quintuples of grammaticality-judgment values according to their usual arrangement ✓ > (?) > ? > ?? > *? > * instead of according to the *ad hoc* arrangement of the five test types).

In the case of the sublative case-marked Goal of an AS-noun, for instance (see the second row in Table 56 below), the following five grammaticality-judgment values must be considered: ✓, (?), ?, ?, and the opposite of ‘*?’, which is ‘(?)’ (on the basis of the corresponding data in Table 54 above). As they are arranged as follows: [✓, (?), (?), ?, ?], the median is ‘(?)’, in the third position.

Table 56: *Argumenthood and adjuncthood of different satellite types of nouns, ranked primarily according to medians calculated on the basis of the data presented in Table 54*

NOUN TYPE			MEDIAN	INT-SC	EXT-SC	EXTR	PRO
ÁS-N	possessor	Theme	✓	✓	✓	✓	(?)
ÁS-N	Sub	Goal_{st}	(?)	✓	?	?	(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	(?)	?	(?)	(?)	(?)
SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	Source	(?)	?	(?)	(?)	(?)
<i>f/g</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	(?)	*	✓	✓	(?)
SED-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	(?)	*	✓	(?)	(?)
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Owner</i>	(?)	*	(?)	✓	(?)
ÁS-N	Sub _{AdvP}	Goal_{loc}	?	✓	?	??	?
SED-N	Ela	Theme	?	?	✓	✓	?
rel-N	Sup		?	?	(?)	?	*
<i>f/g</i> -N	against	Co-Ag.	?	?	?	(?)	(?)
SED-N	towards	Theme	?	?	?	?	✓
rel-N	possessor		?	*	✓	✓	?
ord-N	possessor		?	*	(?)	✓	?
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	?	*	(?)	(?)	?
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	?	*	?	(?)	?
<i>s/p</i> -N	Dat	Benef.	??	?	?	*?	??
<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	<i>Agent</i>	??	??	(?)	??	(?)
<i>f/g</i> -N	Cau	Goal	??	??	(?)	??	*
ÁS-N		<u>Temporal</u>	*?	✓	?	*	*?
SED-N		<u>Temporal</u>	*?	✓	??	*	*?
<i>mem</i> -N	Ela		*?	*?	?	??	*?
—	Ela	<u>Material</u>	*?	*	*?	*?	*?
—	Sup	<u>Location</u>	*	*	*	*	*?
—	Ine	<u>Dress</u>	*	*	*	*	*

As can be seen, (i) the inherited temporal adjuncts appear at the bottom of the new table, preceding only the four satellite types taken to be adjuncts *a priori*, (ii) the relative case-marked satellite type of *member* nouns is also ranked low, in harmony with its very poor argumenthood (together with such strange argument types as the Beneficiary of *story/picture* nouns and the Goal of *fight/game* nouns), (iii) conceptual argument types, weak thematic argument types and weaker inherited argument types are mixed with each other according to the new ranking, which is favorable, given that it is not their type that counts, but, probably, the strength of cohesion between them and the head nouns, (iv) there is a higher ranked possessor, namely, the Owner, and two lower ranked possessors in the special group of *story/picture* nouns, which is in harmony with the observation that expressions like

Ili képe ‘Ili’s picture’ or *Ili könyve* ‘Ili’s book’ is readily understood out of the blue as the picture or book owned by Ili.

It is naturally left to future research to cover further subtypes of on-line created and lexicalized derived nouns (e.g., Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns) in order to compare their satellite types to those of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns (and all other satellite types of non-derived nouns). It also requires future research to apply further tests for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts and/or for measuring degrees of argumenthood (e.g., to attempt to apply the appropriate adaptations of the test-like phenomena mentioned by Rákosi (2014b: 27–28, 48, 149, 180)) as well as to test different ranking variants of our five tests (and further ones) and to develop the theoretical and/or universal exactness and adequacy of the definition of (different kinds of) argumenthood and adjuncthood.

2.1.3. Sentential arguments

As a separate volume is devoted to subordination (see volume E), here the topic is only illustrated on the basis of Laczkó (2000a: 344) (see also V4.4).

As Laczkó points out, verbs with a propositional argument (and an Experiencer argument) (733a,b) cannot be nominalized in a complex-event meaning, by means of either the derivational suffix *-Ás* or any other derivational suffixes (733a’,b’).

(733) ● Nouns with sentential arguments?

- a. János azt hiszi, hogy Mária a bűnös.
 János that.Acc believe.DefObj.3Sg that Mária the culprit
 ‘János believes that Mária is the culprit.’
- a’. **Annak a János általi hivése / hite,*
that.Dat the János by.Attr believe.Ás.Poss.3Sg / belief.Poss.3Sg
hogy Mária a bűnös, mindenkit meglepett.
that Mária the culprit everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
 ‘The fact that János believes that Mária is the culprit was a surprise to everyone.’
- b. János azt gondolja, hogy Mária a bűnös.
 János that.Acc think.DefObj.3Sg that Mária the culprit
 ‘János thinks that Mária is the culprit.’
- b’. **Annak a János általi gondolása / gondolata,*
that.Dat the János by.Attr think.Ás.Poss.3Sg / thought.Poss.3Sg
hogy Mária a bűnös, mindenkit meglepett.
that Mária the culprit everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
 ‘The fact that János thought that Mária was the culprit was a surprise to everyone.’
- c. *A gondolat, hogy Mária a bűnös, örülségnek tűnt.*
the thought that Mária the culprit madness.Dat seem.Past.3Sg
 ‘The thought that Mária was the culprit seemed to be madness.’
- c’. *Annak a gondolata, hogy Mária a bűnös, örülségnek tűnt.*
that.Dat the thought.Poss.3Sg that Mária the culprit madness.Dat seem.Past.3Sg
 ‘The thought of Mária’s being the culprit seemed to be madness.’

If the given derived noun, however, has a result meaning, it can have a propositional argument expressed by a sentence. Laczkó (2000a: 344) calls attention to the fact that the construction type presented in (733c), but not its possessive variant presented in (733c’), can be interpreted in two ways. The common reading is one in

which the subordinate clause is an argument of the noun head *gondolat* ‘thought’, whereas the other reading, which can be associated only with (733c), is one in which the subordinate clause serves as a non-restrictive modifier of the given noun head (“the thought, namely, that Mária is the culprit...”). Note in passing that in the possessive construction presented in (733c’), the subordinate clause is analyzed as one which cannot serve as a possessor but this role is assigned to an appropriate pronominal element, namely, to the demonstrative pronoun *annak* ‘that.Dat’.

2.2. Modification (*Gábor Alberti and Judit Farkas*)

This section discusses the various forms of modification within the DP, essentially on the basis of the schema presented in (734) below, which relies on the corresponding chapter of *SoD-NP* (Chapter 3). Note, however, that the topics of subordination and coordination within modifier zones (to which lengthy subsections are devoted in Chapter 3 of *SoD-NP*) are discussed in separate volumes of the series of the Hungarian comprehensive resource grammar (volumes E and C).

Recall that the NP-domain consists of the head noun with its complements in an innermost “ring” (734a) and the outer ring of its restrictive modifiers (734b). Restrictive modifiers restrict the denotation of the head noun and thus provide information that is required for the proper identification of the referent of the DP as a whole. Semantically speaking, the NP determines the denotation of the complete noun phrase. Modifiers, however, can also have a non-restrictive function. Non-restrictive modifiers provide more information about the intended referent of the DP, given that they are not needed to establish the referent of the noun phrase; we will therefore assume that non-restrictive modifiers modify the NP-domain; they are part of the determining domain, and external to the NP-domain as is shown in (734c).

(734) ● Schematic positioning of modifiers on the basis of *SoD-NP*

- a. Complementation: [DP ... D ... [NP .. [NP COMPL N COMPL] ...] ...]
- b. Restrictive modification: [DP ... D ... [NP MOD_{restr.} [NP ... N ...] MOD_{restr.}] ...]
- c. Non-restrictive modification: [DP ... D ... MOD_{non-restr.} [NP ... [NP ... N ...] ...] MOD_{non-restr.}]

Restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers are often not easy to distinguish from each other. As is shown below, the same attributive expression (*bátor* ‘brave’) can serve either as a restrictive modifier (735a-a’) or as a non-restrictive one (735b) in the same sentential context. Nevertheless, in speech (but not in writing), the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive premodifiers is more or less indicated: restrictive premodifiers are at least as stressed as, and often definitely more stressed than, the head noun (slightly more stressed in neutral contexts (735a) and much more stressed in contrastive contexts (735a’)), whereas non-restrictive premodifiers are at most as stressed, and often slightly less stressed than, the head noun (735b). Note in passing that the stress-pattern variant with a noun head much more stressed than the attributive expression is used only in such very special contrastive situations as those illustrated in (735c-c’) (NB: in these examples, it is not specified at all without a context whether the modifiers in question are restrictive or not, since another kind of logical contribution is expressed).

(735) • Difference in stress pattern between prenominal restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers

- a. Kitüntették a 'bátor katonákat.
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl the brave soldier.Pl.Acc
'The brave soldiers were honored [nothing is claimed about the less brave soldiers].'
- a'. A "bátor katonákat tüntették ki.
the brave soldier.Pl.Acc award.Past.DefObj.3Pl out
'The brave soldiers were honored [and those who were not brave were not honored].'
- b. Kitüntették a 'bátor 'katonákat.
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl the brave soldier.Pl.Acc
'The brave soldiers were honored [all soldiers were awarded as they were all brave].'
- c. A bátor "katonákat tüntették ki, nem a bátor "rendőröket.
the brave soldier.Pl.Acc award.Past.DefObj.3Pl out not the brave policeman.Pl.Acc
'The brave SOLDIERS were honored, not the brave POLICEMEN.'
- c'. A bátor 'katonákat is kitüntették, nemcsak a bátor 'rendőröket.
the brave soldier.Pl.Acc also award.Past.DefObj.3Pl not.only the brave policeman.Pl.Acc
'The brave soldiers also were honored, not only the brave policemen.'
- d. *(✓A Kubával tárgyaló) Obamát bírálja az ottani ellenzék.
the Cuba.Ins negotiating Obama.Acc criticize.DefObj.3Sg the there.Adj opposition
Intended meaning ("out-of-the-blue"): 'Obama, who is negotiating with Cuba, is criticized by the opposition there.'

It is also worth mentioning that, in both the pre- and the postmodifier zone, there can be some intonation break between the nominal head and the non-restrictive modifier (but not obligatorily), and such special words may appear as *amúgy* 'anyway' or *egyébként* 'by the way', for instance (also depending on intricate semantic and pragmatic factors). This use of an intonation break to separate non-restrictive modifiers and the special expressions reflect the status of this modifier as supplying extra information. It must also be emphasized that although non-restrictive modifiers do not play a role in determining the proper referent set of the noun phrase, they do play an important role in the discourse. For example, the information given in the premodifier presented in (735b) above may be construed as the motivation or reason for the proposition expressed by the main clause: the soldiers mentioned were awarded *because* they were brave. In some cases leaving out a non-restrictive modifier may even lead to pragmatically infelicitous sentences. This may be the case in sentences like (735d), which contain an element (see *ottani* 'there.Adj' in the given example) that can only be properly interpreted on the basis of the information given by the non-restrictive modifier.

Clear instances of non-restrictively used modifiers, thus, are those modifying entities that are uniquely identifiable in a given context. Let us consider another example with a proper noun, namely, *Halászbástya* (the name of a well-known bastion-like tourist attraction in the castle district of Budapest) in (736a) below. As the referent set of these proper nouns consists of one member only, restriction is not possible. The modifier can therefore only fulfill a non-restrictive, descriptive function.

That restrictive modifiers are used to enable the hearer to pick out the intended referent(s) whereas non-restrictive modifiers provide additional information about it

is also clear from the fact that uniquely referring noun phrases cannot be modified by the former. This can be straightforwardly illustrated by considering examples like (736b) in which the relative clause modifies a proper noun. Example (736b) is acceptable given that the non-restrictive relative clause simply provides information about the intended referent's mother. Example (736b'), on the other hand, would only be acceptable under the exceptional circumstance that the hearer knows that there is more than one person by the name of *Nagy Jóska*, only one of whom happens to have an Argentinean mother. In such a case, the proper noun is practically treated as a common noun and must be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun (in addition to the definite article).

(736) ● Relationship between the (non-)restrictive use of modifiers in noun phrases and their degree of referentiality I. Proper names

- a. Balra *a gyönyörű Halászbástyát* látjátok.
left.Sub the beautiful fisherman.bastion.Acc see.DefObj.2Pl
'On your left you can see the beautiful Halászbástya [Fisherman's Bastion].'
- b. *Nagy Jóska, aki argentin anyai ágon,* jól beszél spanyolul.
Nagy Jóska who Argentinean mother.Adj branch.Sup well speak.3Sg Spanish.Adv
'Nagy Jóska, who is Argentinean on his mother's side, speaks Spanish well.'
- b'. *Az a Nagy Jóska, aki argentin anyai ágon,* jól beszél spanyolul.
that the Nagy Jóska who Argentinean mother.Adj branch.Sup well speak.3Sg Spanish.Adv
'Nagy Jóska who is Argentinean on his mother's side speaks Spanish well.'
- c. *A XV. századi Magyarország egy virágzó nemzet volt,*
the 15th century.Attr Hungary a flourishing nation be.Past.3Sg
míg a XVII. századi Magyarország már nem volt az.
whereas the 17th century.Attr Hungary already not be.Past.3Sg that
'15th-century Hungary was a flourishing nation whereas 17th-century Hungary no longer was.'
- c'. Ezt csak *egy gazdag Magyarország* tehetné meg.
this.Acc only a rich Hungary do.Mod.Cond.DefObj.3Sg perf
'Only a rich Hungary could afford that.'

That proper nouns can occasionally be modified restrictively is also illustrated in (736c) above. In this case, too, the proper noun is no longer construed as having a unique reference. This is demonstrated in (736c) above in a way that, at least metaphorically, Hungary is referred to as two different entities opposed to each other on the basis of their decisive properties.

In (736c'), the head noun is a proper noun, but the whole nominal phrase is indefinite. In a case like this, the modifier can receive only a restrictive interpretation. The adjective *gazdag* 'rich' is a stage-level predicate: if the property changes, so will, at least metaphorically speaking, the entity it is assigned to. This means that in this case the referent of the proper noun is no longer unique, which also explains the use of the indefinite article.

If the noun phrase is indefinite with a specific referent, as in (737a-a') below, the hearer is not assumed to be able to pick out the intended referent any longer. Although the function of the non-restrictive modifier is again to provide additional information about the referent of the noun phrase, identifiability is not at stake here. Only the additional characteristics of non-restrictiveness that were mentioned in connection with the examples in (735a-b) above may help the hearer recognize the

additionality of the information provided. In (737a), for instance, the adjective *drága* ‘expensive’, especially together with the parenthesized expression, can be interpreted non-restrictively because it suggests that the piece of information in question provides a reason or motivation for buying the car on credit. The sentence in (737a’) can be stressed both in a way in which the adjectival modifier is stressed more than the noun head and in a way in which they are stressed essentially uniformly. In the former case, the modifier must be interpreted restrictively, and the presuppositional element *is* ‘also’ must be interpreted so that it is understood that the speaker bought more than one car. In the latter case, however, the modifier must be interpreted non-restrictively, and the presuppositional element *is* ‘also’ adds the meaning that the speaker bought at least two things, of which only one is claimed to be a car.

- (737) ● Relationship between the (non-)restrictive use of modifiers of noun phrases and their degree of referentiality: II. Specific indefinite and generic noun phrases
- a. Vettem hitelbe *egy (sajnos meglehetősen) drága autót.*
 buy.Past.1Sg credit.Ill *a unfortunately quite expensive car.Acc*
 ‘I bought *an (unfortunately quite) expensive car* on credit.’
- a’. Vettem *egy olcsó autót is.*
 buy.Past.1Sg *a cheap car.Acc* also
 ‘I also bought *a cheap car.*’
- b. *Egy lusta diák nem fog átmenni a vizsgán.*
a lazy student not will.3Sg pass.Inf the exam.Sup
 ‘*A lazy student* will not get a pass.’
- b’. ^{*)} *Egy / Az emlősök közé tartozó bálna soha nem jön ki a tengerből.*
a / the mammal.Pl between belonging whale never not come.3Sg out the sea.Ela
 ‘*A / The whale, which is a mammal,* never leaves the sea.’
- b’’. *Egy tudvalevőleg az emlősök közé tartozó bálna*
a known_to_be the mammal.Pl between belonging whale
soha nem jön ki a tengerből.
never not come.3Sg out the sea.Ela
 ‘*A whale, which is known to be a mammal,* never leaves the sea.’

The difference in function between non-restrictive and restrictive modification is particularly clear in constructions with generic noun phrases expressed by indefinite noun phrases, since these can only be modified by restrictive modifiers. The restrictive modifier in (737b) above restricts the referent set of the noun phrase. This means that the noun phrase without the modifier refers to a larger set of entities than the modified noun phrase: it is predicated of only a subset of students that they will not get a pass. A potential non-restrictive interpretation would suggest that all students in the world are lazy, which contradicts our knowledge of the world.

It is not entirely clear, however, as is pointed out in *SoD-NP* (p. 367), whether appealing to our knowledge of the world is sufficient to account for the restrictive interpretation in (737b) above, since this wrongly predicts that an example in which both propositions are true should be fully acceptable: this is the case in the variant in (737b’) with an indefinite noun phrase, which is nevertheless dubious. For the sake of completeness, note that the variant in (737b’’) in which a definite noun phrase refers to the species of whales, is fully acceptable, just like the example in

(737b’), in which such special expressions help the hearer recognize the intended non-restrictive reading as *tudvalemőleg* ‘as is well-known’.

Let us now return to the schematic syntactic structure presented in (734) above. As is indicated there, restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers within the DP can appear in two different zones: they may precede (738-739) or follow (740-741) the head noun. It must be noted at this point that we follow *SoD-NP* (p. 368) in assuming that the postnominal non-restrictive modifiers are also DP-internal. The authors’ main reason for assuming this is that non-restrictive attributive adjectives are placed between the determiner and the noun, and therefore they cannot be placed at some level higher than the DP. Given that in current generative grammar similarities and differences in function and scope between different kinds of modifiers is assumed to follow from the fact that they are attached at similar or different levels within the noun phrase, (even non-restrictive) postmodifiers must therefore be assumed to be noun-phrase-internal just like non-restrictive premodifiers. Note in passing that results of the application of the ‘for instance’-construction we propose (see, for instance, (648) in 2.1.1.1) unequivocally verify this theoretical stance.

The actual pre- or postnominal placement of the modifier is sensitive to the form of the modifier. As the corresponding examples show, however, the same forms can be used restrictively as well as non-restrictively (within the prenominal zone as well as within the postnominal zone). It must be noted that the ‘for instance’-construction is used (see, for instance, (648) in 2.1.1.1) throughout (738-741) in order to guarantee that they form one phrase (and the noun phrases with premodifiers are shown in the same construction for the sake uniformity).

(738) ● Categories of restrictive prenominal modifiers

- a. [DP ... D ... [NP MOD_{restrictive} [NP (complement) N (complement(s))]]]
 - b. Na például *a* [_{AP} *farkaséhes*] *kollégádnak*,
 well_for_instance the wolf.hungry colleague.Poss.2Sg.Dat
neki adjál dupla adagot!
 Dat.3Sg give.Subj.2Sg double portion.Acc
 ‘Well for instance, as for your colleague who could eat a horse, give him a double portion.’
 - c. Na például *a* [_{PartP} *jól átsütött*] *bárányhús*,
 well_for_instance the well through.roast-Part lamb_meat
az még Jóskának is ízlik!
 that even Jóska.Dat also taste.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, lamb well-done, even Jóska would like the taste of that.’
 - d. Na például [_{AttrP} *a diófa alatt-i*] *hintaszék*,
 well_for_instance the walnut_tree under-Attr rocking_chair
az soha nem forrósodik fel!
 that never not get_hot.3Sg up
 ‘Well for instance, the one under the walnut-tree of the rocking chairs, that never gets very hot.’
 - e. Na például *a* [_{AttrP} *kreol bőrű*] *barátod*, *ő* *tuti nem ég le!*
 well_for_instance the creole skin-Attr friend.Poss.2Sg she sure not burn.3Sg down
 ‘Well for instance, the dark-skinned one of your friends, she will surely not get sunburnt.’

- f. Na például *a kávénak az [PARTP ásványvízzel való] elfogyasztása,*
 well_for_instance the coffee.Dat the mineral_water.Ins be.Part consumption.Poss.3Sg
az egészségesebb mint a kísérő ital nélküli kávéfogyasztás.
 that healthy.Comp than the accompanying drink without.Attr coffee_consumption
 ‘Well for instance, *the taking of coffee with mineral water* is more healthy than taking it without
 any accompanying drink.’
- f’. Na például *a kávénak [DP a diófa árnyékában való] elfogyasztása,*
 well_for_instance the coffee.Dat the walnut_tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine be.Part
az sokkal jobb, mint a konyhában való kávéfogyasztás.
 consumption.Poss.3Sg that much.Ins better than the kitchen.Ine be.Part coffee_consumption
 ‘Well for instance, *the taking of coffee in the shade of the walnut-tree* is much better than taking
 it in the kitchen.’

Prenominal modifiers are headed by adjectives, participles, or words derived by means of different attributivizers; see the (b)-, (c)- and (f)-examples, and the (d)- and (e)-examples in (738-739), respectively (cf. Table 18 in 1.1.2.1, which also shows certain prenominal counterparts of appositions, discussed in 2.3, the section on appositions).

(739) ● Categories of non-restrictive prenominal modifiers

- a. [DP ... D ... MOD_{non-restrictive} [NP (complement) N (complement(s))]]
- b. Na például *a [AP farkaséhes] férjednek,*
 well_for_instance the wolf.hungry husband.Poss.2Sg.Dat
neki adjál dupla adagot!
 Dat.3Sg give.Subj.2Sg double portion.Acc
 ‘Well for instance, *as for your husband, who could eat a horse*, give him a double portion.’
- c. Na például *az a [PARTP jól átsüt-ött] bárányhús tegnap,*
 well_for_instance that the well through.roast-Part lamb_meat yesterday
az még Jóskának is ízlett!
 that even Jóska.Dat also taste.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *that well-done lamb yesterday*, even Jóska liked the taste of that.’
- d. Na például *[AttrP az öreg diófa alatt-i] hintaszékben,*
 well_for_instance the old walnut_tree under-Attr rocking_chair
ott Nagyapa is szívesen pihen.
 that grandpa also with_pleasure relax.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *in the rocking chair under the old walnut-tree*, Grandpa also takes pleasure in
 relaxing there.’
- e. Na például *a [AP kreol bőrű] Ili, ő tuti nem ég le!*
 well_for_instance the creole skinned Ili she sure not burn.3Sg down
 ‘Well for instance, *the dark-skinned Ili*, she will surely not get sunburnt.’
- f. Na például *a kávémnak a [PARTP jéghideg ásványvízzel való] elfogyasztása,*
 well_for_instance the coffee.Poss.1Sg.Dat the ice_cold mineral_water.Ins be.Part
az nekem minden nap a reggel fénypontja.
 consumption.Poss.3Sg that Dat.1Sg every day the morning light.point.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the taking of my coffee with ice-cold mineral water*, that is the best part of the
 morning every day for me.’

- f. Na például *a kávémnak* [_{PartP} *a diófa árnyékában való*]
 well for_instance the coffee.Poss.1Sg.Dat the walnut_tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine be.Part
elfogyasztása, az nekem minden nap a reggel fénypontja.
consumption.Poss.3Sg that Dat.1Sg every day the morning light.point.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the taking of my coffee in the shade of the walnut-tree*, that is the best part of
 the morning every day for me.’

As for postnominal modifiers, they can often take the form of a subordinate clauses, see the (g)-examples in (740-741). Postnominal modifiers can also be phrases headed by an adverb, a converb, a postposition, or an oblique case-marked noun; see the (b)-, (c)- and (d)-examples, and the (e)- and (f)-examples in (740-741), respectively (cf. Table 18 in 1.1.2.1, again). The correspondence in content between the types of postnominal modifiers in (740-741) below and those of prenominal modifiers in (738-739) above from the (b)- to the (f)-examples illustrates the following systematic categorial correspondence. Postnominal adverbs and converbs correspond to prenominal adjectives and participles, respectively (see the (b)- and (c)-examples). Postnominal phrases of postpositions or oblique case-marked nouns belonging to on-line created deverbal nominal constructions correspond to prenominal *való*-constructions, which are special participial phrases headed by the present participial form of the copula *van* ‘be’ (see the (f)-examples). Otherwise, postnominal phrases of postpositions or oblique case-marked nouns correspond to phrases derived by means of such attributivizers as *-i* and *-(j)Ú* (see the (d)- and (e)-examples).

(740) ● Categories of restrictive postnominal modifiers

- a. [_{DP} ... D ... [_{NP} [_{NP} (complement) N (complement(s))] MOD_{restrictive}]]
- b. Na például *egy kamasz* [_{AdvP} *farkaséhes-en*],
 well for_instance the teenager wolf.hungry-Adv
 az csak dupla adaggal lakna jól.
 that only double portion.Ins live.Cond.3Sg well
 ‘Well for instance, *as for a teenager who could eat a horse*, they would eat themselves full only with a double portion.’
- c. Na például *a bárányhús* [_{ConvP} *jól átsüt-ve*],
 well for_instance the lamb_meat well through.roast-Conv
 az még Jóskának is ízlik!
 that even Jóska.Dat also taste.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *lamb well-done*, even Jóska would like the taste of that.’
- d. Na például *egy hintaszék* [_{PP} *egy öreg diófa alatt*],
 well for_instance a rocking_chair an old walnut_tree under
 az még Jóskának is tetszene!
 that even Jóska.Dat also please.Cond.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *a rocking chair under an old walnut-tree*, even Jóska would like that.’
- e. Na például *egy szőke lány* [_{NP} *kreol bőrrel*],
 well for_instance a blond girl creole skin.Ins
 az még Jóskának is tetszene!
 that even Jóska.Dat also please.Cond.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *a dark-skinned blonde girl*, even Jóska would like that.’

- f. Na például *a kávé elfogyasztása* [_{NP} *ásványvízzel*],
 well_for_instance the coffee consumption.Poss.3Sg mineral_water.Ins
 az egészségesebb mint a kísérő ital nélküli kávéfogyasztás.
 that healthy.Comp than the accompanying drink without.Attr coffee_consumption
 ‘Well for instance, *the taking of coffee with mineral water* is more healthy than taking it without
 any accompanying drink.’
- f’. Na például *a kávé elfogyasztása* [_{DP} *a diófa árnyékában*],
 well_for_instance the coffee consumption.Poss.3Sg the walnut_tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine
 az sokkal kellemesebb mint a konyhában való elfogyasztása.
 that much.Ins enjoyable.Comp than the kitchen.Ine be.Part consumption.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the taking of coffee in the shade of the walnut-tree* is much enjoyable than
 taking it in the kitchen.’
- g. Na például *egy olyan kamasz*, [_{CP} *aki farkaséhes*],
 well_for_instance the such teenager who wolf.hungry
 az csak dupla adaggal lakna jól.
 that only double portion.Ins live.Cond.3Sg well
 ‘Well for instance, *as for a teenager who is very hungry*, they would eat themselves full only
 with a double portion.’

The (postnominal) subordinate clauses in the (g)-examples in (740-741) show a correspondence to the (a)-examples with respect to content (very hungry people are referred to), but the other “contents” presented in the (c-f’)-examples can also be expressed as (part of) the predicate of a subordinate clause either in their prenominal form (738e) or in their postnominal form (740c,d,f-f’).

(741) ● Categories of non-restrictive postnominal modifiers

- a. [_{DP} ... D ... [_{NP} [_{NP} (complement) N (complement(s))]]] MOD_{non-restrictive}
- b. ⁽²⁾Na például *a férjed* [_{AdvP} *farkaséhes-en*],
 well_for_instance the husband.Poss.2Sg wolf.hungry-Adv
 ő csak dupla adaggal lakna jól.
 he only double portion.Ins live.Cond.3Sg well
 ‘Well for instance, *as for your husband, who could eat a horse*, he would eat himself full only
 with a double portion.’
- c. ⁽²⁾Na például *az a tegnapi bárányhús* [_{ConvP} *jól átsüt-ve*],
 well_for_instance that the yesterday.Adj lamb_meat well through.roast-Conv
 az nagyon ízlett!
 that very.much taste.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *that well-done lamb yesterday*, I liked its taste very much.’
- d. Na például *az a hintaszék* [_{PP} *a diófa alatt*],
 well_for_instance that the rocking_chair the walnut_tree under
 az tuti nem forrósodik fel!
 that sure not get_hot.3Sg up
 ‘Well for instance, *that rocking chair under the walnut tree*, that is surely not getting very hot.’
- e. Na például *Ili* [_{DP} *a kreol bőrével*], ő tuti nem ég le!
 well_for_instance Ili the creole skin.Poss.3Sg.Ins she sure not burn.3Sg down
 ‘Well for instance, *Ili with her dark skin*, she will surely not get sunburnt.’

- f. ^(?)Na például *a kávém elfogyasztása*, [_{NP} *jéghideg ásványvízzel*],
 well for_instance the coffee.Poss.1Sg consumption.Poss.3Sg ice_cold mineral_water.Ins
 az minden nap a reggel fénypontját jelenti nekem.
 that every day the morning light.point.Poss.3Sg.Acc mean.DefObj.3Sg Dat.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *taking my coffee with ice-cold mineral water*, that is, for me, the best part of
 the morning every day.’
- f’. ^(?)Na például *a kávém elfogyasztása*, [_{DP} *a diófa árnyékában*],
 well for_instance the coffee.Poss.1Sg consumption.Poss.3Sg the walnut_tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine
 az minden nap a reggel fénypontját jelenti nekem.
 that every day the morning light.point.Poss.3Sg.Acc mean.DefObj.3Sg Dat.1Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *taking my coffee in the shade of the walnut-tree*, that is, for me, the best part
 of the morning every day.’
- g. Na például *a férjed*, [_{CP} *aki éppen farkaséhes*],
 well for_instance the husband.Poss.2Sg who just wolf.hungry
 ő csak dupla adaggal lakna jól.
 he only double portion.Ins live.Cond.3Sg well
 ‘Well for instance, *as for your husband, who is just very hungry*, he would eat himself full only
 with a double portion.’

As indicated by the grammaticality judgment ‘(?)’, certain examples in (741) above are not fully acceptable. The problem in the case of (741f-f’) may have to do with the fact that the intended non-restrictive readings are not easy to evoke and require very careful intonation. As for examples (741b-c), their degraded acceptability may be due to the fact that adverbs and converbs (as dependents) are *ab ovo* incompatible with nouns, and with a non-restrictive interpretation their presence is not legitimized by being inevitably required to identify the intended denotation of the whole noun phrase.

In all the examples presented so far in this section, only adjuncts have been shown as modifiers. As was mentioned in subsection 1.1.2.1, however, arguments of head nouns can also appear prenominal relative to these head nouns (obviously outside the prenominal complement zone)—in *való*-constructions, for instance, such as those demonstrated in (738f-f’) above as matrix constructions of adjuncts “inherited” from verbal constructions in the case of on-line deverbal nominalization. That is, *való*-constructions also readily host “inherited” (oblique case-marked and postpositional) arguments, as is illustrated in (742b) below. Even this position of *való*-constructions is preceded by positions hosting arguments, as was demonstrated in (129-130) and in 1.1.3.1: two kinds of possessor positions are involved here (742c-d), in addition to the special pre-D position hosting non-possessor arguments (only with operator function; cf. (742e) and (742e’)). Recall that possessors are to be regarded as arguments, at least in some conceptual sense (explicated thoroughly in subsection 2.1.2).

(742) ● Occurrence of possessor and non-possessor arguments in the modifier zone of the noun phrase

- a. [[... NP ...]_{Obl} [... NP ...]_{NAK} ... **D** [... NP ...]_∅ ... [_{NP} PartP ... [_{NP} ... **N** ...]]]
- ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
- a'. (742e') (742d) (742c) (742b)
- b. Na például *a futár* [_{PartP} *Pécsre való*] *elküldése*,
 well for_instance the courier Pécs.Sub be.Part away_sending.Poss.3Sg
 az nem volt jó ötlet.
 that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
 'Well for instance, the sending of the courier to Pécs, that was not a good idea.'
- c. Na például [_{DP} *a futár*] *elküldése* *Pécsre*,
 well for_instance the courier away_sending.Poss.3Sg Pécs.Sub
 az nem volt jó ötlet.
 that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
 'Well for instance, the sending of the courier to Pécs, that was not a good idea.'
- d. Na például [_{DP} *a futárnak*] *az elküldése* *Pécsre*,
 well for_instance the courier.Dat the away_sending.Poss.3Sg Pécs.Sub
 az nem volt jó ötlet.
 that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
 'Well for instance, the sending of the courier to Pécs, that was not a good idea.'
- e. ^{??}Na például [_{DP} *Pécsre*] *egy futárnak az elküldése*,
 well for_instance Pécs.Sub a courier.Dat the away_sending.Poss.3Sg
 az nem volt jó ötlet.
 that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
 Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, the sending of a courier to Pécs, that was not a good idea.'
- e'. ^(?)Na például [_{DP} *mindhárom városba*] *ugyanannak a futárnak*
 well for_instance all_three city.Ill same.Dat the courier.Dat
az elküldése, az nem volt jó ötlet.
 the away_sending.Poss.3Sg that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
 'Well for instance, the sending of the same courier to all the three cities, that was not a good idea.'

Since the phrases in all the four above-illustrated prenominal-modifier positions available to arguments, in square brackets in (742) above, provide information required to identify the states of affairs referred to by the *italicized* noun phrases, the phrases in question are restrictive modifiers. Is it possible to use the same four kinds of prenominal-modifier positions non-restrictively?

As is exemplified in (743) below, there is a theoretical possibility for assigning non-restrictive interpretation to the argument types in question (see (743b,c,d)), though it is very difficult to construct appropriate contexts.

The sentence presented in (743b), for instance, is to be interpreted as a continuation of the one in (743a), by which a certain state of affairs is defined, namely, a reporter's talking with political scientists; the *italicized* noun phrase in (743b) refers to this state of affairs. It refers to it in a way that the content of the *való*-construction obviously provides only additional information, given that this content in question is not mentioned in the introductory sentence at all, so it must be accommodated as a presupposition (according to which the whole talk was devoted to Greece). It is due to the presupposition that sentence (743b) is not fully

acceptable. Note in passing that the same string of words in (743b'), with a slightly different stress pattern (cf. (735a,b) above), can also be interpreted in a way in which the *való*-construction is used restrictively. The (somewhat difficult) comprehension of this reading requires the accommodation of another presupposition according to which the talk referred to by sentence (743a) had different parts, one of which was devoted to Greece.

As for the sentence presented in (743c), which is also to be interpreted as a continuation of (743a), its comprehension requires so special a presupposition that renders its acceptability somewhat questionable. The relative case-marked argument is to be interpreted non-restrictively, at least if it is assumed in the intended meaning that it characterizes the whole conversation referred to by (743a), and not only one of its parts, that the reporter talked about all topics with the same group of political scientists.

(743) ● Non-restrictive arguments in the modifier zone of the noun phrase?

- a. Tegnap az ismert riporter politológusokkal beszélgetett.
yesterday the known reporter political_scientist.PL.Ins talk.Past.3Sg
'Yesterday the well-known reporter talked with political scientists.'
- b. ⁽²⁾A [_{PartP} 'Görögországról való'] *'beszélgetésük érdekesítő volt.*
the Greece be.Part talk.ÁS.Poss.3Pl interesting be.Past.3Sg
'Their talk about Greece was interesting.'
- b'. ⁽²⁾A [_{PartP} 'Görögországról való'] *beszélgetésük érdekesítő volt.*
the Greece be.Part talk.ÁS.Poss.3Pl interesting be.Past.3Sg
'[The part of] their talk about Greece was interesting.'
- c. ²Na, szerintem [_{DP} *mindegyik témáról*] *ugyanannak a riporternek a*
well according_to.1Sg all topic.Del same.Dat the reporter.Dat the
beszélgetése ugyanazokkal a politológusokkal nagyon unalmas volt.
talking.Poss.3Sg same.Pl.Ins the political_scientist.Pl.Ins very boring be.Past.3Sg
'Well, I think that the same reporter's talking with the same political scientists about all topics was very boring.'
- d. Ez az épület emlékeztet *az indiaiak(nak a) Taj Mahaljára.*
this the building remind.3Sg the Indian.Pl(Dat the) Taj Mahal.Poss.3Sg.Sub
'This building reminds me of the Indians' Taj Mahal.'
- d'. Ez az épület emlékeztet *az indiaiak(nak a) parlamentjére.*
this the building remind.3Sg the Indian.Pl(Dat the) parliament.Poss.3Sg.Sub
'This building reminds me of the Indians' parliament building.'

The minimal pair in the (d)-examples above illustrates in a straightforward way that both kinds of pronominal possessors can be interpreted non-restrictively (743d), too, given that there is only one Taj Mahal in the world, while there are many parliament buildings. In (743d'), thus, the (restrictive) possessor is inevitably required to restrict the huge set of different parliament buildings in order to identify the particular building that serves as the parliament of the Indian people. In (743d), however, mentioning the Indian people serves only the purpose of helping the listeners, who might need some aid to update their memory, recall what Taj Mahal is.

This introduction to the present section concludes with an overview of the positions of the different kinds of pre- and postmodifiers discussed above inside the

Hungarian noun phrase structure, highlighted by means of black background in (744) below, on the basis of similar overviews presented in (95) in 1.1.2.1, in (105) in 1.1.2.2, and in (640) in the introduction to 2.2. Note that the word order of the possibly iterated attributive premodifiers within the attributive zone(s) (the elements of which are represented by αP^* in (744c-d)) and their mingling with different determiners and each other have already been discussed in subsection 1.1.2 (and especially in 1.1.2.3 and 1.1.2.4). Note also that the word order of the also possibly iterated postmodifiers (which are represented by βP^* in (744d-e)) and their mingling with each other have also already been discussed in subsection 1.1.2 (except for 1.1.2.3). Note in passing that other elements in the determining domain (not highlighted in (744)) are discussed in separate subsequent sections: articles and demonstratives in section 2.5 (including *-ik* determiners, whose status is between adjectives/numerals and determiners), and numerals and quantifiers in section 2.6 (NB: such “additional” constructions as appositions and classifiers are discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4). Articles, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers can be distinguished from the premodifiers we discuss in this section on the basis of the fact that while the former essentially serve as grammatical “signposts” in the prenominal modifier zone, the latter count as the contentful dependents of the noun head, which have postnominal counterparts (in the postnominal modifier or complement zone; see the four series of examples in (738-741)).

(744) ● Modifiers within the general structure of the Hungarian noun phrase

- a. Pre-D zone (of the determining domain): → (105a)
 $[[\dots \text{NP} \dots]_{\text{Obj}} [\dots \text{NP} \dots]_{\text{NAK}} \forall \text{DP}_{\text{Dem}} \mathbf{D} \dots [\text{NP-domain}] \dots]$
- b. Post-D zone (of the determining domain): → (105b)
 $[\dots \mathbf{D} [\dots \text{NP} \dots]_{\emptyset} \forall \text{DetP}_{\text{Dem}} \text{NumP} [\text{NP-domain}] \dots]$
- c. Positions for phrases of adjectives, adjectival participles and (other) attributive expressions ($\alpha = \text{A} / \text{Part} / \text{Attr}$) in the determining domain: → (116a-b)
 $[\dots \mathbf{D} [\dots \text{NP} \dots]_{\emptyset} \dots (\alpha P)^* \dots \text{NumP} (\alpha P)^* [\text{NP-domain}] \dots]$
- d. NP-domain: → (95a)
 $[\text{NP} (\alpha P)^* [\text{NP} \text{ Compl N Complements}] (\beta P)^*]$
- e. Post-NP zone (of the determining domain): → (105c)
 $[\dots [\text{NP-domain}] (\beta P^* \text{ CP})]$

What this section is devoted to is a thorough characterization of the potential fillers of the premodifier zone (2.2.1) and the postmodifier zone (2.2.2), with special emphasis on the potential operator character of the fillers. The six operator types considered in subsection 2.1.1.4, for instance, will be applied to the prenominal counterparts of the 25 satellite types investigated in 2.1.2.

2.2.1. *Premodification*

This subsection is devoted to the demonstration of the premodifier types from the innermost to the outermost, as follows: 2.2.1.1 discusses attributive constructions, 2.2.1.2 is concerned with possessors, and 2.2.1.3 is about the special pre-D non-possessor position(s). We conclude 2.2.1 with a summary concerning which operator type can take internal and external scope in which position how readily,

and whether several arguments can simultaneously take scope, even yielding “hybrid” noun phrases containing internal- and external-scope takers (2.2.1.4).

2.2.1.1. *Attributive constructions*

Agreement is always an important question in Hungarian constructions. As for attributive modifiers of the head noun in Hungarian, however, they do not show agreement, either in number or in case, with the head noun (compare (745a) with (745b)), in contrast to the demonstrative pronouns *ez* ‘this’ and *az* ‘that’ (see (90) in 1.1.1.4.3).

(745) ● No agreement in number and case in the attributive zone

- a. Megbízom *a kedves kanadai pincér-ek-ben*.
 trust.1Sg *the nice Canada.Adj waiter-Pl-Ine*
 ‘I trust in *the nice Canadian waiters*.’
- b. *Megbízom *a kedves-ek-ben kanadai-ak-ban pincér-ek-ben*.
 trust.1Sg *the nice-Pl-Ine Canada.Adj-Pl-Ine waiter-Pl-Ine*
 Intended meaning: ‘I trust in *the nice Canadian waiters*.’

Another question arises from the fact that the definite article (*a(z)* ‘the’) and other determiners such as *egy* ‘a(n)/one’, *mindkét* ‘both’ and *semelyik* ‘none of’, for instance, typically appear in the left periphery of a noun phrase, which is also the place of attributive premodifiers. This means that they are often positioned immediately right-adjacent to similar determiners of the corresponding matrix noun phrases.

As is exemplified below, two definite articles (746a) or two instances of *egy* ‘a(n)/one’ (746c) in the immediate neighborhood of each other provide fully unacceptable or highly marked constructions, respectively, while the doubling of *mindkét* ‘both’ and *semelyik* ‘none of’, presumably due to their irreconstructability, is absolutely necessary (746e,f). In the former case, the single application of the given determiner provides fully acceptable constructions with the intended meaning (746a,c). As for hybrid combinations of determiners, a quite varied picture can be observed: as is illustrated below (without aiming at completeness here), while certain combinations with certain orders are more or less acceptable (746b,d,e’), others are unacceptable (746e’). Note in passing that clauses hosting nouns modified by *semelyik* (746e’,f) requires a complementary predicative part with a negative particle (like *nem siel* ‘not skies’).

(746) ● Relationship between the referential degree of the attributive premodifier and that of the matrix noun phrase

- a. *[A(Z) A(Z)] / ✓A(Z) *homályos fényképen felbukkanó szőke lány*
 the the / the blurred photo.Sup appear.Part blond girl
 ‘THE blonde girl who appears in THE blurred photo’
- b. ?[A(Z) EGY] / *?A(Z) / *EGY *homályos fényképen felbukkanó szőke lány*
 the a / the / a blurred photo.Sup appear.Part blond girl
 ‘THE blonde girl who appears in A blurred photo’
- c. ??[EGY EGY] / ✓EGY *homályos fényképen felbukkanó szőke lány*
 a a / a blurred photo.Sup appear.Part blond girl
 ‘A blonde girl who appears in A blurred photo’

- d. ⁽²⁾[EGY A(Z)] / *EGY / *[?]A(Z) homályos fényképen felbukkanó szőke lány
 the a / a / the blurred photo.Sup appear.Part blond girl
 ‘A blonde girl who appears in THE blurred photo’
- e. [MINDKÉT MINDKÉT] / *MINDKÉT homályos fényképen felbukkanó szőke lány
 both both / both blurred photo.Sup appear.Part blond girl
 ‘BOTH blonde girls who appear in BOTH blurred photos’
- e’. A(Z) / ⁽²⁾EGY / [✓]SEMELYIK MINDKÉT homályos fényképen felbukkanó szőke lány
 the / a / none_of both blurred photo.Sup appear.Part blond girl
 ‘THE / A / [NONE OF THE] blonde girl(s) who appear(s) in BOTH blurred photos’
- e’’. *[?]MINDKÉT A(Z) / EGY homályos fényképen felbukkanó szőke lány
 both the / a blurred photo.Sup appear.Part blond girl
 Intended meaning: ‘BOTH blonde girls who appear in THE / A blurred photo’
- f. ⁽²⁾[SEMELYIK SEMELYIK] / *SEMELYIK homályos fényképen
 none_of none_of / none_of blurred photo.Sup
 fel nem bukkanó szőke lány
 up not appear.Part blond girl
 ‘NONE OF the blonde girls who appear in NONE OF the blurred photos’

All in all, the preferred situation is the one in which the degree of referentiality of the premodifier-internal noun phrase coincides with that of the matrix noun phrase (746a,c); in such cases (the determiner of) the embedded noun phrase seems to perform the task of the appropriate determination of the matrix noun phrase as a whole (instead of a double indication of the same referentiality features).

In what follows, subsection 2.2.1.1.1 discusses adjunct-like attributive constructions, whereas 2.2.1.1.2 is concerned with argument-like attributive constructions. It will serve as a special topic to investigate the prenominal counterparts of the six adjunct-like and the eleven argument-like postnominal non-possessor satellite types listed in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 according to the method applied in subsection 2.1.1.4.

2.2.1.1.1. *Adjunct-like attributive constructions*

This subsection is divided into three subordinate subsections, of which the first (2.2.1.1.1.1) discusses such formal questions concerning adjunct-like attributive constructions as their possible categories and orders and the ways of attributivization of the six adjunct-like non-possessor satellite types. Their postnominal counterparts are listed in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6. The other two subsections are concerned with internal-scope taking (2.2.1.1.1.2) and external-scope taking (2.2.1.1.1.3) in the case of the aforementioned six satellite types.

2.2.1.1.1.1. Form of adjunct-like attributive constructions

Adjunct-like attributive premodifiers can be adjectives / adjectival phrases (748), expressions derived by means of attributivizers (752), and participles / participial phrases (753).

The order these elements are presented in above more or less represents their typical noun-phrase-internal order leftwards from the noun, according to increasing complexity. More precisely, while participles very much prefer to precede the first two types, expressions belonging to the second type are often mixed among those

belonging to the first, following the well-known semantic order typical of English, given in (747) below, rather than the category/complexity-dependent ordering. Note that such overloaded constructions as the one shown in (747a) are very rare, given that it is very unlikely that anyone would use so many adjectives before a single noun, but if one uses two or more adjectives, their preferred order *ab ovo* follows the pattern given in (747b).

(747) ● English order of attributive adjectives

- a. the *beautiful tiny old peaky black Spanish leatherette riding* boots
 b. OPINION SIZE AGE SHAPE COLOR ORIGIN MATERIAL PURPOSE

As is exemplified in (748a-h) below from type to type, the same types of expressions can appear preminally in Hungarian, too.

(748) ● Adjectival constructions

- a. [a *lovaglőcsizma*] / [a *hálósák*] [PURPOSE]
 the *riding.boot* / the *sleeping.bag*
 ‘[the *riding* boots] / [the *sleeping* bag]’
- b. [a *bőrcsizma*] / [a *pamutzsák*] [MATERIAL]
 the *leather.boot* / the *cotton.bag*
 ‘[the *leather* boots] / [the *cotton* bag]’
- c. [a *spanyol író*] / [a *pécsi polgármester*] [ORIGIN]
 the *Spanish writer* / the *Pécs.Adj mayor*
 ‘[the *Spanish* writer] / [the *Pécs* mayor]’
- d. [a *fekete macska*] / [a *átlátszó golyó*] [COLOR]
 the *Spanish writer* / the *transparent bullet*
 ‘[the *black* cat] / [the *transparent* bullet]’
- e. [a *gömbölyű kavics*] / [a *hosszú pálca*] [SHAPE]
 the *round pebble* / the *long stick*
 ‘[the *round* pebble] / [the *long* stick]’
- f. [az *öreg férfi*] / [a *régi ház*] [AGE]
 the *old man* / the *old house*
 ‘[the *old* man] / [the *old* house]’
- g. [a *pici csavar*] / [a *hatalmas bálna*] [SIZE]
 the *tiny screw* / the *huge whale*
 ‘[the *tiny* screw] / [the *huge* whale]’
- h. [a *gyönyörű nő*] / [a *ronda asztal*] [OPINION]
 the *beautiful woman* / the *ugly table*
 ‘[the *beautiful* woman] / [the *ugly* table]’

As is indicated by the standard Hungarian spelling above, however, expressions referring to purpose (748a) and material (748b) behave differently to the other kinds of expressions presented in (748c-h).

As for expressions referring to purpose, they belong to the noun heads as first components of compounds, as is illustrated in (748a) above and in (749a,c) below: obligatorily unstressed words (e.g., ‘*csizma*’ in (749a)) being non-initial components of compounds, the stress patterns presented below verify the spelling convention in this case. Recall that purpose is referred to by a special kind of Ó-

noun, which occupies the prenominal complement zone of the head noun of the compound (see Remark 8 in 1.3.1.3.1).

As for expressions referring to material, according to spelling traditions, they can also appear as first components of compounds (see (748b) above and the variant with the unstressed noun head *edény* ‘pot’ in (749b) below), but are held to appear as prenominal modifiers if the noun that the material name belongs to is itself a compound, see (749a,c). The stress pattern illustrates that in cases of [material + purpose + noun] units, the expressions referring to material do not form compounds with the noun heads, even if the whole sequences of words consist of fewer syllables than certain [material + noun] units (see (749b), which is, indeed, preferably to be stressed as a single compound). This behavior of expressions referring to material are in harmony with the hypothesis according to which material names are not hosted in the prenominal complement zone as conceptual arguments but rather enter compounds in the way typical of adjuncts, see the rows ‘[Ela, **Material**]’ in the tables presented in subsection 2.1.2.6 (NB: the double filling of prenominal complement zones is not prohibited but it is available only for arguments). Note in passing that the material name, if it is itself a compound, is not represented as a component of a compound by the spelling conventions but as a prenominal modifier; which is corroborated by the stress patterns presented in (749c’) below.

(749) ● Two-faced behavior of material names: compound or premodifier

- a. [a 'bőr 'lovaglócsizma] / [a 'pamut 'hálózsák]
 the leather riding.boot / the cotton sleeping.bag
 ‘[the leather riding boots] / [the cotton sleeping bag]’
- b. 'Vettem egy 'aluminium-^{??}[edényt] / ✓[°edényt].
 buy.Past.1Sg an aluminium pot.Acc / pot.Acc
 ‘I bought an aluminium pot.’
- c. 'Vettem egy '(mű)selyem [hálózsákot] / ^{??}[°hálózsákot].
 buy.Past.1Sg an (synthetic)silk sleeping.bag.Acc / sleeping.bag.Acc
 ‘I bought a rayon / silk sleeping bag.’
- c’. 'Vettem egy 'műselyem [zsákot] / ^{*??}[°zsákot].
 buy.Past.1Sg an (synthetic)silk bag.Acc / bag.Acc
 ‘I bought a rayon bag.’

All in all, the expression type closest to the noun head, that is, the one referring to purpose, is not an adjectival premodifier (at least in Hungarian) but an argument-like compound-component in the prenominal complement zone, and the expression type second closest to the noun head, namely, that of material names, sometimes also serves as an(other type of) compound-component, while in other cases, it patterns with the six unequivocal types of adjectival prenominal modifiers presented in (748c-h) above.

As is exemplified in (750a-a’) below, the same types of expressions in English presented in (747b) can appear in the prenominal zone in Hungarian with the same default order as in English (see Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi (1998: 92–93), Kenesei (2014), and subsection 2.6.3.5; and see also A4.1). This (semantic) order is sometimes followed even at the cost of the violation of the “simpler means closer” rule according to which (simple) adjectives should be closer to the noun head than

(inevitably complex) expressions derived by means of attributivizers (750b-b'). As is also exemplified below, however, other types of complex expressions such as participial ones (750c-c') and adjectives (750d-d') with arguments do follow the "the simpler, the closer" rule.

(750) ● Combinations of adjectives and other prenominal expression types

- a. a *gyönyörű kicsi régi hegyes fekete spanyol műbőr lovaglósizma*
 the beautiful small old peaky black Spanish leatherette riding.boot
 OPINION > SIZE > AGE > SHAPE > COLOR > ORIGIN > MATERIAL > PURPOSE
 'the beautiful tiny old peaky black Spanish leatherette riding boots'
- a'. az *extravagáns hatalmas új vékony kék kínai szatén hálózsák*
 the extravagant huge new thin blue Chinese satin sleeping.bag
 'the extravagant huge new thin blue Chinese satin sleeping bag'
- b. a *pici [kreol bőrrű] lány* [SIZE > COLOR]
 the small creole skin.Attr girl
 'the small dark-skinned girl'
- b'. ^(?)a *kedves [hosszú combú és vékony derekú] lány* [OPINION > SHAPE]
 the nice long thigh.Attr and thin waist.Attr girl
 'the nice long-legged and small-waisted girl'
- c. a *[szaténból készült] kínai hálózsák* [MATERIAL > ORIGIN]
 the satin.Ela make.Part Chinese sleeping.bag [PartP > AP]
 'the Chinese sleeping bag made of satin'
- c'. ^{??}a *kínai, [szaténból készült] hálózsák*
 the Chinese satin.Ela make.Part sleeping.bag
 'the Chinese sleeping bag made of satin'
- d. a *[szuroknál is feketébb] gyönyörű régi csizma* [COLOR > OPINION]
 the pitch.Ade also black.Comp beautiful old boot [complex > simple]
 'the beautiful old boots blacker than pitch'
- d'. a *gyönyörű [?][szuroknál is feketébb] régi ^{??}[szuroknál is feketébb] csizma*
 the beautiful pitch.Ade also black.Comp old pitch.Ade also black.Comp boot
 'the beautiful old boots blacker than pitch'

As is exemplified below, if the head of an attributive expression has a satellite, the satellite must precede the head (compare (751a-b) to (751c)), which can be regarded as an instance of the prohibition on right-branching (see subsection 2.1.1.1; for a cross-linguistic discussion of right-branching phenomena, see, for instance, Hinterhölzl (2010), while the Hungarian aspect of the question is scrutinized in Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015: section 6)).

(751) ● No right branching permitted in attributive constructions

- a. *a *feketébb a szuroknál is csizma*
 the black.Comp the pitch.Ade also boot
 Intended meaning: 'the boots blacker even than pitch'
- b. *a *készült szaténból / Kínában hálózsák*
 the make.Part satin.Ela / China.Ine sleeping.bag
 Intended meaning: 'the bag made [of satin] / [in China]'

- c. a [szuroknál is feketébb] [szaténból / Kínában készült] hálózsák
 the *pitch.Ade* also *black.Comp satin.Ela* / *China.Ine* *make.Part* *sleeping.bag*
 ‘the bag made [of satin] / [in China] blacker than pitch’

Let us now consider the type of attributive constructions showing a “bracketing paradox” (Laczkó 2000c) in the following sense: morphologically, a derivational suffix (namely, *-i*, *-(j)Ű*, and *-(V)s* in (752a,b,c), respectively) is attached to a noun (752b-c) or a postposition (752a), while, syntactically, its scope extends to a larger expression.

(752) ● Premodifier constructions derived by means of attributivizers

- a. a [[*Budapest alatt*]-*i*] csatornahálózat
 the *Budapest* *under-Attr* *drainage_network*
 ‘drainage network under Budapest’
- b. a [[*kreol bőr*]-*ű*] lány
 the *creole* *skin-Attr* *girl*
 ‘the dark-skinned girl’
- c. a [[*(négy) emelet*]-*es*] ház
 the *four* *story-Attr* *house*
 ‘[the housing block] / [the four-story house]’
- c’. a [[*(kék) kalap*]-*os*] lány
 the *blue* *hat-Attr* *girl*
 ‘the girl with a (blue) hat’

Note in passing that the suffix *-i* attached to a postposition (752a) requires that the derived attributive phrase must also contain the argument of the postposition (e.g., *Budapest* in the given example). Similarly, the *-(j)Ű* suffix of the inalienable possessive relation, attached to a noun (752b), requires that the derived attributive phrase must also contain an attributive adjunct that belongs to the noun (e.g., *kreol* ‘creole’ in the given example). As for the derivational suffix *-(V)s* (of the alienable possessive relation), it does not necessarily require the derived attributive phrase to be complex, as is illustrated in (752c-c’) by parentheses.

The series of examples in (753) below is devoted to the topic of premodification by participial phrases. The attributive constructions presented in (753a-c) illustrate the three types of constructions assumed to be participial in the (traditional) Hungarian literature. The attributive constructions presented in (753e-f), however, contain phrases of deverbal adjectives (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a: 160–163). As for the attributive construction in (753d), it patterns with the participial phrases (753a-c) in showing the verbal property of permitting the insertion of the negative particle *nem* ‘not’ between the deverbal element and its preverb (whilst a HATÓ-construction shows the adjectival property of being capable of serving as a predicate; cf. Lipták and Kenesei (2014)).

(753) ● Participial and other deverbal premodifier constructions

- a. a *problémát meg-old-ó* / [*meg nem old-ó*] (külföldi) diákok
 the *problem.Acc* *perf.solve-Part* / *perf not solve-Part* *foreign* *pupil.Pl*
 ‘the (foreign) pupils (not) solving the problem’

- b. a *meg-old-ott* / [*meg nem old-ott*] (több összetevős) probléma
 the *perf-solve-Part* / *perf not solve-Part* more component.Attr problem
 ‘the (un)solved problem (which consists of several components)’
- c. a *meg-old-andó* / [*meg nem old-andó*] probléma
 the *perf-solve-Part* / *perf not solve-Part* problem
 ‘the problem which will / must (not) be solved’
- d. a *meg-old-ható* / [*meg nem old-ható*] probléma
 the *perf-solve-Part* / *perf not solve-Part* problem
 ‘the problem which can(not) be solved’
- e. a *meg-old-hatatlan* / [**meg nem old-hatatlan*] probléma
 the *perf-solve-Adj* / *perf not solve-Adj* problem
 ‘the problem which is (not) unsolvable’
- e’. ez az *amúgy egyáltalán nem meg-old-hatatlan* probléma
 this the *anyway not_at_all not perf-solve-Adj* problem
 ‘this problem which is, anyway, not unsolvable at all’
- f. a *meg-old-atlan* / [**meg nem old-atlan*] probléma
 the *perf-solve-Adj* / *perf not solve-Adj* problem
 ‘the problem which is (not) unsolved’
- f’. ez az *amúgy egyáltalán nem meg-old-atlan* probléma
 this the *anyway not_at_all not perf-solve-Adj* problem
 ‘this problem which is, anyway, not unsolved at all’

As for the default order of attributive expressions, the following strong tendencies can be observed: (i) ‘objective’ is closer to the noun than ‘subjective’, so expressions referring to opinion precede expressions referring to different physical properties (750a-a’), (ii) ‘simplex’ is closer to the noun than ‘complex’, so participial expressions and adjectives with arguments precede adjectives without satellites (750c-c’,d-d’), (iii) individual-level expressions are closer to the noun head than stage-level ones (753a-b), (iv) participial premodifiers precede adjectival ones (753b). It goes beyond the scope of this volume to systematically discuss the instances of exceptions to these basic tendencies (but see (750d-d’) and (753b), for instance).

This subsection concludes with an overview of the prenominal expression of the six satellite types chosen to be tested in subsection 2.1.2 which proved to be adjunct-like (see Table 57 below). As can be seen below, these types can be expressed prenominally only in attributivized forms—attributivized in one or two of the following three ways: (i) appearing as part of a *való*-construction (just like prenominally expressed oblique case-marked or postpositional satellites of ÁS-nouns), (ii) appearing as part of a *lévő*-construction, and (iii) appearing in a construction either derived by means of the attributivizing derivational suffixes *-i* or *-(V)s* (cf. (752a,c)) or used “attributively” without the case suffix it bears when it appears postnominally (compare (754c’) below to (712d) in 2.1.2; see also (754c) below).

Való and *lévő* are, at least morphologically (see the relevant comments on (756a-a’) in 2.2.1.1.1.2), the present participial forms of *van* ‘be’ and its posterior counterpart *lesz* ‘will be’, respectively. Just as in the case of *lev-és* ‘(will_)be-ÁS’, which can regularly be derived from *lesz* as an ÁS-noun, and *lé-t* ‘(will_)be.T’, the

regular T-noun variant, the derivatives are not associated with the posterior meaning factor associated with the verb form *lesz* (see 1.3.1.2.3, sub I). Therefore, the glosses we provide contain no reference to the semantic factor ‘will’ (thus, *lévő* is glossed as ‘be.Ó’, just like *való*).

The series of examples presented in (754) below is organized as follows. It presents only five of the aforementioned six satellite types (the temporal adjunct of ÁS-nouns is investigated in a separate series of examples (755)). In the primeless examples in (754), it is tested whether the particular adjunct type can appear in a *való*-construction and/or in a *lévő*-construction. Note that there is no adjunct type acceptable in both constructions, but there are adjunct types acceptable in neither constructions. The primed examples, if any, present sufficiently acceptable constructions created by means of any of the aforementioned methods given in (iii).

There is only one example with a *való*-construction which is acceptable to a certain extent (‘?’), namely, the one illustrating the member type (754d), which shows a very slight degree of thematic argumenthood according to the external-scope test (see (716c) in 2.1.2.2) and the extraction test (see (732c) in 2.1.2.5). There are two fully acceptable examples with a *lévő*-construction (whilst in other examples the *lévő*-construction is definitely unacceptable): the two presenting the (non-temporal) locative (and not lative or ablative) adjuncts (754a,b). Note in passing that even such “metaphorically locative” adjuncts can readily appear in a *lévő*-construction as *köztünk* ‘between.1Pl’ in expressions like *a köztünk lévő konfliktus / viszony / különbség* ‘the conflict / relationship / difference between us’.

(754) ● Attributivized adjunct constructions

- a. a *másik fényképen lévő* / **való* lány
the other photo.Sup be.Ó / be.Ó girl
‘the girl in the other photo’
- b. a *csíkos pulóverben lévő* / **való* lány
the striped pullover.Ine be.Ó / be.Ó girl
‘the girl in the striped pullover’
- b’. a *csíkos pulóveres* lány
the striped pullover.Attr girl
‘the girl in the striped pullover’
- c. a *másik nemesfémből* *?*lévő* / **való* óra
the other precious_metal.Ela be.Ó / be.Ó watch
‘the watch made of the other precious metal’
- c’. a *színarany* / *[*másik nemesfém*] óra
the fine_gold.Ela / other precious_metal watch
‘the watch made of [fine gold] / [the other precious metal]’
- d. a *másik egyesületből* ?*való* / **lévő* lány
the other club.Ela be.Ó / be.Ó girl
‘the girl from the other sports club’
- d’. a *PVSK-s* lány
the PVSK-Attr girl
‘the girl from PVSK’

- d". a *kanadai* / PVSK-s /[?]FTC-s /[?]fradista lány
 the *Canada*.Adj / PVSK-Attr/ FTC-Attr/ Fradi.ist girl
 'the girl from Canada / PVSK / FTC / Fradi (FTC)'
- e. **az első napon való / lévő látogat-ás-od*
 the *first day*.Sup *be.ó* / *be.ó* visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg
 'your visit on the first day'
- e'. a(z) [?]*[első napi]* /[?]*keddi* /[?]*tegnapi* /[?]*holnapi* látogat-ás-od
 the *first day*.Adj/ *Tuesday*.Adj/ *yesterday*.Adj/ *tomorrow*.Adj perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.23Sg
 'your visit on [*the first day*] / *Tuesday* / *yesterday* / *tomorrow*'

Except for (754a), every primeless example has a primed counterpart, and they provide acceptable alternatives to *való-/lévő*-constructions.

Remark 22. A further strategy to express the content of the constructions tested in (754) is replacing *való/lévő* with the present (i,iii) or past (ii) participial form of some verb which is unavoidably somewhat more contentful than *be* but provides minimal (or practically no) additional information in the given context (such as *megjelenik* 'appear', *készül* 'be-made', *származik* 'originate').

- (i) a *másik fényképen megjelenő* lány
 the *other photo*.Sup *appearing* girl
 'the girl appearing in the other photo'
- (ii) a *másik nemesfémből készült* óra
 the *other precious metal*.Ela *made* watch
 'the watch made of the other precious metal'
- (iii) a *Kanadából származó* lány
 the *Canada*.Ela *originating* girl
 'the girl from Canada'

Although this strategy of capturing the meaning contribution due to dependents of nominal heads is an excellent means of translators, it is irrelevant to us in this subsection, since the resulting nominal constructions contain the constituents in question as dependents of participles whose phrases belong to the given nominal heads as attributives.

Expressions referring to wearing some kind of dress are compatible with prenominal attributive constructions derived by means of *-(V)s* ((754b^{*}); also see (752c^{*})), which is compatible with a subtype of expressions referring to membership, too (754d^{*}), while other subtypes of membership expressions require prenominal attributive constructions derived by means of *-i* (754d^{*}), unless there is such an irregularly derived blocking form as *fradista* 'Fradi.ist', for instance, also presented in (754d^{*}).

As is exemplified in (754c^{*}), a material name can be used "attributively" by omitting the case suffix it bears when it appears postnominally, but only if the given expression referring to the material is not a complex nominal construction but only a single material name, which can be regarded in Hungarian both as a noun ('gold') and as an adjective ('golden') (on material names, see also (749)). Note in passing that some speakers consider the *való*-construction in (754c) (and in simpler constructions) to be fairly acceptable; for them, therefore, the (754c) type patterns with the type presented in (754d).

As was pointed out by Laczkó (2000a: 316–318), satellites of SED-nouns (754e) are incompatible with matrix *való*-constructions if there are alternative ways

of expression available. Recall that this phenomenon is a reliable and highly efficient formal diagnostic for distinguishing ÁS-nouns from SED-nouns: the *való*-construction evokes the complex-event reading if (and only if) another construction is also available (see subsection 1.3.1.2.1). The above-mentioned alternative expressions are derived from nominal expressions (which are also temporal adverbs) by means of the attributivizing derivational suffix *-i*, as is illustrated in (754e') above. Nevertheless, note in passing that our mother-tongue intuition rejects the *való*-construction in (754e) in another way than the *lévő*-construction: the latter is categorically rejected straightaway while the former is rejected hesitatingly and somewhat dubiously, presumably due to the similarities between SED-nouns and ÁS-nouns. The differentiation of the two sorts of rejection raises methodological questions left to future research.

Satellites of ÁS-nouns, thus, including even different types of adjuncts, are readily compatible with matrix *való*-constructions, in contrast to *lévő*-constructions, as is illustrated here in (755a-a') below.

It must be noted, however, that such adverbial temporal expressions as *tegnap* 'yesterday' and *holnap* 'tomorrow', for instance, are not (readily) compatible immediately with a matrix *való*-construction (755b-b'). As is also illustrated in (755b-b'), in cases like these, *való* 'be.ó' must be replaced with the past / present participial form of the Hungarian equivalent of the verb *történik* 'happen' (see Laczkó 1995: 93–94). One might think that this phenomenon is due to the simultaneity, which forms an inherent part of the meaning of the input verb *van* 'be' (relative to the suppletive forms *volt* 'was' and *lesz* 'will be'). Such a semantic explanation, however, does not hold water, as is exemplified in (755c), in which the same meaning variants appear in fully acceptable *való*-constructions, too, but expressed not as adverbs but as (superessive case-marked) noun phrases.

The *-i*-constructions presented in (754e') above can also quite readily serve as matrix constructions for temporal satellites of ÁS-nouns, witnessed by the examples shown in (755c') below.

(755) ● Attributivized adjunct constructions II. On-line created deverbal nouns

- a. Ilinek *az első napon való / *lévő* meg-látogat-ás-a
 Ili.Dat the first day.Sup be.ó / be.ó perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 'visiting Ili on the first day'
- a'. Emlékszel Ilinek *a(z) Operaházban / [férje jelenlétében]*
 remember.2Sg Ili.Dat the Opera_House.Ine / husband.Poss.3Sg presence.Poss.3Sg.Ine
*való / *lévő* fel-pofoz-ás-á-ra?
 be.ó / be.ó up-slap-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Sub
 'Can you remember the time when Ili was slapped in the face [in the Opera House] / [in the presence of her husband].'
- b. Ilinek *a tegnap *[?]való / [?]történt* meg-látogat-ás-a
 Ili.Dat the yesterday be.ó / happen.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 'visiting Ili yesterday'
- b'. Ilinek *a holnap ^{??}való / [?]történő* meg-látogat-ás-a
 Ili.Dat the tomorrow be.ó / happen.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 'visiting Ili tomorrow'

- c. Ilinek *a tegnapi / holnapi napon való* meg-látogat-ás-a
 Ili.Dat *the yesterday.Adj / tomorrow.Adj day.Sup* *be.ő* perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 ‘visiting Ili *yesterday / tomorrow*’
- c’. Ilinek *a(z)[?][első napi] /[✓]keddi /[✓]tegnapi /[✓]holnapi* meg-látogat-ás-a
 Ili.Dat *the first day.Adj / Tuesday.Adj / yesterday.Adj / tomorrow.Adj* perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 ‘visiting Ili on [*the first day*] / *Tuesday / yesterday / tomorrow*’

Table 57 below summarizes the three potential ways of expressing the six selected essentially adjunctive satellite types as prenominal modifiers (together with the evocation of the characteristic results coming from the thematic-argumenthood indicating internal-scope test and the basically adjuncthood indicating test based on precopular predicative constructions, demonstrated in subsection 2.1.2.6).

Table 57: *Different ways of expressing six selected adjunct types as attributive premodifiers*

NOUN TYPE			INT-SC	VALÓ	LÉVŐ	PRED	ATTR
ÁS-N		<i>Temporal</i>	✓	✓	*	(?)	-i: ✓
mem-N	Ela		*?	?	*	(?)	-s: ✓
SED-N		<i>Temporal</i>	*?	*	*	✓	-i: ✓
—	Ela	Material	*	*	*?	✓	∅: ✓
—	Sup	Location	*	*	✓	✓	*
—	Ine	Dress	*	*	✓	✓	-s: ✓

The shading indicates the basic assumption according to which the *való*-construction and the *lévő*-construction essentially manifest the non-adjunctive character (white) and the adjunctive character (black) of the given satellite types, respectively, with the following four comments. First, ÁS-noun constructions are exceptional in that all their satellites are unequivocally “inherited” (see 2.1.2.6): their premodifying satellites accept *való*-constructions while reject *lévő*-constructions. Second, within the category of spatial adjuncts, the *lévő*-construction is compatible only with locative, and not with lative or ablative, adjuncts. Third, the relative case-marked satellite of nominal expressions referring to membership shows a certain (though undoubtedly very low) degree of thematic argumenthood (see the comment on (754d) above), which explains its fairly ready compatibility (“?”) with the *való*-construction. Fourth, the rightmost column (of ATTRibutivizing suffixes) is not “white” but is left unshaded; this column provides further ways of expressing the given satellite types as premodifiers in addition to the *való*-construction and the *lévő*-construction, about which, however, we do not claim that they are indicators of either argumenthood or adjuncthood.

2.2.1.1.1.2. Internal-scope taking in the case of adjunct-like attributive constructions

This subsection is devoted to the testing of the internal-scope taking potential of the six adjunct-like satellite types (whose different modes of attributive appearance are demonstrated in Table 57 in the previous subsection) in the same information-structural functions investigated in subsection 2.1.1.4 (in the case of certain argument types). Note that in subsection 2.1.2.1, the same adjunct types were tested

also as potential internal-scope takers in the postnominal zone. It must also be noted in advance that, from now on, of the competing attributive forms, generally only the most acceptable variants are shown (see Table 57, again, and the series of examples in (754-755) in the previous subsection), and this can vary from operator type to operator type. Note also that, in order to make only the internal-scope reading available (relevant to us in this subsection), the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4).

The first operator type to test is that of *mind*-quantifiers.

Our first observation is that, of the “competing” attributive forms, a *mind*-quantifier can *ab ovo* be compatible only either with a *való*-construction or with a *lévő*-construction, but never with expressions derived by means of the attributivizing derivational suffixes presented in (754b’,d’,e’) or by means of truncation, presented in (754c’), as is illustrated by the potential variant presented in (756d’). In the case of such satellite types, thus, which are readily hosted neither in a *lévő*- nor in a *való*-construction (754c,e), the corresponding *mind*-quantifiers cannot appear in acceptable attributive constructions, as is illustrated in (756c,f) below.

(756) ● Potential internal scopes of *mind*-quantifiers in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. ^{*?}Na például a [*mindkét fényképen lévő*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance the both photo.Sup be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [in both pictures], she is very pretty.’
- a’. Na például a [*mindkét fényképen ott lévő*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance the both photo.Sup there be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [in both pictures], she is very pretty.’
- b. ^{*?}Na például a [*mindkét csíkos pulóverben lévő*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance the both striped pullover.Ine be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [in both striped pullovers], she is very pretty.’
- c. ^{*?}Na például az a [*mindkét nemesfémről lévő*] óra,
 well for_instance that the both precious_metal.Ela be.ó watch
 az elveszett.
 that disappear.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, that watch [of both precious metals], it has disappeared.’
- d. ^{??}Na például az a [*mindkét egyesületből való*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance that the both club.Ela be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl [from both sports clubs], she is very pretty.’

- d'. *Na például az a [mindkét egyesületes] szőke lány,
 well for_instance that the both club.Attr blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *that blonde girl [from both sports clubs]*, she is very pretty.'
- e. Na például Ilinek a [mindkét napon való] meg-látogat-ás-a,
 well for_instance Ili.Dat the both day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 az túlzás volt.
 that exaggeration be.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, *visiting Ili [on both days]*, that was an exaggeration.'
- f. *Na például a [mindkét napi] látogatásod, az jól sikerült.
 well for_instance the both day.Attr visit.Poss.2Sg that well succeed.Past.3Sg

Of the six adjuncts tested, four cannot take internal scope: the superessive case-marked locative adjunct (756a), the inessive case-marked adjunct referring to some kind of dress (756b), the relative case-marked adjunct referring to some material (756c), and the temporal adjunct of a SED-noun (756f) (NB: in this subsection, there is no translation associated with unacceptable (f)-examples, because the operators concerned imply that potential intended meanings are typical either of rather complex-event denoting ÁS-noun constructions or of rather result denoting non-eventive Ás-noun constructions). The temporal adjunct of an ÁS-noun (756e), however, is an excellent internal-scope taker, obviously due to the fact that in the case of ÁS-noun constructions, even adjunct-like input satellites are undoubtedly inherited (see the relevant comments on Table 54 in 2.1.2.6). The relative case-marked satellite type expressing membership (756d) shows a very slight inclination for taking internal scope, presumably in connection with its similarly slight thematic argumenthood (see the relevant comments on Table 54 in 2.1.2.6).

All in all, the worst internal-scope takers (with slight differences indicated by the grammaticality judgments ‘*’ and ‘*?’ below) are the non-inherited, non-thematic-argument-like satellite types (see, again, the discussion of Table 54 in 2.1.2.6, and the similar grammaticality judgments presented in (714) in 2.1.2.1).

At this point, it is worth comparing the fully acceptable *lévő*-construction presented in (756a’) to the above-discussed unacceptable *lévő*-construction in (756a). The radical difference in acceptability can be attributed to the fact that the *lévő*-construction in (756a’) is a participial construction derived from a verbal construction with the *ott van* ‘there exist’ [verbal modifier + verb] unit in its center (and participial constructions have their own internal scope relations (see volume F)) while the *lévő*-constructions and *való*-constructions discussed in this subsection are not (necessarily to be construed as) participial constructions, but, rather, *lévő* and *való* should be regarded as attributivizing markers of two different satellite types within noun phrases, namely, adjunct-like and argument-like ones, respectively.

The second operator type to test is *csak*-focus.

Although the potential *csak*-focus constructions seem to basically pattern with the corresponding *mind*-quantifier constructions at first glance, there are significant differences between the two types of constructions, which yields a slight

improvement with respect to grammaticality judgments. This might partly be due to the less amount of accommodation required by *csak* ‘only’, compared to *mindkét* ‘both’ (NB: in order to interpret *csak* ‘only’ with respect to syntactic well-formedness, it is not necessary to know how many and what kinds of alternatives emerge). This slight difference leads to an evaluation according to which the three satellite types preferably appearing in *lévő*-constructions prove to be internal-scope takers, though undoubtedly very artificial, highly marked, and hence quite questionable and speaker-dependent ones (757a-c). Note that the same grammaticality judgments can be “reached” by producing adequate attributive-premodifier expressions derived by means of attributivizers (757b) or via truncation (757c). *Csak*-focus, thus, in contrast to *mind*-quantifier, is not *ab ovo* incompatible with these kinds of expressions.

(757) ● Potential internal scopes of *csak*-foci in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. ^{??}Na például a [*csak az első fényképen lévő*] *szőke lány*,
 well for_instance the only the first photo.Sup be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [who can be seen only in the first picture], she is very pretty.’
- b. ^{??}Na például a [*csak a csíkos pulóverben lévő*]/
 well for_instance the only the striped pullover.Ine be.ó /
 [*csak pulóveres*] *szőke lány*, ő nagyon csinos.
 only pullover.Attr blond girl (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [who wears only the striped pullover] / [who wears only a pullover], she is very pretty.’
- c. ^{??}Na például az a [*csak arany(ból lévő)*] óra, az gyönyörű.
 well for_instance that the only gold.(Ela be.ó) watch that beautiful
 ‘Well for instance, that watch [made only of gold], it is beautiful.’
- d. ^{??}Na például az a [*csak az egyik egyesületből való*] *szőke lány*,
 well for_instance that the only the one_of club.Ela be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl [who belongs to only one sports club], she is very pretty.’
- e. Na például *Ilinek a [*csak az egyik napon való*] meg-látogat-ás-a*,
 well for_instance Ili.Dat the only the one_of day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-As-Poss.3Sg
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, visiting Ili [only on one of the days], that was a mistake.’
- f. *Na például a [*csak keddi*] *látogatásod*, az jól sikerült.
 well for_instance the only Tuesday.Attr visit.Poss.2Sg that well succeed.Past.3Sg

As for the other three satellite types, their degrees of acceptability are the same as in the case of the corresponding *mind*-quantifier constructions. Namely, the “inherited” temporal adjunct (of an *ÁS*-noun) presented in (757e) is still an excellent internal-scope taker while the other temporal adjunct (that of a *SED*-noun) in (757f) is still not capable of taking internal scope. The satellite type presented in (757d) (in its *való*-construction) also “retains” its questionable status (“??”).

The negative focus constructions in the series of examples presented in (758) below tend to be much more acceptable than their *csak*-focus counterparts and *mind*-quantifier counterparts in the previous two series of examples (756-757). This partly might be due to the lesser amount of accommodation required by *nem* ‘not’, as compared to *csak* ‘only’ (NB: in order to interpret *nem* ‘not’ with respect to syntactic well-formedness, it is irrelevant how many and what kinds of alternatives emerge). It is much more important, however, that negative foci are definitely readily compatible with expressions derived by means of attributivizers (758b,d,f) or by means of truncation (758c). The “inherited” temporal adjunct (of an ÁS-noun) presented in (758e) is still an excellent internal-scope taker.

(758) ● Potential internal scopes of negative foci in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. ^{??}Na például a [*nem az első fényképen lévő*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance the not the first photo.Sup be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [who can be seen not in the first picture], she is very pretty.’
- b. Na például a [?][*nem a csíkos pulóverben lévő*] /
 well for_instance the not the striped pullover.Ine be.ó /
^(?)[*nem csíkos pulóveres*] szőke lány, ő nagyon csinos.
 not striped pullover.Attr blond girl (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [who wears not the striped pullover], she is very pretty.’
- c. Na például az a [*nem színarany*]^(?)([?]-ból lévő)]óra, az értéktelen.
 well for_instance that the not fine_gold (-Ela be.ó) watch that valueless
 ‘Well for instance, that watch [made not of fine gold], it is valueless.’
- d. Na például az a [?][*nem a PVSK-ból való*] /^(?)[*nem PVSK-s*]
 well for_instance that the not the PVSK-Ela be.ó / not PVSK-Attr
 szőke lány, ő nagyon csinos.
 blond girl (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl [who belongs not to PVSK], she is very pretty.’
- e. Na például *Ilinek* a [*nem az első napon való*] meg-látogat-ás-a,
 well for_instance Ili.Dat the not the first day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, visiting Ili [not on the first day], that was a mistake.’
- f. ^(?)Na például az a [*nem vasárnapi látogatásod*], az jól sikerült.
 well for_instance that the not Sunday.Attr visit.Poss.2Sg that well succeed.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, your visiting us [not on Tuesday], that was successful.’

A comparison between this series of examples in (758) and the one in (714) in subsection 2.1.2.1, in which the same six types of adjunct-like satellite types are tested postnominally, leads to the astonishing (theoretical) conclusion that even adjuncts can take noun-phrase-internal scope, on condition that they are “well embedded” in the prenominal modifier zone (NB: the postnominal appearance is not sufficient for taking internal interpretation).

Let us now turn to negative quantifiers (759). Such a temporal adjunct of an ÁS-noun can quite readily take internal scope (759e), as is expected on the basis of

what has been observed so far in this subsection. In comparison with the other five types of adjuncts, negative-quantifier constructions essentially pattern with (positive) *mind*-quantifier constructions (756) in providing no (convincingly) acceptable variants (as for the particular forms of the sentence variants tested in (759a-e). It should be noted that negative-quantifier constructions require the presence of the negative particle *nem* ‘not’, as was discussed in subsection 2.1.1.4.5). The not fully unacceptable status of the example in (759a) might be due to its high degree of similarity to such a participial *lévő*-construction as the one presented in (756a’).

(759) ● Potential internal scopes of negative quantifiers in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. ^{??}Na például az a [*semelyik fényképen nem lévő*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance that the none_of photo.Sup not be.ó blond girl
 ő a kiránduláson is nagyon csendes volt.
 (s)he the excursion.Sup also very quiet be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [who can be seen in none of the pictures], she was also very quiet during the excursion.’
- b. ^{*?}Na például az a [*semelyik pulóverben nem lévő*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance that the none_of pullover.Ine not be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl [who wears none of the pullovers], she is very pretty.’
- c. *Na például az a [*semelyik nemesfém(ből nem lévő)*] óra,
 well for_instance that the none_of precious_metal(Ela not be.ó) watch
 az értéktelen.
 that valueless
 ‘Well for instance, that watch [made of none of the precious metals], it is valueless.’
- d. *Na például az a [*semelyik egyesületből nem való*] szőke lány,
 well for_instance that the none_of club.Ela not be.ó blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl [who belongs to none of the clubs], she is very pretty.’
- e. ^(?)Na például *Ilinek a* [*semelyik napon való*] meg nem látogat-ás-a,
 well for_instance Ili.Dat the none_of day.Sup be.ó perf not visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, visiting Ili [on none of the days], that was a mistake.’
- f. *Na például az a [*semelyik napi*] látogatásod, az jól sikerült.
 well for_instance that the none_of day.Attr visit.Poss.2Sg that well succeed.Past.3Sg

As for the corresponding *is*-quantifier constructions, they are unequivocally incompatible with attributive premodifier positions, independently of their expression within a *lévő*-construction (760a), within a *való*-construction (760b), or within a phrase derived by means of an attributivizer (760d) or via truncation (760c). Note that a participial *lévő*-construction can readily host an *is*-quantifier, as is illustrated by the variant with *ott* ‘there’ in (760a) (see the relevant comment on (756a’) above). This difference, assuming that *is*-phrases are right-branching

expressions, may have to do with the following difference with respect to tolerating right branching: most operator positions in participial and other non-finite phrases pattern with the same operator positions belonging to the finite verb in tolerating right branching (see volume F; cf. M4) while the aforementioned attributivized constructions (which immediately belong to the head of the matrix noun phrase) do not, just like the unmarked possessor position (see (818) in 2.2.1.2.2.2).

(760) • Potential internal scopes of *is*-quantifiers in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. Na például [az első fényképen is ^{*(2)}(ott) lévő] szőke lány,
well for_instance the first photo.Sup also there be.ó blond girl
ő nagyon csinos.
(s)he very pretty
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, the blonde girl [who can be seen in the first picture, too], she is very pretty.'
- b. *Na például Ilinek a [kedden is való] meg-látogat-ás-a,
well for_instance Ili.Dat the Tuesday.Sup also be.ó perf-visit-AS-Poss.3Sg
az hiba volt.
that mistake be.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, visiting Ili [on Tuesday, too], that was a mistake.'
- c. *Na például az a [arany is] óra, az gyönyörű.
well for_instance that the gold also watch that beautiful
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, that watch [made partly of gold], that is beautiful.'
- d. *Na például a [keddi is] látogatásod, az jól sikerült.
well for_instance the Tuesday.Attr also visit.Poss.2Sg that well succeed.Past.3Sg

The last operator type to test is the type of *wh*-phrases. As was established in the comment on the series of examples in (710) in 2.1.1.4.6, noun-phrase-internal *wh*-phrase satellites categorically reject internal scope in Hungarian, independently of their expression within a *lévő*-construction (761a), within a *való*-construction (761b), or within a phrase derived by means of an attributivizer (761d) or via truncation (761c).

(761) • Potential internal scopes of *wh*-phrases in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. *Na például (azt) a [melyik fényképen lévő] szőke lányt,
well for_instance that.Acc the which photo.Sup be.ó blond girl.Acc
azt megkérdeztem.
that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg
- b. *Na például Ilinek a [melyik napon való] meg-látogat-ás-á-t,
well for_instance Ili.Dat the which day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-AS-Poss.3Sg-Acc
azt megkérdeztem.
that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, the question on which day Ili was visited, I asked that.'
- c. *Na például (azt) a [melyik nemesfém] órát, azt megkérdeztem.
well for_instance that.Acc the which precious_metal watch.Acc that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg

- d. *Na például a [melyik napi] látogatásodat, azt megkérdeztem.
 well for_instance the which day.Attr visit.Poss.2Sg.Acc that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg

To sum up, of the six adjunct-like satellite types, only the temporal adjunct of an ÁS-noun can be regarded as a good internal-scope taker (see the (e)-examples in the subsection), and, of the six operator types, only negative focus (758) has this property, as is demonstrated in Table 58 below, while attributive *is*-quantifiers and *wh*-phrases can never take internal scope, as is illustrated in (760-761). The former fact has to do with the “inherited” character of the given satellite type: during derivation, satellites are inherited together with scope, and during complex-event-related derivation, even adjunctive satellites are inherited. The latter fact has to do with the advantageous property of negative focus (and *csak*-focus) that it is compatible with matrix expressions derived by means of attributivizers or via truncation, in contrast to the two kinds of quantifiers (NB: in the case of *csak*-focus, only highly marked variants can be produced by derivation by means of attributivizers or via truncation). As for the second best internal-scope taker of the six adjunct-like satellite types, it is the elative case-marked argument of the expression referring to wearing a dress; this slight inclination for taking internal scope can be attributed this satellite type showing a slight degree of thematic argumenthood. The (probably surprising) status of the temporal satellite of a SED-noun as the worst internal-scope taker can be attributed to its incompatibility with both the *lévő*-construction and the *való*-construction (and to the problem of interpretation discussed in connection with example (756f)).

Table 58: Readiness of adjuncts of different types of nouns to take internal scope

NOUN TYPE			<i>nem</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>mind</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>wh</i>
ÁS-N		<i>Temporal</i>	✓	✓	✓	(?)	*	*
<i>mem</i> -N	Ela		(?)	??	??	*	*	*
—	Ine	Dress	(?)	??	*?	*?	*	*
—	Ela	Material	(?)	??	*?	*	*	*
—	Sup	Location	??	??	*?	??	*	*
SED-N		<i>Temporal</i>	(?)	*	*	*	*	*

Table 58 is worth comparing to the parts of Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 in which the same six basically adjunctive satellite types are characterized with respect to taking internal scope, postnominally there. It can be regarded as a slight but significant difference that constituents in prenominal attributive positions favor taking internal scope as compared to constituents in positions in the postnominal complement zone. This is presumably due to the interior positioning of attributives, which makes it unequivocal that the given adjuncts belong to the given noun phrase (while the same phrasal unity is practically unmarked in the case of postnominal adjuncts). Nevertheless, the fact that only one operator type provides unquestionable evidence for the existence of internal-scope taking (prenominal) adjuncts, while other operator types provide at most “highly marked or questionable” (“??”) grammaticality judgments, leads us to the conclusion that it requires much future research to decide whether adjuncts can uniformly be claimed to reject internal

scope (with sporadic counterexamples to be explained individually) or adjuncts can be claimed to behave in two different ways with respect to taking internal-scope depending on their noun-phrase-internal positions.

2.2.1.1.1.3. External-scope taking in the case of adjunct-like attributive constructions

This subsection is devoted to the testing of the external-scope taking potential of the six essentially adjunct-like satellite types (whose different modes of attributive appearance are demonstrated in Table 57 in 2.2.1.1.1.1) in the same information-structural functions investigated in subsection 2.1.1.4 (in the case of certain argument types). Note that in subsection 2.1.2.2, the same adjunct types were tested also as potential external-scope takers in the postnominal zone. Recall that, from the previous subsection on, generally only the most acceptable variants of the competing attributive forms are shown (see Table 57, again, and the series of examples in (754-755) in 2.2.1.1.1.1), which (i.e., the actually most acceptable variants) can vary from operator type to operator type. Note also that, in contrast to the previous subsection, the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are *not* placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4), in order to make the external-scope reading available (relevant for us in this subsection).

Before discussing the details, it is to be clarified how it can be guaranteed—and whether it can be guaranteed at all—in the example sentences that the given operator belongs to the noun head of the satellite type tested which is the intended potential external-scope taker, and not to the matrix noun head which the given satellite belongs to.

In the (a)-examples below, for instance, the positive quantifier-determiner *mindkét* ‘both’ can be regarded either as belonging to the elative case-marked satellite *pécsi klubból* ‘Pécs.Adj club.Ela’ (762a), which is the structure to be tested in this subsection, or as immediately belonging to the matrix noun head *lány* ‘girl’ (762a’), which is often more readily evocable but now irrelevant. As is demonstrated by the corresponding translations, there is a model-theoretically significant but often quite obscure and scarcely discernible difference between the two interpretations. The same kind of difference can be observed in the case of the *wh*-phrase *melyik* ‘which’ in the (b)-examples. It can either belong to the elative case-marked satellite *pécsi klubból* ‘Pécs.Adj club.Ela’ (762b) on the intended interpretation, or immediately belong to the matrix noun head *lány* ‘girl’ (762b’). In this case too, just as in the whole subsection, the translations are formulated in such a way that the model-theoretically precise interpretations should be meticulously explicit. It is also to be noted that variants of this example type referring to membership with an elative case-marked satellite can never reach a higher degree of acceptability than the “marked status” (‘?’), as is shown in Table 57 in 2.2.1.1.1.1 (see the ‘*mem-N*’ row; NB: the variant derived by means of the attributivizer *-(V)s* would provide variants with better grammaticality judgments, but such variants can be associated only with the non-intended meaning version presented in (762a’,b’), cf. the relevant comment on (756d’) in the previous subsection).

- (762) ● Where do the quantifier-determiner *mindkét* ‘both’ and the interrogative *-ik* determiner *melyik* ‘which’ belong to?
- a. ^{??}[[*Mindkét pécsi klubból*] *való*] *lány* *csinos* *volt*.
both Pécs.Adj club.Ela be.ó girl pretty be.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both Pécs clubs that both the girl coming from one Pécs club and the girl coming from the other Pécs club were pretty.’
- a’. [?]*Mindkét* [[*pécsi klubból való*] *lány*] *csinos* *volt*.
both Pécs.Adj club.Ela be.ó girl pretty be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Both girls [from a/the Pécs club] were pretty.’
- b. [?][[*Melyik pécsi klubból*] *való*] *lány* *volt* *csinos?*
which Pécs.Adj club.Ela be.ó girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
 ‘For which Pécs club does it hold that the girl coming from it was pretty?’
- b’. ^{??}*Melyik* [[*pécsi klubból való*] *lány*] *volt* *csinos?*
which Pécs.Adj club.Ela be.ó girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
 ‘For which girl of those coming from any Pécs club does it hold that she was pretty?’
- c. [?]*Mindkét pécsi klubból való lányok* *felbukkantak* *a* *partin*.
both Pécs.Adj club.Ela be.ó girl.Pl appear.Past.3Pl the party.Sup
[?]Meaning with “both Pécs clubs” (cf. (762a)): ‘It holds for both Pécs clubs that both girls coming from one Pécs club and girls coming from the other Pécs club appeared at the party.’
 *Intended meaning with “both girls” (cf. (762a’)): ‘Both girls [from any Pécs club] appeared at the party.’
- c’. ^{??}*Melyik pécsi klubból való lányt látogattál* *meg?*
which Pécs.Adj club.Ela be.ó girl.Acc visit.Past.2Sg perf
[?]Meaning with “which Pécs club” (cf. (762b)): ‘For which Pécs club does it hold that you paid a visit to a girl coming from it?’
 *Intended meaning with “which girl” (cf. (762b’)): ‘For which girl of those coming from a Pécs club does it hold that you paid a visit to her?’

There can be opposite preferences observed for the “competing” two meaning versions in the (a)- and the (b)-examples above (indicated by the different distributions of the grammaticality judgments ‘?’ and ‘??’). This difference suggests that the interrogative *-ik* determiner *melyik* ‘which’ can more readily be understood to belong to the noun head of the satellite (instead of to the matrix noun head) than the quantifier-determiner *mindkét* ‘both’.

As is presented in the (c)-examples above, it is also possible to create test constructions in which only the intended meaning can be evoked.

In the case of *mindkét* ‘both’, the fact that in Hungarian nouns do not have plural marking in the presence of a numeral ((1089) in 2.6.1.1.1) can be exploited: in (762c), the matrix noun head with plural marking (*lányok* ‘girl.PL’) cannot be understood as belonging to the quantifier-determiner, which, hence, can only belong to the noun head of the satellite (*klubból* ‘club.Ela’). Note that the matrix noun phrase is to be understood as a non-specific indefinite (plural) expression, in contrast to the definite expression (referring to a plural entity) presented in (762a). The difference between grammaticality judgments can be attributed exactly to this factor: the variant in (762a) is less acceptable (is practically on the verge of acceptability) due to the absence of an explicit definite article (NB: the *mind*-construction is scarcely suitable or definitely not suitable on a speaker-dependent

basis for encoding the definiteness of the matrix noun phrase; cf. Alexiadou's (2004) principle of D-visibility).

The test context presented in (762c') above is based on (in)definiteness. It is exploited that (i) in Hungarian, conjugation is sensitive to the (in)definiteness of the object (see Table 15 in 1.1.1.4.1), (ii) a noun phrase determined by the interrogative *-ik* determiner *melyik* 'which' is understood as definite. The variant presented in (762c') with the indefinite conjugation (*látogatál* 'visit.Past.2Sg'), thus, is to be understood unquestionably as one in which the interrogative *-ik* determiner *melyik* 'which' belongs to the relative case-marked noun head (*klubból* 'club.Ela') of the satellite. Nevertheless, in the series of examples presented in (765), this kind of test construction is not applied, because the potential test sentences would be one- or two-degree less acceptable due to the quite artificial co-occurrence of the grammatical factors required. In the test sentences proposed, the intended meaning is guaranteed by means of other factors, and it is always either the only one or at least the preferred one. In (765d), for instance, (i) the sequence of words *egyestől való lányok* 'club.Ela be.ó girl.Pl' cannot be understood as a self-contained attributive constituent, and (ii) an answer like *a legmagasabbak* 'the tallest.Pl' ('the tallest ones'), which would be an ideal answer to the non-intended version of *melyik* 'which' belonging to the matrix noun head *lányok* 'girls' is impossible, but such answers are ideal as *a PVSK-sok* 'the PVSK-Attr.Pl'.

With these theoretical and methodological questions clarified, let us now turn to the testing of the six adjunct-like satellite types as potential external-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers (763).

It is a convenient summary of the grammaticality judgments below that the grammaticality status is at most 'marked' ('?') but cannot exceed the grammaticality judgment given in Table 57 in 2.2.1.1.1 concerning the application of the *lévő*- or *való*-construction to the given satellite type. Recall that in the case of such satellite types which are (readily) hosted neither in a *lévő*- nor in a *való*-construction the corresponding *mind*-quantifiers cannot appear in acceptable attributive constructions (compare (763f,c) to (754e,c) in 2.2.1.1.1 and (756f,c) in 2.2.1.1.2).

(763) • External scopes of *mind*-quantifiers in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. [?][[*Mindkét fényképeden*] *lévő*] *lányok*
both photo.Poss.2Sg.Sup be.ó girl.Pl
felbukkannak az én fényképeimen is.
 appear.3Pl the I photo.Poss.Pl.1Sg.Sup also
 'It holds for both photos of yours that some girls appearing in either of them also appear in my photos.'
- b. [?][[*Mindkét pulóvertípusban*] *lévő*] *lányok* *felbukkantak a partin.*
both pullover.type.Ine be.ó girl.Pl appear.Past.3Pl the party.Sup
 'It holds for both pullover types that some girls wearing either of them appeared at the party.'
- c. [[*Mindkét nemesfém*([?]-ből*] *lévő*)] *órák* *felbukkantak az árverésen.*
both precious_metal(-Ela be.ó) watch.Pl appear.Past.3Pl the auction.Sup
 'It holds for both precious metals that watches made of either of them appeared at the auction.'

- d. [?][[*Mindkét egyesületből*] *való*] *lányok* felbukkantak a partin.
both club.Ela be.ó girl.Pl appear.Past.3PI the party.Sup
'It holds for both sports clubs that some girls belonging to either of them appeared at the party.'
- e. [?][[*Mindkét napon*] *való*] *meg-látogat-ás-od* hiba volt.
both day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-AS-Poss.2Sg mistake be.Past.3Sg
'In the case of [both days], visiting you on the given day was a mistake.' [probably for different reasons]
- f. ^{*?}[[*Mindkét év*]-*i*] *látogatásaitok* jól sikerültek.
both year-Attr visit.Poss.Pl.2Pl well succeed.Past.3PI
 Intended meaning: *'It holds for both years that your visits in either of them were successful.'*

A comparison between this series of examples in (763) and the one in (716) in subsection 2.1.2.2, in which the same six types of basically adjunct-like satellite types are tested postnominally, leads to the conclusion that even adjuncts can take external scope from noun-phrase-internal prenominal modifier positions, in contrast to postnominal positions (at least in the case of prototypical adjuncts).

As is exemplified in (764) below, the test sentences containing negative quantifiers can be characterized, with one exception (764e), by a one-degree worsening of acceptability as compared to those containing *mind*-quantifiers (763). This can be explained, on the one hand, by their patterning with each other in being incompatible with expressions derived by means of attributivizers or via truncation, and, on the other hand, by the “more difficult” semantics of negative quantifier.

(764) • External scopes of negative quantifiers in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. ^{??}[[*Semelyik fényképeden*] *lévő*] *lányok*
none_of photo.Poss.2Sg.Sup be.ó girl.Pl
nem bukkannak fel az én fényképeimen.
not appear.3PI up the I photo.Poss.Pl.1Sg.Sup
'It holds for none of your photos that any girls appearing in either of them appear in my photos.'
- b. ^{??}[[*Semelyik pulóvertípusban*] *lévő*] *lányok* nem bukkantak fel a partin.
none_of pullover.type.Ine be.ó girl.Pl not appear.Past.3PI up the party.Sup
'It holds for neither pullover types that any girls wearing either of them appeared at the party.'
- c. ^{??}[[*Semelyik nemesfém**([?]*-ből*)] *lévő*] *órák* nem bukkantak fel az árverésen.
none_of precious_metal(.Ela be.ó) watch.Pl not appear.Past.3PI up the auction.Sup
 Intended meaning: *'It holds for neither precious metals that any watches made of either of them appeared at the auction.'*
- d. ^{??}[[*Semelyik egyesületből*] *való*] *lányok* nem bukkantak fel a partin.
none_of club.Ela be.ó girl.Pl not appear.Past.3PI up the party.Sup
'It holds for none of the sports clubs that any girls belonging to either of them appeared at the party.'
- e. ^{*?}[[*Semelyik napon*] *való*] *meg-látogat-ás-od* nem volt hiba.
none_of day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-AS-Poss.2Sg not be.Past.3Sg mistake
'In the case of [neither days], visiting you on the given day was a mistake.' [probably for different reasons]
- f. ^{*?}[[*Semelyik év*]-*i*] *látogatásaitok* nem sikerültek jól.
none_of year-Attr visit.Poss.Pl.2Pl not succeed.Past.3PI well
 Intended meaning: *'It holds for neither years that any of your visits in either of them was successful.'*

The drastic difference between (764e) and (763e) can be attributed to the factor explicated in the relevant comments on (328) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI: an *ÁS*-noun construction refers to an abstract but definite singular entity, a particular complex event. By means of an expression containing *two*, like *mindkét* ‘all.two’ in (763e), we can immediately refer to two specific complex events—rendering the only available *ÁS*-noun interpretation more or less acceptable—instead of referring to a two-element set. The negative quantifier *semelyik* ‘none of’ in (764e), however, cannot be construed in any other way than as if it operated over event types, blocking the intended *ÁS*-noun-interpretation (*‘?’).

As regards the series of test examples containing *wh*-expressions (765), the *ÁS*-noun construction (765e) can also be characterized by a quite poor “score” (*‘?’), at least relative to the full acceptability otherwise typical of *ÁS*-noun constructions with potential scope taking satellites. The reason is the same as in the case of *semelyik* ‘none of’ above; nevertheless, hearing the sentence presented in (765e), it is not impossible to evoke particular complex events as happenings on particular days (cf. the comment on (764e) above).

Otherwise, each grammaticality judgment below reaches the corresponding grammaticality judgment given in Table 57 in 2.2.1.1.1.1 concerning the application of the *lévő*- or *való*-construction to the given satellite type. It is worth recalling again that in the case of such satellite types which are not (readily) hosted either in a *lévő*- or in a *való*-construction the corresponding *mind*-quantifiers cannot appear in acceptable attributive constructions (compare (765f,c) to (754e,c) in 2.2.1.1.1.1 and (756f,c) in 2.2.1.1.1.2).

(765) • External scopes of *wh*-phrases in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. *[[Melyik fényképeden] lévő] lányok*
which photo.Poss.2Sg.Sup be.ó girl.Pl
bukkannak fel az én fényképeimen is?
appear.3Pl up the I photo.Poss.Pl.1Sg.Sup also
‘For which of your photos does it hold that the/some girls appearing in it also appear in my photos?’
- b. *[[Milyen pulóverben] lévő] lányok bukkantak fel a partin?*
which pulloverIne be.ó girl.Pl appear.Past.3Pl up the party.Sup
‘For what kind of pullover does it hold that the/some girls wearing such pullovers appeared at the party?’
- c. *[[Melyik nemesfém*(^{??}-ből] lévő] órák bukkantak fel az árverésen?*
which precious_metal(-Ela be.ó) watch.Pl appear.Past.3Pl up the auction.Sup
‘For which precious metal does it hold that watches made of it appeared at the auction?’
- d. [?]*[[Melyik egyesületből] való] lányok bukkantak fel a partin?*
which club.Ela be.ó girl.Pl appear.Past.3Pl up the party.Sup
‘For which sports club does it hold that the/some girls belonging to the given sports club appeared at the party?’
- e. [?]*[[Melyik napon] való] meg-látogat-ás-od volt hiba?*
which day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
‘For which day does it hold that visiting you on the given day was a mistake?’

- f. ^{*)}[[*Melyik év*]-*i*] *látogatásaitok* sikerültek jól?
which year-Attr visit.Poss.Pl.2Pl succeed.Past.3Pl well

Intended meaning: ‘For which year does it hold that your visits in the given year were successful?’

These observations can lead us to the conclusion that even adjuncts can take external scope from noun-phrase-internal prenominal modifier positions, in contrast to postnominal positions, where no *wh*-phrases are hosted at all, with either internal or external scope (cf. subsection 2.1.1.4.6).

It can be established, as an interim summary, that attributive *wh*-phrase adjuncts significantly more readily take external scope than (positive or negative) quantifiers. We can draw the conclusion that while an interrogative *-ik* determiner is rather understood as belonging to the attributive satellite nearby, quantifier-determiners are rather understood as belonging to the (remote) matrix noun head.

As is illustrated in the “reduced” series of examples presented in (766) below, *is*-quantifiers cannot appear as external-scope taking attributive premodifiers, presumably for the reason provided in connection with the series of examples in (760) in the previous subsection, in which adjunct-like attributive premodifiers were tested as potential internal-scope takers: right branching is prohibited.

(766) • Potential internal scopes of *is*-quantifiers in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. *[*Az első fényképen is lévő*] *lányok* csinosak voltak.
the first photo.Sup also be.ó girl.Pl pretty.Pl be.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for the first picture and at least one further picture that the girls in the given pictures were pretty.’
- b. *[*A PVSK-ból is való*] *lányok* csinosak voltak.
the PVSK-Ela also be.ó girl.Pl pretty.Pl be.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for PVSK and at least one further sport club that the girls from the given sports clubs were pretty.’
- c. *[*A PVSK-s is*] *lányok* csinosak voltak.
the PVSK-Attr also girl.Pl pretty.Pl be.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for PVSK and at least one further sport club that the girls from the given sports clubs were pretty.’
- d. *[*Színarany is*] *órák* felbukkantak az árverésen.
fine_gold also watch.Pl appear.Past.3Pl the auction.Sup
 ‘It holds for fine gold and at least one further material that watches made of the given material appeared at the auction.’

It is only now that we turn to the two kinds of focus, because they are problematic with respect to “syntactic affiliation” in a way different from quantifier types (see the series of examples in (762) above). The examples presented in (767b-d) below for which the sequence of words in (767a) serves as a shared continuation is devoted to the illustration of this highly complex theoretical and methodological problem.

It is demonstrated in the (b)-examples in (767) by means of indefinite plural noun phrases that the focus-indicating particle *csak* ‘only’ can be regarded as belonging either to the inessive case-marked satellite *Adidasban* ‘Adidas.Ine’ (767b), which provides the intended interpretation, or holistically belonging to the

matrix noun phrase (767b'). As is demonstrated by the translations, here there is an inclusive relationship between the (individual) meaning associated with the former structure (see (767b), and compare it to (767b'.iii)) and the conglomerate of alternative meanings associated with the (underspecified) latter structure (see (767b'.i-iii)).

The definite singular noun phrases in the (c)-examples show a further aspect of the problem. If there is a definite article present, the focus-indicating particle *csak* 'only' can either follow it, appearing immediately left-adjacent to the inessive case-marked satellite (767c), or precede it, separated from the satellite by it (767c'). In the former case (767c), the single available reading is the one in which the satellite takes internal scope, as is presented in (767d) (see also (757b) in 2.2.1.1.1.2). In the latter case (767c'), the "holistic" *csak* permits several meanings, just as in (767b'). If there is no definite article present, which is a potential alternative also presented in (767c), the matrix noun phrase cannot be interpreted as definite anymore; instead of the intended meaning, the conglomerate of stress-dependent meanings is available presented in (767d'), which practically coincides with the meaning conglomerate presented in (767b'), since non-specific plural and bare singular forms of nouns have similar interpretive potentials in Hungarian (see Remark 6 in 1.1.2.2).

(767) ● Where does the particle *csak* 'only' belong?

- a. ... hívtam meg a partira.
invite.Past.1Sg perf the party.Sub
- b. *[[Csak Adidasban] lévő] lányokat...*
only Adidas.Ine be.ó girl.Pl.Acc
'It holds only for Adidas that I invited girls wearing this brand to the party.'
- b'. *Csak [Adidasban lévő lányokat]...*
only Adidas.Ine be.ó girl.Pl.Acc
'There are only certain kinds of people that I invited to the party, namely, girls wearing Adidas.' [(i) of arbitrary people, or (ii) of arbitrary girls, or (iii) of girls wearing different brands; NB: the last reading practically coincides with the reading given in (767b)]
- c. **(A) [[csak Adidasban] lévő] lányt...*
the only Adidas.Ine be.ó girl.Acc
Intended meaning: 'It holds only for Adidas that I invited the girl wearing this brand to the party.'
- c'. *Csak [az Adidasban lévő lányt]...*
only the Adidas.Ine be.ó girl.Acc
'There is only one person whom I invited to the party, namely, the girl wearing Adidas.' [(i) of arbitrary people, or (ii) of arbitrary girls, or (iii) of girls wearing different brands; NB: the last reading practically coincides with the reading given in (767c)]
- d. [?]A *[[csak Adidasban] lévő] lányt...*
the only Adidas.Ine be.ó girl.Acc
'I invited to the party the girl wearing nothing else but Adidas dresses'
- d'. *Csak Adidasban lévő lányt...*
only Adidas.Ine be.ó girl.Acc
Available meanings: the same as in (767b,b')

It would go beyond the scope of this theory-neutral book to attempt to capture the underlying syntactic differences of the sentences in (767) above with different

interpretations (or possibly the absence of syntactic differences). The only thing we should decide at this point is whether the six attributive adjuncts can function as external-scope taking *csak*-focus. The (iii)-interpretations in (767b',c') suggest a positive answer to this question, also given that the focus-indicating particle *csak* 'only' generally functions "holistically" in the sense that it attaches to a bigger constituent, inside which the "exhaustive identificational effect" of the Hungarian focus pertains to the stressed part with the unstressed parts to be interpreted as part of the presupposition.

What is described in the previous paragraph is illustrated in the series of examples in (768a-b) below, by means of simpler noun phrases with fully transparent structures. The focus-indicating particle *csak* 'only', left-adjacent to the noun phrase *Ili kék tolla* 'Ili's blue pen', can concentrate its peculiar identificational meaning contribution on the possessor *Ili* (768a), on the attributive adjective *kék* 'blue' (768a'), or, somewhat less readily, on the noun head *tolla* 'pen.Poss.3Sg' (768a''). The choice depends on which part is stressed. *Csak* can even function as a floating particle, as is exemplified in (768b): thus, even its occurrence in a position left-adjacent to the phrase inside which the focus feature is assigned to a part is not inevitably required (NB: the same three readings are available depending on which part of the noun phrase *Ili kék tolla* 'Ili's blue pen' is stressed, just as in (768a), though somewhat less readily than there).

(768) ● Meanings of constructions in the scope of *csak*-focus or negative focus

- depending on which particular element is stressed
- a. *Csak* [*ILI kék tolla*] veszett el.
only *Ili* *blue pen.Poss.3Sg* get_lost.Past.3Sg away
'Of the blue pens, it is only *ILI*'s that got lost.'
- a'. *Csak* [*Ili KÉK tolla*] veszett el.
only *Ili* *blue pen.Poss.3Sg* get_lost.Past.3Sg away
'Of *Ili*'s pens, it is only the *BLUE* one that got lost.'
- a''.[?] *Csak* [*Ili kék TOLLA*] veszett el.
only *Ili* *blue pen.Poss.3Sg* get_lost.Past.3Sg away
'Of *Ili*'s blue things, it is only the *PEN* that got lost.'
- b. *Ili kék tolla* veszett el *csak*.
Ili blue pen.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away only
Meanings: as in (a-a''), depending on stress pattern
- c. *Nem* [*ILI kék tolla*] veszett el.
not *Ili* *blue pen.Poss.3Sg* get_lost.Past.3Sg away
'Of the blue pens, it is not *ILI*'s that got lost.'
- c'. *Nem* [*Ili KÉK tolla*] veszett el.
not *Ili* *blue pen.Poss.3Sg* get_lost.Past.3Sg away
'Of *Ili*'s pens, it is not the *BLUE* one that got lost.'
- c''.[?] *Nem* [*Ili kék TOLLA*] veszett el.
not *Ili* *blue pen.Poss.3Sg* get_lost.Past.3Sg away
'Of *Ili*'s blue things, it is not the *PEN* that got lost.'
- d. **Ili kék tolla* veszett el *nem*.
Ili blue pen.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away not
Intended meanings: as in (c-c''), depending on the stress pattern

Negative focus patterns with *csak*-focus in that the negative particle *nem* ‘not’ can be attached to a bigger constituent with a proper part inside it focus-stressed, as is illustrated in (768c-c’’) above; the choice between the alternative readings also depends on the place of stress. It is also shown in (768d), for the sake of completeness, that *nem* ‘not’ cannot float in the way in which *csak* ‘only’ can.

All in all, in our theory-neutral approach, there is no reason for disqualifying the (767c’) type of syntactic structure and the structures presented in (769-770) below, in which *csak* ‘only’ and *nem* ‘not’ “holistically” belong to the matrix noun phrases containing the given satellites, since the intended meanings are always available if the given attributive adjuncts are stressed. Nevertheless, researchers working in different theoretical frameworks should feel free to interpret the status of the data in question in other ways, and hence constructing other points of view on the readiness of the types of foci to take external scope.

(769) ● External scopes of *csak*-foci in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. *Csak [az ELSŐ fényképen lévő lány] volt csinos.*
only the first photo.Sup be.ó girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
‘There is only one picture for which it holds that the girl in it was pretty, namely, the FIRST picture.’
- b. *Csak [a CSÍKOS pulóverben lévő lány] volt csinos.*
only the striped pullover.Ine be.ó girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
‘There is only one dress for which it holds that the girl who wears it was pretty, namely, the STRIPED pullover.’
- c. *Csak [SZÍNARANY^{??}-BÓL lévő] órák] bukkantak fel az árverésen.*
both fine_gold(-Ela be.ó) watch.Pl appear.Past.3Pl up the auction.Sup
‘There is only one material for which it holds that watches made of it appeared at the auction, namely, FINE GOLD.’
- d. [?]*Csak [a PVSK-ból való lány] volt csinos.*
only the PVSK-Ela be.ó girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
‘There is only one sports club for which it holds that the girl from it was pretty, namely, PVSK.’
- d’. *Csak [a PVSK-S lány] volt csinos.*
only the PVSK-Attr girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
‘There is only one sports club for which it holds that the girl from it was pretty, namely, PVSK.’
- e. *Csak [a KEDDI napon való meg-látogat-ás-od] volt hiba.*
only the Tuesday.Attr day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
‘There is only one day for which it holds that visiting you on that day was a mistake, namely, TUESDAY.’
- f. *Csak [a KEDD-I látogatásaid] sikerültek jól.*
only the Tuesday-Attr visit.Poss.Pl.2Sg succeed.Past.3Pl well
‘There is only one day for which it holds that your visits on that day were successful, namely, TUESDAY.’

As is exemplified in (769) above and in (770) below, all the six adjunct-like satellite types absolutely readily take external scope both as *csak*-foci and as negative foci. This is presumably due to (i) the freedom of the particles *csak* ‘only’ and *nem* ‘not’ in being permitted to attach not immediately to the scope taking satellite (while the given scope taking satellite is precisely indicated by stress), and (ii) the fact that *csak*-focus and negative focus are compatible with expressions derived by means of attributivizers or via truncation and not only with *lévő*- or *való*-constructions.

(770) • External scopes of negative foci in the case of adjunct-like attributive premodifiers

- a. *Nem [az ELSŐ fényképen lévő lány] volt csinos.*
not the first photo.Sup be.ó girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
'It is not the FIRST picture for which it holds that the girl in it was pretty.'
- b. *Nem [a CSÍKOS pulóverben] lévő] lány volt csinos.*
not the striped pullover.Ine be.ó girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
'It is not the STRIPED pullover for which it holds that the girl who wears it was pretty.'
- b'. *Nem [a CSÍKOS pulóver-es lány] volt csinos.*
not the striped pullover-Attr girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
'It is not the STRIPED pullover for which it holds that the girl who wears it was pretty.'
- c. *Nem [SZÍNARANY[?]-BÓL lévő] órák] bukkantak fel az árverésen.*
not fine_gold(-Ela be.ó) watch.Pl appear.Past.3Pl up the auction.Sup
'It is not FINE GOLD for which it holds that watches made of it appeared at the auction.'
- d. *Nem [a PVSK-S lány] volt csinos.*
not the PVSK-Attr girl be.Past.3Sg pretty
'It is not PVSK for which it holds that the girl from it was pretty.'
- e. *Nem [a KEDDI napon való meg-látogat-ás-od] volt hiba.*
not the Tuesday.Attr day.Sup be.ó perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
'It is not TUESDAY for which it holds that visiting you on that day was a mistake.'
- f. *Nem [a KEDD-I látogatásaid] sikerültek jól.*
not the Tuesday-Attr visit.Poss.Pl.2Sg succeed.Past.3Pl well
'It is not TUESDAY for which it holds that your visits on that day were successful.'

As the freedom in word-order position illustrated in (768), typical of the two types of foci (769-770), does not hold for the two kinds of quantifier-determiners and for *wh*-words (see (763-765)), which, moreover, are not compatible with expressions derived by means of attributivizers or via truncation, either, the former two are much better external-scope takers than the latter three. As is shown in Table 59 below, the two kinds of foci are definitely perfect external-scope takers while the two kinds of universal quantifiers and *wh*-phrases are (only) more or less ready external-scope takers, highly depending both on the operator type and on the satellite type (of the latter operator types, *wh*-phrases are definitely the best external-scope takers). *Is*-quantifiers as attributive adjunctive satellites can never take external scope.

Table 59: Readiness of adjuncts of different types of nouns to take external scope

NOUN TYPE			<i>nem</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>wh</i>	<i>mind</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>is</i>
—	Sup	Location	✓	✓	✓	?	??	*
—	Ine	Dress	✓	✓	✓	?	??	*
<i>mem-N</i>	Ela		✓	✓	?	?	??	*
<i>ÁS-N</i>		<i>Temporal</i>	✓	✓	?	?	*?	*
—	Ela	Material	✓	✓	??	??	*?	*
<i>SED-N</i>		<i>Temporal</i>	✓	✓	*?	*?	*?	*

Table 59 is worth comparing to Table 58 in the previous subsection and to the parts of Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 in which the same six adjunctive satellite types are characterized in terms of their different scope possibilities in the postnominal position.

The most salient tendency is that, with respect to “taking external scope prenominally”, it is precisely the most prototypical adjuncts (occupying the last two rows in Table 54) that now score the best, occupying the first two rows in Table 59, whilst they cannot take any kind of scope postnominally (Table 54) and can scarcely take internal scope prenominally (Table 58). Thus it is “taking external scope prenominally” that is the only capability of the four combinations (taking internal/external scope post-/prenominally) with respect to which it is not the inherited adjunct-like satellite of *AS*-nouns that scores significantly better than all the other five satellite types tested.

All in all, the attributive premodifier position is *ab ovo* definitely suitable for hosting satellites taking external scope, somewhat depending on the scope-creating operator types but essentially not depending on the adjunct- or argument-like character of the given satellites (see Table 62 in 2.2.1.1.2.3; NB: it is a slightly interfering factor that certain thematic arguments take internal scope more readily than external scope).

2.2.1.1.2. *Argument-like attributive constructions*

This subsection is divided into three subordinate subsections, of which the first one (2.2.1.1.2.1) discusses the ways of attributivization of the eleven argument-like non-possessor satellite types whose postnominal counterparts are listed in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6. The other two subsections are concerned with internal-scope taking (2.2.1.1.2.2) and external-scope taking (2.2.1.1.2.3) in the case of ten of these eleven satellite types (NB: one will be shown to have no prenominal counterpart, see (772c) in 2.2.1.1.2.1).

2.2.1.1.2.1. Form of argument-like attributive constructions

This subsection investigates whether certain basically argument-like non-possessor satellite types (see the corresponding rows in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6) can be hosted in the prenominal modifier zone in a *lévő*- or a *való*-construction or as an expression derived by means of some kind of attributivizer or via truncation. The satellite types are discussed in two groups, on the basis of their derived character (771) or non-derived character (772).

First of all, it can generally be established on the basis of the grammaticality judgments concerning the variants with *lévő*-constructions in the series of examples in (771-772) below that an argument-like non-possessor satellite of a noun can never appear in a *lévő*-construction hosted in the prenominal modifier zone of the noun. Compatibility with the *lévő*-construction, thus, is unequivocally an adjunctive property (cf. subsection 2.2.1.1.1.1). It can also be established that the incompatibility of the satellite types investigated in (771-772) with the *lévő*-construction corroborates their classification as stronger or weaker thematic arguments based on the tests presented in the subsection devoted to measuring argumenthood/adjuncthood (2.1.2).

As for derived nouns (771), non-possessor arguments of ÁS-nouns can readily appear in the prenominal modifier zone in a *való*-construction (771a-b) while those of other derived-noun types show quite a varied picture, as illustrated in (771c,d).

As was established in subsections 1.3.1.3.2.1 and 1.3.1.7, the *való*-construction is available for systematically carrying out the task of attributivization only in the case of event denoting complex-event(uality)-based derived-noun types (Laczkó 2000a: 377-379). These types are ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.1 and 1.3.1.2.2.1), T_{EV}-nouns (1.3.1.4.2.1), HATNÉK-nouns (1.3.1.5.2.1), and certain SÁG-nouns (see (523b) in 1.3.2.1.2.1). Participant-denoting Ó-noun and T_{TH}-noun constructions, for instance, categorically reject hosting *való*-constructions in their prenominal modifier zones (see (346d') and (347a') in 1.3.1.3.2.1, and (452b',c') in 1.3.1.4.2.1, respectively).

(771) ● Attributivized oblique case-marked argument constructions: I. Derived nouns

- a. Edének a *képpóásra való* / **lévő* fel-bérel-és-e
Ede.Dat the picture.steal.Sub be.ó / be.ó up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'hiring Ede to steal the picture'
- b. Ilinek a *dzsesszkoncertre való* / **lévő* meg-hív-ás-a
Ili.Dat the jazz_concert.Sub be.ó / be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'inviting Ili to the jazz concert'
- c. a *másik tantárgyból* ^{??}*való* / **lévő* vizsga
the other subject.Ela be.ó / be.ó exam
'the exam in the other subject'
- c'. ^(?)Sokáig tartott a *XX. század magyar történelme* vizsgám.
for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg the 20th century Hungarian history.Poss.3Sg exam.Poss.1Sg
'My exam in the 20th century Hungarian history took a long time.'
- c''. √[a *mondattanvizsga*] / *[a-*másik-tantárgy-vizsga*] / *[a *másik tantárgy vizsga*]
the syntax.examen / the-other-subject-examen / the other subject examen
'[the exam in syntax] / [the exam in the other subject] / [the exam in the other subject]'
- d. az *Alcatrazból való* / **lévő* szökés
the Alcatraz.Ela be.ó / be.ó escape
'the escape from Alcatraz'
- e. az *Edében* ^{*?}*való* / **lévő* bizalmad
the Ede.Ine be.ó / be.ó trust.Poss.2Sg
'your trust in Ede'
- e'. az *Ede iránt* ^{*?}*való* / **lévő* bizalmad
the Ede towards be.ó / be.ó trust.Poss.2Sg
'your trust in Ede'
- e''. az *Ede iránt-i* bizalmad
the Ede towards-Attr trust.Poss.2Sg
'your trust in Ede'

As for SED-nouns, they can be claimed to readily accept *való*-constructions, but only on condition that there is no alternative form of expression for the given argument (771d).

As is shown in the (c)-examples above, for instance, in the case of the relative case-marked satellite of the (irregularly derived) SED-noun *vizsga* 'exam', using an alternative form derived via truncation is preferred (compare the grammaticality judgment '(?)' in (771c') to the '??' in (771c)). Note in passing that if the given

satellite is expressed as a single word, the truncation results in a (fully acceptable) compound (*mondattanvizsga* ‘syntax.exam’), but if it is a specially determined expression (e.g., *a másik tantárgy* ‘the other subject’), neither a compound nor an attributive construction can be formed via truncation (771c”). In this latter case, only the highly marked *való*-construction remains as a solution for attributivizing the relative case-marked argument in question (cf. the analogous phenomenon illustrated in (763c) in 2.2.1.1.1.3; see also (749) in 2.2.1.1.1.1, on the two-faced—compound/premodifier—behavior of material names.

The specialty of the SED-noun type investigated in the (e)-examples above is that there is an oblique-case-marked satellite in the input construction (*bízik valakiben* ‘trust someone.Ine’) whose marking is not retained in the course of derivation (771e) but replaced with a postposition (see *iránt* ‘towards’ in (771e’-e”); cf. (670b’) in 2.1.1.2.2 and (524c-c’) in 1.3.2.1.2.1). Since postpositions can be attributivized by means of the derivational suffix *-i*, yielding such fully acceptable constructions as the one presented in (771e”), the existence of the alternative implies, as was claimed above for SED-nouns, that both potential *való*-constructions (771e-e’) are unavailable or at least highly dispreferred. This is in harmony with the spirit of Laczkó’s (2000a: 316–318) [postposition+*való*] test, by which homophonous ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns can be distinguished on the basis of the fact that if there is an alternative to the *való*-construction, the *való*-construction triggers the ÁS-noun reading (see (219) in 1.3.1.2.1).

It must be noted for the sake of completeness that, of eventuality-type-related derived-noun types, only event-denoting SED-noun and HATNÉK_{SED}-noun constructions (see Table 31/II in 1.3.1.5.1) are compatible with *való*-constructions (but only if the condition discussed above is satisfied), while in the case of participant-denoting TPD-noun constructions, this question of compatibility does not arise at all, since these nouns do not inherit fully fledged arguments from input verbs (see 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub IV).

Let us now turn to the attributive expression of non-possessor oblique-case-marked arguments of non-derived nouns, that is, *story/picture* nouns (772a-c), *fight/game* nouns (772d-e), and relational nouns (772f-f”).

Constructions of all these three kinds of non-derived nouns, with one exception (772c), can be observed to pattern with SED-nouns (771c-e”) in being more or less compatible (‘?’/’??’) with the *való*-construction but only on condition that there is no alternative form of expression for the given argument, derived by means of an attributivizer or via truncation, for instance. Particularly, the two primed examples show that the postpositional argument of *fight/game* nouns (772d’) and the superessive case-marked argument of relational nouns (772f”) are preferably to be expressed by *i*-constructions in the prenominal modifier zone, “suppressing” (‘*?’) the corresponding potential *való*-constructions.

(772) ● Attributivized oblique case-marked argument constructions: II. *Story/picture* nouns, *fight/game* nouns and relational nouns

- a. a *kedvenc külpolitikai szakértődtől* ^{??}*való*/**lévő* cikk
the favorite foreign_policy.Adj expert.Poss.2Sg.Abl be.ó / be.ó paper
‘the paper written by your favorite expert in foreign policy’

- b. *a két döntősről* [?]*való* / **lévő* cikk
 the two finalist.Del be.ó / be.ó paper
 ‘the paper about the two finalists’
- c. **a fiatalabb korosztálynak* *való* / *lévő* cikk
 the young.Comp age_group.Dat be.ó / be.ó paper
 Intended meaning: ‘the paper written or published for the younger age group’
 The slightly different available meaning exclusively with *való*, by which the intended meaning is claimed to be “suppressed”: ‘the paper which I consider to be good for the younger age group’
- d. *a Fradi ellen* ^{*?}*való* / **lévő* meccs
 the Fradi against be.ó / be.ó match
 ‘the match against Fradi’
- d’. *a Fradi ellen-i* meccs
 the Fradi against-Attr match
 ‘the match against Fradi’
- e. *a Lombardi trófeáért* ^{??}*való* / **lévő* meccs
 the Lombardi trophy.Cau be.ó / be.ó match
 ‘the match for the Lombardi trophy’
- f. *Ilinek az anyai ágon* ^{*?}*való* / **lévő* harmad-unokatestvére
 Ili.Dat the mother.Adj branch.Sup be.ó / be.ó third-cousin.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Ili’s third cousin on her mother’s side’
- f’. ^(?)*Ilinek az anyai ág-i* harmad-unokatestvére
 Ili.Dat the mother.Adj branch.-Attr third-cousin.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Ili’s third cousin on her mother’s side’

As for the above-mentioned exceptional satellite type in (772c) above, its exceptional status cannot be observed at first glance at all: the noun phrase presented can be associated with some meaning, which is also given above and is only very slightly different from the intended meaning. This is constructed on the basis of the assumption that the three arguments of *story* nouns are the PARTICIPANTS in the underlying abstract argument structure [(*something*) is created by an AGENT about a THEME for a BENEFICIARY]. The available meaning is based on an obviously historically related homophonous alternative of *való*, which is an adjective with several different argument types, as is demonstrated in (773) below. The presence of the copula in the past tense (*volt* ‘be.Past.3Sg’) in (773a,b) serves as evidence for this categorial classification (see the comments on (141c’-c”) in 1.1.3.3).

(773) ● *Való* as an adjective: its predicative and attributive use

- a. *Ez a könyv noked* *való* (volt).
 this the book Dat.2Sg good_for be.Past.3Sg
 ‘This book is/was good for you.’
- a’. *Találtam egy noked* *való* könyvet.
 find.Past.1Sg an Dat.2Sg good_for book.Acc
 ‘I found a book which I consider to be good for you.’
- b. *Ez a fiú tanárnak / hozzád / közénk* *való* (volt).
 this the boy teacher.Dat / All.2Sg / among.1Pl good_for be.Past.3Sg
 ‘This boy [can/could make a good teacher] / [is/was good for you (as a partner)] / [is/was good for us (as a member of our team)].’

- b'. Találkoztam egy *tanárnak* / *hozzád* / *közénk* *való* fiúval.
 meet.Past.1Sg a *teacher.Dat* / *All.2Sg* / *among.1Pl* *good_for* boy.Ins
 'I met a boy who [*can make a good teacher*] / [*is good for you (as a partner)*] / [*is good for us (as a member of our team)*].'

Thus, in the available reading of (772c), what looks like a *való*-construction is in fact an attributively used adjective with its dative case-marked argument (cf. (773a-a')). As for the intended meaning in (772c), therefore, the very similar fully acceptable interpretation presumably entirely suppresses it, implying that the dative case-marked Beneficiary argument of *story/picture* nouns simply cannot be expressed, and hence cannot be tested, as an attributivized satellite type in the prenominal modifier zone. That is why this satellite type is marked as 'disqualified' (by crossing it out) in Table 60 below and will not be involved in the investigation in the following two subsections concerning the readiness of argument types to take internal and external scope.

Let us then turn to the table, based on the corresponding rows in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6, which summarizes our observations in this subsection concerning which argument-like non-possessor satellite types can be hosted in the prenominal modifier zone, and to what extent, in *lévő*- and in *való*-constructions or as an expression derived by means of some kind of attributivizer or truncation.

We may be led to the following complex generalization: in the prenominal modifier zone of the noun, (i) the argument-like non-possessor satellite of the noun can never appear in a *lévő*-construction but (ii.a) it can always appear in a *való*-construction in the case of satellites of *ÁS*-nouns, and, otherwise, (ii.b) it can appear in a *való*-construction if, and only if, there is no alternative form of expression for the given argument (derived by means of an attributivizer or via truncation). As for the acceptability of the given satellite types in the prenominal modifier zone, it correlates with the degree of their thematic argumenthood as has been determined by the internal-scope test in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 (repeated here in Table 60 in the 'INT-SC' column) as follows: (i) in the case of satellites of *ÁS*-nouns (see rows 1 and 2 in the table below), the *való*-construction is fully acceptable, in harmony with the maximal thematic argumenthood of such arguments, (ii) in the case of satellites of *SED*-nouns, the *való*-construction is also fully acceptable but only if it has no alternative (see row 3), (iii) in the case of satellites of non-derived nouns, if the *való*-construction has no alternative, its acceptability tends to be equal to the degree of argumenthood (see rows 8, 10, 11), (iv) the acceptability of an alternative attributive expression derived by means of attributivizers or truncation, if any, exceeds (see rows 4, 5, 7), or at least reaches (see row 6), the corresponding degree of argumenthood.

Table 60: *Different ways of expressing eleven selected argument types as attributive premodifiers*

	NOUN TYPE			INT-SC	VALÓ	ATTR	LÉVŐ
1	ÁS-N	Sub	<i>Goal_{st}</i>	✓	✓	-	*
2	ÁS-N	Sub _{AdvP}	<i>Goal_{loc}</i>	✓	✓	-	*
3	SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	<i>Source</i>	?	✓	-	*
4	SED-N	Ela	<i>Theme</i>	?	??	∅: (?)	*
5	SED-N	towards	Theme	?	*?	-i: ✓	*
6	rel-N	Sup		?	*?	-i: (?)	*
7	<i>f/g</i> -N	against	Co-Ag.	?	*?	-i: ✓	*
8	<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	?	?	-	*
9	<i>s/p</i> -N	Dat	Benef.	?	*	-	*
10	<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	Agent	??	??	-	*
11	<i>f/g</i> -N	Cau	Goal	??	??	-	*

2.2.1.1.2.2. Internal-scope taking in the case of argument-like attributive constructions

This subsection is devoted to the testing of the internal-scope taking potential of the ten non-possessor argument types listed in Table 60 in the previous subsection, which also demonstrates their different attributive appearances, in the same six information-structural functions investigated in the postnominal complement zone in subsection 2.1.1.4, for half of the argument types. Note that in subsection 2.1.2.1, the other five argument types were also tested as potential internal-scope takers in the postnominal complement zone. It must also be noted in advance that, from now on, of the competing attributive forms, generally only the most acceptable variants are shown (see Table 60, again, and the series of examples in (771-772) in the previous subsection), which can vary from operator type to operator type. Note also that, in order to make only the internal-scope reading available (relevant to us in this subsection), the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4).

The first operator type to test is the *mind*-quantifier.

It can be observed that the (non-possessor) argument types of ÁS-nouns, hosted in *való*-constructions, are perfect internal-scope takers (774a-b) while argument types of SED-nouns somewhat less readily (‘?’) take internal scope (774c-e), in harmony with their lower degree of thematic argumenthood (see rows 3-5 in Table 60), which has been claimed in connection with Table 60 to stand in a strong positive correlation with their inclination for accepting the *való*-construction.

(774) • Internal-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone:

- I. Derived nouns
- a. Na például *Edének a [mindkét munkára való] fel-bérel-és-e,*
 well for_instance *Ede.Dat the both work.Sub be.ó up-hire-AS-Poss.3Sg*
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *hiring Ede [for both jobs], that was a mistake.*’
- b. Na például *a [mindkét koncertre való] meg-hív-ás-od,*
 well for_instance *the both concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-AS-Poss.2Sg*
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *inviting you [to both concerts], that was a mistake.*’
- c. [?]Na például *a [mindkét tantárgyból való] záróvizsga,*
 well for_instance *the both subject.Ela be.ó final_exam*
 az sokáig tartott.
 that for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the final exam [in both subjects], that took a long time.*’
- d. [?]Na például *a [mindkét csapdából való] szökés,*
 well for_instance *the both trap.Ela be.ó escape*
 az kevés kísérleti egerünknek sikerül.
 that a_few experimental mouse.Poss.1Pl.Dat succeed.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the escape [from both traps], few of our experimental mice can perform that successfully.*’
- e. [?]Na például *a [mindkét fiam iránti] bizalmad,*
 well for_instance *the both son.Poss.1Sg towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg*
 az nagyon megható.
 that very touching
 ‘Well for instance, *your trust [in both of my sons], that is very touching.*’

Nevertheless, this uniform marked status of arguments of SED-nouns is partly due to two accidental factors, which are related to the argument types not sufficiently compatible with the *való*-construction, namely, to those presented in (774c) and (774e) above (see rows 4 and 5 in Table 60). Note that the problem is analogous to that of the adjunct types shown in (756c) and (756f) in subsection 2.2.1.1.1.2, where the same kinds of quantifier constructions were not compatible with the same kinds of expressions derived by means of attributivizers or truncation. The “solution” in the case of both (774c) and (774e), however, is different from the “solution” in the case of (756c) and (756f), *viz.*, unacceptable attributive variants. Let us review the details.

The relative case-marked argument of the SED-noun *vizsga* ‘exam’ is *ab ovo* scarcely compatible (‘??’) with the *való*-construction according to Table 60 (row 4), but the fact that quantifiers are not compatible with attributive expressions derived via truncation turns out to improve the *való*-construction as the single alternative that remains available, see (774c).

As for the postpositional argument of the SED-noun *bizalom* ‘trust’, it is capable of appearing in a fairly acceptable *i*-construction (‘?’), as is shown in (774e) above, in contrast to the unacceptable *i*-construction *mindkét napi* ‘both day.Attr’ in (756f). The radical difference in acceptability can be attributed to the following

difference between the two *i*-constructions. In the expression *mindkét napi* ‘both day.Attr’, the attributivizer *-i* immediately attaches to the noun that the quantifier-determiner belongs to; in the sequence of words, thus, *mindkét* ‘both’ should ultimately belong to the adjective-like word *napi* ‘day.Attr’, which is unacceptable. In the (774e) construction, however, with the attributivizer *-i* attached to a postposition, *mindkét* ‘both’ belongs to an intact noun (*fiam* ‘son.Poss.1Sg’), providing a sufficiently acceptable (‘?’) *i*-construction.

Let us now turn to non-possessor arguments of non-derived nouns. For the same reason as in the case of derived nouns, the [postposition + *i*]-construction, where available (see row 7 in Table 60), is quite acceptable (‘?’), as is shown in (775b) below. In (775c), the other kind of *i*-construction appears, which is not fully unacceptable in spite of the fact that its structure is similar to the construction *mindkét napi* ‘both day.Attr’, for unknown reasons. As for *való*-constructions, they are highly marked (775a,b’). Thus, as can be expected, (weak thematic) arguments of non-derived nouns as quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone tend to be one-degree less ready internal-scope takers than those of SED-nouns, with slight differences between coarguments (compare the two argument types presented in (775a), and the arguments presented in (775b) and (775b’)).

(775) ● Internal-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone:

- II. Non-derived nouns
- a. Na például az a [*mindkét* ^{*?}*szakértőtől*_{Agent} / [?]*döntősről*_{Theme} *való*]
 well for_instance that the both expert.Abl / finalist.Del be.ó
cikk, az nagyon tetszik.
 paper that very.much please.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, that paper [by both experts] / [about both finalists], I like that very much.’
- b. [?]Na például az a [*mindkét* *fiam* *elleni*] *meccs*,
 well for_instance that the both son.Poss.1Sg against.Attr match
 az vicces volt.
 that funny be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, that match [in which I played against both of my sons], that was funny.’
- b’.^{??}Na például az a [*mindkét* *tróféáért* *való*] *meccs*,
 well for_instance that the both trophy.Cau be.ó match
 az érdekes volt.
 that interesting be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, that match [which was played for both trophies (at the same time)], that was interesting.’
- c. ^{??}Na például Péter [*mindkét* *ági*] *harmad-unokatestvér-ei*,
 well for_instance Péter both side.Attr third-cousin-Poss.PL3Sg
 ők nagyon kedvesek.
 they very nice.PL
 ‘Well for instance, Péter’s third cousins [on both parents’ sides], they are very nice.’

The following four series of examples suggest that the two kinds of foci are not significantly different from *mind*-quantifiers with respect to inclination for taking internal scope in the prenominal modifier zone. The differences in acceptability (on the basis of which *csak*-foci and negative foci can be claimed to score somewhat worse and somewhat better than *mind*-quantifiers, respectively) are very slight and

can be attributed to accidental (pragmatico-semantic) differences rather than to any kinds of relevant syntactic (or morphological) differences.

(776) ● Internal-scope taking *csak*-foci in the prenominal modifier zone: I. Derived nouns

- a. Na például *Edének a [csak a képlopásra való] fel-bérel-és-e,*
 well for_instance *Ede.Dat the only the picture.steal.Sub be.ó up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *hiring Ede [only to steal the picture], that was a mistake.*’
- b. Na például *Edének a [csak a rockkoncertre való] meg-hív-ás-a,*
 well for_instance *Ede.Dat the only the rock_concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *inviting Ede [only to the rock concert], that was a mistake.*’
- c. ^{??}Na például *a [csak mondattanból való] záróvizsga,*
 well for_instance *the only syntax.Ela be.ó final_exam*
az rövid ideig tartott.
 that short time.Ter last.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the final exam [the only subject of which was syntax], that took a little time.*’
- d. [?]Na például *a [csak az első csapdából való] szökés,*
 well for_instance *the only the first trap.Ela be.ó escape*
az sok kísérleti egerünknek sikerül.
 that many experimental mouse.Poss.1Pl.Dat succeed.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the escape [only from the first trap], many of our experimental mice can perform that successfully.*’
- e. ^{??}Na például *a [csak a fiam iránti] bizalmad,*
 well for_instance *the only the son.Poss.1Sg towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg*
az rosszul esik.
 that badly fall.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your trust [only in my son], that hurts me.*’

Csak-foci, thus, pattern with *mind*-quantifiers both in permitting more or less acceptable *i*-constructions where available, instead of *való*-constructions (see (776e) and (777b,c)) and in the tendency that the corresponding *való*-constructions are fully acceptable in the case of arguments of ÁS-nouns (776a,b), more or less marked in the case of arguments of SED-nouns (776c,d), and even less acceptable in the case of arguments of non-derived nouns (777a,b’).

(777) ● Internal-scope taking *csak*-foci in the prenominal modifier zone: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. Na például *az a [csak a *szakértőtől_{Agent} / *^{gy}őztesről_{Theme} való]*
 well for_instance *that the only the expert.Abl / winner.Del be.ó*
cikk, az nagyon tetszik.
paper that very.much please.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *that paper [written only by the expert] / [the only topic of which is the winner], I like that very much.*’

- b. ^{??}Na például az a [csak az egyik fiam elleni] meccs,
 well for_instance that the only the one_of son.Poss.1Sg against.Attr match
 az vicces volt.
 that funny be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *that match [in which I played against only one of my sons]*, that was funny.’
- b'. ^{??}Na például az a [csak az egyik tróféáért való] meccs,
 well for_instance that the only the one_of trophy.Cau be.ó match
 az érdekes volt.
 that interesting be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *that match [which was played only for one of the trophies]*, that was interesting.’
- c. [?]Na például Péter [csak anyai ági] harmad-unokatestvér-ei,
 well for_instance Péter only mother.Adj side.Attr third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ők nagyon kedvesek.
 they very nice.Pl
 ‘Well for instance, *Péter’s third cousins [only on his mother’s side]*, they are very nice.’

Negative foci also pattern with *mind*-quantifiers in permitting more or less acceptable *i*-constructions where available, instead of *való*-constructions (see (778e) and (779b,c)).

(778) ● Internal-scope taking negative foci in the prenominal modifier zone: I. Derived nouns

- a. Na például Edének a [nem a képlopásra való] fel-bérel-és-e,
 well for_instance Ede.Dat the not the picture.steal.Sub be.ó up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *hiring Ede [for a job other than stealing the picture]*, that was a mistake.’
- b. Na például Edének a [nem a rockkoncertre való] meg-hív-ás-a,
 well for_instance Ede.Dat the not the rock_concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *inviting Ede [not to the rock concert]*, that was a mistake.’
- c. [?]Na például a [nem mondatból való] záróvizsga,
 well for_instance the not syntax.Ela be.ó final_exam
 az sokáig tartott.
 that for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the final exam [the subject of which was not syntax]*, that was successful.’
- d. [?]Na például a [nem az Alcatrazból való] szökés,
 well for_instance the not the Alcatraz.Ela be.ó escape
 az sokaknak sikerül.
 that many_people.Pl.Dat succeed.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *the escape [not from Alcatraz]*, many succeed in that.’
- e. ^{??}Na például a [nem a fiad iránti] bizalmad,
 well for_instance the not the son.Poss.2Sg towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg
 az meglep.
 that surprise.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *your trust [not in your son]*, that surprises me.’

It can also be observed that the corresponding *való*-constructions are fully acceptable in the case of arguments of ÁS-nouns (778a,b), more or less marked in the case of arguments of SED-nouns (778c,d), and even less acceptable in the case of arguments of non-derived nouns (779a,b'). Nevertheless, it must be noted that the grammaticality judgments highly depend on whether certain most specific pieces of presuppositional information are at the hearer's disposal (NB: most sentences in question are unacceptable out of the blue).

(779) ● Internal-scope taking negative foci in the prenominal modifier zone: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. Na például az a [nem a ^{??}szakértőtől_{Agent} / ^{??}győztesről_{Theme} való] cikk, az nagyon tetszik.
well for_instance that the not the expert.Abl / winner.Del be.ó
paper that very.much please.3Sg

'Well for instance, *that paper [written not by the expert] / [the topic of which is not the winner]*, I like that very much.'

- b. ^{??}Na például az a [nem a Fradi elleni] meccs, az könnyű volt.
well for_instance that the not the Fradi against.Attr match
that easy be.Past.3Sg

'Well for instance, *that match [not against Fradi]*, that was easy.'

- b'. ^{??}Na például az a [nem a Lombardi tróféáért való] meccs, az könnyű volt.
well for_instance that the not the Lombardi trophy.Cau be.ó match
that easy be.Past.3Sg

'Well for instance, *that match [for not the Lombardi trophy]*, that was easy.'

- c. ^(?)Na például Péter [nem anyai ági] harmad-unokatestvér-ei, ők nagyon kedvesek.
well for_instance Péter not mother.Adj side.Attr third-cousin-Poss.Pl.3Sg
they very nice.Pl

'Well for instance, *Péter's third cousins [not on his mother's side]*, they are very nice.'

As for negative quantifiers as potential internal-scope taking attributive premodifiers, only a reduced series of examples is devoted to them, because the same holds for them as for negative quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone (see the comments on (708) in subsection 2.1.1.4.5): only ÁS-noun constructions can host the negative particle whose appearance inevitably comes with negative quantifiers. The sentences presented in (780a-b) below serve as positive examples while the unacceptable variants in (780c-e) as negative examples.

(780) ● Internal-scope taking negative quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone:

I. Derived nouns

- a. Na például Edének a [semelyik munkára való] fel nem bérel-és-e, az hiba volt.
well for_instance Ede.Dat the none_of work.Sub be.ó up not hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
that mistake be.Past.3Sg

'Well for instance, *hiring Ede [for none of the jobs]*, that was a mistake.'

- b. Na például *Edének a [semelyik koncertre való] meg nem hív-ás-a,*
 well for_instance *Ede.Dat the none_of concert.Sub be.ó perf not invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *inviting Ede [to none of the concerts], that was a mistake.*’
- c. *Na például *az a [semelyik tantárgyból [nem való] / [való nem]]*
 well for_instance *that the none_of subject.Ela not be.ó / be.ó not*
záróvizsga, az sokáig tartott.
final_exam that for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg
- d. *Na például *a [semelyik börtönből [nem való] / [való nem]] szökés,*
 well for_instance *the none_of jail.Ela not be.ó / be.ó not escape*
 az ideális lenne.
 that ideal be.Cond.3Sg
- e. *Na például *a [semelyik fiad iránti] (nem) bizalmad,*
 well for_instance *the none_of son.Poss.2Sg towards.Attr not trust.Poss.2Sg*
 az meglep.
 that surprise.3Sg

As for *is*-quantifiers as potential internal-scope taking attributive premodifiers, they are worth comparing not to *is*-quantifiers in the postnominal complement zone (2.1.1.4.2), because there nothing bars right branching (see Remark 19 in 2.1.1.1), but to adjunct-like *is*-quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone (see (760) in 2.2.1.1.2). As is illustrated below, argument-like *is*-quantifiers are not suitable for serving as attributive premodifiers (due to right branching), either (781).

(781) ● Internal-scope taking *is*-quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone?

- a. *Na például *Edének [a képlőpásra is való] fel-bérel-és-e,*
 well for_instance *Ede.Dat the picture.steal.Sub also be.ó up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *hiring Ede [to steal the picture, too], that was a mistake.*’
- b. *Na például *[a fiam is iránti] bizalmad,* az jól esik.
 well for_instance *the son.Poss.1Sg also towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg that well fall.3Sg*
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *your trust [in my son, too], that feels good to me.*’

As for *wh*-phrases, we claim, with the brief illustration given in (782) below, that they cannot take internal scope as attributive premodifiers (here, either; cf. subsection 2.1.1.4.6; see also subsection 2.2.1.1.2.2, on external-scope taker).

(782) ● Internal-scope taking *wh*-phrases in the prenominal modifier zone?

- a. *Na például *Edének a [milyen munkára való] fel-bérel-és-ét,*
 well for_instance *Ede.Dat the what job.Sub be.ó up-hire-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
 azt megkérdeztem.
 that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the *question what kind of job Ede was hired for, I asked that.*’
- b. *Na például *a [ki iránti] bizalmadat,* azt megkérdeztem.
 well for_instance *the who towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg-Acc that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg*

The subsection concludes with a comparison of the summary of the data in (774-782), presented in Table 61 below, and the data summarized in Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7 (“non-possessor argument types postnominally”) and in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 (“all non-possessor types postnominally”).

Table 61: Readiness of attributive non-possessor arguments of different types of nouns to take internal scope

	NOUN TYPE			<i>mind</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>wh</i>
1	ÁS-N	Sub	\mathcal{G}_{eal}_{at}	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*
2	ÁS-N	Sub _{AdvP}	\mathcal{G}_{eal}_{lc}	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*
3	SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	\mathcal{D}_{ource}	?	?	?	*	*	*
4	SED-N	Ela	<i>Theme</i>	?	?	?	*	*	*
5	SED-N	towards	Theme	?	??	??	*	*	*
6	<i>f/g</i> -N	against	Co-Ag.	?	??	??	*	*	*
7	rel-N	Sup		??	(?)	?	*	*	*
8	<i>f/g</i> -N	Cau	Goal	??	??	??	*	*	*
9	<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	??	??	*?	*	*	*
10	<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	Agent	*?	*?	*	*	*	*

The order of operators, expressing their inclination for taking internal scope, in Table 61 is slightly different from the order of operators in Table 48, but the clusters are very similar.

Mind-quantifiers, negative foci, and *csak*-foci form a cluster: they more or less readily take internal scope with a variation depending on the strength of the thematic argumenthood of the argument types concerned. We do not attribute the different cluster-internal order to relevant differences between inclination for taking internal scope. It is likely that the slight differences in grammaticality judgments between the sentences to be compared rather depend on accidental semantic and/or pragmatic differences; the excessively high acceptability of the negative focus in the case of the superessive argument type of relational nouns, for instance, is simply due to the fact that referring to ‘not the maternal side’ is practically the reformulation of referring to the paternal side (779c) while the comprehension of references to other negative entities typically requires very much contextual knowledge in order to understand why the negative-focus construction is used (see the other examples in (779), for instance).

It is a relevant difference, however, that *is*-quantifiers cannot take internal scope as attributives even in the case of argument types of ÁS-nouns. Thus, in Table 61, *is*-quantifiers and *wh*-phrases form a cluster, the cluster of operator types with no inclination for taking internal scope. The cluster of operator types with inclination for taking internal scope only in the case of ÁS-nouns is therefore now a singleton: only the negative universal quantifier can be found in this cluster (while in Table 48, the analogous cluster consists of *is*-quantifiers and negative universal quantifiers).

Another difference which can be observed while comparing Table 61 with Table 48 is that arguments of *Ás*-nouns are always perfect internal-scope takers as attributives if taking internal scope is possible at all in a cluster. Thus, the prenominal modifier zone is *ab ovo* an ideal place to take internal scope, in contrast to the postnominal complement zone. Note in passing that there is an even more radical difference between the postnominal complement zone, in which arguments are assumed to be hosted, and the postnominal modifier zone, which is for adjuncts: it is impossible to take internal scope from the latter (see Table 54 in 2.1.2.6; NB: satellites of *Ás*-nouns show an exceptional behavior in that they are uniformly capable of taking internal scope).

It can also be observed that arguments of *story/picture* nouns are even more “devalued” in Table 61 (see rows 9 and 10) compared to their order in Table 54. This difference can be attributed to a factor that does not emerge in the postnominal complement zone: the argument types in question. It is only the *való*-construction that is available in the prenominal modifier zone, which is definitely readily compatible only with nominal expressions (and preferably *Ás*-noun constructions, see rows 1-5 in Table 61) referring to dynamic processes, and an Agent’s story or picture about a Theme does not satisfy this requirement. Argument types for which *i*-constructions are available (see rows 5-7 in Table 61), thus, “score better” than the Agent and the Theme of *story/picture* nouns.

2.2.1.1.2.3. External-scope taking in the case of argument-like attributive constructions

This subsection is devoted to the testing of the external-scope taking potential of the ten non-possessor argument types listed in Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1 (whose different ways of attributive appearance are also demonstrated there) in the same six information-structural functions investigated in the postnominal complement zone in subsection 2.1.1.4, in the case of half of the argument types. Note that in subsection 2.1.2.2, the other five argument types were also tested as potential external-scope takers in the postnominal complement zone. Recall that, as in the previous subsections, only the most acceptable variants of the competing attributive forms are shown (see Table 60, again, and the series of examples in (771-772) in 2.2.1.1.2.1). Note also that, in contrast to the previous subsection, the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are *not* placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4), in order to make the external-scope reading available, which will be relevant for us in this subsection.

Before discussing the details, we must face the same “affiliation” problem(s) as in the subsection on the external-scope taking of adjuncts in the prenominal modifier zone (2.2.1.1.1.3), namely, which constituents certain determiners and particles belong to.

The quantifier-determiner *mindkét* ‘both’, just like the negative quantifier-determiner *semelyik* ‘none of’ and the interrogative *-ik* determiner *melyik* ‘which’, can be understood to belong either to the noun head of the argument type tested, which is the intended potential external-scope taker, as is illustrated in (783a) below, where the given noun head is *koncertre* ‘concert.Sub’, or to the matrix noun head which the given satellite belongs to (i.e., to *meghívásom*

‘perf.invite.Ás.Poss.1Sg’ in (783a’)). As is demonstrated by the corresponding meticulously explicit translations, there is a model-theoretically significant but often quite obscure and scarcely discernible difference between the two interpretations.

Note that the appearance of a definite article left-adjacent to *mindkét* ‘both’—that is, of the definite article explicitly expressing the definiteness of the whole matrix noun phrase—renders the structure unambiguous, but the resulting meaning is not the intended one with the sublative case-marked argument taking external scope, but the internal-scope reading presented in (783a’’) (cf. (774b) in the previous subsection). Note in passing, however, that the replacement of the definite article with an unmarked possessor yields a variant which is ambiguous again between a wide- and a narrow-scope reading, as is presented in (784b) below (for further details, see Farkas, Szabó and Alberti (2015)). It is also worth noting that in such definite noun phrases as the ones presented in (784b) and in (783a), the definite unmarked possessor *Ili* and the definite sublative case-marked noun phrase *mindkét koncertre* ‘both concert.Sub’, respectively, may be regarded as expressing the definiteness of the matrix noun phrase instead of an explicit definite article (cf. Alexiadou’s (2004) principle of D-visibility, mentioned in connection with example (762a) in 2.2.1.1.1.3). Such a role of the unmarked possessor is widely accepted (see É. Kiss 1999: 83–84, Bartos 2000b: 750–751), while such a role of oblique-case-marked noun-phrase-internal satellites has not been raised so far in the literature but it is observed here, although it yields somewhat marked variants even in the case of otherwise perfect external-scope takers (see (783a), (784a,b,d,e), (786a,b,d,e)) and on a quite speaker-dependent basis (probably due to some microvariation in a certain parameter of speakers’ mother-tongue competence).

As was discussed in connection with the series of examples in (762) in 2.2.1.1.1.3, in addition to differences in meaning, there are special morphosyntactic contexts in which only one of the “competing” syntactic structures shown in (783a-a’) is available. If the matrix noun phrase, for instance, is a non-specific indefinite plural expression, as in (783b), *mindkét* ‘both’ cannot belong to its head, given that in Hungarian nouns do not have plural marking in the presence of a numeral. Note in passing that in (784e) below, another kind of incompatibility excludes the non-intended meaning: the expression *mindkét bizalmad* ‘both trust.Poss.2Sg’ is obviously ill-formed for semantic reasons that have to do with the uncountability of the abstract noun *bizalom* ‘trust’.

We call the reader’s attention to the discussion illustrated by (762) in 2.2.1.1.1.3 once more, but, in order to avoid lengthy artificial examples, in this subsection we use example sentences whose “intended structures” are verified by the readily available intended meanings.

(783) ● Where do the quantifier-determiner *mindkét* ‘both’ and the focus-indicating particle *csak* ‘only’ belong to?

- a. ⁽²⁾[[*Mindkét koncertre*] *való*] *meg-hív-ás-om* kellemes meglepetés volt,
both concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-Ás-Poss.1Sg pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
mert Adele-t meg Pinket is kedvelem.
because Adele-Acc and Pink.Acc also like.DefObj.1Sg
‘It holds for both concerts that inviting me to either of them was a pleasant surprise, because I like both Adele and Pink.’

- a'. ^{??}*Mindkét [[koncertre való] meg-hív-ás-om] kellemes meglepetés volt,*
both concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.1Sg pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
még ha mindkét jegy ugyanarra a koncertre szólt is.
even if both ticket same.Sub the concert.Sub concern.Part also
'It holds for both of my invitations to concerts that either of them was a pleasant surprise, even if both tickets were for the same concert.'
- a''. *A [[mindkét koncertre] való] meg-hív-ás-om kellemes meglepetés volt.*
the both concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.1Sg pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
'The fact that I was invited to both concerts was a pleasant surprise.'
- b. [?]*Mindkét döntősről való leleplező cikkek felbukkantak az interneten.*
both finalist.Del be.ó revealing paper.Pl appear.Past.3Pl the internet.Sup
'It holds for both finalists that there appeared revealing papers about either of them on the internet.'
- c. *[[Csak a koncertre] való] meg-hív-ás-om lepett meg.*
only the concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.1Sg surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'It holds only for the concert that inviting me to it was a pleasant surprise.'
- c'. *Csak [a koncertre való meg-hív-ás-om] lepett meg.*
only the concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.1Sg surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'There is only one thing that was a surprise to me, namely, the fact that I was invited to the concert.' [(i) of arbitrary actions, or (ii) of arbitrary invitations; NB: the last reading practically coincides with the reading given in (783b)]
- c''. *A [[csak a koncertre] való] meg-hív-ás-om*
the only the concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.1Sg
kellemetlen meglepetés volt.
unpleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
'The fact that I was invited only to the concert was an unpleasant surprise.'

The (c)-examples above call the reader's attention once again to the theoretical and methodological "affiliation" problem concerning *csak*-foci and negative foci described and solved in the argumentation pertaining to the series of examples in (767-768) in 2.2.1.1.1.3. As is illustrated, it is difficult to decide, for instance, whether the focus-indicating particle *csak* 'only' immediately belongs to the potential external-scope taking noun-phrase-internal argument (783c), instead of "holistically" belonging to the matrix noun phrase (783c'). As was argued, however, this question simply need not be decided, since (i) there is an inclusive relationship between the meanings associated with the "competing" syntactic structures, and (ii) the focus feature is assigned to the given noun-phrase-internal argument on the basis of stress, independent of the placement of the particle *csak* 'only' or *nem* 'not'. Note in passing that the appearance of a definite article left-adjacent to *csak* 'only'—that is, of the definite article explicitly expressing the definiteness of the whole matrix noun phrase—renders the structure unambiguous, but the resulting meaning is not the intended one with the sublative case-marked argument taking external scope, but the internal-scope reading presented in (783c'') (cf. (783a'') above and (776b) in the previous subsection; also see Farkas, Szabó and Alberti (2015)).

With these theoretical and methodological questions clarified, let us now turn to the testing of the ten argument types as potential external-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers (784-785). Let our *a priori* hypothesis in the case of all operator types be

that every argument type is the “readiest possible” external-scope taker in the sense that if a given argument type can appear in the prenominal modifier zone as a *való*-construction or as an *i*-construction with the grammaticality judgment, say, ‘?’ (on the basis of Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1), then it appears as an external-scope taker exactly with this degree of inclination (‘?’).

As was discussed above in connection with example (783a) in advance, compared to this expectation, even the otherwise fully acceptable *való*-constructions of *Ás*-nouns (784a,b,d) and the otherwise also fully acceptable *i*-constructions (see (784e) and (785b)) function as external-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers in a slightly marked way. The *való*-construction that belongs to the irregularly derived SED-noun *vizsga* ‘exam’, however, takes external scope somewhat more readily (‘?’) than may be expected (see row 4 in Table 60), presumably due to the fact that *mind*-quantifiers are incompatible with truncation so the *való*-construction as the remaining alternative will “get overvalued” (see the comment on example (774c) in 2.2.1.1.2.2).

(784) ● External-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone:

I. Derived nouns

- a. ^(?)*Mindkét munkára való fel-bérel-és-ed* súlyos hiba volt.
both work.Sub be.ó up-hire-Ás-Poss.2Sg serious mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both jobs that hiring you for either of them was a serious mistake.’
- b. ^(?)*Ili mindkét koncertre való meg-hív-ás-a* kellemes meglepetés volt.
Ili both concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-Ás-Poss.3Sg pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both concerts that inviting Ili to either of them was a pleasant surprise.’
 (A narrow-scope reading which is also available: ‘The fact that Ili was invited to both concerts was a pleasant surprise.’)
- c. [?]*Mindkét tantárgyból való záróvizsga* sokáig tartott.
both subject.Ela be.ó final_exam for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both subjects that the final exams from either of them took a long time.’
- d. ^(?)*Mindkét csapdából való szökés* sikerülni szokott az egereinknek.
both trap.Ela be.ó escape succeed.Inf used_to.Past.3Sg the mouse.Poss.1Pl.Dat
 ‘It holds for both traps that our experimental mice performed a successful escape from either of them.’
- e. ^(?)*Mindkét fiam iránti bizalmad* meglep, különböző okokból.
both son.Poss.1Sg towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg surprise.3Sg different reason.Pl.Abl
 ‘It holds for both of my sons that your trust in either of them surprises me, for different reasons.’

The grammaticality judgments in (785a,b’) can be explained on the basis of the above-mentioned “readiest possible” principle. As for the *i*-construction in (785c) (containing no postpositional component), even the ‘highly marked’ status (‘?’) is somewhat better than could be explained on the basis of Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1 (cf. also (775c) in 2.2.1.1.2.2), since only [postposition + *i*]-constructions are compatible with a quantifier function.

(785) ● External-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone:

II. Non-derived nouns

- a. *Mindkét* ^{??}*szakértőtől*_{Agent} / [?]*döntősről*_{Theme} *való cikk* nagyon tetszik.
both expert.Abl / finalist.Del be.ó paper very.much please.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both experts / finalists that I like the papers by /about either of them.’

- b. ^(?)*Mindkét fiam elleni meccs vicces volt.*
both son.Poss.1Sg against.Attr match funny be.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both of my sons that the matches I played against either of them were funny.’
- b’. ^{??}*Mindkét tróféáért való meccs érdekes volt.*
both trophy.Cau be.ó match interesting be.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both of the trophies that the matches played for either of them were interesting.’
- c. ^{??}*Mindkét ági harmad-unokatestvér-eid nagyon kedvesek.*
both side.Attr third-cousin-Poss.Pl.2Sg very nice.Pl
 ‘It holds for both the paternal side and the maternal side that your third cousins on either of the sides are very nice.’

Negative quantifiers completely pattern with *mind*-quantifiers, as a comparison between (786-787) below and (784-785) above demonstrates. Note that in the sentences presented in (786-787), negative particles must appear in the matrix predicative verbal constructions, due to the presence of negative quantifiers inside the noun phrases tested.

(786) ● External-scope taking negative quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone:

I. Derived nouns

- a. ^(?)*Semelyik munkára való fel-bérel-és-ed nem volt hiba.*
none_of work.Sub be.ó up-hire-Ás-Poss.2Sg not be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘It holds for none of the jobs that hiring you for either of them was a mistake.’
- b. ^(?)*Semelyik koncertre való meg-hív-ás-od nem volt hiba.*
none_of concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-Ás-Poss.2Sg not be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘It holds for none of the concerts that inviting you to either of them was a mistake.’
- c. [?]*Semelyik tantárgyból való záróvizsga nem tartott sokáig.*
none_of subject.Ela be.ó final_exam not last.Past.3Sg for_a_long_time
 ‘It holds for none of the subjects that the final exams in either of them took a long time.’
- d. ^(?)*Semelyik csapdából való szökés nem szokott sikerülni az egereinknek.*
none_of trap.Ela be.ó escape not used_to.Past.3Sg succeed.Inf the mouse.Poss.Pl.1Pl.Dat
 ‘It holds for none of the traps that our experimental mice performed a successful escape from either of them.’
- e. ^(?)*Semelyik fiam iránti bizalmad nem lep meg.*
none_of son.Poss.1Sg towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg not surprise.3Sg perf
 ‘It holds for none of my sons that your trust in either of them surprises me.’

As for details, arguments of *Ás*-nouns are almost perfect external-scope takers (786a,b,d,e) in harmony with their ready expressibility as attributives (see Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1) while those of non-derived nouns are typically much less ready external-scope takers (787a,b’,c), also in harmony with the expectations (cf. also the comments on (785) above).

(787) ● External-scope taking negative quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone:

II. Non-derived nouns

- a. *Semelyik ^{??}szakértőtől_{Agent} / [?]döntősről_{Theme} való cikk nem tetszik.*
none_of expert.Abl / finalist.Del be.ó paper not please.3Sg
 ‘It holds for none of the experts / finalists that I like the papers by/about either of them.’

- b. ^(?)*Semelyik fiam elleni meccs nem volt vicces.*
none_of son.Poss.1Sg against.Attr match not be.Past.3Sg funny
 ‘It holds for none of my sons that the matches I played against either of them were funny.’
- b’. ^{??}*Semelyik trófeáért való meccs nem volt érdekes.*
none_of trophy.Cau be.ő match not be.Past.3Sg interesting
 ‘It holds for none of the trophies that the matches played for either of them were interesting.’
- c. ^{??}*Semelyik ági harmad-unokatestvér-eid nem kedvesek.*
none_of side.Attr third-cousin-Poss.PL.2Sg not nice.PL
 ‘It holds for neither the paternal side nor the maternal side that your third cousins on either of the sides are nice.’

Wh-phrases also essentially pattern with *mind*-quantifiers with the slight difference that the “readiest possible” principle is even more valid in their case, as can be seen in (788a,b,d,e) and (789a-b’) below. This is presumably due to the fact that *wh*-phrases in attributive constructions cannot be interpreted internally (see (782) in the previous subsection), so there is no such uncertainty in interpretation which sometimes worsens the acceptability of both competing readings.

(788) ● External-scope taking *wh*-phrases in the prenominal modifier zone: I. Derived nouns

- a. *Melyik munkára való fel-bérel-és-e volt hiba?*
which work.Sub be.ő up-hire-As-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘For which job does it hold that hiring him for it was a serious mistake?’
- b. *Melyik koncertre való meg-hív-ás-od volt hiba?*
which concert.Sub be.ő perf-invite-As-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘For which concert does it hold that inviting you to it was a mistake?’
- c. [?]*Melyik tantárgyból való záróvizsga tartott sokáig?*
which subject.Ela be.ő final_exam last.Past.3Sg for_a_long_time
 ‘For which subject does it hold that the final exam in it took a long time?’
- d. *Melyik csapdából való szökés szokott sikerülni az egereinknek?*
which trap.Ela be.ő escape used_to.Past.3Sg succeed.Inf the mouse.Poss.1Pl.Dat
 ‘For which trap does it hold that our experimental mice performed a successful escape from it?’
- e. *Melyik fiam iránti bizalmad lepte meg Ilit?*
which son.Poss.1Sg towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg surprise.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Ili.Acc
 ‘For which son of mine does it hold that your trust in him surprised Ili?’

Just like the analogous (c)-examples above in (784-787), the variants presented in (788c) and (789c) are even more acceptable than may be expected, presumably for the same reasons.

(789) ● External-scope taking *wh*-phrases in the prenominal modifier zone: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. *Melyik ^{??}szakértőtől_{Agent} / [?]döntősről_{Theme} való cikk tetszik?*
which expert.Abl / finalist.Del be.ő paper please.3Sg
 ‘For which expert / finalist does it hold that I like the paper by/about him?’
- b. *Melyik fiad elleni meccs volt olyan vicces?*
which son.Poss.2Sg against.Attr match be.Past.3Sg so funny
 ‘For which son of yours does it hold that the match played against him was so funny?’

- b'. ^{??}*Melyik tróféáért való meccs volt olyan izgalmas?*
which trophy.Cau be.ó match be.Past.3Sg so exciting
 'For which trophy does it hold that the match played for it was so exciting?'
- c. ^{??}*Melyik ági harmad-unokatestvér-eid jöttek el?*
which side.Atr third-cousin-Poss.Pl.2Sg come.Past.3Pl away
 'For which side does it hold that your third cousins on that side came here?'

On the basis of the discussion of the “affiliation” problem in connection with (783c-c”) above, the following generalization can be stated: the “readiest possible” principle holds completely for *csak*-foci and negative foci; the following four series of examples serve as an illustration. This is obviously due to the fact that even expressions containing no postposition derived by means of the attributivizer *-i* (791c) and expressions derived via truncation (790c’) can serve as scope taking operators in the prenominal modifier zone in the case of these two kinds of foci (cf. the (c)-examples in (784-789)).

(790) ● External-scope taking *csak*-foci in the prenominal modifier zone: I. Derived nouns

- a. *Csak a k plopásra való fel-b reel- s-ed volt hiba.*
only the picture.steal.Sub be.  up-hire- s-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘It holds only for the job of stealing the picture that hiring you for it was a mistake.’
- b. *Csak a rockkoncertre való meg-hív- s-od volt hiba.*
only the rock_concert.Sub be.  perf-invite- s-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘It holds only for the rock concert that inviting you to it was a mistake.’
- c. *Csak a mondattan-(-b l) való z r vizsga tartott sok ig.*
only the syntax(-Ela be. ) final_exam last.Past.3Sg for_a_long_time
 ‘It holds only for syntax that the final exam in it took a long time.’
- c’. ⁽²⁾*Csak a XX. sz zad magyar t rt nelme vizsg m tartott sok ig.*
only the 20th century Hungarian history.Poss.3Sg exam.Poss.1Sg last.Past.3Sg for_a_long_time
 ‘It holds only for the 20th century Hungarian history that my exam in it took a long time.’
- d. *Csak az els  csapd b l való sz k s szokott sikert lni az egereinknek.*
only the first trap.Ela be.  escape used_to.Past.3Sg succeed.Inf the.mouse.Poss.1Pl.Dat
 ‘It holds only for the first trap that our mice are successful in the escape from it.’
- e. *Csak a fiam ir nti bizalmad lep meg.*
only the son.Poss.1Sg towards.Atr trust.Poss.2Sg surprise.3Sg perf
 ‘It holds only for my son that your trust in him surprises me.’

As for the details, arguments of * s*-nouns are perfect external-scope takers (790a,b,d,e) in harmony with their ready expressibility as attributives (see Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1). However, there is one exception, in which the originally elative case-marked Theme of the irregularly derived SED-noun *vizsga* ‘exam’ appears as a slightly marked external-scope taker in the prenominal modifier zone in an expression derived via truncation (790c’). Note that the *val *-construction in (790c) is also quite acceptable (‘?’), because if the Theme is a one-word expression (like *mondattan* ‘syntax’ in the given example), its expression in the prenominal modifier zone has no alternative (cf. the comment on (784c)). Note in passing that the Theme can also be expressed, and definitely readily, as the first component of such compounds as *mondattan-z r vizsga* ‘syntax-final.exam’ (790c), but in this case the

given element (*mondattan* ‘syntax’) is not in the prenominal modifier zone but in the prenominal complement zone.

(791) ● External-scope taking *csak*-foci in the prenominal modifier zone: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. *Csak a* ^{??}*szakértőtől*_{Agent} / [?]*győztesről*_{Theme} *való cikk tetszik.*
only the expert.Abl / winner.Del be.ó paper please.3Sg
 ‘It holds only for the expert / finalist that I like the paper by/about him.’
- b. *Csak az egyik fiam elleni meccs volt vicces.*
only the one_of son.Poss.1Sg against.Attr match be.Past.3Sg funny
 ‘It holds only for one of my sons that the match played against him was funny.’
- b’. ^{??}*Csak a Lombardi trófeáért való meccs volt izgalmas.*
only the Lombardi trophy.Cau be.ó match be.Past.3Sg exciting
 ‘It holds only for the Lombardi trophy that the match played for it was exciting.’
- c. ⁽²⁾*Csak anyai ági harmad-unokatestvér-eid jöttek el.*
only mother.Adj side.Attr third-cousin-Poss.Pl.2Sg come.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It holds only for the maternal side that your third cousins on that side came here.’

As was stated above, the “readiest possible” principle holds for *csak*-foci uniformly, which, however, means in the case of certain argument types of non-derived nouns that they can serve only as highly marked external-scope takers (791a,b’) on the basis of their attributivizing characteristics summarized in Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1.

(792) ● External-scope taking negative foci in the prenominal modifier zone: I. Derived nouns

- a. *Nem a képlopásra való fel-bérel-és-ed volt hiba.*
not the picture.steal.Sub be.ó up-hire-Ás-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘It is not the job of stealing the picture for which it holds that hiring you for it was a mistake.’
- b. *Nem a rockkoncertre való meg-hív-ás-od volt hiba.*
not the rock_concert.Sub be.ó perf-invite-Ás-Poss.2Sg be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘It is not the rock concert for which it holds that inviting you to it was a mistake.’
- c. [?]*Nem a mondattan-([?]-ból való) záróvizsga tartott sokáig.*
not the syntax(-Ela be.ó) final_exam last.Past.3Sg for_a_long_time
 ‘It is not syntax for which it holds that the final exam in it took a long time.’
- c’. ⁽²⁾*Nem a XX. század magyar történelme vizsgám tartott sokáig.*
not the 20th century Hungarian history.Poss.3Sg exam.Poss.1Sg last.Past.3Sg for_a_long_time
 ‘It is not the 20th century Hungarian history for which it holds that my exam in it took a long time.’
- d. *Nem az első csapdából való szökés szokott sikerülni az egereinknek.*
not the first trap.Ela be.ó escape used_to.Past.3Sg succeed.Inf the mouse.Poss.1Pl.Dat
 ‘It is not the first trap for which it holds that our mice are successful in the escape from it.’
- e. *Nem a fiam iránti bizalmad lep meg.*
not the son.Poss.1Sg towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg surprise.3Sg perf
 ‘It is not my son for whom it holds that your trust in him surprises me.’

Negative foci completely pattern with *csak*-foci in all the relevant respects, as is demonstrated in the two series of examples in (792) above and in (793) below.

(793) ● External-scope taking negative foci in the prenominal modifier zone: II. Non-derived nouns

- a. *Nem a ^{??}szakértőtől_{Agent} / [?]győztesről_{Theme} való cikk tetszik.*
not the expert.Abl / winner.Del be.ó paper please.3Sg
 ‘It is not the expert / finalist for whom it holds that I like the paper by/about him.’
- b. *Nem a fiam elleni meccs volt vicces.*
not the son.Poss.1Sg against.Attr match be.Past.3Sg funny
 ‘It is not my son for whom it holds that the match played against him was funny.’
- b’.^{??} *Nem a Lombardi trófeáért való meccs volt izgalmas.*
not the Lombardi trophy.Cau be.ó match be.Past.3Sg exciting
 ‘It is not the Lombardi trophy for which it holds that the match played played for it was exciting.’
- c. ^(?) *Nem anyai ági harmad-unokatestvér-eid jöttek el.*
not mother.Adj side.Attr third-cousin-Poss.Pl.2Sg come.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It is the maternal side for which it holds that your third cousins on that side came here.’

As the reduced illustration shows in (794) below, argument-like *is*-quantifiers as potential external-scope taking attributive premodifiers are as fully unacceptable as those as internal-scope taking attributive premodifiers (see (781) in the previous subsection) and those as internal/external-scope takers (see (760) in 2.2.1.1.1.2 and (766) in 2.2.1.1.1.3). *Is*-quantifiers, thus, are not suitable for serving as attributive premodifiers, perhaps due to the prohibition on right branching (see Remark 19 in 2.1.1.1).

(794) ● External-scope taking *is*-quantifiers in the prenominal modifier zone?

- a. **A kéklopásra is való fel-bérel-és-ed hiba volt.*
the picture.steal.Sub also be.ó up-hire-Ás-Poss.2Sg mistake be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for the job of stealing the picture, too, that hiring you for it was a mistake.’
- b. **A fiam is iránti bizalmad jól esik.*
the son.Poss.1Sg also towards.Attr trust.Poss.2Sg well fall.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for my son, too, that your trust in him pleases me.’

All in all, the attributive premodifier position is *ab ovo* definitely suitable for hosting satellites taking external scope, somewhat depending on the scope-creating operator types but essentially not depending on the adjunct- or argument-like character of the given satellites, as is corroborated by the fact that the order of the six operators is the same in Table 62 below and in Table 59 in 2.2.1.1.1.3. In particular, negative foci and *csak*-foci form the cluster of the best external-scope takers, maximally satisfying the “readiest possible” principle (relative to Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1), due to the fact that, in contrast to the other four operator types, they are compatible with all kinds of *i*-constructions and attributive expressions derived via truncation. *Mind*-quantifiers and negative quantifiers form another cluster: the cluster of those expressions which slightly, but significantly less readily, take external scope. *Wh*-phrases should belong to this latter cluster on the basis of its weak compatibility with attributive non-*való*-constructions, typical of *mind*- and negative quantifiers, but, perhaps in connection with their incapability of taking internal scope, they take external scope basically among argument types of *Ás*-

nouns as readily as members of the first cluster. As for *is*-quantifiers, they simply cannot appear as attributives.

Table 62: Readiness of attributive non-possessor arguments of different types of nouns to take external scope

	NOUN TYPE			<i>nem</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>wh</i>	<i>mind</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>is</i>
1	ÁS-N	Sub	$\mathcal{F}_{Goal_{st}}$	✓	✓	✓	(?)	(?)	*
2	ÁS-N	Sub _{AdvP}	$\mathcal{F}_{Goal_{lc}}$	✓	✓	✓	(?)	(?)	*
3	SED-N	towards	Theme	✓	✓	✓	(?)	(?)	*
4	SED-N	Ela _{AdvP}	<i>Source</i>	✓	✓	✓	(?)	(?)	*
5	<i>f/g</i> -N	against	Co-Ag.	✓	✓	✓	(?)	(?)	*
6	SED-N	Ela	<i>Theme</i>	(?)	(?)	?	?	?	*
7	rel-N	Sup		(?)	(?)	??	??	??	*
8	<i>s/p</i> -N	Del	Theme	?	?	?	?	?	*
9	<i>f/g</i> -N	Cau	Goal	??	??	??	??	??	*
10	<i>s/p</i> -N	Abl	Agent	??	??	??	??	??	*

It is also worth observing that, of the six operator types considered, the best three prenominal external-scope takers (i.e., the three kinds of foci, namely, *csak*-foci, negative foci, and *wh*-phrases) cannot take external scope postnominally at all, while the three kinds of quantifiers (i.e., *mind*-quantifiers, negative quantifiers, and *is*-quantifiers) take external scope postnominally quite readily (see Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7).

As for the variation according to argument types, the degree of thematic argumenthood is mostly not in proportion to the inclination for taking external scope from the postnominal complement zone (see Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7 again). It is this factor, however, that is primarily in proportion to the inclination for taking external scope from the prenominal modifier zone, at least among argument types which can be expressed as attributives only by means of the *való*-construction (see rows 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10 in Table 62; cf. Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1). The other four argument types (see rows 3, 5, 6, 7 in Table 62; cf. Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1) tend to score better than can be expected on the basis of their degree of thematic argumenthood; their behavior decisively depends on an entirely formal factor, namely, whether they are postpositional phrases or not, due to the advantageous character of the [postposition + *i*]-construction in taking external scope (see rows 3 and 5).

2.2.1.2. Possessors

This subsection discusses the description of the two kinds of possessors in Hungarian.

Subsection 2.2.1.2.1 presents the basic properties which distinguish the two kinds of possessors and those which are common in them; furthermore, it will also be discussed that possessees often have different forms, too.

Separate subsections will be devoted to the peculiar properties of unmarked possessors (2.2.1.2.2) and those of NAK possessors (2.2.1.2.3), with special emphasis on the potential operator character of the two kinds of possessors as both internal- and external-scope takers.

At this point, we call the reader's attention to Remark 5 in 1.1.2.2, where some theoretical aspects of the question of possessors have been sketched.

2.2.1.2.1. *Basic data*

In Hungarian, possessives (obligatorily) show agreement in person and number with pronominal possessors (see (795a), and see also Table 14 in 1.1.1.4.1). Note that the opposite direction of agreement, in which (adjectival) possessors show agreement with possessives (in number, case and gender, as in Russian and many other European languages), is not possible in Hungarian (795b). It is also worth noting that pronominal possessors are preferably pro-dropped in neutral contexts (795c).

(795) ● Agreement in person and number between possessor and possessee

- a. Sokat tudok a te barátaidról is.
much.Acc know.1Sg the you friend-Poss-Pl-2Sg-Del also
'I know much about your friends, too.'
- b. *Sokat tudok a ti-e-i-d-ről barát-ok-ról is.
much.Acc know.1Sg the you-Poss-Pl-2Sg-Del friend-Pl-Del also
Intended meaning: 'I know much about your friends, too.'
- c. Sokat tudok a (te) barátaidról.
much.Acc know.1Sg the you friend-Poss-Pl-2Sg-Del
'I know much about your friends.'

In what follows, forms of the possessor (2.2.1.2.1.1) and then those of the possessee (2.2.1.2.1.2) are discussed.

2.2.1.2.1.1. Form of the possessor

In Hungarian, there are two kinds of possessors, differentiated according to case marking. These are presented in the minimal pair in (796).

(796) ● Two forms of the possessor

- a. UNMARKED POSSESSOR:
Ili kalap-ja
Ili hat-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's hat'
- b. NAK POSSESSOR:
Ili-nek a kalap-ja
Ili-Dat the hat-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's hat'

Some comments are required on the terminology. 'Unmarked' in this theory-independent book is meant to serve as a neutral formulation of 'caseless or case-marked by means of a phonetically unmarked case suffix (which is the Nominative case in Hungarian)'. As for the case suffix of NAK possessors, it can be regarded as the marker of the Dative case in Hungarian or some kind of Genitive case, which

cannot be distinguished from the Dative case on the basis of their forms (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 295, Lehr 1902, Tompa 1982).

The two kinds of possessors illustrated in (796) above are *ab ovo* freely interchangeable. There are only very special constructions in which only one of them can be used or one of them is highly preferred to the other form. The series of examples in (797) below presents such constructions.

In identifying constructions (discussed in connection with the series of examples presented in (645) in 2.1.1.1), for instance, only the unmarked form of the possessor can be used (797a). This phenomenon is the only case in which the distinguishing context is decided on a semantic basis, and not on the basis of formal differences. Another case in which only the unmarked form is acceptable is when the possessor is a non-extracted preminally positioned personal pronoun, illustrated in (797a'). Note that the noun-phrase-internal position of the given pronoun is guaranteed by the 'for instance'-construction (see the comments on (648) in 2.1.1.1).

(797) ● Differences in using the two forms of the possessor

- a. *[*Pécs-nek a*] / *✓Pécs városa*
Pécs-Dat the / Pécs city.Poss.3Sg
 'the city of Pécs'
- a'. Na például [*az én*] / **[nekem a] férjem,* ő megbízható.
 well for_instance the I / Dat.1Sg the husband.Poss.1Sg (s)he reliable
 'Well for instance, my husband, he is reliable.'
- b. Elveszett *a kalapja* ^(?)*Ili-nek / *Ili.*
 get_lost.Past.3Sg the hat.Poss.3Sg Ili-Dat / Ili
 'Ili's hat got lost.'
- b'. *Ili-nek / *Ili* vezett el *a kalapja.*
Ili-Dat / Ili get_lost.Past.3Sg away the hat.Poss.3Sg
 'It is Ili whose hat got lost.'
- c. [*Ki-nek a*] / **Ki kalapja* vezett el?
who-Dat the / who hat.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away
 'Who's hat got lost?'
- c'. **[Ki-nek a] / ✓Ki fia-borja* vagy?
who-Dat the / who son.Poss.3Sg-calf.Poss.3Sg be.2Sg
 'Who gave birth to you?'
- c''. *Melyik [lány-nak a] / lány kalapja* vezett el?
which girl-Dat the / girl hat.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away
 'Which girl's hat got lost?'
- d. Elveszett [?]*valaki* / **[ez a lány] / [?][eme lány] kalapja.*
 get_lost.Past.3Sg someone / this the girl / this girl hat.Poss.3Sg
 'Someone's / [this girl's] / [this girl's] hat got lost.'
- d'. Elveszett *valakinek* / *[ennek a lánynak] / [?][eme lánynak] a kalapja.*
 get_lost.Past.3Sg someone.Dat / this.Dat the girl.Dat / this girl.Dat the hat.Poss.3Sg
 'Someone's / [this girl's] / [this girl's] hat got lost.'
- e. Szóljon, [*aki-nek a*] / **aki kalapja* elveszett!
 say.Subj.3Sg who-Dat the / who hat.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg
 'Those whose hats got lost should tell me.'

Let us now consider the much more numerous cases in which only or highly preferably NAK possessors can be used.

Only NAK possessors can appear in the postnominal complement zone (797b) or noun-phrase-externally (797b') (see also subsection 3.2.2.1, sub A).

A *wh*-word in itself can also appear only as a NAK possessor (797c)—except for certain idiomatic expressions like (797c'), in which it is only the unmarked possessor that is acceptable. This, however, does not hold for complex *wh*-phrases with an interrogative *-ik* determiner as its proper part, as is illustrated in (797c'') above.

The (d)-examples suggest via presenting the distribution of an indefinite pronoun and two kinds of demonstrative constructions used as possessors that the picture is far from being black and white (on the relation between some kind of “syntactic size” of certain nominal expressions and their expressibility preferably as unmarked or NAK possessors, see Den Dikken and Dékány (2015)).

The last example shows that the relative pronoun also requires the NAK possessor form (797e).

A possessive construction itself, being a noun phrase, can also serve as a possessor (798). There are two times two theoretical possibilities for realizing this double possessive construction, given that, on the one hand, the matrix possessive construction may contain either an unmarked possessor (798a-b) or a NAK possessor (798c-d), and, on the other, the possessor inside the possessor of the matrix noun phrase may also be chosen to be either an unmarked possessor (798a,c) or a NAK possessor (798b,d). As is presented below, the four variants are far from being equivalent with respect to acceptability. The “marked in unmarked” variant is fully unacceptable (798b) while the “unmarked in marked” variant is fully acceptable (798c)—there is an unequivocal consensus about these grammaticality judgments. As for the two “homogeneous” variants (798a,d), there is no consensus about the precise grammaticality judgments, partly because of the fact that different scales of grammaticality judgments are used and partly due to speaker-dependent differences (cf. the relevant grammaticality judgments in Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 194/(30)) and Den Dikken and Dékány (2015), for instance). What can be considered an objective fact is that neither is fully unacceptable or fully acceptable (NB: the “unmarked in marked” variant (798c) is undoubtedly preferred). In the authors' dialect, the “unmarked in unmarked” variant is very marginal (798a) while the “marked in marked” variant is almost fully acceptable (798d).

(798) ● Possessive constructions as unmarked or NAK possessors

- a. [?]*Ili barátja kalapja vezett el.*
Ili friend.Poss.3Sg hat.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away
 'It is Ili's friend's hat that got lost.'
- b. **Ilinek a barátja kalapja vezett el.*
Ili.Dat the friend.Poss.3Sg hat.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away
 'It is Ili's friend's hat that got lost.'
- c. *Ili /[?]Ki barátjának a kalapja vezett el?*
Ili / who friend.Poss.3Sg.Dat the hat.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away
 'Is it Ili's friend's hat that got lost? / Whose friend's hat got lost?'

- d. ⁽³⁾*Ilinek /[✓]Kinek a barátjának a kalapja veszett el?*
Ili.Dat / who.Dat the friend.Poss.3Sg.Dat the hat.Poss.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Sg away
 ‘Is it *Ili*’s friend’s hat that got lost? / Whose friend’s hat got lost?’

How does language solve the conflict between the rule according to which a *wh*-word can appear only as a NAK possessor (797c) and the observation that the possessor inside a complex possessor is preferably an unmarked one? As is illustrated in (798c-d) above, the former restriction is superior, yielding that in this special case the “marked (*wh*-word) in marked” variant is fully acceptable (798d) while the otherwise preferred “unmarked in marked” variant is unacceptable (798c).

The following two series of examples provide an overview of the possible relations between the form of the possessor and the referential degree of the matrix noun phrase. This is a central topic in the generative literature on the Hungarian noun phrase (see, e.g., É. Kiss 1999: 89–91 and Bartos 2000b: 738–760), partly due to the advantageous property of the Hungarian verb that it has definite or indefinite conjugation—primarily but not exclusively—depending on the definite or indefinite character of the object (see Table 15 in 1.1.1.4.1). The other affecting factor is the appearance of a possessor (belonging to the head of the noun phrase in question), given the possessor’s crucial role in making nominal expressions (definitely) determined by possession (which is encoded in the basically articleless Uralic languages, see Fokos (1960: 232, 1963: 7), for instance). The interesting cases, thus, are those in which the matrix noun phrase is not definite but a possessor belongs to it, given that if the object is a definite noun phrase (with an arbitrary possessor or with no possessor), it inevitably triggers definite conjugation.

In the series of examples in (799) below, the matrix noun phrase is intended to be an indefinite nominal expression, as is shown by the identical translations. In order to demonstrate the system as a whole, the two forms of possessors are tested in all their possible positions, and even a semantically equivalent variant is considered in which the thematic role expressed in the form of a possessor in the primeless examples is expressed as an oblique-case-marked argument (799a’) (recall that, in the case of *story/picture* nouns, certain oblique-case-marked arguments can also be expressed as possessors; compare (671a) to (667a-a’) in 2.1.1.2.2). This possessorless variant is of crucial relevance because it is only in this case that the fully acceptable indefinite conjugation of the verb, parallel to the fully unacceptable definite conjugation, unequivocally indicates that the matrix noun phrase is an indefinite nominal expression (799a’).

(799) ● (In)definite conjugation of verbs with indefinite possessed objects

- a. *Tényleg ^{*?}olvastál /[✓]olvastad tegnap*
indeed read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg yesterday
néhány politikai írását Chomskynak?
some political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc Chomsky.Dat
 ‘Did you really read *some political essays* by *Chomsky* yesterday?’
- a’. *Tényleg olvastál / *olvastad tegnap*
indeed read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg yesterday
néhány politikai írást Chomskytól?
some political essay.Acc Chomsky.Abl
 ‘Did you really read *some political essays* by *Chomsky* yesterday?’

- b. Tényleg *olvastál / ✓olvastad tegnap
indeed read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg yesterday
Chomsky néhány politikai írását?
Chomsky some political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'Did you really read *some political essays by Chomsky* yesterday?'
- c. Tényleg *[?]olvastál / ✓olvastad tegnap
indeed read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg yesterday
Chomskynak néhány politikai írását?
Chomsky.Dat some political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'Did you really read *some political essays by Chomsky* yesterday?'
- d. *Chomskynak* tényleg ^{??}olvastál / ✓olvastad tegnap
Chomsky.Dat indeed read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg yesterday
néhány politikai írását?
some political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'Did you really read *some political essays by Chomsky* yesterday?'

As is shown in (799b-c) above, (i) the matrix noun phrase can be interpreted as an indefinite nominal expression in the case of both possessor forms, nevertheless, (ii) it is the definite conjugation that is fully acceptable, while (iii) the indefinite conjugation is unacceptable in the case of both possessor forms with the following very slight difference: the indefinite conjugation is not fully unacceptable in the case of the NAK possessor (compare the '*?' in (799c) to the '*' in (799b)). As is exemplified in (799a,d), if the possessor is not between the verb and the head of the matrix noun phrase, which is possible only in the case of the NAK possessor (see (797b-b')), the acceptability of the definite conjugation does not change in either cases, while the acceptability of the indefinite conjugation is one-degree more acceptable ('??') in (799d), where the possessor is unquestionably extracted from its matrix noun phrase (cf. Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 231), in contrast to (799a) with the same grammaticality judgment.

In the series of examples in (800) below, the intended interpretation of the matrix noun phrase, as is shown by the mostly identical translations, is that of a bare nominal expression, which is the lowest degree of reference, even under the level of indefiniteness. There is a possessorless variant here, too, in (800a'), in which the fully acceptable indefinite conjugation of the verb, parallel to the fully unacceptable definite conjugation, unequivocally indicates that the matrix noun phrase is a ("numberless") bare nominal expression.

(800) ● (In)definite conjugation of verbs with bare possessed objects

- a. ^{??}Olvastál / ^(?)Olvastad már politikai írását Chomskynak?
read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg already political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc Chomsky.Dat
'Have you ever read *political essays by Chomsky*?'
- a'. Olvastál / *Olvastad már politikai írást Chomskytól?
read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg already political essay.Acc Chomsky.Abl
'Have you ever read *political essays by Chomsky*?'

- b. *Olvastál / *Olvastad már *Chomsky politikai írását?*
 read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg already *Chomsky political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc*
 Intended meaning: ‘Have you ever read *political essays by Chomsky?*’
 There is an available reading with definite conjugation: ‘Have you already read *Chomsky’s political essay?*’ [a definite essay in the given context]
- c. [?]Olvastál / ^(?)Olvastad már *Chomskynak politikai írását?*
 read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg already *Chomsky.Dat political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc*
 ‘Have you ever read *political essays by Chomsky?*’
- d. *Chomskynak* [?]olvastál / ^(?)olvastad már *politikai írását?*
Chomsky.Dat read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg already *political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc*
 ‘Have you ever read *political essays by Chomsky?*’
- d’. *Szintaktának* ^(?)olvastál / ^(?)olvastad már *politikai írását?*
syntactician.Dat read.Past.2Sg / read.Past.DefObj.2Sg already *political essay.Poss.3Sg.Acc*
 ‘Have you ever read *political essays by syntacticians?*’

Let us compare the acceptability of the variants presented in (800) to that of the corresponding variants in (799).

The most radical difference is that the variant with the unmarked possessor in (800b), in contrast to its counterpart in (799b), simply cannot be understood (according to our intention) in a way that the matrix noun phrase is a bare nominal expression: the indefinite conjugation is impossible, whilst the definite one is compatible only with a reading according to which the matrix noun phrase is inevitably understood to be definite.

The (c)-examples with a prenominal NAK possessor show a much less radical difference: (i) the matrix noun phrase can quite readily (‘(?)’) be interpreted as a bare nominal expression, (ii) the definite conjugation is one-degree less acceptable (‘(?)’) in (800c), and, presumably parallel to this, (iii) the indefinite conjugation is one-degree more acceptable (‘??’) in (800c).

As for the (a)- and (d)-examples, the definite conjugation with the intended non-definite interpretation is still quite acceptable (‘(?)’) in (800) and the indefinite conjugation reaches its maximum (‘?’) in (800d), where the possessor is unquestionably extracted from its matrix noun phrase, in harmony with the aforementioned observation by Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 231).

On the basis of this variant-by-variant comparison of the grammaticality judgments provided in (799-800), we make the following three generalizations. First, an accusative case-marked noun phrase with an unmarked possessor always triggers definite conjugation on the verb (independent of the degree of referentiality of the matrix noun phrase, see the (b)-examples). Second, the lower the degree of referentiality of the accusative case-marked noun phrase with a NAK possessor, the more acceptable the indefinite conjugation is (compare the corresponding examples in (799-800)). Third, if a NAK possessor is “unquestionably extracted” from its accusative case-marked matrix noun phrase (by being separated from it with phonetic material, cf. the comment on (819e-f) in the introduction to 2.2.1.2.3), the indefinite conjugation is more acceptable than otherwise in semantically equivalent variants with permuted word orders (compare the (d)-examples to the (a)- and (c)-examples).

We can also formulate a fairly straightforward fourth generalization: the lower the degree of referentiality of a possessor within a (non-definite) accusative case-marked noun phrase, the more acceptable the indefinite conjugation is.

It would go far beyond the scope of this book to systematically test each possible interaction among the aforementioned generalizations. Instead, we present the optimum (with respect to supporting the indefinite conjugation in all possible ways) in the extra example in (800d'), in which a bare nominal NAK possessor is extracted from a bare matrix noun phrase. Even in a case like this, the acceptability of the indefinite conjugation cannot exceed the still almost full acceptability ('(?)') of the definite conjugation. The cautious formulation is due to the fact that the grammaticality judgments in most cases discussed in (799-800) are highly dependent on the dialect of speakers (see É. Kiss 1999: 90).

Another field of description where the choice between the unmarked possessor and the NAK possessor is not free due to some kind of non-definiteness requirement is that of possessive sentences (801).

A possessive sentence, *per definitionem*, is a sentence in which it is predicated that something is possessed, which is to be expressed in Hungarian (as a Uralic inheritance), in the absence of a basic *have*-type verb with two arguments, by predicating that there *exists* a thing possessed by someone by the help of the one-argument existential verb *van* 'be' (on types of *van*, see 1.3.1.2.3, sub I). This verb requires, given its semantic correspondence to the English *there*-construction, its argument not to be definite, since predicating the existence of something is incompatible with presupposing its existence, as is illustrated in (801e). As the conjugation variants indicate in the (b)-examples in (799-800) above, the mere presence of an unmarked possessor renders the bare or indefinite matrix noun phrase definite, at least for the verb; hence, the potential possessive sentence with an unmarked possessor presented in the (b)-example in (801) is fully unacceptable. As is suggested by the (d)-examples in (799-800), tolerating the indefinite conjugation to the greatest extent due to its unquestionably extracted NAK possessor, it is the (d)-variant in (801) with an analogous split structure that serves as the ideal and fully acceptable form of the possessive sentence in Hungarian. It is also in harmony with our observations in (799-800) that the (a)-variant and the (c)-variant in (801) are somewhat less acceptable.

(801) ● Possessive sentences

- a. ^(?)Van (néhány) lova Ilinek.
 be.3Sg some horse.Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat
 'Ili has (some) horses.'
- b. *Van Ili (néhány) lova.
 be.3Sg Ili some horse.Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Ili has (some) horses.'
- c. [?]Van Ilinek (néhány) lova.
 be.3Sg Ili.Dat some horse.Poss.3Sg
 'Ili has (some) horses.'
- d. Ilinek van (néhány) lova.
 Ili.Dat be.3Sg some horse.Poss.3Sg
 'Ili has (some) horses.'

- e. **Ilinek van a lova.* / **Van Ilinek a lova.*
Ili.Dat be.3Sg the horse.Poss.3Sg / be.3Sg Ili.Dat the horse.Poss.3Sg
- e'. Tudod, *Ilinek van az a lova, amelyik harap.*
 know.DefObj.2Sg *Ili.Dat be.3Sg that the horse.Poss.3Sg which bite.3Sg*
 'You know, *Ili* has *that horse*, which bites.'
- e''. Van ugye *Ili* / [*Ilinek a*] *lova, azzal is mehetsz.*
 be.3Sg isn't_it *Ili / Ili.Dat the horse.Poss.3Sg that.Ins also go.Mod.2Sg*
 'You know, there is *Ili's horse*, you can also go with it.'

Note in passing that it is not totally impossible to use a possessive sentence with a definite possessee (and an unmarked possessor), as is shown in (801e'-e'') above (cf. (801b,e)). The extraordinary context that makes this possible is that the *ab ovo* existential meaning factor underlying possessive statements in Hungarian gets presupposed: the speaker assumes that the fact of possession is known to the addressee. The grammatical clues expressing this degradation of existential statements into presuppositional contents are making the possessive sentence a subordinate clause (801e') or inserting such discourse particles as *ugye* 'isn't it' (801e'').

2.2.1.2.1.2. Form of the possessee

The possessedness suffix *-(j)A*, which the possessee bears, has five allomorphs, including the empty form, as was presented in (2a) in 1.1.1.1. Of them, the four non-empty forms can appear in 3rd person singular possessed forms, which have attracted much attention in the literature, because there are nouns which can appear more or less readily both with *-jA* and *-A* essentially depending on the alienable or inalienable semantic character (Kiefer 2000b: 201; see also Schirm 2005, Laczkó 2009) of the possessive structure (e.g., Kiefer 1985, Elekfi 2000, Den Dikken 2015, Farkas and Alberti 2015), as is illustrated by the minimal pair in (802a-a') below (see also (208-210) in 1.2.3). As the stem of the noun that bears the possessedness suffix may also appear in two different forms, as is illustrated by the often-quoted minimal pair in (805b-b'), for instance, nouns can be divided into four groups with respect to their potential alternative (3Sg) possessed forms, presented below in the series of examples in (802-805) in what follows.

Note in passing that what is at stake here is the verification in Hungarian of a straightforward generalization by Haspelmath (2008) according to which languages tend to express alienable possession by means of morphologically richer forms than inalienable possession. This can be done either by verifying that the component *-j* itself has a morphemic status responsible for the expression of alienability inside the possessedness suffix *-(j)A* (Den Dikken 2015: 131) or by interpreting morphological richness in some less trivial way (NB: in (805b-b') the expression of alienability is claimed to be transferred from *-j-* to *-á-*, see Den Dikken (2015: 141–142)).

Let us start the overview by considering the distribution of grammaticality judgments in the group of nouns with a single stem but with a phonotactically permitted alternation between the forms *-jA* and *-A* of the possessedness suffix *-(j)A* (802). As in all example pairs in (802-805), the possessive structures in those with a prime are evaluated as expressions of unquestionably alienable relationships while

those without a prime express inalienable relationships, or at least of types of relationships which can be regarded as encoded in Hungarian as inalienable on the basis of analogous examples.

Part-whole relations form the trivial basis of inalienable possessive structures (802a,b,d,e) with body parts as a distinguished subset (802b,e). Of these examples, in the inalienable constructions in (802a,b,d) the *-jA* variants are fully unacceptable, while in the corresponding alienable possessive structures in (802a',b',d'), the *-jA* variants are more or less marked but not unacceptable, with the *-A* variants also more or less marked (but still acceptable). As a similar distribution of grammaticality judgments can be observed in the minimal pair (802c-c'), rulers of nations can be considered to be encoded in language as inalienable parts of their nations.

(802) ● Inalienable/alienable forms of possessed nouns: I. Basic data, in which the difference between the variants can be regarded as *-j-* insertion

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| a. | a ház ablak-(*j)a
the house window-Poss.3Sg
'the window of the house' | a' | a világ legjobb ablak- ^{??} (j)a
the world best window-Poss.3Sg
'the world's best window' |
| b. | Ili talp-(*j)a
Ili sole-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's sole' | b' | a világ legbűdösebb talp- ^{??} (j)a
the world most_smelly sole-Poss.3Sg
'the world's most smelly sole' |
| c. | a németek császár-(*j)a
the German.Pl kaiser-Poss.3Sg
'the Germans' kaiser' | c' | minden idők legifjabb császár- ^(?) (j)a
all time.Pl youngest kaiser-Poss.3Sg
'the youngest kaiser of all time' |
| d. | az egyetem bölcsészkar-(*j)a
the university fac_of_hum.-Poss.3Sg
'the faculty of humanities
of the university' | d' | a világ legjobb bölcsészkar- ^(?) (j)a
the world best faculty_of_humanities-Poss.3Sg
'the world's best faculty of humanities' |
| e. | Ili kar-*(j)a
Ili arm-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's arm' | e' | a világ legerősebb kar-*(j)a
the world strongest arm-Poss.3Sg
'the world's strongest arm' |
| f. | az oroszok cár-*(j)a
the Russian.Pl tzar-Poss.3Sg
'the tzar of Russians' | f' | minden idők legifjabb cár-*(j)a
all time.Pl youngest tzar-Poss.3Sg
'the youngest tzar of all time' |

The last two examples, in which a body part (802e-e') and a sort of ruler (802f-f') are referred to, do not satisfy the above-sketched distribution of grammaticality judgments, since both kinds of interpretation can be expressed exclusively by the *-jA* variants. The homophonous forms, obviously belonging to the two different lexical items 'faculty' and 'arm', presented in (802d) and in (802e), thus, show different patterns of grammaticality judgments, in spite of the fact that both express part-whole relations.

In the series of examples in (803), a few phonotactic rules of Hungarian are presented which exclude the simultaneous occurrence of a *-jA* variant and an *-A* variant in the case of a possessed noun.

A noun ending in a vowel, for instance, has no *-A* variant (Rebrus 2014: 390), as is illustrated in (803a-b') below. If a noun, however, ends in *-s* (pronounced as the consonant in the English word *ash*), the *-jA* variant is excluded (Rebrus 2014:

387, 390). Certain other sibilants and affricates also tend to reject *-jA* while certain consonant combinations disprefer *-A* (803d), but deciding the precise set of such consonants and consonant combinations is postponed to future morphophonological research.

(803) • Inalienable/alienable forms of possessed nouns: II. One (potential) form for phonotactic reasons

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Ili vesé-*([✓]j)e
Ili kidney-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's kidney'</p> | <p>a'. a világ legnagyobb vesé-*([✓]j)e
the world biggest kidney-Poss.3Sg
'the world's biggest kidney'</p> |
| <p>b. Ili boká-*([✓]j)a
Ili ankle-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's ankle'</p> | <p>b'. a világ legszebb boká-*([✓]j)a
the world most_beautiful ankle-Poss.3Sg
'the world's most beautiful ankle'</p> |
| <p>c. Ili has-(*j)a
Ili belly-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's belly'</p> | <p>c'. a világ legnagyobb has-(*j)a
the world biggest belly-Poss.3Sg
'the world's biggest belly'</p> |
| <p>d. Ili comb-*([✓]j)a
Ili thigh-Poss.3Sg
'Ili's thigh'</p> | <p>d'. a világ legszebb comb-*([✓]j)a
the world most_beautiful thigh-Poss.3Sg
'the world's most beautiful thigh'</p> |
| <p>e. a csavar any*(^(?)á)ja
the screw mother.Poss.3Sg
'the nut of the bolt'</p> | <p>e'. a szerelő legnagyobb any*(^(?)á)ja
the mechanic biggest mother.Poss.3Sg
'the mechanic's biggest nut'</p> |

The minimal pair presented in (803e-e') above is of special interest to us, given that the noun *anya* 'nut (of a bolt)', which belongs to the vowel-final subgroup shown in (803a-b) is a polysemic counterpart of *anya* 'mother' presented in (805b-b') below, just mentioned above as an example of nouns having two stems. This pair thus patterns with the pair of homophonous nouns presented in (802d-e') above in behaving differently with respect to accepting *-jA/-A* variants.

The third group consists of nouns with an alternative idiosyncratic possessed form relative to the possessed form which can be derived on-line from the nominative form via adding *-jA* or *-A* (804). Such nouns, thus, have three potential 3Sg possessed forms. It can be observed, however, that both the inalienable meaning and the alienable meaning are highly preferably expressed by the idiosyncratic variant and the *-A* variant is fully unacceptable. In the case of the noun *gyomor* 'stomach', for instance, the inalienable meaning can be expressed only by means of the idiosyncratic variant *gyomra*, providing a fully acceptable possessive structure (804a), while the alienable meaning can be expressed by means of two variants, namely the idiosyncratic one and the *-jA* variant, but both resulting possessive structures are highly marked (804a'). The minimal pair in (804e-e') illustrates so extreme a preferredness of the idiosyncratic variant that this variant can express both kinds of meaning completely readily, with the two other potential forms providing fully unacceptable possessive structures.

- (804) ● Inalienable/alienable forms of possessed nouns: III. An idiosyncratic form coexists with an “on-line created” form derived by means of *-jA* from the nominative version (while a form derived by means of *-A* is phonotactically possible but not acceptable)
- a. Ili gyomra / *gyomorja / *gyomora
Ili stomach.Poss.3Sg
‘Ili’s stomach’
- a’. a világ legnagyobb ??gyomra / ??gyomorja / *gyomora
the world biggest stomach.Poss.3Sg
‘the world’s biggest stomach’
- b. a sas karma / *karomja / *karoma
the eagle claw.Poss.3Sg
‘the claw of the eagle’
- b’. a világ legélesebb ??karma / ??karomja / *karoma
the world sharpest claw.Poss.3Sg
‘the world’s sharpest claw’
- c. Ili körme / *körömje / *körüme
Ili nail.Poss.3Sg
‘Ili’s nail’
- c’. a világ legélesebb ??körme / *körömje / *körüme
the world sharpest nail.Poss.3Sg
‘the world’s sharpest nail’
- d. Pécs főtere / *főtérje / *fötére
Pécs main_square.Poss.3Sg
‘the main square of Pécs’
- d’. a világ legnagyobb (?)főtere / ??főtérje / *fötére
the world biggest main_square.Poss.3Sg
‘the world’s biggest main square’
- e. Pécs egyik tere / *térje / *tére
Pécs one_of square.Poss.3Sg
‘a square of Pécs’
- e’. a világ legnagyobb tere / *térje / *tére
the world biggest square.Poss.3Sg
‘the world’s biggest square’

In the fourth group, the nouns have an idiosyncratic possessed form but the ending of the nominative form excludes either the *-A* variant (805a-c’, e-e’) or the *-jA* variant (805d-d’) for the same phonotactic reasons as was discussed in connection with the examples presented in (803) above. It can be observed that the inalienable meanings may only be associated with the idiosyncratic variants (see the primeless examples in (805a-d)) and the alienable meanings with the single available variants based on the nominative form (see the corresponding primed examples). The minimal pair presented in (805e-e’) with the noun *falu* ‘village’ is somewhat exceptional with respect to the inalienable meaning, presumably due to the rather archaic character of the idiosyncratic variant *falva*: in present-day Hungarian, the nominative-form-based variant *faluja* is almost as acceptable as the idiosyncratic variant (NB: it is even questionable whether the possessive structure presented in

(805e) is encoded as an inalienable relationship in language). As for the alienable meaning tested in (805e'), it is unequivocally the nominative-form-based variant that expresses the alienable meaning, even more preferably than in the case of the acceptability pattern typical of the corresponding variants in (805a', b', c', d').

(805) ● Inalienable/alienable forms of possessed nouns: IV. An idiosyncratic form coexists with an on-line created form, whilst phonotactics prohibit *-A/-jA* alternation

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----|--|
| a. | a ház teteje / *tetője
the house roof.Poss.3Sg
'the roof of the house' | a'. | a cég legjobb *teteje / ^(?) tetője
the firm best roof.Poss.3Sg
'the firm's best roof' |
| b. | Ili anyja / *anyája
Ili mother.Poss.3Sg
'Ili's mother' | b'. | a világ legjobb ^{**} anyja / ^(?) anyája
the world best mother.Poss.3Sg
'the world's best mother' |
| c. | a juh gyapja / *gyapjúja
the sheep wool.Poss.3Sg
'the wool of the sheep' | c'. | a cég legjobb ^{**} gyapja / ^(?) gyapjúja
the firm best wool.Poss.3Sg
'the firm's best wool' |
| d. | a tűz parazsa / *parázsa
the fire glow.Poss.3Sg
'the glow of fire' | d'. | a világ legforróbb ^{??} parazsa / [?] parázsa
the world hottest glow.Poss.3Sg
'the world's hottest glow' |
| e. | a zsellérek ^(?) falva / [?] faluja
the cottar.Pl village.Poss.3Sg
'the village of cottars' | e'. | a világ legjobb ^{**} falva / [✓] faluja
the world best village.Poss.3Sg
'the world's best village' |

In what follows, the observations about the four groups are summarized in Table 63 and then generalized, by using the terminology defined in (806) below, which makes it possible to formulate the generalizations in a simple and elegant form (807).

(806) ● Definition of three kinds of possessed variants

- a. *Possessed variant 1* (v1):
on-line created as [nominative form of the noun + *-jA*], unless the relevant phonotactic rules of Hungarian prohibit this;
and, otherwise, [nominative form of the noun + *-A*].
- b. *Possessed variant 2* (v2):
on-line created as [nominative form of the noun + *-A*] if the relevant phonotactic rules of Hungarian permit both this variant and the [nominative form of the noun + *-jA*] variant
(NB: v2 is defined in a way that it is inevitably different from v1).
- c. *Possessed variant 3* (v3):
acceptable (idiosyncratic) form of the noun different from the
aforementioned two possessed variants, if any, for historical reasons.

It must be noted about variant 1 that certain speakers reject these in most cases, saying that they sound very artificial. This phenomenon may be regarded as a kind of hypercorrection: the speakers in question are convinced that the given variants violate certain rules they learned, in spite of the fact that they have never been taught such rules. Certain variants 3 are also problematic to some speakers, because

they consider them unacceptably archaic (e.g., *disznaja* ‘his/her pig’). It also generally holds for all examples in (802-805), except for those marked as fully acceptable or fully unacceptable, that they show quite high speaker-dependent variation.

In Table 63, the four quarters correspond to the four series of examples in (802-805).

The bottom right quarter, which is the simplest, presents the grammaticality judgments given in (803). In this group, v1 has no potential alternative, since there is no idiosyncratic variant (v3) and phonotactic rules exclude another nominative-form-based variant (v2). What else is worth noting is that, in all cases in this group, v1 can completely readily express the inalienable meaning as well as the alienable one.

The top right quarter presents the grammaticality judgments given in (805). In the corresponding group of nouns, (only) v3 and v1 are “in competition”, indicated in the corresponding heading as ‘{3, 1}’, since v2 is excluded for phonotactic reasons. As was observed in connection with (805), in this group, v3 can completely readily express the inalienable meaning (indicated by the formula ‘{3, 1} → 3’ in the table) and v1 can (quite readily) be associated with the alienable meaning (‘{3, 1} → 1’), but not *vice versa*. The available potential variants, thus, differentiate the two kinds of meanings, and exactly in the plausible way that the primary inalienable meaning belongs to the idiosyncratic variant v3, whilst the alienable meaning to be calculated in the given context on the basis of our conceptual network (referred to in (665e’) in 2.1.1.2.2) is expressed by the variant which can be calculated automatically, that is, by v1, referred to as the primary on-line created variant in (806a). Note that the simplified formula in (807a) below refers to this latter relationship between alienable meaning and on-line created form.

Table 63: Acceptability of different variants of possessed forms depending on phonotactic and historical factors

-A / -jA IDIOSYN	YES				NO			
	INALIENABLE		ALIENABLE		INALIENABLE		ALIENABLE	
YES	{3, 2, 1} → 3		{3, 2, 1} → 3		{3, 1} → 3		{3, 1} → 1	
	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1
	✓gyomra	*gyomorja	ʔgyomra	ʔgyomorja	✓teteje	*tetője	*teteje	(?)tetője
	✓karma	*karomja	ʔkarma	ʔkaromja	✓anya	*anyája	*anya	(?)anyája
	✓körme	*körömje	ʔkörme	*körömje	✓gyapja	*gyapjúja	*gyapja	(?)gyapjúja
	✓főtere	*főtérje	(?)főtere	*főtérje	✓parazsa	*parázsa	ʔparazsa	ʔparázsa
	✓tere	*térje	✓tere	*térje	(?)falva	ʔfaluja	*falva	✓faluja
	NO	{2, 1} → 2		{2, 1} → 1		{1} → 1		{1} → 1
2		1	2	1	1	1	1	1
✓ablaka		*ablakja	ʔablaka	ʔablakja	✓veséje		✓veséje	
{2, 1} → 2		{2, 1} → 2		✓bokája		✓bokája		
2		1	2	1	✓hasa		✓hasa	
✓talpa		*talpja	ʔtalpa	ʔtalpja	✓combja		✓combja	
✓b.kara		*b.karja	(?)b.kara	ʔb.karja				
✓császára		*császára	(?)császára	ʔcsászára				
{2, 1} → 1		{2, 1} → 1						
2		1	2	1				
*kara		✓karja	*kara	ʔkarja			(?)anyája _{nut}	(?)anyája _{nut}
*cára		✓cárja	*cára	✓cárja				

The top left quarter presents the grammaticality judgments given in (804). In the corresponding group of nouns, it could be theoretically possible for all the three variants to be in competition, but, as can be observed in (804), v2 cannot express either the inalienable meaning or the alienable one. The systematic unacceptability of v2 is indicated in the corresponding heading by crossing out this variant (see the notation ‘{3, 2, 1}’ in the top left quarter of the table), and the table does not present the uniformly fully unacceptable data, either. It can be formulated as a generalization which holds for all types of data that v2 and v3 mutually exclude each other; see (807e) below. Hence, there is no noun with three, at least more or less, acceptable possessed forms (807e’). Another straightforward consequence of the mutually exclusive relation between v2 and v3 is that if a noun has two possessed forms, one of them is v1 (807e’’).

With variant v2 excluded, both in the top right quarter and in the top left quarter, the same two variants “remain in competition”. The outcomes in the two cases, however, are different: while in the top right quarter, the two variants

differentiate the two kinds of meanings, as is formulated in (807a-a'), in the top left quarter, both the inalienable meaning and the alienable meaning are significantly more readily expressed by v3 (cf. (807c'')). What is formulated in (807a-a'), thus, is a (plausible) strategy that functions only in certain domains of nouns (see the two specially framed domains with dark borders in Table 63) and not a universal generalization valid for all Hungarian nouns.

The bottom left quarter, in which (in the absence of idiosyncratic (v3) alternatives) the two nominative-form-based variants v1 and v2 are in competition, shows the most eclectic picture. This picture is a reflection of the great variety according to which certain data pattern with those in the top right quarter in associating different forms with the two kinds of meanings (807a-a'), whilst other data pattern with those in the top left quarter in associating the same forms with the two kinds of meanings, and, moreover, both v1 and v2 can serve as this dominant form (in the case of different nouns, of course; cf. (807c-c')). Thus, in this quarter, both v1 and v2 are associated with either the inalienable meaning or the alienable one, in the case of different nouns, as is registered in (807b) below; nevertheless, it never happens that, in the case of one and the same noun, the alienable meaning is expressed by v2 while the inalienable one is expressed by v1. This restriction, which holds for all data in all the four quarters, is formulated in (807d) as follows: if different variants are associated with the two kinds of meaning (see the two specially framed domains with dark borders in Table 63), the "sequence number" of the variant belonging to the inalienable meaning must be larger than that of the variant belonging to the alienable meaning; the opposite association is excluded (NB: by "sequence number", we mean the numbers 1, 2, and 3 given in (806) above). Note that this generalization can completely cover all the data with no exception due to its formulation via accepting cases of equation (included in the relation ' $k \geq n$ ' in (807d)): such cases cover the nouns with a single acceptable possessed form (see the other four domains framed with light borders in Table 63).

(807) • Generalizations on the (somewhat hidden) relationship between v1 *versus* v2, v3 and alienability (a) *versus* inalienability (i)

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| a. | v1~a | on-line created: morphophonologically ~ semantically |
| a'. | v2~i, v3~i: | (a-a'): partial tendency as a good point of departure |
| b. | v1~i / v2~a / v3~a | there are such counterexamples |
| c. | [v1~i → *v2, *v3] | v1 as dominant variant |
| c'. | [v2~a → *v1, *v3] | v2 as dominant variant |
| c''. | [v3~a → *v1, *v2] | v3 as dominant variant |
| d. | [v _k /v _n ~ i/a → k ≥ n] | inalienable/alienable for each domain |
| e. | *[v3 & v2] | variants excluding each other |
| e'. | *[v1 & v2 & v3] | all the three variants cannot appear simultaneously |
| e''. | [v _k & v _n (k > n) → n=1] | of two variants, one is v1 |
| f. | v3 > ... | hierarchy of dominance |

All in all, although the data in (802-805), summarized in Table 63, suggest a close relationship between the automatically calculable (on-line created) variant v1 and alienable meaning, to be calculated context-dependently (807a), and, parallel to this, between the other two variants and inalienable meaning (807a'), on the one hand,

either kind of meaning can be observed to be expressed by any variant (807b), on the other.

The hypothesized asymmetry of semantic affiliation between *v1* versus *v2* and *v3*, beyond the fact that the natural strategy formulated in (807a-a') explicitly prevails in certain domains of nouns, also prevails in the other domains "vacuously" and "implicitly" in the following sense. By "vacuously" we mean that there is no domain in which *v1* expresses the inalienable meaning with *v2* or *v3* expressing the alienable meaning (807d). As for "implicit" manifestations of the asymmetry in question, the (c)-constraints formulate them by claiming that if a variant can express the opposite kind of meaning relative to its basic character given in (807a-a'), then, in the case of the same noun, it will express (at least equally readily) the other kind of meaning (the one that *ab ovo* suits it), too. In such cases, the given variant is referred to as a *dominant* one.

The constraints in (807e-f) formulate restrictions on the coexistence or, on the contrary, dominance of the three variants which do not follow from the foregoing discussion.

Let us consider a few detailed instances or consequences of the (e)-restrictions (already discussed above). If, for instance, the idiosyncratic variant *v3* expresses the inalienable meaning and phonotactics does not exclude constructing a variant *v2*, this variant will be fully unacceptable as an expression of either the same inalienable meaning or the alienable meaning. The latter part is in the spirit of (807a-a') while the former part can be regarded as a unicity condition: it is unnecessary to express the same kind of meaning in two or more ways. Practically, thus, if a noun has two more or less acceptable possessed forms, then the alienable meaning is expressed by *v1* (807e") and the inalienable meaning is expressed either by *v2* or by *v3*, exclusively; hence, there is no noun with three different more or less acceptable possessed forms (807e').

The constraint in (807f) pertains to domains of nouns in which there is a dominant variant (in the above-defined sense). Let us call such a domain of nouns a *monarchy*. The constraint in (807f) is about monarchies, that is, about the question which variant can be the dominant one in a monarchy, of the variants which can be regarded as "competing" ones in a quarter on the basis of the phonotactic and historical factors taken into account so far (see the variants listed in '{...}' in Table 63 above). Thus, the given constraint expresses that if *v3* is a "competing" potential variant in a quarter which functions as a monarchy, then *v3* is the dominant variant there, as is observed in the top left quarter. In other words, beside *v3*, variant *v1* (which can always be constructed as a "competing" alternative due to the technique of definition in (806)) cannot serve as a dominant variant. The top right quarter does not violate the constraint: although the competing variants are also *v3* and *v1* there, that quarter is not a monarchy, since different kinds of meanings are expressed by different variants, and not uniformly by *v1*. Of *v1* and *v2*, however, it cannot be predicted which variant is the dominant one, as can be seen in the very eclectic bottom left quarter, which consists of two monarchies and a domain in which (807a-a') prevail.

The subsection concludes with a table (Table 64) in which it is demonstrated that possessive structures of (complex-event(uality)-related) derived nouns with

thematic possessors fit well in the system functioning according to the constraints presented in (807) above—by placing the given types of derived nouns (1.3) in the adequate quarter in Table 63. As is repeatedly presented in (808) below, in the case of complex-event(uality)-related derived nouns, the possessor always corresponds to a designated input argument, that is, it is always a thematic argument (see Table 37 in subsection 1.3.1.7 as well as subsection 1.3.1.2.2.1, subsection II in 1.3.1.2.4.2 and in 1.3.1.3.4.2, subsection 1.3.2.1.2.1 and every further subsection on argument-structure inheritance). Thematic arguments appearing as possessors are of crucial relevance because the Agent is held to stand in a non-intrinsic relationship with the verb (Marantz 1984, Kratzer 1996), which is considered to be related to alienability in 1.3.1.4, in contrast to the intrinsic (hence, inalienable) relationship between verbs and their Themes (see the relevant comments on Table 29 in the introduction to 1.3.1.4).

(808) ● Forms of possessed complex-event(uality)-related derived nouns (depending on the thematic character of possessors)

- a. Vendel tegnapi *el-rohan-ás-a* / *likvidál-ás-a*
Vendel yesterday.Adj *away-run-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* / *liquidate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'the fact that yesterday [Vendel_{Agent} ran away] / [Vendel_{Theme} was liquidated]'
- b. Vendel tegnapi *likvidál-ó-ja*
Vendel yesterday.Adj *liquidate-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'the person who liquidated Vendel_{Theme} yesterday'
- c. Vendel tegnapi *likvidál-t-á-val*
Vendel yesterday.Adj *liquidate-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'with Vendel_{Theme} (having been) liquidated yesterday'
- c'. Vendel tegnapi *likvidál-t-ja*
Vendel yesterday.Adj *liquidate-T-Poss.3Sg*
'the person whom Vendel_{Agent} liquidated yesterday'
- d. Vendel ebéd után való *beszélget-hetnék-je* / *ásítóz-hatnék-ja*
Vendel lunch after be.Part *talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* / *gape-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'[Vendel'_{sAgent} desire to talk] / [Vendel'_{sPartial_Agent} urge to gape] after lunch'
- e. [?]Vendel tegnapi *labilis-ság-a*
Vendel yesterday.Adj *labile-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'the fact that Vendel was being emotional yesterday'

Since complex-event(uality)-related derived nouns are inherently on-line created, they have no idiosyncratic possessed forms, so they cannot appear in the two top quarters in Table 64, but must be distributed in the two bottom quarters according to phonotactic factors. *ÁS*-nouns (808a) and *Ó*-nouns (808b) must obviously be placed in the bottom right quarter, since *ÁS*-nouns end in *-s* (cf. (803c)) and *Ó*-nouns end in a vowel (cf. (803a-b)), so Hungarian phonotactic rules prevent them from having *v2* (NB: *ÁS*-nouns have only *-A* variants and *Ó*-nouns have only *-jA* variants).

Complex-event-based T-nouns (see (808c-c') above), however, follow the (807a-a') strategy in the bottom left quarter of the classification of possessed-noun forms in Table 64 (cf. the discussion concerning Table 29 in the introduction to 1.3.1.4). That is, T_{EV}-nouns (808c), which tend to have "inalienable" Theme possessors (and never prototypical Agents under any circumstances), have *v2* possessed forms, while T_{TH}-nouns (808c') have *v1* possessed forms, since their

possessors are not Themes. Since possessors of HATNÉK-nouns (808d) are not Themes, either, but prototypical Agents or Agent-like participants who have partial control over bodily/sound emission, possessed forms of HATNÉK-nouns are—correctly—predicted to be variants v1 (see also (508) in 1.3.1.5.4.2). As for SÁG-nouns (808e), due to their adjectival or nominal derivational basis, their possessors are not Agent-like arguments, so it is not surprising that their possessed forms are v2 variants.

Table 64: The classification of -A/-jA forms of possessed complex-event(uality)-related derived nouns in Table 63 (depending on the thematic character of possessors)

2? \ 3?	YES	NO
YES	{3, 2, 1} → 3/3	{3, 1} → 3/1
NO	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-right: 5px;">{2, 1} → 2/2</div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 2px;">{2, 1}</div> <div style="font-size: 1em;">↓</div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 10px;"> 2 / 1 </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 10px; font-size: 0.8em;"> T_{EV} T_{TH} </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 10px; font-size: 0.8em;"> SÁG HATNÉK </div> </div> </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin-bottom: 5px;">{1}</div> <div style="font-size: 1.5em;">↓</div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 10px;"> 1 / 1 </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 10px; margin-top: 5px;"> ÁS ÁS </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; gap: 10px; margin-top: 5px;"> Ó Ó </div> </div>
	{2, 1} → 1/1	

2.2.1.2.2. *Unmarked possessor*

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of the unmarked possessor, one of the two prenominal forms of possessors (see (796) in 2.2.1.2.1.1).

Just as in (746) in the introduction to the subsection on attributive constructions (2.2.1.1), it is worth investigating how the definite article (*a(z)* ‘the’) and other determiners such as *egy* ‘a(n)/one’, *mindkét* ‘both’ and *semelyik* ‘none of’ inside noun phrases serving as unmarked possessors co-operate or interfere with similar determiners playing the same role in the determination of the corresponding matrix noun phrases, due to their often adjacent word-order positions (on the question of the relationship between different types of possessors and the referentiality degree of the matrix noun phrases, also see (799-800) in 2.2.1.2.1.1).

In the case of a definite matrix noun phrase, only the determiner of the unmarked possessor can and must appear whether it is definite (809a) or indefinite (809b). Such potential sequences of determiners as *az a(z)* ‘the the’ or *az egy* ‘the one’, thus, are not acceptable in the given possessive constructions, while in the analogous attributive constructions only the former sequence is excluded (cf. (746a-b) in 2.2.1.1). Hence, the mere presence of an unmarked possessor renders the

matrix noun phrase definite (at least if no further determiner belongs to the matrix noun phrase; cf. (800b) in 2.2.1.2.1.1).

(809) • Relationship between the referential degree of the unmarked possessor and that of the matrix noun phrase

- a. *[A(Z) A(Z)] / √A(Z) szőke lány homályos fényképe
 the the / the blond girl blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'THE blurred photo of THE blonde girl'
- b. *[A(Z) EGY] / *A(Z) / √EGY szőke lány homályos fényképe
 the a / the / a blond girl blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'THE blurred photo of A blonde girl'
- c. EGY szőke lány ^(?)(EGY) homályos fényképe
 a blond girl a blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'A blurred photo of A blonde girl'
- d. ^(?)A(Z) szőke lány (EGY) homályos fényképe
 the blond girl a blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'A blurred photo of THE blonde girl'
- e. MINDKÉT szőke lány *(√MINDKÉT) homályos fényképe
 both blond girl both blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'BOTH blurred photos of BOTH blonde girls'
- f. SEMELYIK szőke lány *(√SEMELYIK) homályos fényképe
 none_of blond girl none_of blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'NONE OF the blurred photo of NONE OF the blonde girl'

In the cases presented in (809c-f) above, it cannot happen that the determiner belonging to the unmarked possessor and the determiner belonging to the matrix noun phrase are adjacent, since the given determiners of the matrix noun phrase follow the unmarked possessor (see Remark 5 in 1.1.2.2). Of the given determiners of the matrix noun phrase, *egy* 'a(n)/one' is optionally omissible, yielding a negligible change in acceptability (809c-d), in contrast to *mindkét* 'both' and *semelyik* 'none of' (809e-f), whose omission would presumably result in an intolerable loss of information (cf. the essentially similar observations on the corresponding attributive constructions in (746c-f) in 2.2.1.1).

In what follows, it will be investigated whether certain possessor types, namely, the unmarked prenominal counterparts of the same eight possessor types characterized in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 as arguments in the postnominal complement zone can have internal scope (2.2.1.2.2.1) and external scope (2.2.1.2.2.2). Note in passing that it is presupposed above that a possessor type which can appear in the postnominal complement zone always has an unmarked prenominal counterpart (NB: the restrictions overviewed in (797) in 2.2.1.2.1.1 are only position-dependent restrictions on the internal syntactic realization of possessor types), and there arise no questions of the form of the ideal prenominal appearance, such as the questions concerning the choice between such alternatives as *való*-constructions, *lévő*-constructions, and *i*-constructions, for instance, in the case of non-possessor satellite types (see Table 57 in 2.2.1.1.1.1 and Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1).

2.2.1.2.2.1. Internal-scope taking in the case of unmarked possessors

This subsection is devoted to the testing of the internal-scope taking potential of the eight possessor types in the same six information-structural functions investigated (in the postnominal complement zone) in subsection 2.1.1.4, in the case of seven of the possessor types. In subsection 2.1.2.1, the only remaining type, namely, the possessor of *fight/game* nouns, was also tested as a potential internal-scope taker in the postnominal complement zone. Note that, in order to make only the internal-scope reading available (relevant to us in this subsection), the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4).

The first operator type to test is the *mind*-quantifier (810).

 (810) ● Unmarked possessors as *mind*-quantifiers

- a. Na például [*mindkét fiad*]_{Theme} meg-hív-ás-a a koncertre,
 well for_instance both son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *inviting [both of your sons] to the concert*, that was a mistake.’
- b. *Na például (a) [*mindkét sebész*]_{Agent} reggeli operáció-ja,
 well for_instance the both surgeon morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg
 az jól sikerült.
 that well succeed.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *the operation [by both surgeons] in the morning* was successful.’
- c. *Na például [*mindkét fiad*]_{Agent / Theme / Owner} gyönyörű kép-e,
 well for_instance both son.Poss.2Sg beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
 az nagyon értékes.
 that very valuable
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *that beautiful picture [by both of your sons]_{Agent} / [of both of your sons]_{Theme} / [owned by both of your sons]_{Owner}*, that is very valuable.’
- d. *Na például [*mindkét kedvenc irányítóm*] meccs-e,
 well for_instance both favorite quarterback.Poss.1Sg match-Poss.3Sg
 az érdekes volt.
 that interesting be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *the match [in which both of my favorite quarterbacks took part]*, that was interesting.’
- e. *Na például [*mindkét öregúr*] jelenlévő unoká-i,
 well for_instance both old_man present grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ők nagyon udvariasak.
 they very polite.Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *the grandchildren present [of both old gentlemen]*, they are very polite.’
- f. *Na például [*mindkét fiam*] kedvenc ujjatlan póló-i,
 well for_instance both son.Poss.1Sg favorite sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 azok nagyon viccesek.
 that.Pl very funny.Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *the favorite sleeveless T-shirts [of both of my sons]*, those are very funny.’

As is exemplified above, only the *thematic* possessor (of a complex-event(uality)-related derived noun, namely, that of an ÁS-noun) can perfectly take internal scope as a *mind*-quantifier (810a), while all the possessor types categorized as *conceptual* arguments in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 categorically reject doing so. This extreme distribution of acceptability is completely the same as in the case of the postnominal counterparts of the given possessor types (Table 54 in 2.1.2.6).

It is worth recalling that for a possessor to be *thematic*, it does not suffice that the participant it refers to in a given context should coincide with an argument in the corresponding underlying argument structure. The given possessor is also required to correspond to the thematic participant designated in the “grammatical definition” of the obligatorily derivational relationship between the aforementioned underlying argument structure and the argument structure the given possessor belongs to. In the case of an ÁS-noun, for instance, the given “grammatical definition” requires the possessor to correspond to the input Theme, if any, and otherwise to the input Agent. Thus, in (810a), the Theme possessor is *per definitionem* a thematic possessor, while in (810b), in the case of an irregularly derived SED-noun (i.e., the event-type denoting counterpart of a corresponding ÁS-noun), the Agent possessor is not a thematic possessor, in spite of the fact that it happens to coincide with an argument in the derivational input (1.3.1.2.2.1). As for the possessor types of *story/picture* nouns, presented in (810c) above, there is no derivational basis at all (see the comments on Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 about the concept of an “underlying thematic grid”; NB: the given example itself clearly shows that there is no predescribed designated thematic role for the possessor but at least three roles can be assigned to it).

We claim, without further illustration, that, of the possessor types tested, only the thematic possessor can take any kind of internal scope. Hence, in this respect, too, unmarked possessors which are conceptual arguments perfectly pattern with their postnominal counterparts (see Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7; see also Table 54 in 2.1.2.6).

Thus, it suffices in what follows to concentrate on testing the single thematic possessor type functioning as the other five types of internal-scope taking operators (811).

(811) ● Unmarked possessors of on-line created derived nouns as other operators

- a. Na például [...], az hiba volt.
well for_instance that mistake be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, [...], that was a mistake.'
- b. [csak az egyik fiad]_{Theme} meg-hív-ás-a a koncertre
only the one_of son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
'inviting [only one of your sons] to the concert'
- c. [?][nem a fiad]_{Theme} meg-hív-ás-a a koncertre
not the son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
'inviting [not your son] to the concert'
- d. ^{*)}[senki]/^(?)[semelyik fiad] /[✓][semelyikőtök]_{Theme}
no-one / none_of son.Poss.2Sg / none_of.Poss.2Pl
meg nem hív-ás-a a koncertre
perf not invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
'inviting [none of your sons]/[no-one] to the concert'

- e. **[a fiad is]*_{Theme} *meg-hív-ás-a a koncerthe*
 the son.Poss.2Sg also perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
 Intended meaning: ‘inviting [not your son] to the concert’
- f. **Na például [melyik fiad] / [ki]*_{Theme} *meg-hív-ás-át*
 well for_instance which son.Poss.2Sg / who perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg-Acc
a koncerthe, azt megkérdeztem.
 the concert.Sub that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the question [which of your sons] / [who] had been invited to the concert, I asked that.’

As is exemplified above, the thematic possessor can totally readily function as an internal-scope taking *csak*-focus (811b), and significantly less readily (‘?’) as a negative focus (811c). The difference in acceptability is presumably only due to accidental pragmatico-semantic differences in evoking an adequate interpretation, with appropriate facts presupposed.

The last two examples illustrate the fact that the thematic possessor rejects taking internal scope either as an *is*-quantifier (811e) or as any kind of *wh*-phrase (811f). In this respect, thus, thematic possessors pattern with other kinds of possessors.

As for thematic possessors as negative quantifiers, a drastic difference can be observed between negative-quantifier expressions with different internal structures (811d). If the quantifier expression consists of a single negative general pronoun (like *senki* ‘no-one’), for instance, the resulting possessive construction is practically unacceptable. On the other hand, noun phrases containing negative quantifier *-ik* determiners (cf. (116a) in 1.1.2.3) as proper parts serving as unmarked possessors (like *semelyik fiad* ‘none of your sons’ phrase-internally and *semelyikötök* ‘none of you_{pl}’ word-internally) are quite good internal-scope takers. The difference in acceptability presumably has to do with specificity: the unmarked possessor is required to be specific, at least in the context in question (811a), presumably due to the required specificity of the matrix noun phrase, which can be guaranteed by *-ik* determiners.

Table 65 provides a visual summary of the simple system of data concerning different types of unmarked possessors with respect to taking internal scope.

Table 65: Readiness of unmarked possessors of different types of nouns to take internal scope

NOUN TYPE			<i>mind</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>wh</i>
ÁS-N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	✓	✓	(?)	?	*	*
<i>f/g</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
rel-N	possessor		*	*	*	*	*	*
SED-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Owner</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
ord-N	possessor		*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*

2.2.1.2.2.2. External-scope taking in the case of unmarked possessors

This subsection is devoted to the testing of the external-scope taking potential of the eight possessor types in the same six information-structural functions investigated (in the postnominal complement zone) in subsection 2.1.1.4, in the case of seven of the possessor types. In subsection 2.1.2.2, the only remaining type, namely, the possessor of *fight/game* nouns, was also tested as a potential external-scope taker in the postnominal complement zone. Note that, in contrast to the previous subsection, the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are *not* placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4), in order to make the external-scope reading available (relevant to us in this subsection).

Before discussing the details, it is worth overviewing whether the same “affiliation” problem persists as in the subsections on external-scope taking of adjuncts and arguments in the prenominal modifier zone (2.2.1.1.1.3, 2.2.1.1.2.3), namely, which constituents certain determiners and particles belong to. In the case of the quantifier-determiners *mindkét* ‘both’ and *semelyik* ‘none of’ and the interrogative *-ik* determiner *melyik* ‘which’, the structures in question are not potentially ambiguous due to the placement of the given determiners, since this kind of determiner follows the unmarked possessor (see (809e-f) in the introduction to 2.2.1.2.2). As for the focus-indicating particle *csak* ‘only’ and the negative particle *nem* ‘not’, we face the same “affiliation” problem as in subsections 2.2.1.1.1.3 and 2.2.1.1.2.3 (and we will be led to the same conclusion). For the discussion of the problem, see the comments on the (f)-examples in (816-817) below.

The first operator type to test is the *mind*-quantifier (812). As can be seen, all kinds of possessors completely readily take external scope. Note in passing that even the Theme possessor of *story/picture* nouns can totally readily do so if the context prefers this thematic interpretation of the possessor (812c’), instead of a context which is neutral in this respect (812c) (on the slight preference for the other two interpretations over the Theme interpretation, see the comments on (693a’-a”) in 2.1.1.4.1; this difference, however, has nothing to do with inclination for taking external scope (cf. (667a’) in 2.1.1.2.2)).

(812) • Unmarked possessors as external-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers

- a. [*Mindkét fiad*]_{Theme} *meg-hív-ás-a* *súlyos hiba* *volt*.
both son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg serious mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both of your sons that inviting either of them was a serious mistake.’
- b. [*Mindkét sebész*]_{Agent} *reggeli operáció-ja* *jól sikerült*.
both surgeon morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both surgeons that the operation by either of them was successful.’
- c. [*Mindkét fiad*]_{Agent / (c)Theme / ✓Owner} *kép-e* *nagyon értékes*.
both son.Poss.2Sg picture-Poss.3Sg very valuable
 ‘It holds for both of your sons that the picture [by either of them]_{Agent} / [of either of them]_{Theme} / [owned by either of them]_{Owner} is very valuable.’
- c’. [*Mindkét modell*]_{Theme} *fotó-ja* *nagyon látványos*.
both model photo-Poss.3Sg very spectacular
 ‘It holds for both models that the photo [of either of them] is very spectacular.’

- d. [*Mindkét fiam*] *meccs-e* érdekes volt.
 both son.Poss.1Sg match-Poss.3Sg interesting be.Past.3Sg
 ‘It holds for both of my sons that the match [in which either of them took part] was interesting.’
- e. [*Mindkét öregúr*] *unoká-i* nagyon udvariasak.
 both old_man grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg very polite.Pl
 ‘It holds for both old gentlemen that the grandchildren of either of them are very polite.’
- f. [*Mindkét fiam*] *ujjatlan póló-i* nagyon viccesek.
 both son.Poss.1Sg sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg very funny.Pl
 ‘It holds for both of my sons that the sleeveless T-shirts of either of them are very funny.’

Negative quantifiers completely pattern with *mind*-quantifiers in totally readily taking external scope (813).

(813) ● Unmarked possessors as external-scope taking negative quantifiers

- a. [*Semelyik fiad*]_{Theme} *meg-hív-ás-a* nem volt hiba.
 none_of son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg not be.Past.3Sg mistake
 ‘It does not hold for any of your sons that inviting him was a mistake.’
- b. [*Semelyik sebész*]_{Agent} *operáció-ja* nem sikerült.
 none_of surgeon operation-Poss.3Sg not succeed.Past.3Sg
 ‘It does not hold for any of the surgeons that his operation was successful.’
- c. [*Semelyik fiad*]_{Agent /^(c)Theme /^(c)Owner} *kép-e* nem értékes.
 none_of son.Poss.2Sg picture-Poss.3Sg not valuable
 ‘It does not hold for any of your sons that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} is valuable.’
- c’. [*Semelyik modell*]_{Theme} *fotó-ja* nem látványos.
 none_of model photo-Poss.3Sg not spectacular
 ‘It does not hold for any of the models that the photo [of her] is spectacular.’
- d. [*Semelyik fiam*] *meccs-e* nem volt érdekes.
 none_of son.Poss.1Sg match-Poss.3Sg not be.Past.3Sg interesting
 ‘It does not hold for any of my sons that his match [in which he took part] was interesting.’
- e. [*Semelyik öregúr*] *unoká-i* nem udvariasak.
 none_of old_man grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg not polite.Pl
 ‘It does not hold for any of the old gentlemen that his grandchildren are polite.’
- f. [*Semelyik fiam*] *póló-i* nem tetszenek.
 none_of son.Poss.1Sg T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg not please.3Pl
 ‘It does not hold for any of my sons that his T-shirts please me.’

Wh-phrases also completely pattern with *mind*-quantifiers in totally readily taking external scope (814).

(814) ● Unmarked possessors as external-scope taking *wh*-phrases

- a. [*Melyik fiad*]_{Theme} *meg-hív-ás-a* volt súlyos hiba?
 which son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg serious mistake
 ‘[Which of your sons] does it hold for that inviting him was a serious mistake?’
- b. [*Melyik sebész*]_{Agent} *reggeli operáció-ja* sikerült jól?
 which surgeon morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘[Which surgeon] does it hold for that his operation in the morning was successful?’

- c. [*Melyik fiad*]_{Agent / ⁽³⁾Theme / [✓]Owner} *kép-é-t* vették meg?
 which son.Poss.2Sg picture-Poss.3Sg-Acc buy.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
 ‘[Which of your sons] does it hold for that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought?’
- c’. [*Melyik modell*]_{Theme} *fotó-ja* sikerült jól?
 which model photo-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘[Which model] does it hold for that the photo about her was successful?’
- d. [*Melyik fiad*] *meccs-e* volt érdekes?
 which son.Poss.2Sg match-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg interesting
 ‘[Which of your sons] does it hold for that his match was interesting?’
- e. [*Melyik öregúr*] *unokái* voltak udvariasak?
 which old_man grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg be.Past.3Pl polite.Pl
 ‘[Which old gentlemen] does it hold for that his grandchildren were polite?’
- f. [*Melyik fiad*] *póló-i* veszték el?
 which son.Poss.2Sg T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 ‘[Which of your sons] does it hold for that his T-shirts got lost?’

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the external-scope taking expressions in (812-814) could not have been chosen totally freely, in the sense that poorer grammaticality judgments would have been passed for other subtypes of the three operator types, as is illustrated in (815) below. In (815a-b), the reason for this has to do with the specificity requirement discussed in connection with (811d) in 2.2.1.2.2.1, namely, the unmarked possessor must be specific, presumably due to the fact that it is responsible for the expression of the required specificity of the matrix noun phrase. As for *wh*-expressions, a *wh*-word like *ki* ‘who’ in (815c) cannot appear as an unmarked possessor but only as a NAK possessor (see (797c) in 2.2.1.2.1.1, but see also (797c’)); while noun phrases containing interrogative *-ik* determiners as proper parts serving as unmarked possessors, like *melyik fiad* ‘which of your sons’ phrase-internally (see (814a,c,d,f) and (797c’)) and *melyikötök* ‘which of you_{pl}’ word-internally (815c), are quite good external-scope takers.

(815) ● Pronouns as unmarked possessors functioning as certain external-scope taking operators

- a. ⁽²⁾*Mindenki* / [✓]*Mindegyikötök unokái* eljöttek.
 everyone / all_of.Poss.2Pl grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg away.come.Past.3Pl
 ‘It holds for everyone / [all of you] that their / your grandchildren came here.’
- b. [?]*Senki* / [✓]*Semelyikötök unokái* nem jöttek el.
 no-one / none_of.Poss.2Pl grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg not come.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It holds for no-one / [none of you] that their / your grandchildren came here.’
- c. ^{*?}*Ki* / [✓]*Melyikötök unokái* jöttek el?
 who / which_of.Poss.2Pl grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg come.Past.3Pl away
 ‘Whom / [Whom of you] does it hold for that their / your grandchildren came here?’

Csak-foci and negative foci also completely readily take external scope, as is exemplified in the series of examples in (816-817), respectively.

(816) • Unmarked possessors as external-scope taking *csak*-foci

- a. [*Csak a fiad*]_{Theme} *meg-hív-ás-a* volt súlyos hiba.
 only the son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg serious mistake
 ‘It holds only for your son that inviting him was a serious mistake.’
- b. [*Csak Dr. Bárdossy*]_{Agent} *operáció-ja* sikerült jól.
 only Dr. Bárdossy operation-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘It holds only for Dr. Bárdossy that his operation was successful.’
- c. [*Csak a fiad*]_{Agent / ^(c)Theme / ^(c)Owner} *kép-é-t* vették meg.
 only the son.Poss.2Sg picture-Poss.3Sg-Acc buy.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
 ‘It holds only for your son that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought.’
- c’. [*Csak a szőke modell*]_{Theme} *fotó-ja* sikerült jól.
 only the blond model photo-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘It holds only for the blonde models that the photo [of her] succeeded.’
- d. [*Csak az egyik fiam*] *meccs-e* volt érdekes.
 only the one_of son.Poss.1Sg match-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg interesting
 ‘It holds only for one of my sons that his match was interesting.’
- e. [*Csak az egyik öregúr*] *unoká-i* voltak udvariasak.
 only the one_of old_man grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg be.Past.3Pl polite.Pl
 ‘It holds only for one of the old gentlemen that his grandchildren were polite.’
- f. [*Csak a fiam*] *póló-i* vesztek el.
 only the son.Poss.1Sg T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It holds only for my sons that his T-shirts got lost.’
- f’. *Csak [a fiam póló-i]* vesztek el.
 only the son.Poss.1Sg T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It holds only for my son’s T-shirts that they got lost [(i) of arbitrary clothes or accessories, or (ii) of T-shirts of, say, other family members, depending on stress pattern; NB: the latter reading practically coincides with the reading given in (816f)].’

The (f)-examples in (816-817) call the reader’s attention once more to the theoretical and methodological “affiliation” problem concerning *csak*-foci and negative foci described and solved in the argumentation belonging to the series of examples in (767-768) in 2.2.1.1.1.3. As is illustrated, it is difficult to decide, for instance, whether the focus-indicating particle *csak* ‘only’ immediately belongs to the potential external-scope taking unmarked possessor (816f), instead of “holistically” belonging to the matrix noun phrase (816f’). As was argued, however, this question simply need not be decided on, since (i) there is an inclusive relationship between the meanings associated with the “competing” syntactic structures, and (ii) the focus feature is assigned to the given unmarked possessor on the basis of stress, independent of the placement of the particle *csak* ‘only’ or *nem* ‘not’.

(817) • Unmarked possessors as external-scope taking negative foci

- a. [*Nem a fiad*]_{Theme} *meg-hív-ás-a* volt súlyos hiba.
 not the son.Poss.2Sg perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg serious mistake
 ‘It is not your son for whom it holds that inviting them was a serious mistake.’

- b. [Nem Dr. Bárdossy]_{Agent} operáció-ja sikerült jól.
not Dr. Bárdossy operation-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
'It is not Dr. Bárdossy whose operation was successful.'
- c. [Nem a fiad]_{Agent / ^(c)Theme / _{Owner}} kép-é-t vették meg.
not the son.Poss.2Sg picture-Poss.3Sg-Acc buy.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
'It is not your son for whom it holds that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought.'
- c'. [Nem a szőke modell]_{Theme} fotó-ja sikerült jól.
not the blond model photo-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
'It is not the blonde model for whom it holds that the photo [of her] succeeded.'
- d. [Nem a Barça] meccs-e volt érdekes.
not the Barça match-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg interesting
'It is not the Barça whose match was interesting.'
- e. [Nem Péter] unoká-i voltak udvariasak.
only Péter grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg be.Past.3Pl polite.Pl
'It is not Péter whose grandchildren were polite.'
- f. [Nem a fiam] póló-i vesztek el.
only the son.Poss.1Sg T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
'It is not my son whose T-shirts got lost.'
- f'. Nem [a fiam póló-i] vesztek el.
only the son.Poss.1Sg T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
'It is not my son's T-shirts which got lost [(i) of arbitrary clothes or accessories, or (ii) of T-shirts of, say, other family members, depending on stress pattern; NB: the latter reading practically coincides with the reading given in (817f)]'

Is-quantifiers, however, in contrast to the other five operator types, cannot appear as external-scope taking unmarked possessors, as is illustrated in the "reduced" series of examples presented in (818) below. The reason for this is presumably the same as provided in connection with the series of examples in (760) in 2.2.1.1.1.2 and in (766) in 2.2.1.1.1.3, in which adjunct-like attributive premodifiers were tested as potential scope takers: right branching is prohibited.

(818) ● Unmarked possessors as external-scope taking *is*-quantifiers

- a. *[A fiad is]_{Theme} meg-hív-ás-a súlyos hiba volt.
the son.Poss.2Sg also perf-invite-AS-Poss.3Sg serious mistake be.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It holds for your son, too, that inviting him was a serious mistake.'
- b. *[A fiad is]_{Agent / Theme / Owner} kép-e nagyon értékes.
the son.Poss.2Sg also picture-Poss.3Sg very valuable
Intended meaning: 'It holds for your son, too, that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought.'
- c. *[A fiam is]_{Theme} ujjatlan póló-i nagyon viccesek.
the son.Poss.1Sg also sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg very funny.Pl
Intended meaning: 'It holds for my son, too, that his sleeveless T-shirts are very funny.'

Table 66 below provides a visual summary of the very simple system of data concerning different types of unmarked possessors with respect to taking external scope: unmarked possessors as *is*-quantifiers cannot take external scope while the other five operator types are perfect external-scope takers.

Table 66: Readiness of unmarked possessors of different types of nouns to take external scope

NOUN TYPE			<i>mind</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>wh</i>	<i>is</i>
ÁS-N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
<i>f/g</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
rel-N	possessor		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
SED-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Owner</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
ord-N	possessor		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*

Recall that in the postnominal complement zone *is*-quantifiers can quite readily function as external-scope takers ('(?)'), together with *mind*-quantifiers and negative quantifiers, which even more readily take external scope, while the three types of foci are totally incapable of functioning so (see Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7 and the second column ('EXT-SC') in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6).

2.2.1.2.3. NAK possessor

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of the NAK possessor, one of the two prenominal forms of possessors (see (796) in 2.2.1.2.1.1).

Just as in (746) in the introduction to the subsection on attributive constructions (2.2.1.1) and in (809) in the introductory part of the subsection on unmarked possessors (2.2.1.2.2), it is worth investigating how the definite article (*a(z)* 'the') and other determiners such as *egy* 'a(n)/one', *mindkét* 'both' and *semelyik* 'none of' inside noun phrases serving as NAK possessors co-operate or interfere with similar determiners playing the same role in the determination of the corresponding matrix noun phrases (on the question of the relationship between different types of possessors and the referentiality degree of the matrix noun phrases, see also (799-800) in 2.2.1.2.1.1).

Due to the pre-D position of the NAK possessor, the determiner belonging to it and the determiner belonging to the matrix noun phrase can never be adjacent, and hence they never "interfere". It is predicted therefore that both determiners can and should be explicit. As is exemplified in (819) below, this prediction is completely borne out, in such a way that omitting either of the determiners results in full unacceptability and using both of them results in quite acceptable variants.

(819) ● Relationship between the referential degree of the NAK possessor and that of the matrix noun phrase

- a. A szőke lánynak *(✓)A homályos fényképe
 the blond girl.Dat the blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'THE blurred photo of THE blonde girl'
- b. EGY szőke lánynak *(✓)A homályos fényképe
 a blond girl.Dat the blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'THE blurred photo of A blonde girl'

- c. EGY szőke lánynak ^{*(?)}EGY) homályos fényképe
 a blond girl.Dat a blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'A blurred photo of A blonde girl'
- d. A szőke lánynak ^{*(?)}EGY) homályos fényképe
 the blond girl.Dat a blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'A blurred photo of THE blonde girl'
- e. MINDKÉT szőke lánynak ^{*(?)}MINDKÉT) homályos fényképe
 both blond girl.Dat both blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'BOTH blurred photos of BOTH blonde girls'
- f. SEMELYIK szőke lánynak ^{*(?)}SEMELYIK) homályos fényképe
 none_of blond girl.Dat none_of blurred photo.Poss.3Sg
 'NONE OF the blurred photo of NONE OF the blonde girl'

The marked variants ('?') in (819e-f) above require a further comment, regarding the underlying dilemma concerning whether the two possessive constructions presented can form a constituent at all. The fully acceptable analogous counterparts in (809e-f) in 2.2.1.2.2 with unmarked possessors suggest that such possessive constructions can *ab ovo* form a constituent, NAK possessors, however, can be extracted (cf. (797b') in 2.2.1.2.1.1). Since the four quantifiers in (819e-f) are understood as external-scope taking operators, neither of our constituency tests, namely, the 'for instance'-construction (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4) and the focus test (see the primed examples in (454) in 1.3.1.3.2.2, for instance), can be applied to decide on the issue. As for the particular grammaticality judgments in (819e-f), they are associated with a stress pattern in which (i) the pause before the determiner belonging to the matrix noun phrase is as short as possible, in possessive constructions with prenominal NAK possessors, and (ii) the stress on the given determiner is as weak as possible. We can achieve more acceptable variants (i) by lengthening the pause in question and (ii) by increasing the stress in question, by means of which even fully acceptable variants can be produced with the same word orders given in (819e-f). This difference may be regarded as evidence for two construals: a marked one with one constituent and a fully acceptable one with an extracted NAK possessor. Nevertheless, the question requires future research, given that slight differences in pause length and stress intensity are not reliable; nor is it unquestionable whether these intonational factors alone differentiate alternative constituent structures (cf. the relevant comments on "(un)questionably" extracted NAK possessors in connection with (799-800) in 2.2.1.2.1.1).

In what follows, it will be investigated whether certain prenominal NAK possessor types, namely, the prenominal counterparts of the same eight (NAK) possessor types characterized in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 as arguments in the postnominal complement zone can have internal scope (2.2.1.2.3.1) and external scope (2.2.1.2.3.2). Let us make it explicit that, as is presupposed above, a NAK possessor type which can appear in the postnominal complement zone always has a prenominal counterpart, and there arise no such questions on the form of the ideal prenominal appearance as the questions concerning the choice between such alternatives as *való*-constructions, *lévő*-constructions, and *i*-constructions, for instance, in the case of non-possessor satellite types (see Table 57 in 2.2.1.1.1.1 and Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1).

2.2.1.2.3.1. Internal-scope taking in the case of NAK possessors

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of the inclination for internal-scope taking of the eight prenominal NAK possessor types in the same six information-structural functions investigated (in the postnominal complement zone) in subsection 2.1.1.4, in the case of seven of the possessor types. Note that the possessor of *fight/game* nouns was also tested as a potential internal-scope taker in the postnominal complement zone in subsection 2.1.2.1. Note that, in order to make only the internal-scope reading available (relevant to us in this subsection), the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see the matrix schema presented in (820a) below; cf. (690a) in 2.1.1.4).

We claim without illustration that in the case of prenominal NAK possessors, just as in the case of the corresponding constructions containing unmarked possessors (see the series of examples in (810) in 2.2.1.2.2.1), only the *thematic* possessor of a complex-event(uality)-related derived noun, namely, that of an *ÁS*-noun can take internal scope, while all the seven possessor types categorized as *conceptual* arguments in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 (namely, possessors of event(uality)-type-related derived nouns, of *story/picture* nouns, of *fight/game* nouns, of relational nouns, and of ordinary nouns) categorically reject doing so (on *thematic* possessors, see the comments on (810a) in 2.2.1.2.2.1). This extreme distribution of acceptability, which is also completely the same as in the case of the postnominal counterparts of the given possessor types (Table 54 in 2.1.2.6), is shown in Table 67 below.

Let us thus concentrate on testing the single thematic possessor type functioning as different internal-scope taking operators (820).

(820) • Prenominal NAK possessors of on-line created derived nouns as different kinds of operators

- a. Na például [...], az hiba volt.
well for_instance that mistake be.Past.3Sg
‘Well for instance, [...], that was a mistake.’
- b. [mindkét fiadnak]_{Theme} a meg-hív-ás-a a koncertre
both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
‘inviting [both of your sons] to the concert’
- c. [csak az egyik fiadnak]_{Theme} a meg-hív-ás-a a koncertre
only the one_of son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
‘inviting [only one of your sons] to the concert’
- d. ^(?)[nem a fiadnak]_{Theme} a meg-hív-ás-a a koncertre
not the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
‘inviting [not your son] to the concert’
- e. [semelyik fiadnak]_{Theme} a meg nem hív-ás-a a koncertre
none_of son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf not invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
‘inviting [none of your sons] to the concert’
- f. ^{??}[a fiadnak is]_{Theme} a meg-hív-ás-a a koncertre
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
‘inviting [not your son] to the concert’

- g. *Na például [melyik fiadnak] / [kinek]_{Theme} a meg-hív-ás-á-t
 well for_instance which son.Poss.2Sg.Dat / who.Dat the perf-invite-Ás-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 a koncertré, azt megkérdeztem.
 the concert.Sub that.Acc ask.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the question [which of your sons] / [who] had been invited
 to the concert, I asked that.’

As is exemplified above, the thematic possessor of an ÁS-noun can totally readily function as an internal-scope taking *mind*-quantifier (820b), *csak*-focus (820c), and negative quantifier (820e), and somewhat less readily (‘(?)’) as a negative focus (820d), but the difference in acceptability is presumably only due to accidental pragmatico-semantic differences in evoking an adequate interpretation (with appropriate facts presupposed); even the variant with an internal-scope taking *is*-quantifier reaches the level of “highly marked acceptability” (820f). Only the variant with a potentially internal-scope taking *wh*-phrase is fully unacceptable (820g). Thus, in this respect, thematic possessors pattern with other kinds of possessors.

Table 67 provides a visual summary of the simple system of data concerning different types of prenominal NAK possessors with respect to taking internal scope.

Table 67: Readiness of prenominal NAK possessors of different types of nouns to take internal scope

NOUN TYPE			<i>mind</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>wh</i>
ÁS-N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	✓	✓	✓	(?)	??	*
<i>f/g</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
rel-N	possessor		*	*	*	*	*	*
SED-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Owner</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
ord-N	possessor		*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table 67 is worth comparing to Table 65 in 2.2.1.2.2.1, which presents data concerning the different types of unmarked possessors with respect to taking internal scope. As can be seen, prenominal NAK possessors completely pattern with unmarked possessors in the following two respects: (i) non-thematic possessors cannot take internal scope under any circumstances, and (ii) *wh*-phrases cannot take internal scope, either. They are slightly different in that thematic NAK possessors more readily take internal scope than their unmarked counterparts, unless the corresponding unmarked possessors are perfect internal-scope takers, and except for *wh*-phrases, within which the most radical difference is that prenominal NAK possessors as *is*-quantifiers, in contrast to unmarked possessors, do not categorically reject (‘??’) taking internal scope.

2.2.1.2.3.2. External-scope taking in the case of NAK possessors

This subsection is devoted to the testing of the external-scope taking potential of the eight prenominal NAK possessor types in the same six information-structural functions investigated in the postnominal complement zone in subsection 2.1.1.4, in the case of seven of the possessor types. Note that in subsection 2.1.2.2, the only remaining type, namely, the possessor of *fight/game* nouns, was also tested as a potential external-scope taker in the postnominal complement zone. Note also that, in contrast to the previous subsection, the matrix noun phrase constructions tested are *not* placed in ‘for instance’-constructions (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4), in order to make the external-scope reading available, which is relevant to us in this subsection.

Before discussing the details, it is worth overviewing whether the same “affiliation” problem(s) persist as in the subsections on external-scope taking of adjuncts, non-possessor arguments and unmarked possessor arguments in the prenominal modifier zone (2.2.1.1.1.3, 2.2.1.1.2.3, 2.2.1.2.2.2), namely, which constituents certain determiners and particles belong to. In the case of the quantifier-determiners *mindkét* ‘both’ and *semelyik* ‘none of’ and the interrogative *-ik* determiner *melyik* ‘which’, the structures in question are not potentially ambiguous due to the placement of the given determiners, since this kind of determiner follows the prenominal NAK possessor (see (819e-f) in the introduction to 2.2.1.2.3). As for the focus-indicating particle *csak* ‘only’ and the negative particle *nem* ‘not’, we must face the same “affiliation” problem as in subsections 2.2.1.1.1.3, 2.2.1.1.2.3 and 2.2.1.2.2.2, and we will be led to the same conclusion. For the discussion of the problem, see the comments on the (f)-examples in (825-826) below.

The first operator type to test is the *mind*-quantifier (821). As can be seen, all kinds of prenominal NAK possessors pattern with their unmarked counterparts, presented in (812) in 2.2.1.2.2.2, in completely readily taking external scope. Note in passing that even the Theme possessor of *story/picture* nouns can readily do so if the context prefers this thematic interpretation of the possessor (821c’), instead of a context which is neutral in this respect (821c) (for the slight preference of the other two interpretations over the Theme interpretation, see the comments on (693a’-a”) in 2.1.1.4.1; this difference, however, has nothing to do with inclination for taking external scope (cf. (667a’) in 2.1.1.2.2)).

(821) • Prenominal NAK possessors as external-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers

- a. [*Mindkét fiadnak*]_{Theme} a meg-hív-ás-a súlyos hiba volt.
both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg serious mistake be.Past.3Sg
‘It holds for both of your sons that inviting either of them was a serious mistake.’
- b. [*Mindkét sebésznek*]_{Agent} a reggeli operáció-ja jól sikerült.
both surgeon.Dat the morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
‘It holds for both surgeons that the operation by either of them was successful.’
- c. [*Mindkét fiadnak*]_{Agent / (°)Theme / ✓Owner} a kép-e nagyon értékes.
both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the picture-Poss.3Sg very valuable
‘It holds for both of your sons that the picture [by either of them]_{Agent} / [of either of them]_{Theme} / [owned by either of them]_{Owner} is very valuable.’

- c'. [*Mindkét modellnek*]_{Theme} a *fotó-ja* nagyon látványos.
both model.Dat the photo-Poss.3Sg very spectacular
 'It holds for both models that the photo [of either of them] is very spectacular.'
- d. [*Mindkét fiamnak*] a *meccs-e* érdekes volt.
both son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the match-Poss.3Sg interesting be.Past.3Sg
 'It holds for both of my sons that the match [in which either of them took part] was interesting.'
- e. [*Mindkét öregúrnak*] az *unoká-i* nagyon udvariasak.
both old_man.Dat the grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg very polite.Pl
 'It holds for both old gentlemen that the grandchildren of either of them are very polite.'
- f. [*Mindkét fiamnak*] az *ujjatlan póló-i* nagyon viccesek.
both son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg very funny.Pl
 'It holds for both of my sons that the sleeveless T-shirts of either of them are very funny.'

Negative quantifiers completely pattern with *mind*-quantifiers in completely readily taking external scope (822), just as in the case of the corresponding unmarked possessors, presented in (813) in 2.2.1.2.2.2.

(822) ● Prenominal NAK possessors as external-scope taking negative quantifiers

- a. [*Semelyik fiadnak*]_{Theme} a *meg-hív-ás-a* nem volt hiba.
none_of son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg not be.Past.3Sg mistake
 'It does not hold for any of your sons that inviting him was a mistake.'
- b. [*Semelyik sebésznek*]_{Agent} az *operáció-ja* nem sikerült.
none_of surgeon.Dat the operation-Poss.3Sg not succeed.Past.3Sg
 'It does not hold for any of the surgeons that his operation was successful.'
- c. [*Semelyik fiadnak*]_{Agent / (°)Theme / ✓Owner} a *kép-e* nem értékes.
none_of son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the picture-Poss.3Sg not valuable
 'It does not hold for any of your sons that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} is valuable.'
- c'. [*Semelyik modellnek*]_{Theme} a *fotó-ja* nem látványos.
none_of model.Dat the photo-Poss.3Sg not spectacular
 'It does not hold for any of the models that the photo [of her] is spectacular.'
- d. [*Semelyik fiamnak*] a *meccs-e* nem volt érdekes.
none_of son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the match-Poss.3Sg not be.Past.3Sg interesting
 'It does not hold for any of my sons that his match [in which he took part] was interesting.'
- e. [*Semelyik öregúrnak*] az *unoká-i* nem udvariasak.
none_of old_man.Dat the grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg not polite.Pl
 'It does not hold for any of the old gentlemen that his grandchildren are polite.'
- f. [*Semelyik fiamnak*] a *póló-i* nem tetszenek.
none_of son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg not please.3Pl
 'It does not hold for any of my sons that his T-shirts please me.'

Wh-phrases also completely pattern with *mind*-quantifiers in completely readily taking external scope (823), again, just as in the case of the corresponding unmarked possessors, presented in (814) in 2.2.1.2.2.2.

(823) ● Prenominal NAK possessors as external-scope taking *wh*-phrases

- a. [*Melyik fiadnak*]_{Theme} a *meg-hív-ás-a* volt súlyos hiba?
which son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg serious mistake
 '[Which of your sons] does it hold for that inviting him was a serious mistake?'

- b. [*Melyik sebésznek*]_{Theme} *a reggeli operáció-ja* sikerült jól?
 which surgeon.Dat the morning.Adj operation-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘[Which surgeon] does it hold that his operation in the morning was successful?’
- c. [*Melyik fiadnak*]_{Agent /^(?)Theme /[✓]Owner} *a kép-ét* vették meg?
 which son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the picture-Poss.3Sg-Acc buy.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
 ‘[Which of your sons] does it hold for that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought?’
- c’. [*Melyik modellnek*]_{Theme} *a fotó-ja* sikerült jól?
 which model.Dat the photo-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘[Which model] does it hold that the photo of her succeeded?’
- d. [*Melyik fiadnak*] *a meccs-e* volt érdekes?
 which son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the match-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg interesting
 ‘[Which of your sons] does it hold for that his match was interesting?’
- e. [*Melyik öregúrnak*] *az unokái* voltak udvariasak?
 which old_man.Dat the grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg be.Past.3Pl polite.Pl
 ‘[Which old gentlemen] does it hold for that his grandchildren were polite?’
- f. [*Melyik fiadnak*] *a póló-i* vesztek el?
 which son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 ‘[Which of your sons] does it hold for that his T-shirts got lost?’

Let us now consider the question which was considered at the corresponding point in the corresponding subsection on unmarked possessors in connection with (815) in 2.2.1.2.2.2: how freely can the internal structures of the external-scope taking possessors in (821-823) be chosen.

As the grammaticality judgments in the primeless examples in (824) below show, the choice in the case of NAK possessors is much freer than in the case of unmarked possessors (cf. the grammaticality judgments in the series of examples in (815)). There is only a very slight difference in acceptability between pronominal quantifiers like *senkinek* ‘no-one.Dat’ (824b) and such noun phrases serving as NAK possessors containing quantifier-determiners as proper parts like *semelyik fiadnak* ‘none_of son.Poss.2Sg.Dat’ phrase-internally (see (822a,c,d,f) above) and *semelyikötöknek* ‘none_of.Poss.2Pl.Dat’ word-internally (824b). As for *mindenkinek* ‘everyone.Dat’, *mindkét fiadnak* ‘both son.Poss.2Sg.Dat’, and *mindegyikötöknek* ‘all_of.Poss.2Pl.Dat’, they completely pattern with their negative-quantifier counterparts, as can be seen in the corresponding examples in (821a,c,d,f) above and in (824a) below. As for the *wh*-phrases with different internal structures, they are uniformly fully acceptable (see (824c) and (823)), in contrast to their counterparts with unmarked possessors with different internal structures, presented in (815c) and in (814), which show a drastic difference in acceptability.

(824) ● Pronouns as NAK possessors functioning as certain operators

- a. ^(?)*Mindenkinek* / [✓]*Mindegyikötöknek* *az unokái* eljöttek.
 everyone.Dat / all_of.Poss.2Pl the grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg away.come.Past.3Pl
 ‘It holds for everyone / [all of you] that their grandchildren came here.’
- a’. *Mindenkinek* / *Mindegyikötöknek* eljöttek *az unokái*.
 everyone.Dat / all_of.Poss.2Pl away.come.Past.3Pl the grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ‘It holds for everyone / [all of you] that their grandchildren came here.’

- b. ^(?)*Senkinek / Semelyikőtöknek az unokái* nem jöttek el.
no-one.Dat / none_of.Poss.2Pl the grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg not come.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It holds for no-one / [none of you] that their grandchildren came here.’
- b’. *Senkinek / Semelyikőtöknek* nem jöttek el *az unokái*.
no-one.Dat / none_of.Poss.2Pl not come.Past.3Pl away the grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ‘It holds for no-one / [none of you] that their grandchildren came here.’
- c. *Kinek / Melyikőtöknek az unokái* jöttek el?
who.Dat / which_of.Poss.2Pl the grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg come.Past.3Pl away
 ‘Whom / [Whom of you] does it hold for that their grandchildren came here?’
- c’. *Kinek / Melyikőtöknek* jöttek el *az unokái?*
who.Dat / which_of.Poss.2Pl come.Past.3Pl away the grandchild.Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ‘Whom / [Whom of you] does it hold for that their grandchildren came here?’

The primed examples in (824) above show that extracted NAK possessors are uniformly perfect external-scope takers independent of their internal structure.

Csak-foci and negative foci also completely readily take external scope, as is exemplified in the series of examples in (825-826), respectively. In this respect, thus, prenominal NAK possessors completely pattern with their unmarked counterparts, presented in (816-817) in 2.2.1.2.2.2.

(825) ● Prenominal NAK possessors as external-scope taking *csak*-foci

- a. [*Csak a fiadnak*]_{Theme} *a meg-hív-ás-a* volt súlyos hiba.
only the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-As-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg serious mistake
 ‘It holds only for your son that inviting him was a serious mistake.’
- b. [*Csak Dr. Bárdossynak*]_{Agent} *az operáció-ja* sikerült jól.
only Dr. Bárdossy.Dat the operation-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘It holds only for Dr. Bárdossy that his operation was successful.’
- c. [*Csak a fiadnak*]_{Agent / ^(?)Theme / [✓]Owner} *a kép-ét* vették meg.
only the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the picture-Poss.3Sg-Acc buy.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
 ‘It holds only for your son that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought.’
- c’. [*Csak a szőke modellnek*]_{Theme} *a fotó-ja* sikerült jól.
only the blond model.Dat the photo-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 ‘It holds only for the blonde model that the photo [of her] succeeded.’
- d. [*Csak az egyik fiamnak*] *a meccs-e* volt érdekes.
only the one_of son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the match-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg interesting
 ‘It holds only for one of my sons that his match was interesting.’
- e. [*Csak az egyik öregúrnak*] *az unokái* voltak udvariasak.
only the one_of old_man.Dat the grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg be.Past.3Pl polite.Pl
 ‘It holds only for one of the old gentlemen that his grandchildren were polite.’
- f. [*Csak a fiamnak*] *a póló-i* vesztek el.
only the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It holds only for my sons that his T-shirts got lost.’
- f’. *Csak [a fiamnak a póló-i]* vesztek el.
only the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 ‘It holds only for my son’s T-shirts that they got lost [(i) of arbitrary clothes or accessories [with *pólói* stressed], or (ii) of T-shirts of, say, other family members [with *pólói* unstressed]; NB: the latter reading practically coincides with the reading given in (825f)].’

The (f)-examples in (825-826) again call the reader's attention to the theoretical and methodological "affiliation" problem concerning *csak*-foci and negative foci described and solved in the argumentation belonging to the series of examples in (767-768) in 2.2.1.1.1.3. As is illustrated, it is difficult to decide, for instance, whether the focus-indicating particle *csak* 'only' immediately belongs to the potential external-scope taking prenominal NAK possessor (825f), instead of "holistically" belonging to the matrix noun phrase (825f'). As was argued, however, this question simply need not be decided, since (i) there is an inclusive relationship between the meanings associated with the "competing" syntactic structures, and (ii) the focus feature is assigned to the given NAK possessor on the basis of stress, independent of the placement of the particle *csak* 'only' or *nem* 'not'.

(826) ● Prenominal NAK possessors as external-scope taking negative foci

- a. [*Nem a fiadnak*]_{Theme} a meg-hív-ás-a volt súlyos hiba.
 not the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg serious mistake
 'It is not your son for whom it holds that inviting them was a serious mistake.'
- b. [*Nem Dr. Bárdossynak*]_{Agent} az operáció-ja sikerült jól.
 not Dr. Bárdossy.Dat the operation-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 'It is not Dr. Bárdossy whose operation was successful.'
- c. [*Nem a fiadnak*]_{Agent /^(c)Theme /[✓]Owner} a kép-é-t vették meg.
 not the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat the picture-Poss.3Sg-Acc buy.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
 'It is not your son for whom it holds that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought.'
- c'. [*Nem a szőke modellnek*]_{Theme} a fotó-ja sikerült jól.
 not the blond model.Dat the photo-Poss.3Sg succeed.Past.3Sg well
 'It is not the blonde model for whom it holds that the photo [of her] succeeded.'
- d. [*Nem a Barçának*] a meccs-e volt érdekes.
 not the Barça.Dat the match-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg interesting
 'It is not the Barça whose match was interesting.'
- e. [*Nem Péternek*] az unoká-i voltak udvariasak.
 only Péter.Dat the grandchild-Poss.Pl.3Sg be.Past.3Pl polite.Pl
 'It is not Péter whose grandchildren were polite.'
- f. [*Nem a fiamnak*] a póló-i vesztek el.
 only the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 'It is not my son whose T-shirts got lost.'
- f'. *Nem [a fiamnak a póló-i]* vesztek el.
 only the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat the T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3Pl away
 'It is not my son's T-shirts which got lost [(i) of arbitrary clothes or accessories [with *pólói* stressed], or (ii) of T-shirts of, say, other family members [with *pólói* unstressed]]; NB: the latter reading practically coincides with the reading given in (826f).'

Is-quantifiers, however, in contrast to the other five operator types, practically cannot appear as (noun-phrase-internal) external-scope taking prenominal NAK possessors, as is illustrated in the "reduced" series of examples presented in (827a,b,c) below. In this respect, thus, prenominal NAK possessors essentially pattern with their unmarked counterparts, presented in (818) in 2.2.1.2.2.2 (obviously due to a similar position-specific intolerance towards right branching (cf. also (760) in 2.2.1.1.1.2 and (766) in 2.2.1.1.1.3)), with a very slight difference in

favor of the “only almost fully unacceptable” (“*?”) variants with prenominal NAK possessors.

(827) ● Prenominal NAK possessors as external-scope taking *is*-quantifiers

- a. ^{*?} [A *fiadnak* *is*]_{Theme} a *meg-hív-ás-a* *súlyos hiba* *volt*.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg serious mistake be.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for your son, too, that inviting him was a serious mistake.’
- a’. [A *fiadnak* *is*]_{Theme} *súlyos hiba* *volt* a *meg-hív-ás-a*.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also serious mistake be.Past.3Sg the perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 ‘It holds for your son, too, that inviting him was a serious mistake.’
- b. ^{*?} [A *fiadnak* *is*]_{Agent / Theme / Owner} a *kép-e* *nagyon értékes*.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also the picture-Poss.3Sg very valuable
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for your son, too, that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought.’
- b’. [A *fiadnak* *is*]_{Agent / Theme / Owner} *nagyon értékes* a *kép-e*.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also very valuable the picture-Poss.3Sg
 ‘It holds for your son, too, that the picture [by him]_{Agent} / [of him]_{Theme} / [owned by him]_{Owner} was bought.’
- c. ^{*?} [A *fiammak* *is*] az *ujjatlan póló-i* *nagyon viccesek*.
the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat also the sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg very funny.Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘It holds for my son, too, that his sleeveless T-shirts are very funny.’
- c’. [A *fiammak* *is*] *nagyon viccesek* az *ujjatlan póló-i*.
the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat also very funny.Pl the sleeveless T_shirt-Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ‘It holds for my son, too, that his sleeveless T-shirts are very funny.’

Note in passing that the extracted NAK possessors presented in the primed examples in (827) above—the counterparts of the non-split possessive constructions in the primeless examples—are definitely perfect external-scope takers. Furthermore, note that the NAK possessors in the primeless examples cannot be construed as extracted, because in cases like these, the possessor quantifier would be followed by a topic, that is, the remnant of the possessive construction. This is impossible in the Hungarian preverbal operator zone (see the argumentation concerning the series of examples in (647) in 2.1.1.1).

Table 68 below provides a visual summary of the very simple system of data concerning different types of (noun-phrase-internal) prenominal NAK possessors with respect to taking external scope: prenominal NAK possessors as *is*-quantifiers in the most part cannot take external scope while the other five operator types are perfect external-scope takers. This distribution is practically the same as the one presented in Table 66 in the corresponding subsection on unmarked possessors (2.2.1.2.2.2).

Table 68: Readiness of prenominal NAK possessors of different types of nouns to take external scope

NOUN TYPE			<i>mind</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>wh</i>	<i>is</i>
ÁS-N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?
<i>f/g</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?
rel-N	possessor		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?
SED-N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Owner</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?
ord-N	possessor		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Agent</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?
<i>s/p</i> -N	possessor	<i>Theme</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?

Recall that in the postnominal complement zone *is*-quantifiers can quite readily function as external-scope takers ('(?)'), together with *mind*-quantifiers and negative quantifiers, which even more readily take external scope, while the three types of foci are totally incapable of functioning so (see Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7 and the second column ('EXT-SC') in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6).

2.2.1.3. A special position for non-possessor arguments before NAK possessor

This subsection is devoted to the special pre-D non-possessor position(s) whose existence was raised in connection with example (129f') in 1.1.3.1, repeated as (828d) below. A position like this is of crucial interest, given that in the Hungarian literature there is no reference to a pre-D non-possessor argument position in the left periphery of the noun phrase, which ends with the position of the NAK possessor, see (828a), cf. Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992), Bartos (2000b), and É. Kiss (2002). This contrasts to the German literature, for instance, in which such examples of pre-D non-possessors are discussed as *aus Italien der Wein* 'from Italy the wine', *nach Hamburg der Zug* 'to Hamburg the train', and *nach Ostern die Woche* 'after Easter the week' (Roehrs 2013: 4/(8)), on the basis of assuming a Giustian (1996) (noun-phrase-internal) pre-D operator layer. This subsection discusses a couple of data predominantly in favor of the extended noun phrase structure presented in (828a').

The constructions in (828c-e'), which are placed in a 'for instance'-construction (828b) in order to guarantee their single-constituency status (see (690a) in 2.1.1.4), suggest, via their highly varying grammaticality judgments, that the given pre-D non-possessor position is strictly dependent on different felicity conditions.

In (828d), for instance, it probably legitimizes the placement of the non-possessor argument in a position preceding that of the NAK possessor that the former takes scope over the latter within the internal information structure of the matrix noun phrase, and, at least within the prenominal zone, there is no other possibility of expressing this scope by word order. The question of placing both scope taking arguments in the prenominal zone is relevant since the scope of an operator placed postnominally is not ordered relative to the scopes of other operators (cf. (312) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII). It is also relevant that the fact that there are two prenominal possessor positions in the Hungarian noun phrase structure does not help in

differentiating scope orders since there is simply no non-possessor-argument position between the position of the (pre-D) NAK possessor and that of the (post-D) unmarked possessor (see (128a-b) in 1.1.3.1).

The special pre-D non-possessor position, thus, can serve as a last resort with respect to unequivocally indicating a noun-phrase-internal [non-possessor > possessor] order of scopes (828d); in the absence of such “potent reason”, however, its use is highly dispreferred (828c).

(828) ● A pre-D non-possessor position in the noun phrase (in the case of ÁS-noun constructions)

- a. [[... NP ...]_{NAK} ∇ DP_{Dem} D ... [NP-domain] ...]
 a'. [[... NP ...]_{Obj} [... NP ...]_{NAK} ∇ DP_{Dem} D ... [NP-domain] ...]
 b. Na például [...], az nem volt jó ötlet.
 well for_instance that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
 ‘Well for instance, [...], that was not a good idea.’
 c. ^{*?} *Pécs-re* egy / a futárnak az elküldése
Pécs-Sub a / the courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘sending a/the courier to Pécs’
 d. ^(?) *mindhárom város-ba* ugyanannak a futárnak az elküldése
all_three city-III same.Dat the courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
 ‘sending the same courier to all the three cities’
 e. ^(?) *abba a távoli városba* annak a tapasztalatlan futárnak az elküldése
that.III the remote city.III that.Dat the unexperienced courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
 ‘sending that unexperienced courier to that remote city’
 e'. ^{*} *annak a tapasztalatlan futárnak abba a távoli városba* az elküldése
that.Dat the unexperienced courier.Dat that.III the remote city.III the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘sending that unexperienced courier to that remote city’

A comparison of (828e) and (828c) above illustrates that the more detailed, the more embellished the internal structures of the pre-D non-possessor and the NAK possessor following it are, the more readily the noun phrase containing them can be accepted. Using demonstrative pronouns seems to play an important role in creating “sufficiently embellished” internal structures.

As is exemplified in (828e’), however, the non-possessor and the possessor cannot be interchanged, however embellished they are.

With non-possessor arguments of ÁS-nouns investigated in the pre-D non-possessor position, it is investigated in (829) below whether non-possessor arguments of SED-nouns and non-derived nouns can be hosted here. The argument types listed in Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1 are used for this purpose (except for the two non-possessor arguments of ÁS-nouns).

(829) ● Different types of arguments (of SED-nouns and non-derived nouns) in the pre-D non-possessor position

- a. [?] Na például *mondattanból* az a múltkori vizsga, az sokáig tartott.
 well for_instance *syntax.Ela* that the last_time.Adj exam that for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, that exam in *syntax* last time, that took a long time.’

- a'. ^{??}Na például *az Alcatrazból* az a múltkori szökés, az sokáig tartott.
 well for_instance the Alcatraz.Ela that the last_time.Adj escape that for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, that escape from Alcatraz last time, that took a long time.'
- a''. ^{??}Na például *Ede iránt* az a töretlen bizalom, az meglep.
 well for_instance Ede towards that the unbroken trust.Poss.2Sg that surprise.3Sg
 'Well for instance, your unbroken trust in Ede, that was a surprise to me.'
- b. Na például [?]*[a kedvenc szakértőtől]*_{Agent} / ^(?)*[a kedvenc focistádról]*_{Theme} /
 well for_instance the favorite expert.Poss.2Sg.Abl / the favorite footballer.Poss.2Sg.Del /
^{??}*[a fiatal korosztálynak]*_{Beneficiary} az a hosszú cikk, az nagyon jó.
 the young age_group.Dat that the long paper that very good
 'Well for instance, that long paper [by your favorite expert] / [about your favorite footballer] /
 [for the young age group], that is very good.'
- c. Na például ^(?)*[a Fradi ellen]*_{Co-Agent} / ^{??}*[a Lombardi-tróféáért]*_{Goal} /
 well for_instance the Fradi against / the Lombardi-trophy.Cau /
 az a tegnapi meccs, az nagyon izgalmas volt.
 that the yesterday.Adj match that very exciting be.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, that match [against Fradi] / [for the Lombardi trophy] yesterday, that was
 very exciting.'
- d. [?]Na például *anyai ágon* az a harmad-unokatestvéred,
 well for_instance mother.Adj branch.Sup that the third-cousin.Poss.2Sg
 ő nagyon kedves.
 (s)he very nice
 'Well for instance, that cousin of yours on his mother's side, she is very nice.'

All the constructions investigated are more or less acceptable ('(?)'-'??'). This can also be regarded as filling a gap, given that the *való*-construction, as the primary prenominal way of expressing non-possessor arguments (as fully fledged noun phrases), is scarcely acceptable or not acceptable at all (see the relevant column in Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1).

As for the variation of the grammaticality judgments above, it partly depends, in addition to accidental factors that have to do with the aforementioned embellishment, on the degree of thematic argumenthood, also shown in Table 60 in 2.2.1.1.2.1 in the 'INT-SC' column via inclination for taking internal scope. The degree of thematic argumenthood is assumed to influence how easily we can "comprehend", and hence how readily we accept, the particular case suffix on the given noun phrase in the odd place primarily on the basis of the significantly different grammaticality judgments associated with the different types of non-possessor arguments of the same noun head (see (829b-c)).

As is exemplified in the series of examples in (830) below, not only arguments but also adjuncts can quite readily be hosted in the pre-D non-possessor position, especially if the "embellishment requirement" discussed in connection with (828e) is satisfied (NB: the adjunct types listed in Table 57 in 2.2.1.1.1.1 are used as test constructions). One might consider it to be surprising that adjuncts tend to occupy the pre-D non-possessor position more readily than certain weak thematic arguments. An explanation might be based on the fact that adjuncts are responsible for their semantic contribution in themselves while in the case of weaker thematic arguments, their semantic contribution is to be calculated on the basis of the noun head, to which they are only weakly related.

(830) • Different types of adjuncts in the pre-D non-possessor position

- a. ⁽²⁾Na például *a másik fényképen* az a szőke lány, ő nagyon csinos.
 well for_instance *the other photo.Sup* that the blond girl (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl *in the other photo*, she is very pretty.’
- b. ⁽²⁾Na például *abban a csíkos pulóverben* az a szőke lány,
 well for_instance *that.Ine the striped pullover.Ine* that the blond girl
 ő nagyon csinos.
 (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl *in that striped pullover*, she is very pretty.’
- c. Na például **színaranyból* / ^{??}*[abból a rendkívül értékes fémből]*
 well for_instance *fine_gold.Ela / that.Ela the remarkably valuable metal.Ela*
 az a kicsi óra, az nagyon tetszik.
 that the small watch that very.much please.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, that small watch *made of [fine gold]* / *[that remarkably valuable metal]*, I like that very much.’
- d. ⁽²⁾Na például *a PVSK-ból* az a szőke lány, ő nagyon csinos.
 well for_instance *the PVSK-Ela* that the blond girl (s)he very pretty
 ‘Well for instance, that blonde girl *from PVSK*, she is very pretty.’
- e. [?]Na például *azon a zsúfolt napon* Ilinek a meglátogatása,
 well for_instance *that.Sup the busy day.Sup* Ili.Dat the perf.visit.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
 az nem volt jó ötlet.
 that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
 ‘Well for instance, visiting Ili *on that busy day*, that was not a good idea.’
- f. [?]Na például *azon a keddi napon* Ilinek a látogatása,
 well for_instance *that.Sup the Tuesday.Adj day.Sup* Ili.Dat the visit.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
 az sokáig tartott.
 that for_a_long_time last.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, Ili’s visit *on that Tuesday*, that took a long time.’

The variants in (830c) above illustrate that, in harmony with the preferred presence of demonstrative pronouns, bare noun phrases are not readily hosted in the pre-D non-possessor position, but a certain degree of specificity is required (NB: the seemingly similar expression *mondattan* ‘syntax’ in (829a) is quite acceptable, presumably due to the fact that it is the name of a subject, and hence it functions like a proper name).

Let us now turn to the questions investigated in the case of all noun-phrase-internal argument and adjunct positions (cf. 2.1.1.4, 2.1.2.1, 2.2.1.1.1.2, 2.2.1.1.2.2, 2.2.1.2.2.1, and 2.2.1.2.3.1): what kind of internal-scope taking operators can be hosted in the pre-D non-possessor position and how readily?

It was exemplified in (828d) above, as our point of departure, that *mind*-quantifiers can appear in this position. As is shown in (831) below, however, this possibility is not *ab ovo* available but depends on the satisfaction of further strong requirements.

The unacceptable variant in (831a), for instance, demonstrates that a prenominal NAK possessor is required to be present. Nevertheless, satisfying this requirement is not sufficient in itself, as the radically different grammaticality judgments associated with the two variants in (831a’) show: the variant in which the NAK possessor functions as a focus is almost fully acceptable, while the other

variant, provided that the NAK possessor is not focus-stressed in it, is definitely unacceptable. Note in passing that it cannot be decided in a theory-neutral way whether (i) the given NAK possessor does not serve as an operator (in which case, the construction in question is not “legitimized” as the only way of indicating a certain noun-phrase-internal scope hierarchy, see the relevant comment on (828c-d)) or (ii) it functions as a topic (in which case, a dispreferred [quantifier>topic] order emerges), see (647) in 2.1.1.1).

(831) ● Constraints on placing operators in the pre-D non-possessor position

- a. ^{??}Na például *mindkét konferenciára* az elküldésed,
 well for_instance both conference.Sub the away.send.ÁS.Poss.2Sg
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, sending you to both conferences, that was a mistake.’
- a’. Na például *mindkét konferenciára* ^{??}(^{??}csak) Péternek
 well for_instance both conference.Sub only Péter.Dat
 az elküldése, az hiba volt.
 the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, sending (only) Péter to both conferences, that was a mistake.’
- b. ^{??}Na például *mindkét döntősről* (az) a hosszú cikk, az nagyon jó.
 well for_instance both finalist.Del that the long paper that very good
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the long paper about both finalists, that is very good.’
- b’. *Na például *mindkét döntősről csak Gedeontól* a cikkek,
 well for_instance both finalist.Del only Gedeon.Abl the paper.Pl
 azok terjedelmesek voltak.
 that.Pl lengthy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the papers written only by Gedeon (without coauthors) about both finalists (together), those were lengthy.’
- c. *Na például *mindkét fényképen* (az) a szőke lány, ő nagyon csinos.
 well for_instance both photo.Sup that the blond girl (s)he very pretty
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, the blonde girl in both photos, she is very pretty.’

The unacceptable examples in (831b-c) above pertain to argument types of non-derived nouns and adjunct types, respectively. Possessors in such constructions cannot take internal scope (see Table 54 in 2.1.2.6), so it cannot be the case that placing an internal-scope taking operator in the pre-D non-possessor position is legitimized by the indication of noun-phrase-internal scope hierarchies. We also claim (without illustration) that placing any kind of NAK possessor in the pre-D non-possessor position would result in unacceptable constructions. Placing not one (831b,c), but two potentially internal-scope taking operators in pre-D non-possessor positions in the types discussed yields no acceptable noun phrase constructions, either (831b’). All in all, our tentative generalization is that pre-D non-possessors in noun phrases containing no thematic possessor cannot take internal scope (on *thematic* possessors, see the comments on (810a) in 2.2.1.2.2.1).

Let us thus concentrate on non-possessors of ÁS-nouns. In the series of examples in (832) below, it is investigated for all operator types (except for *wh*-phrases, which can never take internal scope, see 2.1.1.4.6) whether they can appear as internal-scope taking pre-D non-possessors. As an internal-scope taking NAK

possessor is practically required to be present in such constructions (see the comment on (828c-d)), noun phrases with two internal operators are presented. Particularly, such pairs are chosen for presentation which can quite readily be accepted as operator-scope orders in clauses and which yield the best acceptable noun-phrase-internal pairs at the same time. A pre-D non-possessor *csak*-focus or negative focus, for instance, is preferably to be accompanied with a NAK possessor functioning as a focus, but even such variants are incomprehensibly complicated, and hence unacceptable (832e-f). A *mind*-quantifier (832b), a negative quantifier (832c), or an *is*-quantifier (832d), however, quite readily takes internal scope in the pre-D non-possessor position, ideally paired with a NAK possessor functioning as a kind of universal quantifier.

(832) ● Different kinds of internal-scope taking operators in the pre-D non-possessor position

- a. Na például [...], az hiba volt.
well for_instance that mistake be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, [...], that was a mistake.'
- b. ^(?)*mindkét városba* mindkét futárnak az elküldése
both city.Ill both courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
'sending both couriers to both cities'
- b'. ^(?)*mindkét évben mindkét városba* ugyanakkor a revizornak az elküldése
both year.Ine both city.Ill same.Dat the auditor.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
'sending the same auditor to both cities in both years'
- c. [?]*semelyik városba* semelyik futárnak az el nem küldése
none_of city.Ill none_of courier.Dat the away not send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
'not sending either couriers to either of the cities'
- d. [?]*a kisebbik városba is* mindkét futárnak az elküldése
the smaller.Det city.Ill also both courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
'sending both couriers to the smaller city, too'
- e. ^{*?}*csak a kisebbik városba* csak az egyik futárnak az elküldése
only the smaller.Det city.Ill only the one_of courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'sending only one of the couriers only to the smaller city'
- f. ^{*}*nem a kisebbik városba* csak az egyik futárnak az elküldése
not the smaller.Det city.Ill only the one_of courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'sending only one of the couriers not to the smaller city'
- g. ^(?)*[abba a távoli városba] /^{??}Pécsre* mindkét futárnak az elküldése
that.Ill the remote city.Ill / Pécs.Sub both courier.Dat the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg
'sending both couriers [to that remote city] / [to Pécs]'

The acceptable and unacceptable operator pairs above suggest a hypothesis according to which the readily acceptable noun-phrase-internal operator orders coincide with the preferred clause-level operator orders, which can be summarized as follows: [topic(s) > quantifier(s) > focus]. Note that topics can appear as pre-D non-possessors only if they are highly "embellished", as is illustrated in (832g) above (cf. also (828c,e)).

As is exemplified in (832b'), even two pre-D non-possessors (or theoretically even more) can appear in an ÁS-noun construction, which otherwise satisfies all the numerous constraints discussed above. Thus, pre-D non-possessors may form a

whole “pre-D non-possessor zone”, left-adjacent to the layer of the NAK possessor in the left periphery of the Hungarian noun phrase.

This subsection concludes with the discussion of the question of whether pre-D non-possessors can function as external-scope takers (833-834). It must be noted in advance that the ‘for instance’-construction cannot be applied here as a constituency test since its contrastive-topic character prevents the noun-phrase-internal potential operators from taking the intended external scope.

In the (a)-examples in (833) below, *mind*-quantifiers, which are typically good external-scope takers, are investigated as potential external-scope taking pre-D non-possessors, accompanied by different kinds of NAK possessors.

Let us first consider example (833a). The fact that all three variants are uniformly unacceptable implies that the quantifier in the pre-D non-possessor position cannot take external scope (cf. (831a-a’)) if (i) there is no explicit pronominal NAK possessor, (ii) the NAK possessor is not “embellished”, or (iii) the NAK possessor does not function as a scope taking operator or, according to an alternative analysis, it functions as a topic, yielding the dispreferred [quantifier > topic] order noun-phrase-internally.

In (833a’), the NAK possessor is chosen to be a *mind*-quantifier, yielding a quite acceptable variant. One might think that this serves as evidence for a hypothesis according to which pre-D non-possessors are capable of taking external scope, at least under certain circumstances. It cannot be decided, however, whether the illative case-marked noun phrase *mindkét városba* ‘both city.Ill’ occurs, indeed, as a noun-phrase-internal pre-D non-possessor or it is extracted and functions in this way as a clause-level quantifier.

Example (833a’’) raises the same dilemma, with the difference that the NAK possessor is chosen to be a *csak*-focus, and the clause-level [verb stem > preverb] order is unequivocally aligned to this, as is shown by the grammaticality judgments associated with the two variants presented below. Is this evidence for the analysis according to which the illative case-marked noun phrase is extracted? Well, it can be claimed that the quantifier indicating [preverb > verb stem] order would be evidence for the noun-phrase-internal status of the illative case-marked quantifier, just like a case in which neither variant would be acceptable on the basis of an argumentation according to which two different operator “characters” in one and the same noun phrase would yield inconsistency. The factual [verb stem > preverb] acceptable order, thus, rather suggests the analysis based on extraction, but in certain frameworks it might be possible to propose an analysis in which the given noun phrase “stays together” (i.e., no extraction has taken place) and its character is decided by the focus, however deeply the focus layer is “embedded” inside the noun phrase with a quantifier in its outmost layer.

(833) • External-scope taking operators in the pre-D non-possessor position of *Ás*-nouns?

- a. [?]*Mindkét városba* (Samunak / [annak a tapasztalatlan futárnak])
both city.Ill Samu.Dat / that.Dat the unexperienced courier.Dat
az elküldését megakadályozom.
the away.send.Ás.Poss.3Sg.Acc perf.prevent.DefObj.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘*In the case of both cities*, I will prevent sending Samu / [that unexperienced courier] to either of them.’
- a’. [?]*Mindkét városba mindkét futárnak az elküldését megakadályozom.*
both city.Ill both courier.Dat the away.send.Ás.Poss.3Sg.Acc perf.prevent.DefObj.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘*In the case of both cities* and both couriers, I will prevent sending either courier to either city.’
- a’’. *Mindkét városba csak Samunak az elküldését*
both city.Ill only Samu.Dat the away.send.Ás.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 **megakadályozom / [?][akadályozom meg].*
perf.prevent.DefObj.1Sg / prevent.DefObj.1Sg perf
 ‘*In the case of both cities*, it holds only for Samu that I will prevent sending him to either city.’
- b. [?]*Mindkét városba megakadályozom Samunak az elküldését.*
both city.Ill perf.prevent.DefObj.1Sg Samu.Dat the away.send.Ás.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘*In the case of both cities*, it holds only for Samu that I will prevent sending him to either city.’
- b’. [?]*Mindkét városba én is csak Samunak az elküldését*
both city.Ill I also only Samu.Dat the away.send.Ás.Poss.3Sg.Acc
akadályozom meg.
prevent.DefObj.1Sg perf
 ‘*In the case of both cities*, it holds only for Samu that I will prevent sending him to either city, too.’

The variants presented in (833b-b’) above, in which the illative case-marked argument is unquestionably extracted, also argue for the analysis of (833a’-a’’) based on extraction, given that the grammaticality judgments in (833b-b’) are the same (‘?’) as in (833a’-a’’). As for the unacceptability of the variants with explicit NAK possessors in (833a), the analysis based on extraction also accounts for it, as follows: on the clause level, the extracted quantifier is followed by a topic, the remnant, and this information-structural order is highly dispreferred (see (647) in 2.1.1.1).

The same argumentation can take us all the way to the analysis based on extraction in the case of the series of examples in (834) below, in which the potential external-scope taking quantifier pre-D non-possessor is the argument of a non-derived noun, particularly the Theme of a *story/picture* noun.

The analysis based on extraction, whose unquestionable realization is associated with the grammaticality judgment ‘?’ in (834b), excellently accounts for the similarly acceptable variants in (834a’,a’’,c’), together with the fact that the variants in (834a,c) are unacceptable, due to the highly dispreferred clause-level [quantifier > topic] order. An analysis based on assuming the noun-phrase-internal status of the delative case-marked argument, however, can explain especially the data in (834a’’,c) only by having recourse to further stipulations: why the noun phrase assumed to “stay together” behaves exactly as a focus in (834a’’) and why the possessorless noun phrase is unacceptable in (834c), whilst a similar construction was acceptable in (829b) above.

(834) ● External-scope taking operators in the pre-D non-possessor position of non-derived nouns?

- a. ^{??}*Mindkét döntősről* (Gedeonnak) / [annak a tapasztalatlan újságírónak])
both finalist.Del Gedeonnak.Dat / that.Dat the unexperienced journalist.Dat
 a tavalyi cikkei elkallódtak.
 the last_year.Adj paper.Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3PI
 Intended meaning: ‘In the case of both finalists, last year’s papers of Gedeon / [that unexperienced journalist] about either of them got lost.’
- a’. [?]*Mindkét döntősről* mindkét újságírónak a cikkei elkallódtak.
both finalist.Del both journalist.Dat the paper.Poss.Pl.3Sg get_lost.Past.3PI
 ‘In the case of both finalists and both journalists, papers by either journalist about either finalist got lost.’
- a’’. *Mindkét döntősről* csak Gedeonnak a cikkei
both finalist.Del only Gedeon.Dat the paper.Poss.Pl.3Sg
 *elkallódtak / [?][kallódtak el].
get_lost.Past.3PI / get_lost.Past.3PI away
 ‘In the case of both finalists, it holds only for Gedeon that his papers about either of them got lost.’
- b. [?]*Mindkét döntősről* elkallódtak Gedeonnak a cikkei.
both finalist.Del get_lost.Past.3PI Gedeon.Dat the paper.Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ‘In the case of both finalists, Gedeon’s papers about either of them got lost.’
- c. ^{??}*Mindkét döntősről* a cikkek elkallódtak.
both finalist.Del the paper.Pl get_lost.Past.3PI
 Intended meaning: ‘In the case of both finalists, papers about either of them got lost.’
- c’. [?]*Mindkét döntősről* minden cikk elkallódott.
both finalist.Del every paper get_lost.Past.3Sg
 ‘In the case of both finalists, every paper about either of them got lost.’

All in all, there is no argument for assuming any kind of pre-D non-possessor to be capable of taking external scope. As for taking internal scope, certain pre-D non-possessors are capable of this under very special circumstances, but only in the case of satellites of ÁS-nouns.

2.2.1.4. Internal and external scopes: summary and complex cases

This subsection is concerned with the ideal placement of different internal- and external-scope takers, primarily depending on operator type, and their possibility of combination.

Tables 69 and 70 below summarize which operator type can take internal and external scope, respectively, in which position and how readily, on the basis of the data scattered in the relevant subsections of the different noun-phrase-internal position types and extracted positions. One position type is ignored: the pre-D non-possessors. This was discussed in the previous subsection, because only satellites of ÁS-nouns can take scope in such a position and even they can do so only in tandem with scope taking NAK possessors, so they cannot be investigated separately.

In both tables, two columns belong to each of the six operator types considered throughout all the relevant subsections: the one on the left for the corresponding satellites of ÁS-nouns and the one on the right for those of other types of nouns. The grammaticality judgments given in the latter columns are chosen as the medians. As was discussed in connection with Table 56 in 2.1.2.6, the *median* of a finite list of

values can be found by arranging them from the lowest value to the highest value and picking the middle one. The separation of the data concerning satellites of ÁS-nouns from those concerning satellites of other types of nouns is required to obtain an adequate picture because it is observed in the case of all the possessors, the non-possessor arguments and the adjuncts that satellites of ÁS-nouns behave in a radically different way. From position type to position type, this difference typically means radically better grammaticality judgments in favor of satellites of ÁS-nouns and very rarely means significantly worse ones. Even in such cases, the given ÁS-noun constructions are not unacceptable. Therefore, the data concerning satellites of ÁS-nouns tend to show the maximum of inclination for scope taking in the particular zone and never indicate incapacity for taking scope where the given type of scope can typically be taken.

Let us start the investigation with the data on inclination for taking internal scope presented in Table 69.

A possessor can occur in three noun-phrase-internal positions. Non-thematic possessors, however, cannot take internal scope in any one of these three positions as any kind of operator, as is demonstrated in the six right-hand side columns. As for thematic possessors (see the left-hand columns), the NAK possessor position is the best for negative foci and negative quantifiers, and the postnominal complement zone is the best place for *is*-quantifiers. The latter, however, is far from being perfect ('?'). As for the other three operator types, *mind*-quantifiers readily take internal scope in all three positions, *csak*-foci prefer the two prenominal possessor positions, whilst *wh*-phrases cannot take internal scope in either of the three possessor positions; moreover, *wh*-phrases can never take internal scope, as can be seen in the rightmost twin columns (see 2.1.1.4.6).

Table 69: Readiness of six operator types to take internal scope in different noun-phrase-internal positions on the basis of the data presented in Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7 and in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 (postnominal positions), in Table 58 in 2.2.1.1.1.2 and in Table 61 in 2.2.1.1.2.2 (attributive positions), in Table 65 in 2.2.1.2.2.1 (unmarked possessors), in Table 67 in 2.2.1.2.3.1 (NAK possessors), in Table 71 in 2.2.2 (postnominal modifiers)

TYPE		<i>mind</i>		<i>csak</i>		<i>nem</i>		<i>se-</i>		<i>is</i>		<i>wh</i>	
POSSESSOR	prenom. NAK possessor	✓	*	✓	*	(?)	*	✓	*	??	*	*	*
	unmarked possessor	✓	*	✓	*	?	*	(?)	*	*	*	*	*
	postnom. complement	✓	*	?	*	??	*	(?)	*	?	*	*	*
NON-POSS. ARGUMENT	attributive position	✓	??	✓	??	✓	??	✓	*	*	*	*	*
	postnom. complement	✓	??	?	?	??	??	(?)	*	?	*	*	*
ADJUNCT	attributive position	✓	*?	✓	??	✓	(?)	(?)	*	*	*	*	*
	postnom. modifier	✓	*	?	*	??	*	??	*	?	*	*	*

Let us now turn to non-possessor arguments. In the case of those of ÁS-nouns, *csak*-foci, negative foci and negative quantifiers prefer attributive positions, whilst *is*-quantifiers can most readily take internal scope in the postnominal complement zone, just as in the case of possessors; *mind*-quantifiers (again) readily accept both positions in question. As for non-possessor arguments of other kinds of nouns, only

csak-foci in the postnominal complement zone can take internal scope convincingly readily ('?').

The "inherited" temporal adjunct of ÁS-nouns patterns with non-possessor arguments of ÁS-nouns in preferring the attributive positions in the case of *csak*-foci, negative foci and negative quantifiers and the postnominal complement zone in the case of *is*-quantifiers, as well as in accepting equally readily both positions in question in the case of *mind*-quantifiers. As for adjuncts of other kinds of nouns, only negative foci in attributive positions can take internal scope readily ('?').

The series of examples in (835) below illustrates a most surprising phenomenon: internal-scope taking arguments, possessors as well as non-possessors (see the primeless and primed examples, respectively), can be extracted under certain circumstances. It might seem at first glance that such an argument can also have an external scope in addition to its internal scope, but, as the translations below clearly show (cf. such parts as 'even/only the option...' in the (c-d)-examples), the external scope factually belongs to the remnant matrix noun phrase from which it is extracted. The noun-phrase-internal-scope taker, thus, can simultaneously function as the representative of a matrix noun phrase which serves as a scope taker in the clause-level information structure. It is because of this special extra function that extrapositions cannot be systematically compared with the given noun-phrase-internal positions (with no such extra functions) with respect to inclination for taking internal scope; so Table 69 contains no reference to positions of extracted satellites.

As for details, in (835a-a') below, an internal quantifier appears in a clause-level contrastive-topic position, yielding an almost fully acceptable reading with the given quantifier taking internal scope as an alternative to the also readily available reading, though with another stress pattern, in which the extracted quantifier takes external scope: 'in the case of both colleagues, I am definitely against sending away either of them'. Note in passing that it is exactly the additional clause-level information structural function that "enforces scope inversion" (see Krifka 1998, É. Kiss 1992: 109–115, Alberti and Medve 2000: 105–114, Gyuris 2009), since the quantifier function cannot be interpreted in another way than internal scope, when accompanied by the explicit clause-level function.

In (835b-b'), an internal focus function is combined with an external contrastive-topic function, and it also enforces scope inversion concerning the focus function in spite of its virtual appearance in the information structure of the verb in the preverbal zone of the clause. Note that this combination of internal and external scope yields slightly less acceptable constructions than the "quantifier in contrastive topic" combination (835a-a').

(835) • Internal-scope taking operators extracted

- a. ^(?)[*Mindkét kollégának*]_{CTopic} határozottan ellenzem az elküldését.
both colleague.Dat definitely oppose.DefObj.1Sg the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'As for sending away both colleagues, I am definitely against that [but, as far as I am concerned, one of them can be sent away].'

- a'. ^(?) *[Mindkét konferenciára]*_{CTopic} határozottan ellenzem
both conference.Sub definitely oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 az elküldésedet.
 the away.send.ÁS.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 'As for sending you to both conferences, I am definitely against that [but, as far as I am concerned, you can be sent to one of them].'
- b'. [?] *[Csak az egyik kollégának]*_{CTopic} határozottan ellenzem
only the one_of colleague.Dat definitely oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 az elküldését.
 the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'As for sending away only one of the colleagues, I am definitely against that [in my opinion, both or neither should be sent away].'
- b'. [?] *[Csak az egyik konferenciára]*_{CTopic} határozottan ellenzem
only the one_of conference.Sub definitely oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 az elküldésedet.
 the away.send.ÁS.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 'As for sending you only to one of the conferences, I am definitely against that [in my opinion, you should be sent to both or neither of them].'
- c'. [?] *[Csak [mindkét kollégának]]*_{Focus} ellenzem az elküldését.
only both colleague.Dat oppose.DefObj.1Sg the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'I am definitely against only the option according to which both colleagues would be sent away [as far as I am concerned, one of them can be sent away].'
- c'. [?] *[Csak [mindkét konferenciára]]*_{Focus} ellenzem az elküldésedet.
only both conference.Sub oppose.DefObj.1Sg the away.send.ÁS.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 'I am definitely against only the option according to which you would be sent to both conferences [as far as I am concerned, you can be sent away to one of the conferences].'
- d'. ^{??} *[Csak az egyik kollégának] is*_{Quantifier} határozottan ellenzem
only the one_of colleague.Dat also definitely oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 az elküldését.
 the away.send.ÁS.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'I am definitely against even the option according to which only one of the colleagues would be sent away [and not only the option according to which both would be sent away].'
- d'. ^{??} *[Csak az egyik konferenciára] is*_{Quantifier} határozottan ellenzem
only the one_of conference.Dat also definitely oppose.DefObj.1Sg
 az elküldésedet.
 the away.send.ÁS.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 'I am definitely against even the option according to which you would be sent only to one of the conferences [and not only the option according to which you would be sent to both conferences].'

As is exemplified in (835c-c') above, "mind-quantifier in focus" combinations elicit the same grammaticality judgments ('?') as the "focus in contrastive topic" combinations (835b-b').

In (835d-d'), "focus in *is*-quantifier" combinations are tested. As can be seen, even such combinations are not unacceptable, but highly marked and less acceptable than the combinations presented in the previous examples, presumably due to the very difficult meanings.

Note in passing that in each pair in (835) above, the primeless variant with an extracted possessor is more acceptable than the corresponding primed variant with an extracted non-possessor argument. This is presumably due to the explicitly

marked relationship between possessors and possessed noun heads via agreement. Nevertheless, the difference in acceptability is so slight that our six-degree scale cannot indicate it.

Let us now overview the data on inclination for taking external scope in different noun-phrase-internal positions in Table 70 in a way similar to that in which the data in Table 69 on inclination for taking internal scope are overviewed. First of all, however, let us consider a general difference between inclination for taking external scope and inclination for taking internal scope in the case of *wh*-phrases on the basis of the data presented in the two tables. This operator type categorically rejects taking internal scope, while it more or less readily takes external scope in all available prenominal positions and only these.

Of the three possessor positions, as can be seen in the first three rows of Table 70, five of the six operator types definitely prefer and totally readily accept the two prenominal ones, whilst *is*-quantifiers accept only postnominal complement positions (just as in the case of internal-scope taking *is*-quantifiers). The two universal quantifier types, when taking external scope, also quite readily accept postnominal complement positions, in contrast to the three focus types, which categorically reject such positions. It can also be observed that, with respect to taking external scope, there are only very slight differences between possessors of ÁS-nouns and those of other types of nouns (cf. the radical differences in the corresponding rows of Table 69 on inclination for taking internal scope: only *thematic* possessors are capable of that).

Table 70: Readiness of six operator types to take external scope in different noun-phrase-internal positions on the basis of the data presented in Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7 and in Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 (postnominal positions), in Table 59 in 2.2.1.1.1.3 and in Table 62 in 2.2.1.1.2.3 (attributive positions), in Table 66 in 2.2.1.2.2.2 (unmarked possessors), in Table 68 in 2.2.1.2.3.2 (NAK possessors), in Table 72 in 2.2.2 (postnominal modifiers)

TYPE		<i>mind</i>		<i>csak</i>		<i>nem</i>		<i>se-</i>		<i>is</i>		<i>wh</i>	
POSSESSOR	prenom. NAK possessor	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?	*?	✓	✓
	unmarked possessor	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	✓	✓
	postnom. complement	✓	(?)	*	*	*	*	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	*	*
NON-POSS. ARGUMENT	attributive position	(?)	?	✓	(?)	✓	(?)	(?)	?	*	*	✓	?
	postnom. complement	?	(?)	*	*	*	*	??	(?)	??	(?)	*	*
ADJUNCT	attributive position	?	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	*?	??	*	*	?	?
	postnom. modifier	?	*?	*	*	*	*	?	*	?	*	*	*

Let us now turn to non-possessor arguments. *Is*-quantifiers behave exceptionally again: they more or less accept only postnominal complement positions while the other five operator types more or less accept attributive positions, with arguments of ÁS-nouns always taking external scope slightly but significantly more readily than arguments of other kinds of nouns. As for postnominal complement positions, the three quantifier types, in contrast to the three focus types, more or less readily accept such positions, but in this case it is arguments of ÁS-nouns that the ‘less readily’ pertains to in the case of all three operator types in question. The

explanation for this may be based on the following observation, already explicated in a comment on the (a)- and (c)-examples in (783) in 2.2.1.1.2.3. If the potential external-scope taking non-possessor argument is in the postnominal complement zone, the resulting noun-phrase construction is scopally ambiguous in a way that the given argument can also be interpreted as an internal-scope taker, and in the case of *ÁS*-noun constructions, but not in the case of noun phrases of other kinds of noun heads, the internal-scope interpretation “suppresses” the intended external-scope interpretation. This effect does not emerge if the external-scope taking non-possessor argument concerned appears prenominally, as an attributive constituent, because in a case like this no ambiguity tends to emerge. This is due to the definite article of the matrix noun phrase, whose explicit presence or absence decides whether the attributive argument is to be interpreted as an internal-scope taker or an external-scope taker, respectively.

Finally, let us consider adjuncts. Only the “inherited” temporal adjunct of *ÁS*-nouns, and only in the case of the three quantifier types, can take external scope convincingly readily (?) in postnominal positions. Note in passing that these positions are assumed to be postnominal *modifier* positions for theoretical reasons (see the first paragraph in 1.1.2.1), but it would be worth considering in the future an alternative hypothesis according to which adjuncts of *ÁS*-nouns are reclassified as fillers of the postnominal complement zone due to their “inherited” character in the process of derivation; an advantageous property of this hypothesis would be that we could state a generalization according to which the postnominal modifier zone hosts no operators. As for attributive positions, they very readily host external-scope taking adjunctive *csak*-foci and negative foci, and less, though still convincingly readily, *wh*-phrases and *mind*-quantifiers, independently of whether the adjunct in question belongs to an *ÁS*-noun or another noun type. *Is*-quantifiers categorically reject prenominal attributive positions, as always.

It must be noted that extracted arguments definitely readily take external scope, especially possessors, as can be seen in the ‘EXTR’ column of Table 54 in 2.1.2.6, in contrast to extracted adjuncts (see also the relevant comment on the series of examples in (732) in 2.1.2.5). Here the primeless examples in (836) below illustrate the cases of possessors (836a), which typically take external scope maximally readily in noun-phrase-external positions, non-possessor arguments, which tend to take external scope less, but still quite readily (836b), and adjuncts, which cannot take external scope at all (836c). This distribution is in harmony with the strength of the connection between the noun head and the three kinds of satellites: (i) possessors agree with the noun head (in person and number, see Table 14 in 1.1.1.4.1), so they can easily be “identified” even noun-phrase-externally on the basis of this formal clue, (ii) thematic arguments can be identified on the basis of and in proportion to the semantic connection precisely referred to by the attribute ‘thematic’, (iii) the unidirectional connection between extracted adjuncts and the heads they belong to *ab ovo* does not make it possible to identify their intended affiliation.

It can also be stated in general that non-adjunctive *is*-quantifiers practically take external scope in noun-phrase-external positions more readily than in any of the noun-phrase-internal positions, which must have to do with the fact that, in contrast

to the other five operator types, *is*-quantifiers have no ideal noun-phrase-internal position(s).

(836) ● External-scope taking operators extracted

- a. [A *fiamnak is*]_{Quantifier} elvesztek az ujjatlan pólói.
the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat also get_lost.Past.3Pl the sleeveless T_shirt.Poss.Pl.3Sg
 ‘It also holds for my son that his sleeveless T-shirts got lost.’
- a’. *Marinak [a *fiamnak is*]_{Quantifier} odaadtam
Mari.Dat the son.Poss.1Sg.Dat also give.Past.DefObj.1Sg
 az ujjatlan pólóit.
the sleeveless T_shirt.Poss.Pl.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘It also holds for my son that I gave his sleeveless T-shirts to Mari.’
- b. ⁽²⁾[*Anyai ágon is*] kedvesek az unokatestvér-eim.
mother.Adj branch.Sup also nice.Pl the cousin-Poss.Pl.1Sg
 ‘It also holds for my mother’s side that my cousins on that side are nice.’
- b’. ^{*)}[*Anyai ágon is*] meglátogattak tegnap az unokatestvér-eim.
mother.Adj branch.Sup also perf.visit.Past.3Pl yesterday a cousin-Poss.Pl.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘It also holds for my mother’s side that yesterday I was paid a visit by my cousins on that side.’
- c. **[Az első fényképen is]* elveszett az a szőke lány.
the first photo.Sup also get_lost.Past.3Sg that the blond girl
 Intended meaning: ‘It also holds for the first picture that that blonde girl in that picture got lost.’

In spite of the above-mentioned advantages of placing external-scope taking arguments in noun-phrase-external positions, such positions are absent from the systematic comparison presented in Table 70 between potential scope taking positions of satellites of noun heads. This is primarily due to the fact that the precise degree of acceptability depends on numerous factors, such as compatibility between the extracted argument and the argument structure of the hosting verbal construction with respect to case marking (836a’)—the coincidence of case suffixes is highly dispreferred—and some sort of semantic affinity for this hosting (see (836b’), see also É. Kiss (2014)).

As could be seen in subsections VII in 1.3.1.2.4.1 and 1.3.1.3.4.1, and in subsection 1.3.1.5.2.2, it is not excluded at all that two or more arguments belonging to the same noun head should simultaneously take scope; moreover, in the case of pre-D non-possessors, this option is definitely obligatory, as is explicated in the comment concerning example (831a’) in 2.2.1.3. Our tentative general hypothesis is as follows. Beyond pragmatico-semantic intricacy, nothing else but the following circumstance sets a limit on such combination of scope takers belonging to noun heads. Can ideal hosting positions be found for them, preferably in the order reflecting the intended scope order, especially in the prenominal zone, depending on the matrix-noun types, satellite types and operator types concerned (Tables 69 and 70)?

The triply ambiguous deverbal nominal construction in (837a) below demonstrates that, beyond double scope taking, even hybrid scope taking is permitted in the sense that within one and the same deverbal nominal construction, one argument of the matrix noun head takes internal scope while another one takes external scope (837d) (see Farkas and Alberti 2016, Alberti, Farkas and Szabó

2016, and Farkas, Szabó and Alberti 2015)). That is, not only double external-scope taking (837b) and double internal-scope taking (837c) are permitted.

(837) ● Homogeneous and hybrid double scope taking

- a. *Mindkét húgod mindhárom koncertre való meghívására*
both sister.Poss.2Sg all_three concert.Sub be.Part perf.invite.ÁS.Poss.3Sg.Sub
nemet mondok.
no.Acc say.1Sg
- b. DOUBLY EXTERNAL-SCOPE READING:
 [BOTH_SISTERS > TO_ALL_THREE_CONCERTS > OPPOSE > INVITE]
 ‘In the case of both of your sisters and all the three concerts, I am against the invitation of either of them to either of the concerts. [Nobody should be invited anywhere.]’
- c. DOUBLY INTERNAL-SCOPE READING:
⁽³⁾[OPPOSE > BOTH_SISTERS > TO_ALL_THREE_CONCERTS > INVITE]
 ‘As for both of your sisters’ invitation to all the three concerts, I am against that. [That is too much, but I am not against inviting them to some concerts. It is also allowed to invite (at most) one of them to all the three concerts.]’
- d. HYBRID READING:
 ?[BOTH_SISTERS > OPPOSE > TO_ALL_THREE_CONCERTS > INVITE]
 ‘In the case of both of your sisters, I am against the invitation of either of them to all the three concerts. [Both of them are allowed to be invited to at most two concerts.]’
- e. INVERSE HYBRID READING:
 *[TO_ALL_THREE_CONCERTS > OPPOSE > BOTH_SISTERS > INVITE]
 Intended meaning (which is not available): ‘In the case of all the three concerts, I am against the invitation of both of your sisters to either of them. [Each concert can be participated in by at most one of your sisters.]’

The source of the three readings is the following three possible distributions of the two quantifiers between the finite verbal construction *nemet mond* ‘oppose’ and the embedded verb (*meg*)*hív* ‘invite’ in the depth of the deverbal ÁS-noun construction. First, both quantifiers can belong to the information structure of the finite verb, so both are external-scope takers (837b). Second, both quantifiers can belong to the information structure of the embedded verb in the derivational basis of the ÁS-noun *meghívás* ‘perf.invite.ÁS’, so they are internal-scope takers in this version (837c). In the third version presented in (837d), the possessor as a quantifier belongs to the finite verb, that is, something is *opposed* in the case of both sisters, while the non-possessor as a quantifier belongs to the embedded verb: the event of someone’s *invitation* to three concerts is referred to. This version can be called a *hybrid* one.

As for the fourth potential reading, according to which the possessor as a quantifier belongs to the information structure of the embedded verb while the non-possessor to that of the finite verb (837e), such a reading cannot be associated with sentence (837a). This suggests the generalization according to which if, within a deverbal nominal construction, operator q’ is syntactically higher than operator q”, that is, q’ precedes q” in the structure reflecting word order, it is excluded that the higher operator belongs to the embedded verb while the lower operator belongs to the sentential verb. That is, the scopal domain of the sentential verb “from outside” cannot spread lower than the upper boundary of the scopal domain of the embedded verb. As is shown in (837b-d), however, it is possible (i.e., is not prohibited) for the

finite verb to acquire several arguments of the embedded verb as its operators (837b). It is also possible for the embedded verb to retain all of its arguments in its own information structure (837c). Furthermore, a hybrid distribution is also available (837d).

2.2.2. *Postmodification*

This subsection gives some further information on the adjunct types in the postnominal modifier zone (838a), as a supplement to the discussion on the series of examples in (104) in 1.1.2.1, in (106-110) in 1.1.2.2, in (125-126) in 1.1.2.4, and in (740-741) in the introduction to 2.2).

In (838), the (b)-examples illustrate a prototypical filler of the NP-internal left-hand side of the postnominal modifier zone for restrictive modifiers (838b) and one of the NP-external right-hand side of the postnominal modifier zone for non-restrictive modifiers (838b'). Both exemplified postmodifiers are relative clauses, about which nothing else will be said in this subsection, as a separate volume is devoted to subordination in the Hungarian *Comprehensive Resource Grammars* series (see E3.4).

(838) • Postnominal modifiers within the general structure of the Hungarian noun phrase

- a. [DP ... D ... [NP [NP (complement) N (complement(s))] MOD_{restrictive}] MOD_{non-restrictive}]
- b. Na például [azt a [NP [NP fiadat], [CP *amelyik tavaly elvált*]],
 well for_instance that the son.Poss.2Sg.Acc *who last_year divorce.Past.3Sg*
 őt nagyon sajnálom.
 (s)he.Acc very.much be_sorry.DefObj.1Sg
 'Well for instance, that son of yours *who got divorced last year*, I feel sorry for him very much.'
- b'. Na például [a [NP [NP fiadat]], [CP *aki tavaly elvált*]],
 well for_instance the son.Poss.2Sg.Acc *who last_year divorce.Past.3Sg*
 őt nagyon sajnálom.
 (s)he.Acc very.much be_sorry.DefObj.1Sg
 'Well for instance, your son, *who got divorced last year*, I feel sorry for him very much.'
- c. Na például [a [NP [NP bárányhús] [CONVP *jól átsüt-ve*]],
 well_for_instance the lamb_meat *well through.roast-Conv*
 az még Jóskának is ízlik!
 that even Jóska.Dat also taste.3Sg
 'Well for instance, lamb *well-done*, even Jóska would like the taste of that [while Jóska does not like the taste of any kind of lamb in general].'
- c'. ⁽²⁾Na például [az a [NP *tegnapi* [NP bárányhús]] [CONVP *jól átsüt-ve*]],
 well for_instance that the yesterday.Adj lamb_meat *well through.roast-Conv*
 az nagyon ízlett!
 that very.much taste.Past.3Sg
 'Well for instance, that *well-done* lamb yesterday, I liked its taste very much [that is, I liked the taste of yesterday's lamb due to the fact that it was well-done].'

The two examples in (838c-c') illustrate non-clausal restrictive and non-restrictive postmodifiers, respectively. Note that the crucial semantic elements of their differentiation are shown in the appendices of their translations [in square brackets]. The differentiation between restrictive and non-restrictive postmodifiers in general is not easy, in the absence of constant formal clues, at least whenever insertable, in

the postnominal modifier zone, reliably separating the NP-internal and NP-external zones; moreover, it is not easy, either, to decide whether a certain phrase is a postmodifier on the right periphery of a noun phrase or whether it immediately belongs to the verb that the noun phrase in question belongs to. This latter problem is illustrated below by the ambiguous sentence presented in (839a).

(839) ● Postmodifier or outside the noun phrase?

- a. Az a torta *tegnap* nagyon finom volt.
 that the cake *yesterday* very delicious be.Past.3Sg
 meaning1: ‘*Yesterday’s* cake was very delicious [nothing is claimed about whether any piece remains from it at all].’
 meaning2: ‘That cake was very delicious *yesterday* [while today it is not delicious any more].’
- b. Na például az a torta *tegnap*, az nagyon finom volt.
 well for_instance that the cake *yesterday* that very delicious be.Past.3Sg
 meaning1: ‘Well for instance, *yesterday’s* cake, that was very delicious.’
 *meaning2: ‘Well for instance, as for that cake, that was very delicious *yesterday*.’
- c. Na például az a torta *tegnapról*, az nagyon finom volt.
 well for_instance that the cake *yesterday.Del* that very delicious be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, that cake *from yesterday*, that has been very delicious.’

The crucial difference between the two meanings of the sentence in (839a) above, which can be distinguished (only) by stress patterns, is that: (i) if the temporal adjunct *tegnap* ‘yesterday’ belongs to the noun head *torta* ‘cake’ as a postmodifier, then the whole noun phrase refers to a certain cake eaten yesterday, and nothing is claimed about the present existence of the given cake; (ii) if the temporal adjunct *tegnap* ‘yesterday’ belongs to the verb, then the noun phrase *az a torta* ‘that cake’ refers to a cake the speaker can see, that is, it is claimed to still exist. Note that the ‘for instance’-construction (whose right edge is indicated by a pause, which a comma refers to in writing), which guarantees in (839b) that the temporal adjunct is inside the noun phrase referring to the cake in question, selects the first meaning while excluding the second one. In (839c), the cake is identified by a, remarkably expressive, temporal expression providing the information that ‘it still exists but it already existed yesterday’.

In what follows, it will be discussed whether the six operator types considered in subsection 2.1.1.4 can be applied to the six adjunct types investigated in the series of examples in (712) in the introduction to 2.1.2; or, in other words, how readily these adjunct types take internal scope and external scope as different kinds of quantifiers or foci.

As for taking internal scope, we claim without illustration that what was observed in (714) in 2.1.2.1 concerning *mind*-quantifiers can be generalized: only adjuncts belonging to ÁS-nouns, presumably due to their inherited character, might take internal scope; hence, only tests concerning such adjuncts are presented in (840) below. Nevertheless, in Table 71 we provide grammaticality judgments concerning adjuncts of other kinds of nouns as internal-scope takers, too, showing the slight, and always uncertain and highly speaker-dependent, differences between fully unacceptable (*?) and almost fully unacceptable (*?*) variants.

(840) ● Temporal adjuncts of ÁS-nouns as potential internal-scope takers

- a. Na például *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*mindkét napon*],
 well for_instance *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* both day.Sup
 az túlzás volt.
 that exaggeration be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *visiting Ili* [*on both days*], that was an exaggeration.’
- b. [?]Na például *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*csak az első napon*],
 well for_instance *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* only the first day.Sup
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *visiting Ili* [*only on the first day*], that was a mistake.’
- c. ^{??}Na például *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*nem az első napon*],
 well for_instance *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* not the first day.Sup
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *visiting Ili* [*not on the first day*], that was a mistake.’
- d. [?]Na például *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*az utolsó napon is*],
 well for_instance *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* the last day.Sup also
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *visiting Ili* [*on the last day, too*], that was a mistake.’
- e. ^{??}Na például *Ili meg nem látogat-ás-a* [*semelyik napon*],
 well for_instance *Ili perf not visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* none_of day.Sup
 az hiba volt.
 that mistake be.Past.3Sg
 ‘Well for instance, *visiting Ili* [*on none of the days*], that was a mistake.’
- f. *Na például *Ili meg-látogat-ás-á-t* [*melyik napon*],
 well for_instance *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc* which day.Sup
 azt megkérdeztem.
 that.Acc ask.Past.DefObj.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *the question* [*on which day*] *Ili* was visited, I asked that.’

As is presented in the series of examples in (840) above, parallel to the first row of Table 71, the (inherited temporal) adjunct of ÁS-nouns takes internal scope totally readily as a *mind*-quantifier (see (714e) in 2.1.2.1, repeated here as (840a)), quite readily (‘?’) as a *csak*-focus (840b) or as an *is*-quantifier (840d), and “theoretically but not really convincingly” (‘??’) as a negative focus (840c) or as a negative quantifier (840e). The corresponding *wh*-phrase categorically rejects taking internal scope (840f), in total harmony with what was established in subsection 2.1.1.4.6.

Table 71: Readiness of adjuncts of different types of nouns to take internal scope in the postnominal modifier zone

NOUN TYPE			<i>mind</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>wh</i>
ÁS-N		<i>Temporal</i>	✓	?	?	??	??	*
<i>mem</i> -N	Ela		*?	*?	*	*?	*	*
SED-N		<i>Temporal</i>	*?	*	*	*	*	*
—	Ela	Material	*	*?	*	*?	*	*
—	Ine	Dress	*	*	*	*	*	*
—	Sup	Location	*	*	*	*	*	*

The data concerning adjuncts of ÁS-nouns presented in the first row of Table 71 are worth comparing to the data in Table 48 in 2.1.1.4.7: (i) adjuncts of ÁS-nouns almost completely pattern with arguments of ÁS-nouns, (ii) adjuncts of ÁS-nouns score better than weak thematic (oblique-case-marked) arguments of other kinds of nouns, which categorically reject taking internal scope as negative quantifiers and as *is*-quantifiers. Both observations suggest that the inherited character (due to the derivational relationship) outweighs the argument/adjunct difference.

Let us now turn to the data concerning external-scope taking adjuncts. As was observed in connection with arguments in Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7, the three kinds of foci, namely, *csak*-foci, negative foci and *wh*-phrases, can never take external scope postnominally, hence these data are shown only in Table 72. We also claim without illustration, but providing the corresponding negative grammaticality-judgment values in Table 72, that the three most typical adjunct types categorically reject taking external scope, as a generalization of the data presented in the last three rows of Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 concerning external-scope taking *mind*-quantifiers; see the ‘EXT-SC’ column.

(841) ● Temporal adjuncts of ÁS-nouns as quite ready potential external-scope takers

- a. [?]Hiba volt *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*mindkét napon*].
 mistake be.Past.3Sg *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both day.Sup*
 ‘It holds for [both days] that visiting Ili on either of them was a mistake.’
- b. [?]Hiba volt *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*az utolsó napon is*].
 mistake be.Past.3Sg *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the last day.Sup also*
 ‘It holds for [the last day, too], that visiting Ili on that day was a mistake.’
- c. [?]Nem volt *hiba Ili meg-látogat-ás-a* [*semelyik napon*].
 not be.Past.3Sg mistake *Ili perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg none_of day.Sup also*
 ‘It holds for [none of the days] that visiting Ili on either of them was a mistake.’

The first series of examples above illustrate that inherited temporal adjuncts of ÁS-nouns quite readily (“?”) take external scope as different kinds of quantifiers (841). The second series below shows that the satellite type referring to membership also quite readily takes external scope as a *mind*-quantifier (842a) or as an *is*-quantifier (842a’), but one-degree less readily (“??”) as a negative quantifier (842a’). The (temporal) adjunct of SED-nouns also scores in this latter way (“??”) in the case of all three quantifier types (842b-b’).

- (842) ● Satellites referring to membership and temporal adjuncts of SED-nouns as potential external-scope takers
- a. [?]Tegnap berúgtak a lányok [mindkét egyesületből].
 yesterday get_drunk.Past.3Pl the girl.Pl both club.Ela
 ‘It holds for [both sports clubs] that the girls who are from either of them got drunk yesterday.’
- a’. [?]Tegnap berúgtak a lányok [a PVSK-ból is].
 yesterday get_drunk.Past.3Pl the girl.Pl the PVSK-Ela also
 ‘It holds for [PVSK, too] that the girls who are from this sports club got drunk yesterday.’
- a’’. ^{??}Tegnap nem rúgtak be a lányok [semelyik egyesületből].
 yesterday not get_drunk.Past.3Pl into the girl.Pl none_of club.Ela
 ‘It holds for [none of the sports clubs] that the girls who are from either of them got drunk yesterday.’
- b. ^{??}Hiba volt a látogatásod [mindkét napon].
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the visit.Poss.2Sg both day.Sup
 ‘It holds for [both days] that your visits on either of them were mistakes.’
- b’. ^{??}Hiba volt a látogatásod [kedden is].
 mistake be.Past.3Sg the visit.Poss.2Sg Tuesday also
 ‘It holds for [Tuesday, too], that your visit on that day was a mistake.’
- b’’. ^{??}Nem volt hiba a látogatásod [semelyik napon].
 not be.Past.3Sg mistake the visit.Poss.2Sg none_of day.Sup
 ‘It holds for [none of the days] that your visits on either of them were mistakes.’

The data concerning adjuncts presented in Table 72 can be compared to data concerning arguments in Table 49 in 2.1.1.4.7. The three less prototypical adjunct types take external scope practically as readily (‘?/?’) as the argument types which score the worst in Table 49 do (NB: the oblique-case-marked argument of ÁS-nouns belongs to these worst-scorers). The three more prototypical adjunct types, presented in the last three rows of Table 54 in 2.1.2.6 as well as in those of Table 72, categorically reject taking external scope, in harmony with the fact that they have neither inherited nor thematic character, even a weak one.

Table 72: Readiness of adjuncts of different types of nouns to take external scope in the postnominal modifier zone

NOUN TYPE			<i>mind</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>csak</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>wh</i>
ÁS-N		<i>Temporal</i>	?	?	?	*	*	*
<i>mem-N</i>	Ela		?	?	??	*	*	*
SED-N		<i>Temporal</i>	??	??	??	*	*	*
—	Ela	Material	*?	*	*	*	*	*
—	Ine	Dress	*	*	*	*	*	*
—	Sup	Location	*	*	*	*	*	*

2.3. Appositive constructions (*Bernadett Szőke*)

This section will be concerned with appositive constructions. Subsection 2.3.1 provides the necessary definitions and introduces the types of appositive constructions. Subsection 2.3.2 provides a characterization of close appositive constructions as regards their subtypes, intonation and function. This section contains morpho-syntactic considerations (such as anchor-apposition agreement, pluralization, subject-verb agreement, object-verb agreement and anaphoric relations). The omissibility of the elements of close appositive constructions will be examined in subsection 2.3.2.4.

Subsections 2.3.3.1, 2.3.3.2 and 2.3.3.3 will deal with the loose appositive construction as regards its subtypes, intonation and order. Subsection 2.3.3.4 contains morpho-syntactic considerations regarding sharing of affixes, number agreement between the anchor and the apposition, subject-verb agreement and object-verb agreement. Subsection 2.3.3.5 demonstrates the omissibility of the anchor or the apposition in loose appositive constructions.

Before we introduce appositive constructions, it is worth paying some attention to the various forms of modification within the DP. Following *SoD-NP* we can distinguish two types of constructions that can form part of a noun phrase appearing beside the nominal head: complements and modifiers. The representations in (843a-c) show the relations between the components. Appositions can be included in these representations, as shown in (843d).

- (843) • The representation of constructions including a noun phrase beside the nominal head
- Complementation: [DP ... D ... [NP ... [NP COMPL N COMPL] ...] ...]
 - Restrictive modification: [DP ... D ... [NP MOD_{restr.} [NP ... N ...] MOD_{restr.}] ...]
 - Non-restrictive modification: [DP ... D ... MOD_{non-restr.} [NP ... [NP ... N ...] ...] MOD_{non-restr.}]
 - Apposition: [[DP ... D ... [NP ... N ...] ...] APP]

It is worth noting that appositions can serve either restrictive or non-restrictive functions. This dichotomy constitutes the basis for an important difference between close and loose appositions. It will be shown that most close appositions in Hungarian appear in prenominal position, so the representation in (843b) can be attributed to these restrictive constructions.

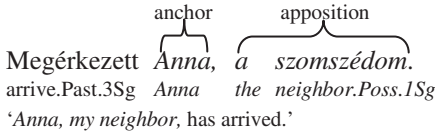
2.3.1. *Definition and types of appositive constructions*

The category of appositions has proved quite difficult to define, because it includes many different constructions, so two definitions will be introduced. Furthermore, we will distinguish four types of the appositive constructions from two viewpoints.

2.3.1.1. *Definition*

A prototypical appositive construction has two elements: the first element will be called anchor and the second one will be called apposition. An example involving an appositive construction is given in (844).

(844) • The elements of the appositive construction



The apposition provides some extra information about the anchor. It is typically used for clarification, supplementation or specification.

A traditional description of the appositive construction is that it is “retained in some models of grammatical description for a sequence of units which are constituents at the same grammatical level, and which have an identity or similarity of reference” (Crystal 1997: 24). We will see that this definition can be used only in the case of loose apposition. In the close appositive construction the two elements determine reference to a unique entity together, and the constituents are not at the same grammatical level in most subtypes.

2.3.1.2. *Types of appositive constructions*

Appositive constructions can be classified in two respects. On the one hand, attributive and “identifying” appositive constructions can be distinguished regarding their form, and, on the other, there are distinctions regarding their intonation and restrictive or non-restrictive functions. It is due to the former distinction that Hungarian descriptive grammars (Tompa 1962, Rácz 1968, A. Jászó 1991, Keszler 2000, Keszler and Lengyel 2002) also consider adjectives in postnominal appositions.

2.3.1.2.1. *Attributive and “identifying” appositions*

Hungarian descriptive grammars distinguish two different types of appositive constructions: attributive apposition is exemplified in (845a) and “identifying” apposition is shown in (845b), where the latter corresponds to the appositive construction in the international literature.

(845) • Attributive versus identifying apposition

- a. a rózsá-k, a piros-ak
the rose-Pl the red-Pl
‘the roses, the red ones’
- b. a barátom, Péter
the friend.Poss.1Sg Péter
‘my friend, Péter’

In an attributive appositive construction an adjective appears as apposition providing some additional information about the first noun phrase. In an “identifying” appositive construction the first noun phrase is followed by another noun phrase.

In this chapter we will examine only the “identifying” appositive construction, and the volume on APs will discuss the attributive appositive construction (see A4.4).

2.3.1.2.2. *Close and loose appositions*

In the international literature (Burton-Roberts 1975, Molitor 1979, Lasersohn 1986, Acuña-Fariña 1996, 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Keizer 2005, Potts 2005,

Lekakou and Szendrői 2007) there is a distinction between loose and close appositions. This distinction is illustrated by the examples in (846): in (846a) we are dealing with loose apposition, in (846b) with close apposition.

(846) • Loose *versus* close apposition

- a. Petőfi, (azaz) a költő
 Petőfi that_is the poet
 ‘Petőfi, (that is) the poet’
- b. Petőfi (*azaz) a költő
 Petőfi that_is the poet
 ‘Petőfi (*that is) the poet’

There are several differences between the two types of the apposition. One of the most important differences between loose and close apposition constructions is in their intonation: the two elements of loose apposition constructions are separated by so-called comma intonation in example (846a), in writing this special intonation pattern is indicated by commas, dashes or brackets, whereas close apposition constructions constitute one single intonational unit, as in example (846b). Expressions like *azaz* ‘that is’, *vagyis* ‘i. e.’ or *mégpedig* ‘namely’ can appear between the two elements in loose apposition constructions, as shown in example (846a), but this is not possible in close apposition constructions like (846b). Furthermore, as can be seen in the examples in (847a–a’), a loose apposition relation may be generated between any two categories, whereas a close apposition relation may contain only DPs, as shown by examples (847b–b’).

(847) • Differences between loose and close apposition constructions

- a. [_{DP} *Petőfinek*], [_{DP} *a költőnek*] minden magyar gyerek ismeri
Petőfi.Dat the poet.Dat all Hungarian child know.DefObj.3Sg
 egy versét.
 a poem.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘All Hungarian children know a poem by *Petőfi*, *the poet*.’
- a’. [_{PP} *Dél óta*], *vagyis* [_{PP} *tizenkét óra óta*] nem ettem semmit.
moon since that_is twelve o'clock since not eat.Past.1Sg nothing.Acc
 ‘I haven’t eaten anything *since noon*, *that is since twelve o’clock*.’
- a’’. Péter [_V *megette*], *vagy inkább* [_V *felfalta*] az egész tortát.
Péter eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg or rather devour.Past.DefObj.3g the whole cake.Acc
 ‘Péter ate, or rather devoured, the whole cake.’
- b. [_{DP} *Petőfi*] [_{DP} *a költő*] sikeresebb volt
Petőfi the poet more_successful be.Past.3Sg
 [_{DP} *Petőfinél*] [_{DP} *a katonánál*].
Petőfi.Ade the soldier.Ade
 ‘*Petőfi* the poet was more successful than *Petőfi* the soldier.’
- b’. * [_{PP} *Dél óta*] [_{PP} *tizenkét óra óta*] nem ettem semmit.
moon since twelve o'clock since not eat.Past.1Sg nothing.Acc
- b’’. *Péter [_V *megette*] [_V *befalta*] az egész tortát.
Péter eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg devour.Past.DefObj.3g the whole cake.Acc

Close appositions imply a restrictive construal, while loose appositions imply a non-restrictive one. Close apposition constructions can be used in a context like (848a),

where one person is pointed out among several individuals, and the two units of the construction jointly define the reference to the given entity. In example (848b) one single individual appears only, whose name is *Miltiades*, which implies that we have a loose appositive construction in this context.

(848) • Loose *versus* close appositive construction in context

- a. A: Úgy hallottam, hogy a meghirdetett előadás Miltiadésről
 so hear.Past.1Sg that the advertised presentation Miltiades.Del
 fog szólni, csak azt nem tudom, hogy
 will.3Sg be_about.Inf only that.Acc not know.DefObj.1Sg that
 a hadvezérről vagy a pápáról.
 the general.Del or the pope.Del
 ‘I’ve heard that the advertised presentation will be about Miltiades, but I don’t really know whether it will be about the general or the pope.’

- B: Mivel elsősorban az ókori görögöket tanulmányozom, így
 since primarily the Ancient Greek.Pl.Acc research.DefObj.1Sg so
 természetesen Miltiadésről a hadvezérről /
 obviously Miltiades.Del the general.Del /
 #Miltiadésről, a hadvezérről fogok beszélni.
 Miltiades.Del the general.Del will.1Sg talk.Inf
 ‘Since primarily I’m doing research on Ancient Greece, obviously I’m going to talk about Miltiades the general / #Miltiades, the general.’

- b. A: Úgy hallottam, hogy a ma esti előadás az ókori görög
 so hear.Past.1Sg that the today night presentation the ancient Greek
 harcokról fog szólni.
 battle.Pl.Del will.3Sg be_about.Inf
 ‘I’ve heard that the tonight’s presentation will be about ancient Greek battles.’

- B: Igen, pontosabban Miltiadésről, a hadvezérről fogok beszélni.
 yes more_specifically Miltiades.Del the general.Del will.1Sg talk.Inf
 ‘Yes, more specifically I’m going to talk about Miltiades, the general.’

The two appositive constructions differ with respect to their referential properties. In loose appositive constructions, the first nominal element, the anchor, picks out a unique entity, and the second constituent, the apposition, provides supplementary information about that entity (848b). In close appositive constructions, denotation to a unique entity is determined by the two DPs together (848a).

Although traditionally there is no differentiation in Hungarian linguistics between close and loose appositions, we will argue in favor of the view that close appositive constructions can be distinguished in Hungarian too (following Szőke (2015a, b)). The argument in favor of this is the following: if we compare examples (849a) and (849b), it becomes evident that the acceptability of the sentence will not change even if the apposition in example (849a) is omitted from the loose appositive construction, as shown in example (849a’). In contrast, no loose apposition could be posited in (849b), since if we omit the apposition, we will get a semantically incoherent sentence in example (849b’). Consequently, there must be close apposition in (849b), since the construction in this case needs to be restrictive: neither of the construction units could possibly be omitted, as they refer to the given entity jointly.

(849) ● Omissibility of the apposition in loose *versus* close appositive constructions

- a. *Péter, a barátom* sokkal népszerűbb, mint
Péter the friend.Poss.1Sg much more_popular than
Éva, a húgom.
Éva the younger_sister.Poss.1Sg
 ‘Péter, my friend, is much more popular than Éva, my younger sister.’
- a’. Péter sokkal népszerűbb, mint Éva.
 Péter much more_popular than Éva
 ‘Péter is much more popular than Éva.’
- b. *Miltiadész a hadvezér* sokkal ismertebb, mint *Miltiadész a pápa.*
Miltiades the general much more_known than *Miltiades the pope*
 ‘Miltiades the general is much better known than Miltiades the pope.’
- b’. #*Miltiadész* sokkal ismertebb, mint *Miltiadész.*
 Miltiades much more_known than Miltiades
 #‘Miltiades is much better known than Miltiades.’

Close apposition is not only used when two individuals with the same proper name are involved. The examples in (850a,b) show that there is a context in which loose apposition cannot be used.

(850) ● Loose and close appositions in context with ellipsis

- a. #*János, a barátom* Budapesten él, és *Péter, a barátom* is.
János the friend.Poss.1Sg Budapest.Sup live.3Sg and *Péter the friend.Poss.1Sg* too
 #‘János, my friend, lives in Budapest, and so does Péter, my friend.’
- b. *János barátom* Budapesten él, és *Péter barátom* is.
János friend.Poss.1Sg Budapest.Sup live.3Sg and *Péter friend.Poss.1Sg* too
 ‘My friend János lives in Budapest, and so does my friend Péter.’
- c. *János, a barátom* Budapesten él, és *Anna, a feleségem* is.
János the friend.Poss.1Sg Budapest.Sup live.3Sg and *Anna the wife.Poss.1Sg* too
 ‘János, my friend, lives in Budapest, and so does Anna, my wife.’

The example in (850c) shows that the reason for the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (850a) is not the ellipsis in the second clause, because loose appositions can appear in the given context. In example (850a) *a barátom* (‘my friend’) denotes a unique person, but there are two friends (János and Péter) in this context. In such a case only close appositions can be used.

It is a generally held view that an indefinite NP cannot appear in close appositive constructions in contrast to loose appositive constructions, as shown in examples (851).

(851) ● Loose *versus* close appositive constructions as regards definiteness

- a. *Miltiadész, egy pápa*
 Miltiades a pope
 ‘Miltiades, a pope’
- a’. *egy pápa, Miltiadész*
 a pope Miltiades
 ‘a pope, Miltiades’

- b. *Miltiadész egy pápa
 Miltiades a pope
 b'. *egy pápa Miltiadész
 a pope Miltiades

However, there is a type of close apposition in which an indefinite NP can appear as the first element of the construction, as can be seen in the example in (852).

(852) ● Close appositive construction with an indefinite article

Egy színész barátommal fogok találkozni.
an actor friend.Poss.1Sg.Ins will.1Sg meet.Inf
 'I will meet *one of my friends who is an actor.*'

The proper name in close appositive constructions cannot generally be expanded by an attributive adjective, as shown in examples (853b,b'), but this is possible in loose appositive constructions, as can be seen in example (853a).

(853) ● Modification of proper names in appositive constructions

- a. a híres Miltiadész, a hadvezér
 the famous Miltiades the general
 'the famous Miltiades, the general'
 b. *a híres Miltiadész a hadvezér
 the famous Miltiades the general
 b'. *a hadvezér híres Miltiadész
 the general famous Miltiades
 c. a híres Grimm testvérek
 the famous Grimm brother.Pl
 'the famous Brothers Grimm'

As the example in (853c) illustrates, however, there is a type of the Hungarian close apposition in which an adjective can appear in front of the proper name.

Furthermore, the first element of loose appositive constructions can be restrictively modified by a relative clause (854a), whereas this is not possible in a close appositive construction (854b).

(854) ● Restrictive modification of the first element in appositive constructions

- a. *A nyelvész, akit nem ismerek, Bach, előadást tart az egyetemen.*
the linguist who.Acc not know.1Sg Bach lecture.Acc give.3Sg the university.Sup
 'The linguist I don't know, Bach, is giving a lecture at the university.'
 b. **A nyelvész akit nem ismerek Bach előadást tart az egyetemen.*
the linguist who.Acc not know.1Sg Bach lecture.Acc give.3Sg the university.Sup

2.3.2. Close appositive constructions

This subsection will deal with several of similar constructions including binominal expressions, often referred to in the literature as close appositions. We will demonstrate important syntactic, semantic and pragmatic similarities and differences among these constructions.

2.3.2.1. *Subtypes of close appositions*

We will distinguish some subtypes of close apposition (following Keizer (2005)), given in Table 73. Note in passing that in most of the subtypes of close apposition (except for Type 3) the first element restricts or limits the meaning of the second one. This is one of the reasons why the representation in (843b) can be attributed to close appositive constructions. The other reason will be introduced in subsection 2.3.2.4. These constructions are traditionally held to be close appositions, although it is only in Type 3 that the first element may be called anchor and the second one may be called apposition. In Type 3 the modifying element is in the postnominal modifier zone, while in the rest of the subtypes of close apposition the modifying element is in the prenominal modifier zone. This difference explains the diverse behavior of these subtypes (see subsection 2.3.2.4).

Table 73: *Subtypes of close appositions*

TYPES	SCHEMAS	EXAMPLES
Type 1a	det + N + N _{PN}	a költő Petőfi the poet Petőfi 'the poet Petőfi'
Type 1b	det + N + N	az alma szó the apple word 'the word apple'
Type 1c	det + N _{PN} + N	a Duna folyó a Grimm testvérek the Danube river the Grimm brother.Pl 'the river Danube' 'the brothers Grimm'
Type 2a	(poss +) N _{PN} + N	János barát-om János friend-Poss.1Sg 'my friend János'
Type 2b	det + (poss) + N + N	a színész barát-om the actor friend-Poss.1Sg 'my friend the actor'
Type 3	N _{PN} + det + N	Petőfi a költő Petőfi the poet 'Petőfi the poet'
Type 4	N _{PN} + N	Tóth professzor Washington állam Tóth professor Washington state 'professor Tóth' 'state of Washington'

All the close appositive constructions in Table 73 have the following formal characteristics: they contain two nominal items without a linking element between them. One element is a proper N_{PN} (in Types 1a, 1c, 2a, 3 and 4) or an element which is taken to be uniquely denoting (in Type 1b); the other element is a count noun. However, this formal property does not apply to Type 2b, because in this subtype the possessive construction determines the denotation. Note in passing that in the contrastive use the proper noun is no longer uniquely denoting, the denotation to the unique entity is determined by the two elements together too (see the example

in (848a)). The two elements form one intonation unit in speech, and they are not separated by a comma in writing. Both elements refer to the same entity, and there is a semantic relation of predication, modification or specification between anchor and apposition.

Remark 23. In English the type exemplified by *the poet Burns* can be interpreted in a number of ways, one of which differs from the possible interpretations of corresponding Hungarian constructions. Under the interpretation that is not available in Hungarian, “the second element is restrictive and is necessary to limit or restrict, or define the meaning of the first” (Lee 1952, cf. Francis 1958: 301). This type of close appositions can be used contrastively in three different contexts.

These constructions can create a contrast between two entities of the same kind, as shown in (i). They can refer to the same entity (person), contrasting different properties of this person, illustrated in example (ii). Finally, they can refer two contrasted entities/persons that share the same property, as the example in (iii) demonstrates.

- (i) Who are you referring to? The COMPOSER Bach or the LINGUIST Bach?
- (ii) (In a conversation on Robert Redford, who is an actor and a director.)
The DIRECTOR Redford is excellent; the ACTOR Redford is absolutely brilliant.
- (iii) Who is the lecture about? The poet BURNS or the poet POPE?

In the Hungarian construction the first element is used to restrict the meaning the second one. There is no context in which we can contrast a *nyelvévész PETŐFI* (‘the linguist PETŐFI’) with a *nyelvévész BACH* (‘the linguist BACH’). In example (iv) A *NYELVÉSZ Petőfi* (‘THE LINGUIST Petőfi’) can be contrasted with A *KÖLTŐ Petőfi* (‘THE POET Petőfi’), not with a *NYELVÉSZ Bach* (‘THE LINGUIST Bach’), and A *NYELVÉSZ Bach* (‘THE LINGUIST Bach’) can be contrasted with A *ZENESZERZŐ Bach* (‘THE COMPOSER Bach’).

- (iv) Kiről szól az előadás? A NYELVÉSZ Petőfiről vagy
who.Del be_about.3Sg the lecture the linguist Petőfi.Del or
a NYELVÉSZ Bachról?
the linguist Bach.Del
‘Who is the lecture about? The LINGUIST Petőfi or the LINGUIST Bach?’

In the context (iv) the lecture could be about the linguist Petőfi, the poet Petőfi, the linguist Bach or the composer Bach. If the previous context makes it clear that the lecture may be only about a linguist, the sentence in (v) can be used exclusively.

- (v) Kiről szól az előadás? Petőfiről vagy Bachról?
who.Del be_about.3Sg the lecture Petőfi.Del or Bach.Del
‘Who is the lecture about? Petőfi or Bach?’

It is important to point out that this relation can occur not only when assuming several individuals. As is illustrated by the example in (855), there is a possible context where one single individual occurs as the anchor, and we want to highlight his two different attributes.

(855) • Close appositions with one individual

Petőfi a költő sikeresebb volt *Petőfinél a katonánál.*
Petőfi the poet more_successful be.Past.3Sg *Petőfi.Ade the soldier.Ade*
‘*Petőfi the poet* was more successful than *Petőfi the soldier.*’

It is worth noting that the pronominal possessor can be omitted in Types 2a and 2b, because the possessive agreement morpheme on the possessee indicates the number and the person of the possessor (see the subsection 1.1.1.1). Therefore three variants of these subtypes can be distinguished, as shown in examples (856).

(856) ● Variants of Types 2a and 2b

- a. az én Péter kollégám
the I Péter colleague.Poss.1Sg
'my colleague Péter'
- a'. Péter kollégám
Péter colleague.Poss.1Sg
'my colleague Péter'
- a''. a szomszéd férfi Péter kollégája
the next_door man Péter colleague.Poss.3Sg
'the man next door's colleague Péter'
- b. az én színész barátom
the I actor friend.Poss.1Sg-Del
'my friend the actor'
- b'. a színész barátom
the actor friend.Poss.1Sg
'my friend the actor'
- b''. a szomszéd férfi színész barátja
the next_door man actor friend.Poss.3Sg
'the man next door's friend the actor'

Note in passing that a Dative-marked possessor can also appear in the close appositive construction, as the examples in (857) show.

(857) ● Dative-marked possessor in Types 2a and 2b

- a. *Nekem a Péter kollégámat hívták meg, míg neked*
Dat.1Sg the Péter colleague.Poss.1Sg.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf while Dat.2Sg
a barátodat.
the friend.Poss.2Sg.Acc
'In my case *my colleague Péter* was invited, while in your case your friend was invited.'
- a'. *Megérkezett a szomszéd férfinak a Péter kollégája.*
arrive.Past.3Sg the next_door man.Dat the Péter colleague.Poss.3Sg
'*The man next door's colleague Péter* arrived.'
- b. *Nekem a színész barátomat tüntették ki, míg*
Dat.1Sg the actor friend.Poss.1Sg.Acc decorate.Past.DefObj.3Pl out while
neked a mérnök barátodat.
Dat.2Sg the engineer friend.Poss.2Sg.Acc
'In my case *my friend the actor* was decorated, while in your case *your friend the engineer* was decorated.'
- b'. *Meghívtuk a szomszéd férfinak a színész barátját.*
invite.Past.Def.Obj.2Pl the next_door man.Dat the actor friend.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'We invited *the man next door's friend the actor*.'

2.3.2.2. *Intonation of close appositive constructions*

The two elements of a close appositive construction form one intonation unit, and they are not separated by a comma in writing or a pause in speaking. In the unmarked case, the primary stress (") falls on the first element, with secondary stress (') on the second, as shown in examples (858).

(858) ● Primary stress on the first element

- a. Az "író 'Kosztolányit jobban kedvelem, mint a "költő 'Kosztolányit.
the writer Kosztolányi.Acc better like.DefObj.1Sg than the poet Kosztolányi.Acc
 'I prefer *the writer Kosztolányi* to *the poet Kosztolányi*.'
- b. A "pillangó 'szó gyönyörűen hangzik.
the butterfly word beautifully sound.3Sg
 'The word *butterfly* sounds beautiful.'
- c. "Péter 'barátom erősebb, mint "János 'barátom.
Péter friend.Poss.1Sg stronger than János friend.Poss.1Sg
 'My friend *Péter* is stronger than my friend *János*.'
- d. A "tanár 'barátom okosabb, mint a "pincér 'barátom.
the teacher friend.Poss.1Sg cleverer than the waiter friend.Poss.1Sg
 'My friend *the teacher* is cleverer than my friend *the waiter*.'
- e. Péter "Tóth 'professzort is meghívta.
Péter Tóth professor.Acc too invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 'Péter invited *professor Tóth* too.'

The examples in (859) show that not all types of close appositions conform to this criterion. In Type 3 of close appositions the primary stress falls on the second element, which is used contrastively.

(859) ● Primary stress on the second element

- a. Kire utalsz? 'Miltiadészra a "hadvezérre vagy
who.Sub refer.2Sg Miltiades.Sub the general.Sub or
 'Miltiadészra a "pápára?
Miltiades.Sub the pope.Sub
 'Who are you referring to? *Miltiades the general* or *Miltiades the pope*?'
- b. 'Kosztolányit az "írót jobban kedvelem, mint
Kosztolányi.Acc the writer.Acc better like.DefObj.1Sg than
 'Kosztolányit a "költőt.
Kosztolányi.Acc the poet.Acc
 'I prefer *Kosztolányi the writer* to *Kosztolányi the poet*.'

The contrast may be expressed in two ways: there is a contrast between two entities of the same kind as shown in example (859a), or both appositive constructions like (859b) refer to the same entity (person), contrasting different roles or properties of this person.

2.3.2.3. *Form of the elements in the close appositive construction*

It is generally assumed that the two elements of the close appositive construction must belong to the same category, that is the class of noun (Hockett 1955, Sopher 1971). One of the elements must be a proper noun or a noun representing a thing as a single entity, not as a member of a class, as shown in examples (860a,b). Examples in (860c,d) are unacceptable because these constructions combine two class nouns.

(860) • Form of the elements in close appositive constructions

- a. A cikk *a Bauhausról az áruházról* szól, és nem
 the article *the Bauhaus.Del the store.Del* be_about.3Sg and not
a Bauhausról a stílusról.
the Bauhaus.Del the style.Del
 ‘The article is about *the Bauhaus the store*, not *the Bauhaus the style*.’
- b. Ne használd *a gyűlölet szót!*
 not use.Subj.DefObj.2Sg the hatred word.Acc
 ‘Don’t use *the word hatred!*’
- c. *a busz jármű
 the bus vehicle
- d. *a pisztoly fegyver
 the pistol weapon

It is generally agreed that a close appositive construction may contain only definite determiners. Proper names and possessive constructions are definite noun phrases because the verb will have a definite conjugation if these constructions appear as object in the sentence. In Type 2b, however, an indefinite article can also appear, as illustrated by the example in (852). The construction in (852) seems similar to its definite counterpart in all other respects. If it is justified to require that the determiner in close appositions is definite, this generalization will leave a very similar class of indefinite constructions unaccounted for.

Furthermore, Type 4 of close appositions, *Rúza Magdi énekesnő* (‘singer Rúza Magdi’), would fall outside the class of close apposition by requiring the presence of the definite article on the noun.

2.3.2.4. *Morpho-syntactic considerations*

There is no consensus on the question of which of the two elements functions as the head of the close appositive construction. If we consider which of the two elements gets its case from the verb, and if we examine the pluralization and subject-verb agreement at the syntactic level, we can reach the conclusion that the second element functions as the head of the construction in most subtypes of the close appositive construction. Only Type 3 shows different behavior. The conclusion can be drawn from these considerations that the representation in (843b) can be attributed to close appositive constructions.

2.3.2.4.1. *Case suffixes*

In Type 3 of close appositions the two DPs share case suffixes as shown in example (861a,b). If we interchange the two DPs of the Type 3 (that is in Type 1a), only the second element will bear the case suffix, as the examples in (861a’,b’) illustrate.

(861) • Case suffixes on the element(s) of the close appositive construction

- a. *Miltiadész-t a hadvezér-t* sokkal többen ismerik, mint
Miltiades-Acc the general-Acc many more know.DefObj.3Pl than
Miltiadész-t a pápá-t.
Miltiades-Acc the pope-Acc
 ‘*Miltiades the general* is known by many more people than *Miltiades the pope*.’

- a'. *A hadvezér Miltiadész-t sokkal többen ismerik, mint
the general Miltiades-Acc many more know.DefObj.3Pl than
a pápa Miltiadész-t.
the pope Miltiades-Acc
'The general Miltiades is known by many more people than the pope Miltiades.'*
- b. *Miltiadész-ről a hadvezér-ről már hallottam, de
Miltiades-Del the general-Del already hear.Past.1Sg but
Miltiadész-ről a pápáról nem.
Miltiades-Del the pope-Del not
'I have already heard about Miltiades the general, but not about Miltiades the pope.'*
- b'. *A hadvezér Miltiadészról már hallottam, de
the general Miltiades-Del already hear.Past.1Sg but
a pápa Miltiadész-ről nem.
the pope Miltiades-Del not
'I have already heard about the general Miltiades, but not about the pope Miltiades.'*

It is worth noting that only in the third type of close appositive constructions will both elements bear the same case ending, as in (861a,b), in the rest of the subtypes the case suffix will appear only on the second element, as shown in examples (861a', 861b', 862).

(862) ● Case suffix on one of the elements of the close appositive construction

- a. *A legtöbb gyerek ismeri az applikáció szó-t.
the most child know.DefObj.3Sg the application word-Acc
'Most children know the word application.'*
- b. *A Duna folyó-n tartom az esküvőmet.
the Danube river-Sup keep.DefObj.1Sg the wedding.Poss.1Sg.Acc
'I will have my wedding on the river Danube.'*
- c. *Péter barátom-at mindenki kedveli.
Péter friend.Poss.1Sg-Acc everybody like.DefObj.3Sg
'Everybody likes my friend Péter.'*
- d. *A színész barátom-ról sokszor írnak az újságírók.
the actor friend.Poss.1Sg-Del many_times write.3Pl the journalist.Pl
'Journalists write about my friend the actor many times.'*
- e. *Fried professzor-tól mindenki fél.
Fried professor-Abl everybody be_afraid.3Sg
'Everybody is afraid of professor Fried.'*

In most subtypes of close appositions case is assigned to the second element of the construction by the verb, so it seems to be the head of the appositive construction. In Type 3 both elements bear the same case suffix.

2.3.2.4.2. *Pluralization*

There is another important difference between constructions like *Petőfi a költő* 'Petőfi the poet' and *a költő Petőfi* 'the poet Petőfi'. As the example in (863a) shows, if the proper noun is in the plural, it cannot be followed by a plural apposition. However, if we change the order of the anchor and the apposition, the

construction will be well-formed, as shown in example (863b), but there is no number agreement between the elements of the construction.

(863) ● Plural *-k* on the element of the close appositive construction

- a. **Bach-ok a zeneszerző-k* ismertebbek Bachnál a nyelvésznél.
Bach-Pl the composer-Pl more_known.Pl Bach.Ade the linguist.Ade
- b. *A zeneszerző Bach-ok* ismertebbek a nyelvész Bachnál.
the composer Bach-Pl more_known.Pl the linguist Bach.Ade
 ‘The composer Bachs are better known than the linguist Bach.’

The plural suffix can appear on some subtypes of the close apposition: in Types 1a and 1c the second element of the construction can bear the plural suffix *-(V)k*, as shown in examples (863b, 864a), and in Types 2a and 2b the plural suffix *-i* can appear on the second element, as the examples in (864b,c) demonstrate.

(864) ● Plural suffixes on one element of the close apposition

- a. *a Brontë nővér-ek*
 the Brontë sister-Pl
 ‘the Brontë sisters’
- b. *a Kovács nagyszül-e-i-m*
 the Kovács grandparent-Poss-Pl-1Sg
 ‘My grandparents Kovács’
- c. *az ügyvéd barát-a-i-m*
 the lawyer friend-Poss-Pl-1Sg
 ‘my friends the lawyers’

It is illustrated by the sentences in examples (863b) and (864), too, that only the second element of the construction can bear the plural suffix.

The examples in (865) show that the familiar plural suffix *-ék*, glossed as ‘Add’ (see subsection 1.1.1.3.1) can appear on the second element of the appositive construction in Types 1a, 2a, 2b and 4.

(865) ● Familiar plural suffix on one element of the close appositive construction I.

- a. *A nyelvész Petőfi-ék* előadást tartottak a költő Petőfi
the linguist Petőfi-Apl lecture.Acc give.Past.3Pl the poet Petőfi
szóhasználatáról.
usage.Poss.3Sg.Del
 ‘The linguist Petőfi and the others gave a lecture on the usage of words by the poet Petőfi.’
- b. *Péter barát-om-ék*
 Péter friend-Poss.1Sg-Apl
 ‘my friend Péter and the others’
- c. *a tanár barát-om-ék*
 the teacher friend-Poss.1Sg-Apl
 ‘my friend the teacher and the others’
- d. *Kovács doktor-ék*
 Kovács doctor-Apl
 ‘doctor Kovács and the others’

The familiar plural suffix *-ék* (see subsection 1.1.1.3.1) cannot be used in the rest of the types, as shown by the examples in (866). In Type 1b the noun does not denote a

person. This is illustrated in example (866a). In Type 1c the second element of the construction bears the plural suffix *-k*, and the familiar plural suffix *-ék* cannot stand after it, as shown in example (866b). Furthermore, in Type 3 this suffix cannot appear on the second element of the close appositive construction, as the example in (866c) shows.

(866) ● Familiar plural suffix on one element of the close appositive construction II.

- a. **az alma szó-ék*
the apple word-Apl
Intended meaning: 'the word apple and the others'
- b. **a Grimm testvér-ek-ék*
the Grimm brother-Pl-Apl
Intended meaning: 'the Brothers Grimm and the others'
- c. **Petőfi a nyelvész-ék*
Petőfi the linguist-Apl
Intended meaning: 'Petőfi the linguist and the others'

2.3.2.4.3. Agreement of the verb with the close appositive construction

The close apposition can function as the subject or the object of the sentence, triggering agreement on the verb. It is worth investigating whether the verb agrees with the first or second element of the close appositive construction in number and person (in the case of subjects) or in definiteness (in the case of objects).

The examples in (867) show that the verb appears in plural if the subject is a plural close appositive construction, that is, the predicate must agree with the second element.

(867) ● Subject-verb agreement in the case of close appositive constructions

- a. *A Brontë nővér-ek fiatalon halt-ak meg.*
the Brontë sister-Pl young die.Past-3Pl perf
'The Brontë sisters died young.'
- b. *A Kovács nagyszül-e-i-m meghalt-ak tavaly,*
the Kovács grandparent-Poss-Pl-1Sg die.Past-3Pl last_year
de a Szabó nagymamám még él.
but the Szabó grandma.Poss.1Sg yet live.3Sg
'My grandparents Kovács died last year, but my grandma Szabó lives yet.'
- c. *Az ügyvéd barát-a-i-m jól keres-nek.*
the lawyer friend-Poss-Pl-1Sg well earn-3Pl
'My friends the lawyers earn a living.'

In most subtypes of the close appositive construction, number agreement obtains between the second element and the verb, so we can reach the conclusion that the head of the construction is the second element.

Only in Types 2b and 4 of the close apposition can there appear elements with different definiteness. The example in (868a) shows that the verb agrees with the second element of the close appositive construction in definiteness. In example (868b), the verb agrees with the first element of the appositive construction in definiteness because the proper name triggers definite conjugation on the verb, whereas the bare noun could trigger indefinite conjugation on the verb.

(868) ● Object-verb agreement in the case of close appositive constructions

- a. *Meghív-om egy színész barátom-at.*
 invite.DefObj.1Sg an actor friend.Poss.1Sg-Acc
 ‘I will invite *one of my friends who is an actor.*’
- b. *Péter Rúzsa Magdi énekesnőt is meghívta.*
 Péter Rúzsa Magdi singer.Acc too invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 ‘Péter invited *singer Rúzsa Magdi* too.’

2.3.2.4.4. *Anaphoric relations*

It is interesting to look at the use of anaphoric pronouns in the sentences containing close apposition as they can help us to determine the referential status of the two elements of the appositive construction.

In Types 1a, 1c, 2b and 4 the antecedent of the anaphoric pronoun can be the whole construction, as the examples in (869) illustrate. In example (869b) the anaphoric pronoun can only be interpreted as coreferential with the whole construction because the anaphor *nekik* (‘to them’) is plural, but the proper name *Grimm* is singular.

(869) ● Anaphoric relations I.

- a. A: [*A nyelvész Bachot*]_i ismered?
 the linguist Bach.Acc know.DefObj.2Sg
 ‘Do you know *the linguist Bach*?’
- B: [*Róla*]_i nem hallottam, csak a zeneszerzőről.
 he.Del not hear.Past.1Sg only the composer.Del
 ‘I haven’t heard about him, only about the composer.’
- b. [*A Grimm testvérek*]_i nagyon népszerűek, sok híres népmesét
 the Grimm brother.Pl very popular.Pl many famous folk_tale.Acc
 köszönhetünk [*nekik*]_i.
 thank.Mod.1Pl Dat.3Pl
 ‘*The Brothers Grimm* are very popular, we are indebted to them for many famous folk tales.’
- b’. [*Az egyik Brontë nővér*]_i férjhez ment. Ezt kevesen
 the one Brontë sister husband.All go.Past.3Sg this.Acc few_people
 tudják [*róla*]_i.
 know.DefObj.3Pl Del.3Sg
 ‘*One of the Brontë sisters* got married. Few people know it about her.’
- c. [*Az ügyvéd szomszédom*]_i nagyon gazdag.
 the lawyer neighbor.Poss.1Sg very rich
 Mindenki irigyli [*őt*]_i.
 everybody envy.DefObj.3Sg he.Acc
 ‘My neighbor the lawyer is very rich. Everybody envies him.’
- d. Beszélnem kell [*Kovács professzorral*]_i, pedig nagyon félek
 talk.Inf.1Sg must Kovács professor.Ins though very be_afraid.1Sg
 [*tőle*]_i.
 Del.3Sg
 ‘I have to talk to *professor Kovács* though I’m very much afraid of him.’

In Type 1b the anaphoric pronoun can refer to the close appositive construction as a whole (870a) or one of the two elements (870b,c), depending on the context.

(870) ● Anaphoric relations II.

- a. Az elnök nem akarja kimondani [*a válság szót*]_i, pedig
 the president not want.DefObj.3Sg say.Inf *the crisis word.Acc* though
 [azt]_i nap mint nap leírják az újságírók.
 that.Acc day as day down_write.DefObj.3Pl the journalist.Pl
 ‘The president doesn’t want to use *the word crisis* though the journalists write it down every day.’
- b. Az elnök nem használja [*a válság*]_i szót, pedig a gazdasági
 the president not use.DefObj.3Sg *the crisis word.Acc* though the economic
 elemzők [annak]_i tartják a helyzetet.
 analyst.Pl that.Dat think.DefObj.3Pl the situation.Acc
 ‘The president doesn’t use *the word crisis* though the economic analysts think the situation that.’
- c. Az elnök nem akarja használni *a válság* [*szót*]_i, de nem
 the president not want.DefObj.3Sg use.Inf *the crisis word.Acc* but not
 ismer [olyat *e*]_i, ami megfelelőbb lenne.
 know.3Sg such.Acc that more_appropriate be.Cond.3Sg
 ‘The president doesn’t want to use *the word crisis*, but he doesn’t know one that would be more appropriate.’

In the third type of the close apposition, the antecedent of the anaphoric pronoun can be the construction as a whole or just the second element. The examples in (871) are ambiguous as regards the interpretations of *őt* (‘him’) or *róla* (‘about him’): they can be interpreted as coreferential with the second element or with the construction as a whole.

(871) ● Anaphoric relations III.

- a. [*Petőfi* [*a nyelvész*]_i] lesz ma a vendégünk.
Petőfi the linguist will_be.3Sg today the guest.Poss.1Pl
 [*Őt*]_{i/j} kevesebben ismerik, mint a költő *Petőfi*.
 he.Acc fewer_people know.DefObj.3Pl than the poet *Petőfi.Acc*
 ‘Our guest will be *Petőfi the linguist* today. He is known by fewer people than *Petőfi the poet*.’
- b. A: Az előadás [*Miltiadésről* [*a hadvezérről*]_i] fog szólni?
 the lecture *Miltiades.Del the general.Del* will.3Sg be_about.Inf
 ‘Will the lecture be about *Miltiades the general*?’
- B: Nem [*róla*]_{i/j} / [arról]_j, hanem a pápa *Miltiadésről*.
 not *Del.3Sg that.Del* but the pope *Miltiades.Del*
 ‘Not about him, but about *Miltiades the pope*.’

With Type 2a, the anaphor can refer to the whole construction or one of the elements. It depends on the context which element can be the antecedent. In example (872b), *János barátom* (‘my friend János’) is used in contrast with *Péter barátom* (‘my friend Péter’), so the antecedent will be the first element (or the whole construction). In example (872b’), the close appositive construction, *János barátom* (‘my friend János’), is in contrast with *János öcsém* (‘my younger brother János’), so the antecedent of the anaphor will be interpreted as coreferential with the second element (or the whole construction).

(872) ● Anaphoric relations IV.

- a. [[*János*]_k [*barátom*]]_i meglátogatott.
János friend.Poss.1Sg visit.Past.3Sg
 ‘My friend *János* visited me.’
- b. [*Őt*]_{i/k} jobban kedvelem *PÉTER barátomnál*.
 he.Acc better like.1Sg *Péter friend.Poss.1Sg.Ade*
 ‘I prefer him to my friend *Péter*.’
- b’. [*Őt*]_{i/j} jobban kedvelem *János ÖCSÉMNÉL*.
 he.Acc better like.1Sg *János younger_brother.Poss.1Sg.Ade*
 ‘I prefer him to my younger brother *János*.’

2.3.2.4.5. *Omissibility*

The example in (873b) shows that omission of one of the elements may result in a grammatical sentence at the syntactic and semantic levels. Omission of the first element of the close appositive construction in (873a) does not lead to a syntactically or semantically unacceptable sentence, but this does not mean that the resulting construction is always acceptable in the given context. This is illustrated in example (873b): if we omit the proper noun, the resulting construction can no longer be used felicitously to start a discourse, as opposed to (873a).

(873) ● Omissibility of one of the elements of the close appositive construction

- a. *Miltiadész a hadvezér híresebb Miltiadésznál a pápánál*.
Miltiades the general more_famous Miltiades.Ade the pope.Ade
 ‘*Miltiades the general* is more famous than *Miltiades the pope*.’
- b. A hadvezér híresebb a pápánál.
 the general more_famous the pope.Ade
 ‘The general is more famous than the pope.’
- b’. #*Miltiadész híresebb Miltiadésznál*.
Miltiades more_famous Miltiades.Ade
 #‘*Miltiades* is more famous than *Miltiades*.’

It is illustrated in example (873b’) that omission of the second element can lead to a semantically unacceptable sentence.

As was mentioned in subsection 2.3.1.2.2, denotation to a unique entity is determined by the two DPs together in close appositive constructions, so omission of one element of the construction will result in a pragmatically unacceptable sentence. It may be the case that the speaker is less cooperative (in the sense of Grice 1975) if he omits the proper noun. Furthermore if the speaker leaves out the descriptive element, he is less specific than Grice’s Cooperative Principle would require.

2.3.3. *Loose appositive constructions*

This subsection will deal with loose appositive constructions with respect to their subtypes, intonation, the order of their elements, their morpo-syntactic properties (regarding sharing of affixes, number agreement between the anchor and the apposition, subject-verb agreement and object-verb agreement) and omissibility of the anchor or the apposition.

2.3.3.1. *Subtypes of loose apposition*

Below we present Heringa’s (2012) semantic classes: identification, attribution, inclusion, with a closer look at Hungarian examples, revealing to what extent these examples can be distinguished on the basis of the position of anchor and apposition on the specificity scale.

Noun phrases can be characterized by the following notions: specific definite, specific indefinite, non-specific, proper name, generic indefinite, generic definite class, and generic definite individual concept (Heringa 2012: 38). These characterizations can be put on a scale from more to less specific, as Figure 2 shows.

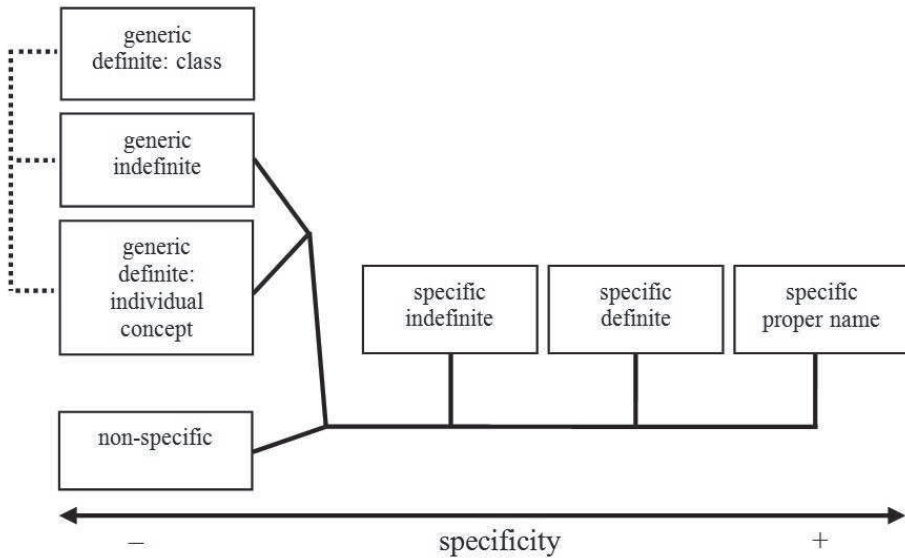


Figure 2: *Specificity scale relation*

Generic noun phrases are less specific than specific noun phrases, but the characterization of genericity cannot be compared to non-specificity. In other words, generic noun phrases are not more nor less specific than non-specific noun phrases. Every interpretation that is arranged horizontally has a certain degree of specificity relative to the others. The types that are arranged vertically can be compared to each other with respect to specificity, but they do not have an inherent ordering (this is indicated with the dotted lines).

2.3.3.1.1. *Identification*

In an identification relation, both units of the construction are expected to occupy the same position on the specificity scale. The colored cells signal the possible combinations of interpretations, as can be seen in Table 74.

Table 74: *Identification*

APPOSITION	GEN. DEF.: CLASS	GEN. INDEF.	GEN. DEF.: INDIVID. CONCEPT	NON-SPECIFIC	SPECIFIC INDEF.	SPECIFIC DEF.	SPECIFIC PROPER NAME
GEN. DEF.: CLASS	(875a)						
GENERIC INDEF.		(875b)					
GEN. DEF.: INDIVID. CONCEPT			(875c)				
NON-SPECIFIC				(876)			
SPECIFIC INDEFINITE					(874a)	(874b)	(874c)
SPECIFIC DEFINITE					(874d)	(874e)	(874f)
SPEC. PROPER NAME					(874g)	(874h)	(874i)

As pointed out by Heringa (2012: 40), the reason for the combination of items with different specificity levels is that “the types of specific readings without a context have a natural ordering of specificity, ranging from indefinite via definite to proper name, the context can force them to be interpreted as equally specific”. This possibility of combinations is confirmed by Hungarian examples, too, as shown in example (874).

(874) • Identification I.

- a. Péter rajzolt *egy pentagrammot, azaz egy ötágú csillagot.*
Péter draw.Past.3Sg *a pentagram.Acc that_is a five-pointed star.Acc*
‘Péter drew a pentagram, that is a five-pointed star.’
- b. Péter *egy autóval, mégpedig Jánosnak ezzel a kis*
Péter *a car.Ins namely János.Dat this.Ins the small*
dömpérével játszik.
dump_truck.Poss.3Sg.Ins play.3Sg
‘Péter is playing with a car, namely this small dump truck of János’s.’
- c. Mari *egy játék babát, mégpedig a Gyöngyhercegnőt kérte*
Mari *a toy doll.Acc namely the Pearl_Princess.Acc ask.Past.DefObj.3Sg*
karácsonyra.
Christmas.Sub
‘Mari asked for a doll, namely the Pearl Princess, for Christmas.’
- d. Péter *bohóca, vagyis egy bizonyos ajándék a barátjától,*
Péter *clown.Poss.3Sg that_is a certain gift the friend.Poss.3Sg.Abl*
elveszett.
get_lost.Past.3Sg
‘Péter’s clown, that is a particular gift from his friend, got lost.’

- e. *Mari babája, mégpedig a nagymamájától kapott játék,*
Mari doll.Poss.3Sg namely the granny.Poss.3Sg.Abl got toy
 megsérült.
 be_damaged.Past.3Sg
 ‘Mari’s doll, namely the toy she got from her granny, was damaged.’
- f. *Mari babája, a Gyöngyhercegnő, leesett a polcraól.*
Mari doll.Poss.3Sg the Pearl_Princess fall_down.Past.3Sg the shelf.Del
 ‘Mari’s doll, the Pearl Princess, fell off the shelf.’
- g. *A Gyöngyhercegnő, azaz egy a nagymamától kapott játék baba,*
the Pearl_Princess that_is a the granny.Abl got toy doll
 a lányom kedvenc játékvá vált.
 the daughter.Poss.1Sg favourite toy.Poss.3Sg.TrE become.Past.3Sg
 ‘The Pearl Princess, that is to say a doll given by granny, became my daughter’s favourite toy.’
- h. Elfelejtettem betenni a bőröndbe
 forget.Past.1Sg in.put.Inf the suitcase.Ill
 a Gyöngyhercegnőt, vagyis Mari babáját.
 the Pearl_Princess.Acc that_is Mari doll.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘I forgot to put the Pearl Princess, that is Mari’s doll, into the suitcase.’
- i. *A Vénusz, vagyis az Esthajnalcsillag segített az embereknek*
the Venus namely the Evening_star help.Past.3Sg the people.Dat
 tájékozódni az utazásaik során.
 orient.Inf the travel.Poss.Pl.3Pl during
 ‘Venus, or the Evening star, helped people with the orientation of their travels.’

The distinction between definite and indefinite generic noun phrases has an effect on the possible combinations of the readings. Identification between the anchor and the apposition is only possible if both elements are of the same type, as the examples in (875) demonstrate. The combination of two different generic elements is impossible here.

(875) • Identification II.

- a. *A koala, azaz a phascolarctos cinereus, Ausztráliában honos*
the koala that_is the phascolarctos cinereus Australia.Ine native
 erszéyes.
 marsupial
 ‘The koala, that is the *phascolarctos cinereus*, is a native marsupial in Australia.’
- a’. *A tanárunk előadást tartott*
 the teacher.Poss.1Pl lecture.Acc give.Past.3Sg
az év madaráról, vagyis a tüzokról.
the year bird.Poss.3Sg.Del namely the bustard.Del
 ‘Our teacher gave a lecture on the bird of the year, namely the bustard.’
- b. *Egy tarajos gőte, vagyis egy szalamandraféle csigákat, rovarokat eszik.*
a crested_newt namely a salamander.kind snail.Pl.Acc insect.Pl.Acc eat.3Sg
 ‘A crested newt, namely a kind of salamander, eats snails and insects.’
- c. *A világ legnagyobb hatalmú férjja, az USA elnöke,*
the world most might man.Poss.3Sg the USA president.Poss.3Sg
 a Fehér Házban él.
 the White House.Ine live.3Sg
 ‘The mightiest man in the world, the president of the United States, lives in the White House.’

The example in (876) shows that it is possible to combine two non-specific noun phrases in order to form an appositive construction of identification.

(876) ● Identification III.

Mari szeretne kapni *egy új játékot, mégpedig egy beszélő babát.*
 Mari like.Cond.1Sg get.Inf *an new toy.Acc namely a speaking doll.Acc*
 ‘Mari would like to get *a new toy, namely a speaking doll.*’

2.3.3.1.2. *Attribution*

In the case of the attribution, the apposition is a generic indefinite noun phrase or a generic individual concept, while the anchor can take any position on the specificity scale, as is shown in Table 75. A relation of attribution seems impossible if the apposition has a definite generic interpretation referring to a class because there is no variable referring to the individual members of that class. Therefore, the definite generic noun phrase cannot be associated with reference to individual members.

Table 75: *Attribution*

APPOSITION	GEN. DEF.: CLASS	GEN. INDEF.	GEN. DEF.: INDIVID. CONCEPT	NON-SPECIFIC	SPECIFIC
ANCHOR					
GEN. DEF.: CLASS		(877a)	(878a)		
GENERIC INDEF.		(877b)	(878b)		
GEN. DEF.: INDIV. CONCEPT		(877c)	(878c)		
NON-SPECIFIC		(877d)	(878d)		
SPECIFIC INDEF.		(877e)	(878e)		
SPECIFIC DEF.		(877f)	(878f)		
SPECIFIC PROPER NAME		(877g)	(878g)		

Examples in (877) illustrate the possible combinations for attribution with an indefinite generic apposition.

(877) ● Attribution I.

- a. *Az optikában alkalmazzák*
 the optics.Ine apply.3Pl
a prizmát, egy háromdimenziós eszközt.
 the prism.Acc a three-dimensional instrument.Acc
 ‘The prism, a three-dimensional instrument, is applied in the optics.’
- b. *Egy tandem kerékpár, egy kétülékes bicikli mindig jól jöhet*
 a tandem bicycle a two-seater cycle always well come.Mod.3Sg
a szerelmeseknek.
 the lover.Pl.Dat
 ‘A tandem bicycle, a two-seater cycle, can always come in for lovers.’

- c. A diákok egy díjat adtak az év tanárának,
 the student.Pl a prize.Acc give.3Pl the year teacher.Poss.3Sg.Dat
 egy kiváló pedagógusnak.
 an outstanding educator.Dat
 ‘The students gave a prize to the teacher of the year, an outstanding educator.’
- d. János egy kockát, egy háromdimenziós testet akart rajzolni
 János a cube.Acc a three-dimensional solid.Acc want.Past.3Sg draw.Inf
 az órán.
 the lesson.Sup
 ‘János wanted to draw a cube, a three-dimensional solid, in the lesson.’
- e. János egy bizonyos autót, egy négykerék-meghajtású járgányt
 János a certain car.Acc a four-wheel-drive jalopy.Acc
 akart venni.
 want.Past.3Sg buy.Inf
 ‘János wanted to buy a certain car, a four-wheel-drive jalopy.’
- f. János számszerű, egy gyilkos fegyver, nagyon veszélyes.
 János cross-bow.Poss.3Sg a murder weapon extremely dangerous
 ‘János’s cross-bow, a murder weapon, is extremely dangerous.’
- g. A Gyöngyhercegnő, egy játék baba, nagyon népszerű Magyarországon.
 the Pearl_Princess a toy doll very popular Hungary.Sup
 ‘The Pearl Princess, a doll, is very popular in Hungary.’

The examples in (878) illustrate the possible combinations for attribution with a definite generic apposition.

(878) ● Attribution II.

- a. Az orrszarvút, a dél-afrikai vadászok áldozatát a kihalás
 the roncenceros.Acc the South-African poacher.Pl victim.Poss.3Sg.Acc the extinction
 veszélye fenyegeti.
 danger.Poss.3Sg threat.DefObj.3Sg
 ‘The rhinoceros, the victim of the South-African poachers, is in danger of extinction.’
- b. [?]Egy leopárd, mellesleg Kenya legveszélyesebb állata, rendszerint
 a leopard by_the_way Kenya most_dangerous animal.Poss.3Sg usually
 antilopot eszik.
 antelope.Acc eat.3Sg
 ‘A leopard, by the way the most dangerous animal in Kenya, usually eats antelopes.’
- c. Az év tanárát, a legjobb pedagógust, kitüntették.
 the year teacher.Poss.3Sg.Acc the best educator.Acc decorate.Past.DefObj.3Pl
 ‘The teacher of the year, the best educator, was decorated.’
- d. János egy tabletre, a mai fiatalok legkeresettebb kütyüjére
 János a tablet.Sub the today’s young.Pl most_wanted gadget.Poss.3Sg.Sub
 vágyik.
 desire.3Sg
 ‘János desires a tablet, the most wanted gadget among today’s young people.’
- e. János sokat beszélgetett egy diákkal, a tanárok kedvencével.
 János much.Acc talk.Past.3Sg a student.Ins the teacher.Pl favourite.Poss.3Sg.Ins
 ‘John talked a lot to a student, the teachers’ favourite.’

- f. *A nővérem, az iskola legjobb tanulója, könyvjutalmat*
the elder_sister.Poss.1Sg the school best pupil.Poss.3Sg book_reward.Acc
 kapott tavaly.
get.Past.3Sg last_year
 ‘My elder sister, the best pupil in the school, got a book reward last year.’
- g. *A Louvre-t, Európa legnépszerűbb múzeumát évente több*
the Louvre.Acc Europe most_popular museum.Poss.3Sg.Acc annually more
 százezren látogatják.
hundred_thousand visit.DefObj.3Pl
 ‘Several hundred thousand people visit the Louvre, the most popular museum of Europe, annually.’

2.3.3.1.3. *Inclusion*

In the case of inclusion, the apposition is either more specific than the anchor or both elements can belong to the same type, as can be seen in Table 76. Note in passing that the three types of generic noun phrases are inherently unordered.

Table 76: *Inclusion*

APPOSITION	GEN. DEF.: CLASS	GEN. INDEF.	GEN. DEF.: INDIVID. CONCEPT	NON-SPECIFIC	SPECIFIC INDEF.	SPECIFIC DEF.	SPECIFIC PROPER NAME
GEN. DEF.: CLASS	(880a)	(880b)	(880c)				
GENERIC INDEF.	(880d)	(880e)	(880f)		(881a)	(881b)	(881c)
GEN. DEF.: INDIVID. CONCEPT	(880g)	(880h)	(880i)		(881d)	(881e)	(881f)
NON-SPECIFIC				(881g)	(881h)	(881i)	(881j)
SPECIFIC INDEFINITE					(879a)	(879b)	(879c)
SPECIFIC DEFINITE						(879d)	(879e)
SPEC. PROPER NAME							(879f)

Examples in (879) illustrate the possible combinations within the group of specific noun phrases.

(879) • Inclusion I.

- a. *Blanka néhány plüssállattal, köztük Mari játék mackójával*
Blanka some plush_animal.Ins among_them Mari toy teddy_bear.Poss.3Sg.Ins
 játszik órák óta.
play.3Sg hour.Pl for
 ‘Blanka has been playing with some plush animals, among them Mari’s teddy bear, for hours.’

- b. Blanka *néhány babával, köztük a Gyöngyhercegnővel* játszott.
 Blanka some doll.Ins among_them the Pearl_Princess.Ins play.Past.3Sg
 ‘Blanka was playing with some dolls, among them the Pearl Princess.’
- c. János elvesztette *a kedvenc autót, köztük a mamájától* kapott versenyautót.
 János lose.Past.DefObj.3Sg the favourite car.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc among_them the mother.Poss.3Sg.Abl got race_car.Acc
 ‘János lost his favourite cars, among them the race car got from his mother.’
- d. A *Jupiter holdjai, köztük a Galilei-holdak*, egy ellipszis alakú pályán keringenek.
 the Jupiter moon.Poss.Pl.3Sg among_them the Galilei_moon.Pl an ellipse shaped orbit.Sup circle.3Pl
 ‘Jupiter’s moons, among them the Galilean moons, circle in an ellipse-shaped orbit.’
- e. Mari vett *néhány játékot, köztük egy beszélő babát*.
 Mari buy.Past.3Sg some toy.Acc among_them a speaking doll.Acc
 ‘Mari bought some toys, among them a speaking doll.’
- f. A *Tóthok, köztük Tóth János*, nagyon népszerűek az iskolánkban.
 the Tóth.Pl among_them Tóth János very popular.Pl the school.Poss.2Pl.Ine
 ‘Tóths, among them János Tóth, are very popular in our school.’

A relation of inclusion is possible if the anchor and the apposition are generic noun phrases. As was mentioned above, the various generic readings are not inherently ordered. The examples in (880) illustrate the possible combinations within the group of generic noun phrases.

(880) ● Inclusion II.

- a. A *ragadozó madaraknak, például a sasoknak*, éles karmuk van.
 the predatory bird.Pl.Dat for_example the eagle.Pl.Dat sharp claw.Poss.3Pl be.3Sg
 ‘Birds of prey, for example eagles, have sharp claws.’
- b. A *sólyom, de különösen egy kabasólyom*, nagyon sok időt tölt a levegőben.
 the hawk but in_particular a hobby very much time.Acc spend.3Sg
 the air.Ine
 ‘The hawk, and in particular a hobby, spends very much time in the air.’
- c. Az *orrszarvú, főként a kicsinyeit védő szülő*, nagyon veszélyes lehet.
 the rhinoceros mainly the cub.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc saving parent very dangerous
 be.Mod.3Sg
 ‘The rhinoceros, mainly the parent saving his cubs, can be very dangerous.’
- d. Egy *macskafélének, de leginkább a tigrisnek*, gyönyörű bundája van.
 a feline.Dat but mostly the tiger.Dat beautiful fur.Poss.3Sg
 be.3Sg
 ‘A feline, most notably the tiger, has beautiful fur.’

- e. *Egy nagy ragadozó, például egy oroszlán a tápláléklánc csúcán van.*
a big predator for_example a lion the food_chain
 top.Poss.3Sg.Sup be.3Sg
 ‘A big predator, for example a lion, is at the top of the food chain.’
- f. *Egy emberszabású majom, de főként a csoport alfahímje, támogatja a rokonait.*
an anthropoid ape but particularly the group alpha_male.Poss.3Sg
 support.DefObj.3Sg the relative.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc
 ‘A great ape, particularly the group’s alpha male, supports his relatives.’
- g. *János kedvenc állatai, köztük a koala, kivétel nélkül veszélyeztetett fajok.*
János favourite animal.Poss.Pl.3Sg among_them the koala exception without
 endangered species
 ‘János’s favourite animals, with the koala among them, are endangered species without exception.’
- h. *Egy igazgatási egység vezetőjét, úgymint egy dékánt, gyakran nagy tisztelet övezi.*
a management unit leader.Poss.3Sg.Acc such_as a dean.Acc often
 big respect surround.DefObj.3Sg
 ‘The leader of a management unity, such as a dean, is often greatly respected.’
- i. *Egy közösség vezetőjének, úgymint egy iskola igazgatójának, jól kell ismernie a beosztottjait.*
a community leader.Poss.3Sg.Dat such_as a school headmaster.Poss.3Sg.Dat
 well must know.Inf.3Sg the inferior.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc
 ‘The leader of a community, such as the headmaster of a school, has to know his inferiors well.’

The examples in (881) show that a relation of inclusion is possible if the apposition is more specific than the anchor. It is illustrated by the sentence in (881g) that this relation is also possible if both elements of the appositive construction are non-specific.

(881) ● Inclusion III.

- a. *Egy háziállatnak, de különösen Péter egy bizonyos mandarinhalának, sok törődésre van szüksége.*
a pet.Dat but in_particular Péter a certain
tangerine_fish.Poss.3Sg.Dat much care.Sub be.3Sg need.Poss.3Sg
 ‘A pet, in particular a certain tangerine fish of Péter’s, needs much care.’
- b. *Egy háziállat, úgymint Péter hullője, sok gondoskodást igényel.*
a pet such_as Péter reptile.Poss.3Sg much care.Acc demand.3Sg
 ‘A pet, such as Péter’s reptile, requires much care.’
- c. *Egy luxusautó, úgymint a Lexus, a közemberek számára megfizethetetlen.*
a luxury_car namely the Lexus the commoner.Pl for_him
 priceless
 ‘A luxury car, namely the Lexus, is priceless for the commoners.’

- d. Az emberszabású majmok alfahímje, úgymint a budapesti
the anthropoid ape.Pl alpha_male.Poss.3Sg such_as the Budapest. Adj
 állatkert egy bizonyos gorillája, még az emberekkel szemben is
zoo a certain gorilla.Poss.3Sg even the people.Ins opposite to
 domináns viselkedést mutat.
dominant behavior.Acc show.3Sg
 ‘The alpha male of the great apes, such as a certain gorilla in the zoo of Budapest, even shows dominant behaviour towards people.’
- e. Egy gyűjtő mintadarabjának, például Péter egyfilléres érmének,
a collector showpiece.Poss.3Sg.Dat for_example Péter one_filler coin.Poss.3Sg.Dat
 ragyogóan kell kinéznie.
brilliantly must look.Inf.3Sg
 ‘A collector’s showpiece, for example Péter’s one filler coin, has to look brilliant.’
- f. Európa híres múzeumait, köztük a Louvre-t, sokan
Europe famous museum.Poss.Pl.3Sg among_them the Louvre.Acc many_people
 látogatják.
visit.DefObj.3Pl
 ‘Europe’s famous museums, with the Louvre among them, are visited by many people.’
- g. János egy háziállatot, például egy gőtét szeretne kapni
János a pet.Acc for_example a newt.Acc like.Cond.3Sg get.Inf
 a szülinapjára.
the birthday.Poss.3Sg.Sub
 ‘János would like to get a pet, for example a newt, for his birthday.’
- h. János le akar rajzolni néhány játékot, köztük Péternek egy
János down want.3Sg draw.Inf some toy.Acc among_them Péter.Dat a
 autóját.
car.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘János wants to draw some toys, among them a car of Péter’s.’
- i. János venni akar egy feltűnő járgányt, például Péter
János buy.Inf want.3Sg a spectacular jalopy.Acc for_example Péter
 luxusautóját.
luxury_car.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘János wants to buy a spectacular jalopy, for example Péter’s luxury car.’
- j. Jánosnak a projektmunkáját egy űrhajóról, például
János.Dat the project_work.Poss.3Sg.Acc a spaceship.Del for_example
 a Vosztok-1-ről kell elkészítenie.
the Vostok-1.Del must prepare.Inf.3Sg
 ‘János has to carry out his project work on a spaceship, for example Vostok-1.’

2.3.3.1.4. Characterization of subtypes of the loose apposition

Heringa distinguishes attribution from the other two types of appositive constructions, making use of the following test (2012: 47). He demonstrates through Dutch examples that the construction can be transformed by means of inserting an appositive relative clause (which identifies the anchor with the apposition) in place of the apposition only in the case of the attributive apposition. This test, however, cannot be entirely applied to Hungarian loose appositions: all constructions for attribution can be transformed into an appositive relative clause (882a,a’), and this

transformation is not possible in case of examples for inclusion (882b,b'), but there are some examples for identification which can be transformed into a relative clause (882c,c').

(882) ● Transformation of the loose appositive construction into a relative clause

- a. A hónap dolgozóját, egy kiváló eladót, a vevők
the month employee.Poss.3Sg.Acc an excellent shop_assistant.Acc the customer.Pl
 választják meg.
select.DefObj.3Pl perf
 'The employee of the month, an excellent shop assistant, is selected by the customers.'
- a'. A hónap dolgozóját, aki egy kiváló eladó, a vevők
the month employee.Poss.3Sg.Acc who an excellent shop_assistant the customer.Pl
 választják meg.
select.DefObj.3Pl perf
 'The employee of the month, who is an excellent shop assistant, is selected by the customers.'
- b. Az előadás néhány bolygóról, köztük a Marsról szólt.
the lecture several planet.Del among_them the Mars.Del be_about.Past.3Sg
 'The lecture was about *several planets*, with Mars among them.'
- b'. *Az előadás néhány bolygóról, amely a Mars, szólt.
the lecture several planet.Del which the Mars be_about.Past.3Sg
- c. A világ legnagyobb hatalmú férjja, az USA elnöke,
the world most might man.Poss.3Sg the USA president.Poss.3Sg
 a Fehér Házban él.
the White House.Ine live.3Sg
 'The mightiest man in the world, the president of the United States, lives in the White House.'
- c'. A világ legnagyobb hatalmú férjja, aki az USA elnöke,
the world most might man.Poss.3Sg who the USA president.Poss.3Sg
 a Fehér Házban él.
the White House.Ine live.3Sg
 'The mightiest man in the world, who is the president of the United States, lives in the White House.'

Another significant difference between the examples classified as inclusions and the other two classes is that in the case of inclusion the apposition marker cannot be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical, as the examples in (883) illustrate.

(883) ● Non-omissibility of apposition markers in inclusion

- a. Találkoztam néhány osztálytársammal, *(köztük) Marival.
meet.Past.1Sg a_few classmate.Poss.1Sg.Ins among_them Mari.Ins
 'I met a few of my classmates, Mari *(among them).'
- b. Az emberszabású majom, *(például) a gorilla, nagyon erős.
the anthropoid ape for_example the gorilla very strong
 'The great ape, *(for example) the gorilla, is very strong.'

Apposition markers play an important role in examples of inclusion, as they indicate that no predicative relation can be established between the elements of the construction in which we make a statement about the anchor using the apposition, as shown in examples (884).

(884) ● Absence of the predicative relation in inclusion

- a. #Néhány osztálytársam Mari.
 a_few classmate.Poss.1Sg Mari
 #‘A few of my classmates are Mari.’
- b. #Az emberszabású majom a gorilla.
 the anthropoid ape the gorilla
 #‘The great ape is the gorilla.’

Another important distinction must be pointed out between inclusion and the other two appositional classes. While constructions using inclusion can be transformed into sentences where the proximity of the anchor and the apposition is not required (885a), this is not so for attribution (885b) and identification (885c). Even if some of the examples are well-formed, the apposition can only take a distant position from the anchor as an afterthought, indicated by the use of a long pause (885d), and must often appear with conjunctions like *mégpedig* ‘namely’ and *vagyis* ‘that is’ (885e).

(885) ● Proximity of the elements in loose appositive constructions

- a. Az előadás néhány bolygóról szólt, köztük a Marsról.
 the lecture several planet.Del be_about.Past.3Sg among_them the Mars.Del
 ‘The lecture was about several planets, with Mars among them.’
- b. *Egy henger elkészíthető egy sima papírlapból, egy háromdimenziós test.
 a cylinder preparable a plain sheet_of_paper.Ela a three-dimensional solid
- c. *Mari babája eltűnt, a nagymamájától kapott játék.
 Mari doll.Poss.3Sg disappear.Past.3Sg the granny.Poss.3Sg.Abl received toy
 Intending meaning: ‘Mari’s doll has disappeared, the gift from her granny.’
- d. János egy bizonyos autót akar venni, egy négykerék-meghajtású járgányt.
 János a certain car.Acc want.3Sg buy.Inf a four-wheel-drive jalopy.Acc
 ‘János wants to buy a certain car, a four-wheel-drive jalopy.’
- e. Az év tanárát a diákok választják meg: mégpedig egy kiváló pedagógust.
 the year teacher.Poss.3Sg.Acc the student.Pl select.DefObj.3Pl perf namely an excellent educator.Acc
 ‘The teacher of the year is selected by the students – namely an excellent educator.’

We firmly take the position that in Hungarian we also get an appositive construction when certain conjunctions (such as *vagyis* ‘i.e.’, *azaz* ‘that is’) occur between units having identical reference. These form a construction in which the second unit clarifies and completes the meaning of the first. Accordingly, the presence of the conjunction does not automatically imply a coordinative construction, which by descriptive grammars was classified as explanatory coordination. These conjunctions are considered apposition markers in the international literature.

Now let us investigate apposition markers that normally occur in Hungarian appositive constructions. Examples (874-881), for the three different types of

appositive constructions (identification, attribution, inclusion), contain all apposition markers most typical of the given group. However, compared to English, German and Dutch examples (following Heringa 2012), Hungarian apposition markers cannot be sharply distinguished from one another as being typical of only one given semantic class of the appositive construction.

Typical apposition markers of the identification semantic class are the following: *vagyis* ‘i.e.’, *azaz* ‘that is’, *mégpedig* ‘namely’, *más szóval* ‘in other words’ *egyszerűbben mondva* ‘put more simply’, *pontosabban kifejezve* ‘more precisely’. In appositive constructions of the attribution semantic class, the following apposition markers may occur: *tudvalevőleg* ‘known to be’, *mellesleg* ‘by the way’, *mint köztudott* ‘as is (well-)known’, *amint tudod* ‘as you know’. In constructions of the inclusion class we may find the following apposition markers: *köztük* ‘among them’, *(mint) például* ‘for example’, *úgy mint* ‘such as’, *de főleg* ‘but/and mainly’, *de különösen* ‘but/and in particular’, *de leginkább* ‘but most of all’, *de legfőképpen* ‘but/and especially’.

At the same time, however, certain apposition markers of the identification group (like *vagyis* ‘i.e.’, *azaz* ‘that is’) may also occur in examples with appositive constructions of the attribution semantic class.

2.3.3.2. *Intonation of loose appositive constructions*

As was mentioned in 2.3.1.2.2, the two elements of loose appositive constructions are separated by comma-intonation that is indicated by commas, dashes or brackets in writing.

It is important to distinguish the comma-intonation between the anchor and the apposition from the comma-intonation that follows the apposition. The former is always present in loose appositive constructions, but the comma-intonation is not required to follow the apposition in Hungarian, as can be seen in examples (886a,c).

(886) ● Intonation of loose appositive constructions

- a. *A barátom, Péter* megérkezett.
the friend.Poss.1Sg Péter arrive.Past.3Sg
 ‘My friend, Péter, has arrived.’
- b. *A barátom, Péter,* megérkezett.
the friend.Poss.1Sg Péter arrive.Past.3Sg
 ‘My friend, Péter, has arrived.’
- c. [*A barátom, Péter*]_{Focus} érkezett meg.
the friend.Poss.1Sg Péter arrive.Past.3Sg perf
 ‘MY FRIEND, PÉTER, has arrived.’
- d. *[*A barátom, Péter,*]_{Focus} érkezett meg.
the friend.Poss.1Sg Péter arrive.Past.3Sg perf
 Intended meaning: ‘MY FRIEND, PÉTER, has arrived.’

If the appositive construction appears in the focus position, there cannot be an intonational pause after the apposition, as is illustrated in examples (886c,d).

2.3.3.3. *Order of the elements of loose appositive constructions*

The two elements of the loose appositive construction can be interchanged generally, as can be seen in the examples in (887).

(887) ● Interchangeability of elements in loose appositive constructions

- a. *Chomsky, egy nyelvész tartott előadást.*
Chomsky a linguist give.Past.3Sg lecture.Acc
 ‘Chomsky, a linguist, gave a lecture.’
- b. *Egy nyelvész: Chomsky tartott előadást.*
a linguist Chomsky give.Past.3Sg lecture.Acc
 ‘A linguist, Chomsky, gave a lecture.’

The appositive construction in (887a) is an example of attribution, but the inverted order of the two elements yields an example of identification in (887b).

It is worth noting that the order of the anchor and the apposition cannot be interchanged in the case of inclusion, as shown in (888).

(888) ● Non-interchangeability of elements in inclusions

- a. *Anna megetette a háziállatait, köztük a macskáját.*
Anna feed.Past.DefObj.3Sg the pet.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc among_them the cat.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘Anna fed her pets, among them her cat.’
- b. **Anna megetette a macskáját, (köztük) a háziállatait.*
Anna feed.Past.DefObj.3Sg the cat.Poss.3Sg.Acc among_them the pet.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc

2.3.3.4. *Morpho-syntactic considerations*

At the syntactic level we will consider affix sharing and agreement in number between the two elements of the loose appositive construction, subject-verb agreement, object-verb agreement and the omissibility of the anchor or the apposition.

2.3.3.4.1. *Affix sharing*

In this subsection we will show that the two elements of the loose appositive construction always share an affix.

As the examples in (889) show, the anchor and the apposition bear the same case endings in loose appositive constructions.

(889) ● Case suffixes in loose appositive constructions

- a. *Péter, a barátom úszni akar.*
Péter the friend.Poss.1Sg swim.Inf want.3Sg
 ‘Péter, my friend, wants to swim.’
- b. *Meglátogatom Péter-t, a barátom-at.*
visit.DefObj.1Sg Péter-Acc the friend.Poss.1Sg-Acc
 ‘I will visit Péter, my friend.’
- c. *Veszek egy könyvet Péter-nek, a barátom-nak.*
buy.1Sg a book.Acc Péter-Dat the friend.Poss.1Sg-Dat
 ‘I will buy a book for Péter, my friend.’
- d. *Semmit sem hallottam Péter-ről, a barátom-ról.*
nothing.Acc nor hear.Past.1Sg Péter-Del the friend.Poss.1Sg-Del
 ‘I heard nothing about Péter, my friend.’

- e. *Péter-rel, a barátom-mal megyek moziba.*
Péter-Ins the friend.Poss.1Sg-Ins go.1Sg cinema.Ill
 'I am going to the cinema with Péter, my friend.'

The example in (890) shows that the anchor and the apposition may have the same postposition, but it can also be seen that the postposition of the anchor may be left out.

(890) ● Postposition in loose appositive constructions

- Péter (mellett), a barátom mellett ülök az iskolában.*
Péter beside the friend.Poss.1Sg beside sit.1Sg the school.Ine
 'I sit beside Péter, my friend, in the school.'

2.3.3.4.2. *Number agreement*

The elements of the loose appositive construction must agree in number, as can be seen in examples (891a-a'). In examples (891b,b') *a két barátnőd* ('your two friends') is morphologically singular, but semantically plural, so the apposition of this DP must be plural too.

(891) ● Number agreement in loose appositive constructions

- a. *A lány-ok, a legjobb tanuló-k megérkeztek.*
the girl-Pl the best student-Pl arrive.Past.3Pl
 'The girls, the best students, have arrived.'
- a'. **A lány-ok, a legjobb tanuló megérkezett / megérkeztek.*
the girl-Pl the best student arrive.Past.3Sg / arrive.Past.3Pl
- a''. **A lány, a legjobb tanuló-k megérkezett / megérkeztek.*
the girl the best student-Pl arrive.Past.3Sg / arrive.Past.3Pl
- b. *A két barátnő-d, a lány-a-i-m megérkeztek.*
the two friend-Poss.2Sg the daughter-Poss-Pl-Poss.1Sg arrive.Past.3Pl
 'Your two friends, my daughters, have arrived.'
- b'. **A két barátnő-d, a lány-om megérkezett / megérkeztek.*
the two friend-Poss.2Sg the daughter-Poss.1Sg arrive.Past.3Sg / arrive.Past.3Pl

It is worth noting that there are exceptions. In the case of inclusion the elements do not have to agree in number. It is illustrated by the sentence in example (892a) that the anchor can be plural when the apposition is singular, though this is not possible inversely, as shown in example (892b).

(892) ● Number agreement in inclusions

- a. *Péter meglátogatta a rokon-a-i-t, köztük*
Péter visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg the relative-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc among_them
a nagybáty-já-t.
the uncle-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 'Péter visited his relatives, with his uncle among them.'
- b. **Péter meglátogatta a rokon-á-t, köztük*
Péter visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg the relative-Poss.3Sg-Acc among_them
a nagybáty-ja-i-t.
the uncle-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc

2.3.3.4.3. *Subject-verb and object-verb agreement*

In this subsection we will investigate (following Szőke (2015b)) how agreement works between the predicate and the appositive construction functioning as the subject or the object of the sentence.

First let us examine Hungarian morphosyntactic number agreement between the subject and the verb. Quantified noun phrases (such as *két lány* ‘two girls’) are morphologically singular in Hungarian, hence they lack a number feature, triggering singular agreement on the verb, as shown in example (893a), and plural noun phrases trigger plural agreement on the verb, as the example in (893a’) shows. Furthermore, the Hungarian verb has definite conjugation in the presence of a definite object (893b), and indefinite conjugation in the absence of a definite object (893b’).

(893) ● Agreement of the verb with the subject and the object

- a. A két lány megérkezett.
the two girl arrive.Past.3Sg
‘The two girls have arrived.’
- a’. A lány-ok megérkez-t-ek.
the girl-Pl arrive.Past-3Pl
‘The girls have arrived.’
- b. A tanárok [a könyv-et]_{DEF} ír-ják.
the teacher.Pl the book-Acc write-DefObj.3Pl
‘The teachers are writing the book.’
- b’. A tanárok [egy könyv-et]_{INDEF} ír-nak.
the teacher.Pl a book-Acc write-IndefObj.3Pl
‘The teachers write a book.’

Balogh (2004: 71) presents two examples and argues that in certain cases it is the subject apposition in (894a) or the object apposition in (894b) that controls agreement with the predicate.

(894) ● Agreement of the verb with a loose appositive construction

- a. *Ági és Panni, az újonnan jött osztálytárs-ak*
Ági and Panni the newly came classmate-Pl
hamarosan beilleszkedt-ek az osztályközösségbe.
soon fit_in.Past-3Pl the class.Ill
‘*Ági and Panni, the newcomers in the class, soon fitted in the community of classmates.*’
- b. [*Két diák-ot*]_{INDEF}, [*Nagy Jóska-t és Kis Pista-t*]_{DEF}
two student-Acc Nagy Jóska-Acc and Kis Pista-Acc
behívatt-ák az igazgatói irodába.
ask_in.Past-DefObj.3Pl the principal office.Ill
‘*Two students, Jóska Nagy and Pista Kis, were summoned to the principal’s office.*’

In example (894a) the apposition controls the agreement, since the verb must appear in the plural, while in the case of the *and*-coordination plural or singular forms of the predicate can both be triggered (895), as it was demonstrated by É. Kiss (2012: 1026).

(895) • Agreement of the verb with a coordinated construction

János és Mari összeveszt-ek / összeveszett.
 János and Mari quarrel.Past-3Pl / quarrel.Past.3Sg
 'János and Mari quarrelled.'

We extended the investigation to data where no unequivocal grammaticality judgment could be produced, and decided to test the examples in question (Szőke 2015b). On the one hand, we tested sentences in which the appositive construction functioned as the subject, and the apposition and the anchor separately trigger different kinds of agreement with the predicate. On the other hand, we tested the appositive construction functioning as the object in which there is a difference in the definiteness of the two units. In the judgment of the sentences no significant difference emerged whether the appositive construction appeared in the sentence in a topic or a focus position.

Based on the investigation of test-sentences containing appositive constructions in the subject function, the conclusion can be drawn that it cannot be unquestionably decided whether it is the anchor or the apposition that controls agreement, since the agreement is influenced by two different factors: the Principle of Proximity and the marked feature value concerning plurality. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 757) describe the Principle of Proximity as "agreement of the verb with a closely preceding noun phrase in preference to agreement with the head of the noun phrase that functions as the subject". The [PI] feature of a noun phrase is a marked feature value in number agreement. It is worth noting at this point that it is not only the group of nouns in plural form that have a marked value concerning plurality, but the coordination of groups of nouns in the singular can also have a marked feature value, when it triggers plural agreement, as illustrated in example (895).

The examples in (896) show that if the apposition is plural, then the agreement is unambiguously clear: the verb will appear in the plural, so the Principle of Proximity reaffirms the plural agreement too.

(896) • Subject-verb agreement in the case of a plural apposition

- a. ✓ *A két barát-nő-d, a lány-a-i-m* megérkez-t-ek.
the two friend-Poss.2Sg the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg arrive.Past-3Pl
 'Your two friends, my daughters, have arrived.'
- b. **A két barát-nő-d, a lány-a-i-m* megérkezett.
the two friend-Poss.2Sg the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg arrive.Past.3Sg
 'Your two friends, my daughters, have arrived.'

As is illustrated by the examples in (897) if the anchor is formally plural, then in the case of the appositive construction appearing in a preverbal position the principle of proximity and the markedness of plurality are in conflict, and the grammaticality judgments of the sentences show a greatly varied picture from the point of view of agreement. It is worth noting that more informants considered the plural verb grammatical than the singular one.

(897) • Subject-verb agreement in the case of a plural anchor

- a. *A lány-a-i-m, a két barát-nő-d* ^{*7} megérkezett / [%] megérkez-t-ek.
the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg the two friend-Poss.2Sg arrive.Past.3Sg / arrive.Past-3Pl
 'My daughters, your two friends, have arrived.'

- b. [A *lány-a-i-m*, a *két barátñ-d*]_{Focus}
 the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg the two friend-Poss.2Sg
 %veszett / ⁽¹⁾veszt-ek össze.
 quarrel.Past.3Sg / quarrel.Past-3Pl together
 ‘MY DAUGHTERS, YOUR TWO FRIENDS, had a quarrel.’

As the examples in (898) demonstrate, if the appositive construction appears in a postverbal position, then it is the Principle of Proximity that determines the agreement: that is the verb agrees with the anchor, the first element, in number.

(898) ● Subject-verb agreement in the case of a loose appositive construction in postverbal position

- a. ✓Összeveszt-ek / *összeveszett
 quarrel.Past-3Pl / quarrel.Past.3Sg
 a *lány-a-i-m*, a *két barátñ-d*.
 the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg the two friend-Poss.2Sg
 ‘My daughters, yours two friends, had a quarrel.’
- b. ✓Összevesztett / *összeveszt-ek
 quarrel.Past.3Sg / quarrel.Past-3Pl
 a *két barátñ-d*, a *lány-a-i-m*.
 the two friend-Poss.2Sg the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg
 ‘Your two friends, my daughters, had a quarrel.’

In the case of an appositive construction appearing in a preverbal position as the object, there are two factors influencing agreement: the Principle of Proximity and the marked feature value of definiteness. The [+Def] feature of a noun phrase is a marked feature value in object agreement. If the apposition is definite, then definite conjugation is clearly preferred, as shown in examples (899).

(899) ● Object-verb agreement in case of a definite apposition

- a. *Egy bájos kislány-t*, *Anná-t* *felkért-ek / ✓felkért-ék
 a lovely little_girl-Acc Anna-Acc invite.Past.IndefObj.3Pl / invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl
 a fotózásra.
 the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’
- c. [*Egy bájos kislány-t*, *Anná-t*]_{Focus}
 a lovely little_girl-Acc Anna-Acc
 *⁹kért-ek / ⁽²⁾kért-ék fel a fotózásra.
 invite.Past.IndefObj.3Pl / invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl up the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited A LOVELY LITTLE GIRL, ANNA, to the photo shoot.’

If the Principle of Proximity and the marked feature are in conflict, the grammaticality judgments of the sentences show a greatly varied picture, but definite conjugation still seems more preferable, as is illustrated by the sentences in the examples in (900).

(900) ● Object-verb agreement in the case of a definite anchor

- a. *Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t* [%]felkért-ek / ^(?)felkért-ék
Anna-Acc a lovely little_girl-Acc invite.Past.IndefObj.3Pl / invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl
 a fotózásra.
 the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited *Anna, a lovely little girl*, to the photo shoot.’
- b. [*Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t*]_{Focus} ^{*?}kért-ek / ^(?)kért-ék
Anna-Acc a lovely little_girl-Acc invite.Past.IndefObj.3Pl / invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl
 fel a fotózásra.
 up the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited *ANNA, A LOVELY LITTLE GIRL*, to the photo shoot.’

In the case of sentences containing appositive constructions in postverbal position, the grammaticality judgments are unequivocal, as shown in the examples in (901). In this case agreement is triggered by the Principle of Proximity, so the verb agrees with the anchor in definiteness.

(901) ● Object-verb agreement in the case of a loose appositive construction in postverbal position

- a. *Felkért-ek / ✓Felkért-ék *Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t*
 invite.Past.IndefObj.3Pl / invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *Anna-Acc a lovely little_girl-Acc*
 a fotózásra.
 the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited *Anna, a lovely little girl*, to the photo shoot.’
- b. *Felkért-ék / ✓Felkért-ek *egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t*
 invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl / invite.Past.IndefObj.3Pl *a lovely little_girl-Acc Anna-Acc*
 a fotózásra.
 the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited *a lovely little girl, Anna*, to the photo shoot.’

On the basis of our findings, we can draw the following conclusion. Although the Principle of Proximity has a certain role in the control of the agreement, which could suggest that we are dealing with a coordinative structure, the marked feature value can still override it occasionally. In this case, the agreement must be with the anchor, which is rather reminiscent of subordination.

However, we get different results if there is an intonational pause after the apposition. In this way, we intensify the parenthetical nature of the structure, due to which it seems that the predicate should rather agree with the anchor even in cases of appositive structures occurring in preverbal position as either the subject (902a,a’) or the object (902b,b’).

(902) ● Agreement in the case of an appositive construction with an intonational pause after the apposition

- a. *A lány-a-i-m, a két barátñ-d,* összeveszt-ek.
the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg the two friend-Poss.2Sg quarrel.Past-3Pl
 ‘*My daughters, your two friends*, had a quarrel.’
- a’. *A két barátñ-d, a lány-a-i-m,* összeveszt-ek.
the two friend-Poss.2Sg the girl-Poss-Pl-1Sg quarrel.Past-3Pl
 ‘*Your two friends, my daughters*, had a quarrel.’

- b. *Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t, felkért-ék* a fotózásra.
Anna-Acc a lovely little_girl-Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited *Anna, a lovely little girl*, to the photo shoot.’
- b’. *Egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t, felkért-ek* a fotózásra.
a lovely little_girl-Acc Anna-Acc invite.Past.IndefObj.3Pl the photo_shoot.Sub
 ‘They invited *a lovely little girl, Anna*, to the photo shoot.’

The examples above show that in the case of the intonational pause held after the apposition, it is the first element of the appositional construction appearing in preverbal position either as subject (902a, a’) or object (902b, b’), that is the anchor, and this influences agreement with the predicate.

2.3.3.5. Omissibility

On most accounts of loose appositions, the two elements of the construction are taken to refer to one and the same entity, so either part can be left out at the semantic level, as is illustrated in the examples in (903).

(903) ● Omissibility of one of the elements of the loose appositive construction

- a. *Meglátogattam Pétert, a barátomat* a kórházban.
 visit.Past.1Sg *Péter.Acc the friend.Poss.3Sg.Acc* the hospital.Ine
 ‘I visited *Péter, my friend*, at the hospital.’
- b. *Meglátogattam Pétert* a kórházban.
 visit.Past.1Sg *Péter.Acc* the hospital.Ine
 ‘I visited *Péter* at the hospital.’
- b’. *Meglátogattam a barátomat* a kórházban.
 visit.Past.1Sg *the friend.Poss.3Sg.Acc* the hospital.Ine
 ‘I visited *my friend* at the hospital.’

The examples in (904), however, show that omission of anchor or apposition results in an unacceptable sentence in certain syntactic contexts. If the elements of the appositive construction occurring as a subject are different morphologically in number, or if the anchor and the apposition functioning as an object are different in definiteness, one of the elements cannot be omitted.

(904) ● Difficulties of omissibility I.

- a. *A két legjobb barátod, a fiaim* megérkeztek.
the two best friend.Poss.2Sg the son.Poss.Pl.1Sg arrive.Past.3Pl
 ‘*Your two best friends, my sons*, have arrived.’
- a’. **A két legjobb barátod* megérkeztek.
the two best friend.Poss.2Sg arrive.Past.3Pl
 ‘*Your two best friends* have arrived.’
- b. *Egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t* kereste mindenki.
a lovely little_girl-Acc Anna-Acc look_for.Past.DefObj.3Sg everybody
 ‘Everybody looked for *a lovely little girl, Anna*.’
- b’. **Egy bájos kislány-t* kereste mindenki.
a lovely little_girl-Acc look_for.Past.DefObj.3Sg everybody
 ‘Everybody looked for *a lovely little girl*.’

In example (904a) the anchor contains a numeral (*két* ‘two’) and such DPs must be morphologically singular triggering singular agreement on the verb. The example in

(904a') is ungrammatical because a plural verb appears beside the morphologically singular anchor. In example (904b) the anchor and the apposition are nouns with different definiteness features. The anchor is an indefinite noun phrase triggering indefinite, not definite, agreement on the verb, so the sentence in (904b') is ungrammatical.

Furthermore, the apposition or the context may contain elements that depend on the presence of the anchor or the apposition, resulting in unacceptability if the relevant part is omitted, as it is illustrated in examples (905).

(905) • Difficulties of omissibility II.

- a. *A tanárom, egykor maga is nagy dohányos, támogatott,*
the teacher.Poss.1Sg once oneself too heavy smoker support.Past.3Sg
hogy leszokjam a dohányzásról.
that give_up.Subj.1Sg the smoking.Del
'My teacher, once a heavy smoker himself too, supported me to give up smoking.'
- a'. **Egykor maga is nagy dohányos, támogatott, hogy leszokjam*
once oneself too heavy smoker support.Past.3Sg that give_up.Subj.1Sg
a dohányzásról.
the smoking.Del
- b. *Péter, már három autó tulajdonosa, venni fog egy negyediket.*
Péter already three car owner.Poss.3Sg buy.Inf will.3Sg a fourth.Acc
'Péter, already the owner of three cars, is going to buy a fourth one.'
- b'. #*Péter venni fog egy negyediket.*
Péter buy.Inf will.3Sg a fourth.Acc
'Péter is going to buy a fourth one.'

2.4. Classifiers (*Veronika Szabó and Bálint Tóth*)

This section will discuss nominal projections that contain two nouns, N_1 and N_2 , in which the quantificational part of the extended noun phrase is expressed by means of another noun phrase. Following Csirmaz and Dékány (2014: 141) we use the term *classifier* for the element functioning as the quantificational part of the construction and define classifiers as “[...] various kinds of lexemes which categorize (classify) nouns into subgroups. This categorization is standardly based on semantic features or properties of the classified items, as opposed to their syntactic or morphological properties”.

Extending their definition, we attempt to provide a detailed taxonomy of Hungarian classifiers, based on multiple (morpho)syntactic and semantic criteria, and devise a number of tests for establishing categories.

(906) • Subgroups of classifier constructions

- a. két szem kukorica [Sortal]
 two eye corn
 'two grains of corn'
- b. két csapat gyerek [Group]
 two group child
 'two groups of children'

- c. két doboz tej [Container]
two box milk
'two boxes of milk'
- d. két kiló kenyér [Standard measure]
two kilo bread
'two kilos of bread'
- e. két csepp vér [Non-standard measure]
two drop blood
'two drops of blood'
- f. két pár cipő [PÁR]
two pair shoe
'two pairs of shoes'
- g. két darab könyv [DARAB]
two piece book
'two books'

This section is organized as follows. Subsection 2.4.1 provides a general overview of classifier constructions (abbreviated as CCs) and gives a characterization of the types of N_1 and N_2 in Hungarian. Subsection 2.4.2 provides examples to show which N functions as the *syntactic* and *semantic* head of a classifier construction. Subsections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4 continue with the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of N_1 and N_2 . Finally, subsection 2.4.5 concludes by providing a discussion of a related construction, which we will refer to as the partitive construction.

2.4.1. General overview

This subsection discusses the general features of CCs showing the differences between CCs and other [N+N] constructions. Besides classifiers, other nominal elements can occur within the noun phrase in the prenominal complement, including the nominal non-head in compounds. As mentioned in 1.1.2.1, there is a prenominal position left-adjacent to the nominal head which can often be characterized by “reduced” complementhood because it tends to lose its referential power. If an element appears in this position, the construction presumably forms a single phonological phrase, and therefore it only bears a single word stress (see example (907) and (100) in 1.1.2.1).

(907) • DPs and NPs in the prenominal complement

- a. a [_{NP} [_{DP} *Pestre*] érkezés]
the *Pest.Sub* arrival
'the arrival *in Pest*'
- b. a [_{NP} *tegnapi* [_{NP} [_{NP} *kutya-*] sétáltatás]
the *yesterday.Adj* *dog* walking
'taking *the dog(s)* for a walk yesterday'
- c. a labda [_{NP} [_{NP} *sarokba*] gurítása]
the ball *corner.Ill* rolling.Poss.3Sg
'rolling the ball *into a corner*'

- d. egy [_{NP} [_{DP} 'Szabolcsi-] cikk]
 a Szabolcsi- paper
 'a paper by Szabolcsi'
- e. egy [_{NP} [_{NP} 'nyelvész-] disszertáció]
 a linguist dissertation
 'a linguist's dissertation'

At the same time, classifiers appear between the determiner and the NP-domain proper (908).

(908) ● Classifiers in the prenominal zone

- a. [[... NP ...]_{NAK} ∇ DP_{Dem} D ...[Classifier]... [NP-domain] ...]
- b. [_{DP} ez a két kötet [_{DP} 'Szabolcsi-] cikk]
 this the two volume Szabolcsi- paper
 'these two volumes of papers by Szabolcsi'
- c. [_{DP} az a két szekrény [_{NP} [_{NP} 'nyelvész-] disszertáció]]
 that the two cupboard linguist dissertation
 'those two bookshelves of linguist-dissertations'

Since we do not commit ourselves to any particular structural representation of classifier constructions, for convenience, we will distinguish the two nouns by appealing to linear order: the first noun, the classifier itself, will be referred to as N_1 and the second one as N_2 . Thus, in example (909a) the noun *szál* 'thread' is an N_1 , and *rózsa* 'rose' is an N_2 . Except *pár* 'pair', all classifiers are either homophonous with a regular noun (see *szál* 'thread' in (909a)) or are regular nouns (e.g., *doboz* 'box' in (909c)). Also note that similarly to other quantified nouns the head (N_2) of a CC can never bear the plural suffix (909d).

(909) ● N_1 and N_2 in a CC

- a. három szál rózsa
 three thread rose
 'three stems of roses'
- b. három szem kukorica
 three eye corn
 'three grains of corn'
- c. három doboz sör
 three box beer
 'three cans of beer'
- d. *három (szál) rózsák
 three thread rose.Pl

2.4.1.1. *Types of N_1 s (classifiers) and N_2 s*

This subsection briefly characterizes the types of nouns that can be used as N_1 or N_2 in CCs. We will distinguish seven types of classifiers, in accordance with the international literature of classifiers (Aikhenvald (2003), Borer (2005), Beckwith (2007), and Zhang (2013), to name just a few).

I. Types of classifiers (N_{1s})

Table 77 shows several types of noun that are frequently used as classifiers, viz. N_{1s} in a CC. These nouns share the semantic property that they can be used to refer to a certain number of entities or a certain quantity of a substance denoted by N_2 .

Table 77: Types of N_{1s} in CCs

	EXAMPLES OF NOUNS	EXAMPLE
SORTAL CLASSIFIERS	<i>fej</i> ‘head’, <i>szem</i> ‘eye’, <i>szál</i> ‘thread’	<i>egy szem rizs</i> ‘a grain of rice’
GROUP CLASSIFIERS	<i>csapat</i> ‘team’, <i>nyáj</i> ‘flock’	<i>egy csapat gyerek</i> ‘a group of children’
CONTAINER CLASSIFIERS	<i>doboz</i> ‘box’, <i>vödör</i> ‘bucket’, <i>láda</i> ‘crate’	<i>egy láda alma</i> ‘a crate of apples’
MEASURE CLASSIFIERS	<i>kiló</i> ‘kilo’, <i>liter</i> ‘liter’, <i>méter</i> ‘meter’	<i>egy kiló bab</i> ‘a kilo of beans’
	<i>tucat</i> ‘dozen’, <i>csepp</i> ‘drop’, <i>marék</i> ‘handful’	<i>egy csepp vér</i> ‘a drop of blood’
GENERAL CLASSIFIER ‘DARAB’	<i>darab</i> ‘piece’	<i>egy darab sütemény</i> ‘a piece of cake’
PÁR	<i>pár</i> ‘pair’	<i>egy pár cipő</i> ‘a pair of shoes’

I.A. Sortal classifiers

Sortal classifiers combine with count nouns and typically categorize the noun according to shape and size (e.g., as small spherical, extended rigid, long flexible, see Grinevald (2000)). The following is a near-exhaustive list of expressions assumed to belong to this class: *bokor* ‘bush’, *cikk* ‘item, article’, *csík* ‘strip, line’, *fej* ‘head’, *fő* ‘head’, *gerezd* ‘clove’, *karika* ‘ring’, *kötet* ‘volume’, *ív* ‘sheet’, *rózsa* ‘rose’, *rúd* ‘stick, rod’, *szál* ‘thread’, *szem* ‘eye’, *tő* ‘stem’, *vegni* ‘loaf’ (Dékány 2011: 64). Sortal classifiers are always homophonous with a lexical noun (910).

(910) • Sortal classifiers

- a. két szem szilva
two eye plum
‘two plums’
- b. három vegni kenyér
three loaf bread
‘three loaves of bread’

There also exist several exceptional expressions which contain sortal classifiers; however, several constraints regulate the interpretation of these constructions.

(911) • Sortal classifiers in special constructions

- a. Ott áll a színpadon egy szál ingben.
there stand.3Sg the stage.Sup a thread shirt.Ine
‘(S)he is standing on the stage in nothing but a shirt.’

- b. Ili *egy szem gyerek* a családban.
 Ili *one eye child* the family.Ine
 ‘Ili is an *only child* in the family.’
- c. Ilinek csak *három szem gyereke* van, nekem viszont tíz.
 Ili.Dat only *three eye child.Poss.3Sg* be.3Sg Dat.1Sg whereas ten
 ‘Ili has only *three children* whereas I have ten.’

As mentioned before, sortal classifiers impose a selectional restriction on the N₂ they combine with. For instance *szál* ‘thread’ can only combine with nouns denoting long, thin objects, whereas *szem* ‘eye’ is only licit with small, spherical objects (see subsection 2.4.3.3). Nonetheless in the series of examples in (911) above this restriction is no longer operative, the classifier freely occurs with any N₂. However, these constructions always denote an amount of the reference of N, which is felt to be contextually small. For instance, in a family where having three children is the norm, a mother with only a single child the construction is only grammatical with the numeral one: *egy szem gyerek* ‘one eye child’ (911b). However, in a family where it is customary to have ten children, a mother with three kids could felicitously use the construction with the numeral three (911c).

I.B. Group classifiers

Group classifiers refer to “an assembly of individuals that function together as a unit in some sense (cf. *a flock of sheep, a deck of cards*)” (Csirmaz and Dékány 2014: 143). Among others, the following classifiers are thought to belong to this group: *csapat* ‘team’, *csoport* ‘group’, *falka* ‘pack’, *nyáj* ‘flock’, *raj* ‘swarm’, *horda* ‘horde’, *csorda* ‘herd’ (912, see collective nouns in 1.2.2.1).

(912) ● Group classifiers

- a. két csoport gyerek
 two group child
 ‘two groups of children’
- b. két konda disznó
 two herd pig
 ‘two herds of pigs’
- c. két falka kutya
 two pack dog
 ‘two packs of dogs’

I.C. Container classifiers

Container classifiers denote types of containers which serve to provide a measure of mass or discrete entities that are conventionally measured by the respective containers. Here it is not possible to provide an exhaustive list of all expressions involved since basically any noun referring to an object with sufficient internal volume to contain a given object may be used as a container classifier of said object or substance.

Substance nouns freely co-occur with any noun denoting objects with internal volume; however, there is also a conventionality requirement on the co-occurrence of container classifiers and nouns. While constructions like (913b) are not

syntactically ill-formed, the use of container classifiers denoting containers in which the classified noun is conventionally stored is strongly preferred (see 913a, and b').

(913) ● Restrictions on the use of container classifiers

- a. két gyűszű víz /*focilabda
two thimble water / football
'two thimbles of water'
- b. ^{??}két doboz víz
two box water
'two boxes of water'
- b'. két doboz focilabda
two box football
'two boxes of footballs'

Some commonly used examples include: *doboz* 'box', *üveg* 'bottle', *pohár* 'glass', *kosár* 'basket', *rekesz* 'rack'. Less conventional container classifiers include: *teherautó* 'lorry', *szekrény* 'cupboard', *gyűszű* 'thimble', *talicska* 'wheelbarrow'. Also of interest is the fact that in colloquial speech the use of unconventional, playful container nouns are frequent and popular as a form of wordplay (914).

(914) ● Container nouns in colloquial speech/slang

- a. Szakadna rád egy taliga aprómajom!
stream.Cond.3Sg Sub.2Sg a wheelbarrow tiny.monkey
'May a wheelbarrowful of pygmy monkeys fall on you.'
- b. Örökölt egy raklap pénzt.
earn.Past.3Sg a pallet money.Acc
'(S)he inherited a load of money.'

I.D. Measure classifiers

Standard measure classifiers are expressions corresponding to accepted units of measurement (e.g., *kiló* 'kilo', *méter* 'meter', *liter* 'liter', see (915a,b). Non-standard measure classifiers are expressions native speakers do not perceive as official units of measurement either because they are outdated, colloquial measure terms (e.g., *rőf*, 'ell', *öl* 'fathom', *hold* 'yoke'), or because the amount denoted by them cannot be precisely quantified and usually express a partitive meaning (e.g., *csepp* 'drop', *marék* 'handful', *adag* 'portion', *tábla* 'bar', *levél* 'sheet', see (915c, d). It is important to mention that non-standard measure classifiers constitute a heterogeneous group, therefore the morphosyntactic tests used to differentiate between groups of classifiers (to be discussed in 2.4.3 and 2.4.4) often yield unsystematic results.

(915) ● Standard and non-standard measure classifiers

- a. két kiló alma
two kilo apple
'two kilos of apples'
- a'. két liter víz
two liter water
'two liters of water'

- b. két marék mogyoró
two handful hazelnut
'two handfuls of hazelnuts'
- b'. két csepp vér
two drop blood
'two drops of blood'

Within measure classifiers there exist a few special subtypes expressing time (916a,b), distance (916c), and denoting types of currency (917). While most measure classifiers (be they standard or non-standard measures) classify individual nouns or substance nouns, these expressions mostly combine with event-denoting deverbal nouns. The deverbal nature of the N_2 is not always apparent at first sight (see example (916a') below), but in almost all of these cases there is a corresponding clearly deverbal noun with the same meaning which is also grammatical when combined with the classifier (916a''). The case of GYED appears to constitute a counterexample. However upon closer examination the problem disappears: on the one hand, GYED stands for *gyermekellátási díj* 'child care allowance' in which there is an adjectivalized event-denoting compound noun (*gyermekellátási* 'child_care.Adj'), but the head itself (*díj* 'allowance') is neither deverbal nor event-denoting. On the other hand when using the expression GYED most speakers refer not to the financial support received, but rather to the time period spent at home with the newborn child. This is clearly shown by the following example: *Elmentem GYED-re* 'I went on maternity leave'.

Another noteworthy example is *lépés* 'step' where the classifier itself is deverbal (916c).

(916) ● Expressions of time and distance

- a. hat perc / óra utazás / alvás / várakozás
six minute / hour travelling / sleeping / waiting
'six minutes / hours of travelling / sleeping / waiting'
- a'. hét nap/hónap/év út / munka / GYED
seven day / month / year way / work / childcare
'seven days / months / years of journey / working / childcare'
- a''. hét nap/hónap/év utazás / dolgozás
seven day / month / year travelling / working
'seven days / months / years of travelling / working'
- b. egy pillanat figyelmetlenség
one moment inattention
'one moment of inattention'
- c. három lépés távolság
three step distance
'three steps of distance'

Currency expressions function similarly to time and distance expressions in the sense that they mostly co-occur with deverbal nouns; however, currency expressions require result-denoting deverbal nouns, as opposed to event-denoting (917a,b).

(917) ● Expressions of currency

- a. 1000 Ft tartozás / büntetés / kedvezmény/ akció / adó/ díj
 1000 HUF debit / penalty / discount / special_offer / tax / fee
 ‘HUF 1000 of debit/ penalty/ allowance/ [special offer]/ tax/ fee’
- b. 174 000 Ft fizetés / kereset/ bér
 174 000 HUF salary / payment / wage
 ‘HUF 174 000 of salary / payment / wage’

I.E. Special classifiers: PÁR, DARAB

There exist two special cases of classifiers, *pár* (‘pair’ or ‘some’) and *darab* (‘piece’), the general classifier. The noun *pár* is ambiguous between a genuine classifier reading (meaning: ‘pair’ in example PÁR_{CL} (918a)), and its homophonous counterpart with a purely quantificational reading ‘some’ (PÁR_Q). The construction *egy pár cipő* is ambiguous depending on where the construction is stressed. On the first reading, the noun *pár* acts as a quantifier noun and can be translated as ‘couple/number of’: the noun has a purely quantificational function and the classifier refers to a small number of shoes. In this case *egy* ‘one’ is unstressed (918a). On the second reading, the noun acts as a collective noun and must be translated as ‘pair of’: the noun has descriptive content that enables it to denote a certain set of entities, and refers to two shoes that form a pair. In this case *egy* ‘one’ is stressed (918b).

(918) ● PÁR_{CL} and PÁR_Q

- a. egy pár cipő
 one pair shoe
 ‘some (pairs of) shoes’
- b. 'egy pár cipő
 one pair shoe
 ‘one pair of shoes’

Similarly to *pár*, the classifier *darab* also shows a unique distribution owing to the fact that it functions as a general classifier, and is able to co-occur with any count noun. It can also modify count nouns which lack a specific size or shape based sortal classifier of their own (Csirmaz and Dékány 2014). The third special property of *darab* ‘piece’ is that it possesses two different meanings. In addition to the general classifier meaning it also has a meaning roughly equivalent to ‘a part of’. Example (919a) demonstrates the general classifier use, with *egy* ‘one’ being stressed, while in (919b) *darab* (‘piece’) is stressed and is used in the partitive sense.

(919) ● The two readings of DARAB

- a. Kérek 'egy darab csokit.
 ask.1Sg one piece chocolate.Acc
 ‘I would like one chocolate.’
- b. Kérek egy 'darab csokit.
 ask.1Sg one piece chocolate.Acc
 ‘I would like a piece of chocolate.’

II. Types of N₂s

In Hungarian [-SET] nouns, individual and substance nouns (see 1.2.2.1), can occur in a certain type of classifier construction as N₂. In example (920a) the N₂s are individual nouns while in (920b) they are substance nouns.

(920) • Types of N₂S in CCs

- a. [két szál rózsá] / [két csapat gyerek]
 two thread rose / two group child
 ‘[two roses] / [two groups of children]’
- b. [két doboz tej] / [két méter vászon]
 two box milk / two meter canvas
 ‘[two cartons of milk] / [two meters of canvas]’

Prototypically, classifiers occur with concrete nouns, however, in a non-prototypical use they may be combined also with abstract nouns. It should be noted that not every classifier can be used in a non-prototypical, metaphorical sense (compare the primed and primeless examples in (921)).

(921) • Classifiers with concrete and abstract nouns

- a. egy csepp vér / türelem
 one drop blood / patience
 ‘a drop of blood / patience’
- a’. egy karika kolbász / *türelem
 one ring sausage / patience
 ‘a slice of sausage’
- b. egy raklap alma / adósság
 one pallet apple / debt
 ‘a pallet of apples / debt’
- b’. egy pohár bor / *adósság
 one glass wine / debt
 ‘a glass of wine’

As already mentioned above, expressions of time and distance mostly combine with event-denoting deverbal nouns (922).

(922) • Expressions of time and distance with deverbal noun

- a. hat perc utazás
 six minute travelling
 ‘six minutes of travelling’
- b. hét nap/hónap/év utazás / dolgozás
 seven day / month / year travelling / working
 ‘seven days / months / years of travelling / working’

The specific constraints placed on the co-occurrence of particular N₁s with N₂s will be explained in the subsection devoted to the semantic properties of N₂s (2.4.4.3).

2.4.2. The head of a classifier construction

It is often not immediately clear whether N₁ or N₂ constitutes the head of a certain CC in other languages, see the corresponding subsection of *SoD-NP*. This

subsection argues that in Hungarian the syntactic head of the structure is always N_2 , while both N_1 and N_2 can act as a semantic head of the construction.

2.4.2.1. *The syntactic head of CCs*

In Hungarian only the syntactic head of a structure can host case morphemes. In CCs it is always N_2 on which these suffixes are realized (compare (923a) with (923a’), therefore syntactic evidence points to N_2 being the syntactic head of these structures. First of all, the location of case morphemes seems to be a valid test, as demonstrated in examples (923a’-c).

(923) ● The syntactic head of a CC is always the N_2

- a. *Kérek *három kockát csoki*.
ask.1Sg three cube.Acc chocolate
‘I would like three squares of chocolate.’
- a’. Kérek *három kocka csokit*.
ask.1Sg three cube chocolate.Acc
‘I would like three squares of chocolate.’
- a’’. Kérem *azt a három kocka csokit*.
ask.DefObj.1Sg that.Acc the three cube chocolate.Acc
‘I would like those three squares of chocolate.’
- b. (*Ebben a*) *három tábla csokiban* 150 kalória van.
this.Ine the three slab chocolate.Ine 150 calorie be.3Sg
‘There are 150 calories in (these) three chocolate bars.’
- c. (*Ennek a*) *három tábla csokinak* 600 Ft az ára.
this.Dat the three slab chocolate.Dat 600 HUF the price.Poss.3Sg
‘These three chocolate bars cost HUF 600.’
- d. *Három tábla csokim* van. / **Három táblám csoki* van.
three slab chocolate.Poss.1Sg be.3Sg / three slab.Poss.1Sg chocolate be.3Sg
‘I have three bars of chocolate.’

As can be seen above, demonstratives also agree with N_2 (923a’’,b,c), and the possessive suffixes are realized on N_2 (923d).

There is only one apparent case where a demonstrative seemingly agrees with the classifier which, in this case, hosts a case morpheme (924).

(924) ● Case morphemes on classifiers

- a. Kérek *három kockát*.
ask.1Sg three cube.Acc
‘I would like three squares (of chocolate).’
- b. (*Ebben a*) *három táblában* 150 kalória van.
this.Ine the three slab.Ine 150 calorie be.3Sg
‘There are 150 calories in (these) three (chocolate) bars.’
- c. (*Ennek a*) *három táblának* 600 Ft az ára.
this.Dat the three slab.Dat 600 HUF the price.Poss.3Sg
‘These three (chocolate) bars cost HUF 600.’

Note in passing that these are not CCs in a classical sense, since there is no apparent N_2 in the construction (see Remark 24).

Remark 24. There are cases when a classifier hosts a case morpheme and occurs without another nominal element (N₂). The generally accepted line of analysis would treat this phenomenon as NP-ellipsis (Laczkó 2007). In this analysis the stranded case suffix attaches to the most adjacent element available as in Hungarian regular NP-ellipsis (compare example (i-iii) and example (iv)).

- (i) Kérek *három kocka esekit*.
ask.1Sg *three cube chocolate.Acc*
'I would like *three squares (of chocolate)*.'
- (ii) *(Ebben a) három tábla esekiben* 150 kalória van.
this.Ine the three slab chocolate.Ine 150 calorie be.3Sg
'There is 150 calories in *(these) three (chocolate) bars*.'
- (iii) *(Ennek a) három tábla esekinek* 600 Ft az ára.
this.Dat the three slab chocolate.Dat 600 HUF the price.Poss.3Sg
'*(These) three (chocolate) bars* are HUF 600.'
- (iv) Megveszem *azt a kettő esekit*.
perf.buy. DefObj.1Sg *that.Acc the two chocolate.Acc*
'I buy *those two (chocolates)*.'

2.4.2.2. *The semantic head of CCs*

This subsection discusses the question of what the *semantic* head of the construction is. We will show that CCs are ambiguous in the sense that both N₁ and N₂ may function as the semantic head. For this we will provide evidence involving semantic restrictions imposed by the verb on its arguments and modification by attributive adjectives.

I. Semantic selection restrictions of the verb

Verbs may impose several semantic selection restrictions on their arguments. Verbs like *körülvesz* 'surround', *feloszlík* 'disperse', for example, generally require a plural noun phrase as their subject (see 925a and b): in (925a' and b'), for example, the use of the singular noun phrase *a diák* 'the student' gives rise to a semantically anomalous result. That the restriction is semantic in nature and not syntactic is clear from the fact that the use of singular noun phrases referring to collections of entities, like *rendőrség* 'police', results in an acceptable construction. The symbol "\$" is used to indicate semantic incompatibility.

(925) • Semantic selection restrictions of the verb

- a. A diákok feloszlottak.
the student.Pl disperse.Past.3Pl
'The students dispersed.'
- a'. A rendőrség / \$diák feloszlott.
the police / student disperse.Past.3Sg
'The police dispersed.'
- b. A diákok körbevették az épületet.
the student.Pl surround.Past.DefObj.3Pl the building.Acc
'The students surrounded the building.'
- b'. A rendőrség/ \$diák körbevette az épületet.
the police / student surround.Past.DefObj.3Sg the building.Acc
'The police surrounded the building.'

- c. *A csoport diák körbevette az épületet.*
the group student surround.Past.DefObj.3Sg the building.Acc
 ‘The group of students surrounded the building.’

As can be seen in example (925c), *csoport* ‘group’ as a group classifier makes the denotation of the head plural, allowing it to co-occur with verbs requiring a semantic plural as their subject.

Example (926a) below shows that a verb like *gyűjt* ‘collect’ requires the direct object to refer to a set of separable entities like stamps or pieces of furniture. The acceptability of (926b) shows that in CCs with a container noun, it is N_2 that satisfies the semantic restrictions.

(926) ● Semantic selection and container nouns

- a. *János bélyeget / szalvétát gyűjtött.*
János stamp.Acc / napkin.Acc collect.Past.3Sg
 ‘János collected stamps / napkins.’
- b. *János egy doboz bélyeget / szalvétát gyűjtött.*
János one box stamp.Acc / napkin.Acc collect.Past.3Sg
 ‘János collected a box of stamps / napkins.’

The same can be shown by appealing to other types of semantic restrictions. A verb like *elszív* ‘smoke’, for example, selects a direct object that refers to either some substance like tobacco that can be smoked, or an entity that is made out of this substance, like a cigar; see (927a). Example (927b) is infelicitous given that a noun phrase like *egy doboz* ‘a box’ does not satisfy this selectional restriction. Consequently, the fact that (927c) is acceptable shows that the selectional restrictions of the verb can be satisfied by N_1 , despite the fact that, as discussed in 2.4.2.1, N_2 is always the syntactic head of the construction.

(927) ● Other examples for semantic selections

- a. *János elszív egy cigarettát.*
János smoke.3Sg a cigarette.Acc
 ‘János have a smoke.’
- b. *János elszív egy *dobozt.*
János smoke.3Sg a box.Acc
- b’. *János elszív egy dobozzal.*
János smoke.3Sg a box.Ins
 ‘János smokes a pack per day.’
- c. *János elszív egy doboz cigarettát .*
János smoke.3Sg a box cigarette.Acc
 ‘János smokes a pack of cigarettes.’

Note in passing that example (927b’) is acceptable. In cases like these, we are dealing with a case of NP-ellipsis (see Remark 24 in 2.4.2.1): János does not smoke the box, but its contents. Such constructions are only acceptable when information about the contents of the box is available to the addressee. In Hungarian the difference between smoking the box *versus* smoking the cigarettes is also displayed by case morphology. Accusative case triggers the interpretation where János

smokes the box itself, while instrumental case is associated with a meaning where János smokes the content of the box.

It is important to note that the descriptive content of the container noun in the CC *egy doboz cigaretta* ‘one pack of cigarettes’ in (927c) has been backgrounded in favor of the package unit reading: the CC does not refer to a box with certain contents but to a certain number of cigarettes. This does not mean, however, that this happens in all cases. Consider the examples in (928), where the verb *kibont* ‘open (unpack)’ is substituted for the verb *elszív* ‘smoke’ in (927). The examples in (928a,b) show that the noun phrase *cigaretta* ‘cigarette’ cannot satisfy the semantic selection restrictions of this verb, whereas the noun phrase *egy doboz* ‘a box’ can. From the fact that (928c) is acceptable, we must conclude that N_1 functions as the semantic head of the CC, which implies that it has retained its descriptive content: we are still referring to a box with certain contents, not to a number of cigarettes. The contrast between (927) and (928) therefore shows that CCs headed by a container noun are ambiguous.

(928) ● Ambiguity of container nouns

- a. ^SJános kibontott egy cigarettát.
 János open.Past.3Sg a cigarette.Acc
- b. János kibontott egy dobozt.
 János open.Past.3Sg a box.Acc
 ‘János opened a box.’
- c. János kibontott egy doboz cigarettát.
 János open.Past.3Sg a box cigarette.Acc
 ‘János opened a pack of cigarettes.’

In the case of other CCs determining the semantic head is made extremely difficult by the fact that there are no verbs which would semantically subcategorize for the features of these classifiers. For instance under no circumstances is it possible to cook a kilo without cooking some substance a kilo is made up of (929b), or to cut a slice without it being a slice of something (929a).

(929) ● Classifiers unable to act as a semantic head

- a. Vágsz nekem két szelet tortát?
 cut.2Sg Dat.1Sg two slice cake.Acc
 ‘Will you cut me two slices of cake?’
- b. Megfőzök két kiló krumplit.
 cook.1Sg two kilo potato.Acc
 ‘I’m cooking two kilos of potatoes.’

This subsection has shown that container classifiers are ambiguous depending on whether N_1 receives a more referential or a more quantification interpretation: in the former case it is N_1 that functions as the semantic head of the construction and in the latter case it is N_2 that has this function. The question of which head functions as the semantic head is independent of the question of which head functions as the syntactic head: the two functions may but need not be performed by the same noun. Other classifiers are different from container classifiers in that they never function as the semantic head of the construction.

II. Attributive modification

That N_2 can be the semantic head of the construction is also clear from the fact that the CC as a whole can be modified by attributive modifiers that belong to N_2 rather than to N_1 . Some examples are given in (930); they are more or less synonymous, which suggests that the attributive adjective modifies N_2 in both cases.

(930) ● Attributively modified container classifiers with the same meaning

- a. [?]egy hideg pohár sör
 a cold glass beer
 ‘a glass of cold beer’
- b. egy pohár hideg sör
 a glass cold beer
 ‘a glass of cold beer’

There are cases in which it is entirely clear that it is not N_2 that is modified. Take a look at the example in (931a), in which the adjectives can only modify the noun *pohár* ‘glass’. Furthermore, the first example in (931b) receives an anomalous interpretation, which seems to be marginally accepted by some speakers. In a container CC if N_1 is modified, the adjective can only stand before N_1 , while N_2 can be modified by an adjective standing either between the two Ns, or before N_1 .

(931) ● Attributive modification of container classifiers

- a. [egy nagy pohár sör] /*[egy pohár nagy sör]
 a big glass beer / a glass big beer
 ‘a big glass of beer’
- b. [§][egy finom pohár sör] / [✓][egy pohár finom sör]
 a tasty glass beer / a glass tasty beer
 ‘a glass of tasty beer’

The unacceptability of (932a) points in the same direction: given the fact that *finom* ‘tasty’ and *rossz* ‘bad’ are antonyms, the structure results in a contradiction. Note that when the attributive adjective is used to modify N_1 , the reading in which the adjective preceding N_1 modifies N_2 is excluded: (932b) does not lead to a contradiction, and is almost acceptable with a collective noun as a classifier.

(932) ● Simultaneous modification by antonymous adjectives in some types of CCs

- a. *egy finom pohár rossz kávé
 a tasty glass bad coffee
- b. ^(?)egy kis falka nagy kutya
 a small pack big dog
 ‘a small pack of big dogs’

2.4.2.3. Summary

This subsection has shown that in Hungarian the syntactic head of a CC is always N_2 , since it hosts the case morphemes. The noun that satisfies the selectional restrictions imposed by the main verb is the semantic head. In (933) the verb *leejt* ‘drop’ is semantically incompatible with nouns denoting non-solid substances, therefore the noun satisfying the verb’s semantic restriction must be N_1 (here: *pohár* ‘glass’). This dual behavior is only characteristic of container classifiers.

(933) ● Semantic head of CCs

- a. Béla megivott két pohár sört.
 Béla drink.Past.3Sg two glass beer.Acc
 'Béla drank two glasses of beer.'
- b. Béla leejtett két pohár sört.
 Béla drop.Past.3Sg two glass beer.Acc
 'Béla dropped two glasses of beer.'

2.4.3. *Properties of classifiers (N₁)*

In subsection 2.4.1.1 we distinguished the types of N₁s, and in this subsection we will investigate the properties of these types: morphological, syntactic and some semantic properties.

2.4.3.1. *Morphological properties*

This subsection discusses the morphological properties of the different types of N₁. We will first discuss their ability to enter into the process of nominal compounding, then their ability to host the suffix *-nyi*, expressing approximate measure.

A. *Compounding*

The denotation of a nominal compound is mainly determined by its second member which can be considered the head of the compound; the first member only has the function of further specifying the denotation of the second one. This is clear from the fact that a *konyharuha* 'kitchen towel' is a kind of towel, not a kind of kitchen. The classifier element of a CC construction can be realized as a head of a semantically related compound. In this case the N₂ of the original CC construction appears as the non-head of the compound. Since only nominal elements can head nominal compounds, a test based on compounding can help determine the degree of nominality of a classifier (934). Note, however, that the two constructions in (934c) do not have similar meanings (for the explanation see example (939b)).

(934) ● Compounding of CCs

- a. [két szem kukorica] / [két kukorica-szem] [Sortal]
 two eye corn / two corn-eye
 'two grains of corn'
- a'. [két szem cukorka] / *[két cukorka-szem]
 two eye candy / two candy-eye
 'two candies'
- b. [két csapat gyerek] / [két gyerek-csapat] [Group]
 two group child / two child-group
 '[two groups of children] / [two children's group]'
- c. [két doboz tej] / *[két tej-doboz] / ✓[két tejes-doboz] [Container]
 two box milk/ two milk-box / two milk.Adj-box
 '[two boxes of milk] / [two milkboxes]'
- d. [két kiló kenyér] / *[két kenyér-kiló] [Standard measure]
 two kilo bread / two bread-kilo
 'two kilos of bread'

- e. [két csepp vér] / [két vér-csepp] [Non-standard measure]
two drop blood / two blood-drop
'[two drops of blood] / [two blooddrops]'
- e'. [két marék dió] / *[két dió-marék]
two handful walnut / two walnut-handful
'two handfuls of walnuts'
- f. [két pár cipő] / *[két cipő-pár] [PÁR]
two pair shoe / two shoe-pair
'two pairs of shoes'
- g. [két darab könyv] / #[két könyv-darab] [DARAB]
two piece book / two book-piece
'two books'

As can be seen from the examples above, standard measure classifiers show the lowest degree of nominality; they can never head a compound (see 935). Standard measure classifiers are expressions corresponding to internationally accepted (SI) units of measurement (e.g., *kiló* 'kilo', *méter* 'meter', *liter* 'liter').

(935) ● Standard measure classifiers can never head a compound

- a. [két kiló kenyér] / *[két kenyér-kiló]
two kilo bread / two bread-kilo
'two kilos of bread'
- b. [két méter vászon] / *[két vászon-méter]
two meter canvas / two canves-meter
'two meters of canvas'
- c. [két liter tej] / *[két tej-liter]
two liter milk / two milk-liter
'two liters of milk'

Sortal classifiers are always homophonous with a lexical noun. Consequently they are able to form compounds; nevertheless, there are unsystematic gaps in the productivity of this process (see (936a,b,b')). This, however, follows from the fact that compounding itself is not an entirely productive process. The same holds for non-standard measure classifiers like *csepp* 'drop' or *marék* 'handful', see examples (936c,d).

(936) ● Sortal and non-standard classifiers in compounds

- a. [két szál rózsza] / [két rózsza-szál]
two thread rose / two rose-thread
'two roses'
- b. [két szál cigaretta] / ^{??}[két cigaretta-szál]
two thread cigarette / two cigarette-thread
'two cigarettes'
- b'. [két szem alma] / *[két alma-szem]
two eye apple / two apple-eye
'two apples'
- c. [két csepp vér] / [két vér-csepp]
two drop blood / two blood-drop
'[two drops of blood] / [two blooddrops]'

- d. [két csepp kóla] / ?[két kóla-csepp]
 two drop cola / two cola-drop
 '[two drops of coke] / [two coke drops]'

Group classifiers form compounds productively, as shown in example (937).

(937) ● Group classifiers form compounds productively

- a. [két csapat gyerek] / [két gyerek-csapat]
 two team child / two child-team
 '[two groups of children] / [two children's groups]'
- b. [két csorda tehén] / [két tehén-csorda]
 two herd cow / two cow-herd
 '[two herds of cows] / [two cow herds]'

Compounding is also productive in the case of container nouns; however, the N₂ functioning as a non-head must obligatorily bear the adjective-forming suffix *-(V)s*. (see 938) .

(938) ● Container nouns in compounds

- a. [két pohár bor] / *bor-pohár / ✓bor-os-pohár
 two glass wine / wine-glass / wine-ed-glass
 '[two glasses of wine] / [two wineglasses]'
- b. [két üveg sör] / *sör-üveg / ✓sör-ös-üveg
 one glass beer / beer-glass / beer-ed-glass
 '[two glasses of beer] / [two beer glasses]'

There is, however, a remarkable difference between sortal and container compounds. While the phrasal classifier construction *egy cső kukorica* 'one corn on the cob' and the derived compound *kukoricacső* 'corn.tube' (939a) both have the exact same meaning, *egy doboz tej* 'one box milk' and *tejesdoboz* 'milkbox' (939b) differ in the sense that the phrasal construction denotes a box of milk, and the compound denotes the box only, without mentioning its internal content (i.e., it could be empty, or it could contain water).

(939) ● Differences between sortal classifier and container compounds

- a. [egy cső kukorica] / [egy kukorica-cső] [Sortal]
 one tube corn / one corn-tube
 'an ear of corn'
- b. [egy doboz tej] / [egy tej-es-doboz] [Container]
 one box milk / one milk-ed-box
 '[a box of milk] / [a milk-box]'

As shown in example (940a,b), the classifier *pár* 'pair' cannot head a compound, since it does not appear to be nominal. This does not mean that no compounds headed by *pár* exist in Hungarian. For instance the compound *házaspár* 'married couple' is grammatical (940b'), although the corresponding classifier construction *pár házaspár* is sharply ungrammatical in the intended meaning (940a'). Therefore, this *pár* is a regular lexical noun meaning 'couple'.

(940) ● The behavior of the classifier *pár* ‘pair’

- a. két pár cipő
two pair shoe
‘two pairs of shoes’
- a’. *két pár házas
two pair married
intended meaning: ‘two married couples’
- b. *cipő-pár
shoe-pair
- b’. házas-pár
married-couple
‘a married couple’

Darab ‘piece’ can partake in compounding, however, in these cases the partitive meaning is automatically triggered; it is not well-formed under a general classifier reading. *Két almadarab* ‘two apple.piece’ cannot be taken to mean two apples, only two pieces/parts of an apple (941).

(941) ● The behavior of the classifier *darab* ‘piece’

- a. két darab alma
two piece apple
‘two apples’
- b. #két alma-darab
two apple-piece
‘two apple pieces’

B. Suffixation by the suffix *-nyi* ‘-ful’

In the Hungarian descriptive literature there is very little information pertaining to the suffix *-nyi*. It is classified as a fairly productive derivational suffix, and “serves to express approximate measure” (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 194). As can be seen from the examples below, not every classifier can host the suffix *-nyi*. Sortal classifiers systematically reject hosting it (see (942a)).

(942) ● Classifiers with the suffix *-nyi*

- a. [két szál rózsá] / ^{??}[két szál-nyi rózsá] [Sortal]
two thread rose / two thread-ful rose
‘two roses’
- b. [két csapat gyerek] / ^(?)[két csapat-nyi gyerek] [Group]
two group child / two group-ful child
‘two groups of children’
- c. [két doboz tej] / [két doboz-nyi tej] [Container]
two box milk / two box-ful milk
‘[two boxes of milk] / [two boxfuls of milk]’
- d. [két kiló kenyér] / ^(?)[két kiló-nyi kenyér] [Standard measure]
two kilo bread / two kilo-ful bread
‘two kilos of bread’

- e. [két csepp vér] / [két csepp-nyi vér] [Non-standard measure]
 two drop blood / two drop-ful blood
 ‘two drops of blood’
- f. [két pár cipő] / *⁹[két pár-nyi cipő] [PÁR]
 two pair shoe / two pair-ful shoe
 ‘two pairs of shoes’
- g. [két darab könyv] / #¹⁰[két darab-nyi könyv] [DARAB]
 two piece book / two piece-ful book
 ‘two books’

In certain cases there appears to be a detectable semantic difference between the construction containing a bare classifier and a *-nyi* suffixed one. The question arises: what is behind this phenomenon? To see the contrast more clearly, consider the following situation. If someone gives you a glass of milk, and says: *Itt egy doboz tej* ‘Here is a box of milk’, his utterance is infelicitous, as it clearly implies that the milk is in a box. However, saying: *Itt egy doboznyi tej* ‘Here is a boxful of milk’ in the same situation implies that the quantity of the milk given is equal or it is approximately equal to that of a box of milk, but it is not necessarily contained in a box (943a).

This semantic difference extends to all container, group and non-standard measure classifiers, and explains why the suffix fails to occur with sortal classifiers: sortal classifiers express an inherent measure, also expressing the shape and size of the entity denoted by the head noun. It is not possible to imagine a situation where we are talking about a quantity of roses for instance, which is equal to that of a thread of rose, but is not partitioned into threads. The only context in which *-nyi* suffixed sortal classifiers are grammatical involves head nouns denoting fruits and vegetables that are often ground or pulped: *Két szemnyi alma van ebben a pürében* means: ‘There is two apples worth of apple in this pulp’ (943b).

(943) ● Semantic differences between classifiers and *-nyi*-suffixed classifiers

- a. *Itt egy doboz tej.* / *Itt egy doboz-nyi tej.*
 Here one box milk Here one box-ful milk
 ‘Here is a box of milk.’ / ‘Here is a boxful of milk.’
- b. *Két szem alma van ebben a pürében.*
 two eye apple be.3Sg this.Ine the pulp.Ine
Két szem-nyi alma van ebben a pürében.
 two eye-nyi apple be.3Sg this.Ine the pulp.Ine.
 ‘There are two apples in this pulp.’ / ‘There is two apples worth of apple in this pulp.’

The difference between the meaning of constructions containing bare and *-nyi* suffixed standard measure classifiers is less significant. Here the semantic contrast is limited to the approximateness of quantity: *egy kilónyi kenyér* ‘a kilo-ful of bread’ means approximately a kilo of bread, while *egy kiló kenyér* ‘a kilo of bread’ necessarily denotes exactly a kilo of bread (Schvarcz 2014).

Consequently, a test based on whether a classifier can co-occur with *-nyi*, shows how inherent and/or precise the quantity denoted by the classifier is. Our judgments are shared by Schvarcz (2014). She also points out that classifiers with a count interpretation (our sortal classifiers) do allow suffixation by *-nyi*, in the single

context where the construction is preceded by high round numbers, Schvarcz 2014: 107), see (944).

(944) ● Sortal classifiers with the suffix *-nyi*

- a. ⁷³két szál-nyi rózsza
two thread-ful rose
'two roses'
- b. ezer szál-nyi rózsza
thousand thread-ful rose
'thousands of roses'

The *-nyi* suffixed *pár* 'pair' gives rise to questionable grammaticality. *Pár* denotes entities which conventionally occur in pairs, and are generally not partitioned otherwise (for instance *cipő* 'shoes', *zokni* 'socks', *harisnya* 'stockings', *kesztyű* 'gloves').

(945) ● The behavior of the classifier *pár* 'pair' and *darab* 'piece'

- a. ⁷³két pár-nyi cipő
two pair-ful shoe
'two pairs of shoes'
- b. *két darab-nyi alma
two piece-ful apple
- b'. A kertünk egy darab-nyi éden.
the garden.Poss.1Pl one piece-ful Eden
'Our garden is a piece of Eden.'

Suffixing *-nyi* to *darab* 'piece' is not blocked by any morphological rules, since in its partitive meaning, it can be found in many constructions (945b'). Note that these structures resist a classifier reading, and premodification by any numerals except *egy* 'one'. This shows that in these cases we are not dealing with a genuine classifier.

III. Conclusion

As mentioned above, under the general assumption that an endocentric nominal compound can only be headed by a lexical item which is nominal to some degree, the compounding test may be used to diagnose the presence of a [+N] or [+NOMINAL] feature on the classifier. Group and container classifiers show a higher degree of nominality than sortal classifiers, standard measure classifiers and the general classifier *darab* 'piece'.

Although it is difficult to capture this precisely, it appears that only classifiers that in addition to the quantity (*kiló* 'kilo', *doboz* 'box', *csapat* 'group') also specify the unit in which the material denoted by the head noun occurs can undergo suffixation by *-nyi*. This, however, is not true for sortal classifiers, which, as mentioned before, specify the shape and size of the head noun, and *PÁR*, which only selects nouns that conventionally come in units of two. As an example, consider the following: *tíz kiló kenyér* 'ten kilos of bread' does not specify the exact makeup of the quantity denoted. It may be composed of ten units of bread of one kilogram each or twenty units of half a kilogram each. *Tíz cső kukorica* 'ten ears of corn' on the other hand, explicitly specifies that the grains of corn are still on the ear, and is

divided as such–into ten units. Tentatively, a feature such as [+APPROXIMATE] may capture this difference (Schvarcz 2014). Our findings are summarized in Table 78. The exclamation mark (!) in the table indicates that container classifiers take part in compounding but they must host the suffix *-(V)s* ‘-ed’.

Table 78: *Morphological properties of N₁s*

Classifiers Tests	Sortal	Group	Con- tainer	Measure		PÁR	DARAB
				standard	non- standard		
Compounding (NOMINALITY)	* / ✓	✓	✓!	*	* / ✓	*	*
Suffix <i>-nyi</i> (APPROXIMATE)	*?	(?)	✓	(?)	✓	*?	*

2.4.3.2. *Syntactic properties*

This subsection will show that the taxonomy of classifiers is also reflected in their syntactic properties: the occurrence of articles, possessives and obligatory elements in CCs: demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals (see subsections I–III.). Subsection IV is devoted to showing the modification of N₁ by attributive adjectives.

I. *Articles*

A bare [classifier noun + nominal head] sequence is not grammatical (946a); [definite article + classifier noun + nominal head] structures are also ill-formed. Note that ill-formedness is not influenced by the particular choice of classifier type (946b). However, in the latter case a postnominal locative expression or a relative clause can salvage the structure (946c,c’,d).

(946) ● *Articles in CCs*

- a. *[Szál rózsá]/ *[csapat gyerek]/ *[doboz tej]/ *[kiló kenyér]/ *[pár cipő]/
thread rose / group child / box milk/ kilo bread / pair shoe /
*[darab könyv] van a szobában.
piece book be.3Sg the room.Ine
- b. *[A szál rózsá]/ *[a csapat gyerek] / *[a doboz tej]/ *[a kiló kenyér]/
the thread rose / the group child / the box milk/ the kilo bread /
*[a pár cipő] / *[a darab könyv] a szobában van.
the pair shoe / the piece book the room.Ine be.3Sg
- c. ^(?)A *szál rózsá a vázában piros.*
the thread rose the vase.Ine red
‘The rose in the vase is red.’
- c’. *Látom a csapat gyereket a mezőn.*
see.DefObj.1Sg the group child.Acc the field.Sup
‘I see the group of children in the field.’
- d. *A szál rózsá, ami a vázában van, piros.*
the thread rose which the vase.Ine be.3Sg red.
‘The rose which is in the vase is red.’

- e. Pár cipőt vettem.
 pair shoe.Acc buy.Past.1Sg
 'I bought some shoes (and NOT a pair of shoes).'

In the case of *pár* the restriction against [bare classifier noun + nominal head] sequences appears to be lifted only in constructions where *pár* 'a couple' expresses that the set of objects denoted by the second noun phrase *cipő* 'shoe' is not a singleton. However, *pár* in this case is not a genuine classifier but a quantifier (946e).

II. Obligatory elements inside the CCs: demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals

[Classifier + N] constructions must be preceded by a quantifying element (947a), a cardinal numeral (947b), a demonstrative pronoun (947c) or an adjective in a contrastive context (Csirmaz and Dékány 2014), see (947d).

(947) • Obligatory elements inside the CCs

- a. [néhány szál rózsá]/ [néhány csapat gyerek]
 some thread rose / some group child
 '[some roses] / [some groups of children]'
- b. [három szál rózsá]/ [három csapat gyerek]
 three thread rose / three group child
 '[three roses] / [three groups of children]'
- c. [az a szál rózsá]/ [az a csapat gyerek]
 that the thread rose / that the group child
 '[that rose] / [that groups of children]'
- d. 'Nagy csapat gyereket láttam, nem kicsit.
 big group child.Acc see.Past.1Sg not small.Acc
 'There was a big group of children that I saw, not a small one.'

Note that N_1 itself is not obligatory, in that the lack of a classifier does not lead to ungrammaticality (see example (948a) and Dékány 2011). However, besides substance nouns the classifier must occur in the construction making N_2 countable (948b).

(948) • Omitting the classifier

- a. néhány (szál) rózsá
 some thread rose
 'some roses'
- b. három *(szál) haj
 three thread hair
 'three strands of hair'

III. Possessive constructions

Interestingly a single possessor does not ameliorate the structure to the same extent as numerals, quantifiers or relative clauses (949). Evidently, possessors freely co-occur with any expressions in (949).

There is no detectable difference in grammaticality between the constructions containing an unmarked possessor or a NAK (Dative) possessor. Grammaticality is also independent of the type of CCs used as the possessee (949).

(949) ● Possessors in CCs

- a. ^{??}[Ili szál rózsája] / [?][Ili doboz sajtja]
 Ili thread rose.Poss.3Sg/ Ili box cheese.Poss.3Sg
 ‘[Ili’s thread of rose] / [Ili’s box of cheese]’
- b. ^{??}[Ilinek a szál rózsája] / ^{??}[Ilinek a doboz sajtja]
 Ili.Dat the thread rose.Poss.3Sg/ Ili.Dat the box cheese.Poss.3Sg
 ‘[Ili’s thread of rose] / [Ili’s box of cheese]’

IV. Modification: attributive adjectives

In this subsection we discuss the different positions of attributive adjectives within the CC. We examine the modification of N_1 in a parallel fashion, as N_1 can only be modified by attributive adjectives. Besides attributive adjectives of N_2 nothing can appear between N_2 and N_1 . From this it follows that N_1 has no postnominal arguments (950a), and cannot be modified by postnominal relative clauses (950b), either.

(950) ● N_1 has no postnominal arguments in CCs

- a. *[[a kosár anyukámtól] alma]
 the basket mother.Poss.1Sg.Abl apple
- b. *[[a kosár, amit Mari néni készített] alma]
 the basket which.Acc Mari aunt make.Past.3Sg apple

Since the syntactic position of N_1 is defined by its position with respect to attributive adjectives and quantifiers, we also discuss syntactic position in this subsection, along with the possible modifiers of N_1 .

Dékány (2011) differentiates between high and low adjectives in the Hungarian nominal domain. High adjectives are defined as adjectives preceding sortal classifiers, while low adjectives systematically follow them. High adjectives denote size, physical dimensions and speed, whereas low adjectives express wetness, age, shape, color, origin, material (951).

- (951) ● Adjective hierarchy in Hungarian (Dékány’s (2011) extension of Scott’s (2002) hierarchy)
 ordinal > cardinal > size > length > height > speed > width > weight >
 temperature > wetness > age > shape > color > origin > material

As regards this hierarchy, we examine the position of the different types of classifiers in example (952).

(952) ● The canonical syntactic position of classifiers

- a. [pár nagy könyv] / [néhány nagy könyv] [PÁR_Q]
 pair big book / some big book
 ‘some big books’

- a'. *néhány pár nagy könyv
some pair big book
- b. néhány pár nagy cipő [PÁR_{CL}]
some pairs big shoe
'some pairs of big shoes'
- c. néhány darab nagy könyv [DARAB]
some piece big book
'some big books'
- d. néhány kiló nagy kenyér [Standard measure]
some kilo big bread
'some kilos of big bread'
- e. [néhány falka nagy kutya] / [nagy falka kutya] [Group]
some pack big dog / big pack dog
'[some packs of big dogs] / [some big packs of dogs]'
- f. [néhány vastag karika hideg kolbász] / [Sortal]
some thick ring cold sausage /
[néhány karika vastag kolbász]
some ring thick sausage
'[some thick slices of cold sausage] / [some slices of thick sausage]'
- g. néhány nagy láda hideg sör [Container]
some big crate cold beer
'some big crates of cold beer'
- h. [néhány nagy csepp meleg tej] / [Non-standard measure]
some big drop warm milk /
*[néhány meleg csepp tej]
some warm drop milk
'some big drops of warm milk'

As expected, being a quantifier, PÁR_Q shows complementary distribution with other quantifiers (952a,a'). The position immediately following quantifiers hosts the general classifier *darab* 'piece' (952c), PÁR_{CL} (952b) and standard measure (952d), which cannot co-occur. The canonical position of sortal classifiers (952f) and group classifiers (952e) is between high and low adjectives, in complementary distribution with container classifiers (952g) and non-standard measure classifiers (952h).

(953) ● Classifiers within the DP

ordinal numerals

> [cardinal numerals] / PÁR_Q

> PÁR_{CL} / DARAB / [Standard measure] classifiers

> high adjectives

> group / sortal / container / [non-standard measure] classifiers

> low adjectives

The hierarchy above illustrates the unmarked order of constituents within the DP. However, the position of classifiers with respect to high adjectives is flexible to some extent, although this flexibility is not without semantic reflexes. Different orderings give rise to two distinguishable readings. For example, high adjectives can optionally occur after classifiers, but when the adjective occurs after the

classifier, it modifies the head, and consequently triggers a type-interpretation (954b), while the less marked [adjective > classifier] order gives rise to a token interpretation (954a). Low adjectives do not show this distinction.

(954) ● Type vs. token-interpretation

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|----------------------|
| a. | egy nagy falka kutya | token interpretation |
| | one big pack dog | |
| | ‘big pack of dogs’ | |
| b. | egy falka nagy kutya | type interpretation |
| | one pack big dog | |
| | ‘pack of big dogs’ | |

In example (955a) the expression *néhány nagy szem szilva* ‘some big eye plum’ denotes some plums which happen to be big. The [high adjective > classifier] order also triggers a token interpretation in (955b-d).

(955) ● The token interpretation of classifier constructions

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | néhány nagy szem szilva | [Sortal] |
| | some big eye plum | |
| | ‘some big plums’ | |
| b. | néhány nagy csoport gyerek | [Group] |
| | some big group child | |
| | ‘some big groups of children’ | |
| c. | néhány nagy kosár alma | [Container] |
| | some big basket apple | |
| | ‘some big baskets of apples’ | |
| d. | néhány nagy marék mogyoró | [Non-standard measure] |
| | some big handful hazelnut | |
| | ‘some big handfuls of hazelnuts’ | |

The type interpretation arises when adjectives follow the classifier. In example (956a) the expression *néhány szem nagy szilva* ‘some eye big plum’ denotes some units from a particularly big type of plum. The [classifier > adjective] order also triggers a type interpretation with other types of classifiers (956b,c,d).

(956) ● The type reading of classifier constructions

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | néhány szem nagy szilva | [Sortal] |
| | some eye big plum | |
| | ‘some big plums’ | |
| b. | néhány csoport magas gyerek | [Group] |
| | some group high child | |
| | ‘some groups of tall children’ | |
| c. | néhány kosár nagy alma | [Container] |
| | some basket big apple | |
| | ‘some baskets of big apples’ | |
| d. | néhány marék nagy mogyoró | [Non-standard measure] |
| | some handful big hazelnut | |
| | ‘some handfuls of big hazelnuts’ | |

Not every type of classifiers allows every permutation of adjective order. These restrictions are predictable based on the DP-internal position of the classifier. PÁR_{CL}, DARAB and standard measure classifiers precede all adjectives, therefore structures containing them may only receive a type-interpretation (957a-d).

Sortal, container, group and non-standard measure classifiers (957e-h) behave regularly with respect to the type-token alternations described above. One individual difference concerns the cut-off point in the hierarchy between high and low adjectives. For some speakers temperature adjectives can either precede or follow the classifier, triggering the appropriate interpretation. For others, however, temperature adjectives clearly belong to low adjectives, and can never precede the classifier (see the difference between (957f) and (957g)).

(957) ● The type-token reading of types of classifiers

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------|
| a. | három pár kis / meleg / kínai csizma
three pair small / warm / Chinese boot
'three pairs of small / warm / Chinese boots' | [PÁR] |
| a'. | *három kis / meleg / kínai pár cipő
three small / warm / Chinese pair shoe | [PÁR] |
| c. | három darab kis / vastag / orosz könyv
three piece small / thick / Russian book
'three small / thick / Russian books' | [DARAB] |
| c'. | *három kis / vastag / orosz darab könyv
three small / thick / Russian piece book | [DARAB] |
| d. | három kiló kis / meleg / pécsváradi cipó
three kilo small/warm / PécsvárAdj loaf
'three kilos of small / warm [loaves of bread]' /
'three kilos of [loaves of bread from PécsvárAd]' | [Standard-measure] |
| d'. | *három kis / meleg / pécsváradi kiló cipó
three small / warm / pécsvárAdj kilo loaf | [Standard-measure] |
| e. | három falka kis / öreg / angol kutya
three pack small / old / English dog
'three packs of small / old / English dogs' | [Group] |
| e'. | három kis / ^{??} gyors / *öreg / *angol falka kutya
three small / fast / old / English pack dog
'three small / fast packs of dogs' | [Group] |
| f. | három nagy / *hideg / *régí rúd kolbász
three big / cold / old stick sausage
'three big sausages' | [Sortal] |
| f'. | három rúd nagy / hideg / régí kolbász
three stick big / cold / old sausage
'three big / cold / old sausages' | [Sortal] |
| g. | három nagy / ^{??} meleg / *régí tepsí sütemény
three big / warm / old pan cake
'three big / warm pans of cake' | [Container] |
| g'. | három tepsí nagy / meleg / régí sütemény
three pan big / warm / old cake
'three pans of big / warm / old cake' | [Container] |

- h. három nagy/*hideg / *házi csepp tej [Non-standard measure]
 three big / cold / house.Adj drop milk
 'three big drops of milk'
- h'. három csepp *nagy/ hideg / házi tej [Non-standard measure]
 three drop big / cold / house.Adj milk
 'three drops of cold / house milk'

V. Embedded CCs and the adjectivalizing of classifiers

A final piece of evidence in favor of the classification in 2.4.1.1 comes from embedding CCs: matrix CCs that embed some other CC. Therefore, embedded CCs contain at least two classifiers, as illustrated in the examples in (958).

(958) • Embedded CCs

- a. öt darab *(nagy) fej káposzta [DARAB+Sortal]
 five piece big head lettuce
 'five big heads of lettuce'
- b. öt darab *(nagy) csokor rózsa [DARAB+Group]
 five piece big bouquet rose
 'five big bouquets of roses'
- c. öt darab *(nagy) üveg sör [DARAB+Container]
 five piece big bottle beer
 'five big bottles of beer'
- d. öt kis kosár *(nagy) szem szilva [Container+Sortal]
 five little basket big eye plum
 'five little baskets of big plums'
- e. öt rekesz *(nagy) üveg sör [Container+Container]
 five crate big bottle beer
 'five crates of big bottles of beer'
- f. öt doboz *(nagy) csokor rózsa [Container+Group]
 five box big bouquet rose
 'five boxes of big rose bunches'
- g. öt csokor *(^(?)nagy) szál rózsa [Group+Sortal]
 five bouquet big thread rose
 'five bouquets of big roses'
- h. öt kiló *(^(?)nagy) fej káposzta [Standard measure+Sortal]
 five kilo big head lettuce
 'five kilos of big lettuce'
- i. öt marék *(^(?)nagy) szem mogyoró [Non-standard measure+Sortal]
 five handful big eye hazelnut
 'five handfuls of big hazelnuts'

It is obvious that the general classifier *darab* 'piece' can embed container, sortal and group classifiers (958a,b,c), similarly to container classifiers (958e,f,g). Group and measure classifiers can embed sortal classifiers only (958d,h), the rest of the classifiers do not combine with any of the others (958i). Note in passing that there seems to be an anti-adjacency requirement on the co-occurrence of two classifiers. Whenever classifiers co-occur they must be separated by at least one high adjective of the embedded classifier. An immediate consequence of this is that only classifiers

located between high and low adjectives may be embedded by other classifiers, except for non-standard measure classifiers which cannot appear in embedded CCs.

Naturally, PÁR_Q is an exception, since it has a quantifier meaning. Therefore structures containing PÁR_Q and another classifier next to each other do not constitute an example of embedded CCs, but of regular quantified CCs (see 959).

(959) ● PÁR_Q and other classifiers

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------|
| a. | pár szál rózsza
some thread rose
'some roses' | [PÁR + Sortal] |
| b. | pár csapat gyerek
some group child
'some groups of children' | [PÁR + Group] |
| c. | pár doboz sör
some box beer
'some boxes of beer' | [PÁR + Container] |
| d. | pár kiló krumpli
some kilo potato
'some kilos of potatoes' | [PÁR + Standard measure] |
| e. | pár csepp vér
some drop blood
'some drops of blood' | [PÁR + Non-standard measure] |
| f. | pár darab könyv
some piece book
'some books' | [PÁR + DARAB] |
| g. | ?pár pár zokni
some pair sock
'some pairs of socks' | [PÁR + PÁR] |

Example (959g) further illustrates the dual behavior of PÁR. When the classifier position is filled by PÁR_{CL}, the resulting structure can further be quantified over by PÁR_Q. This structure contains two occurrences of PÁR, with different functions. However, due to the homophony of the two elements involved, native speakers find the structure rather strange.

Although embedded CCs do exist in Hungarian, the majority of speakers find these constructions hard to process and therefore speaker intuitions are not entirely clear (the only exception being DARAB, the combination of which with other classifiers is perfectly acceptable). There exist, however, several strategies for expressing the same semantic content without resorting to explicitly embedding classifiers. The first one involves attaching the suffix of approximate measure *-nyi* to the matrix classifier. This strategy is particularly characteristic of container classifiers as matrix classifiers (960).

(960) ● A strategy for avoiding embedded CCs: the suffix *-nyi* 'ful'

- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | öt doboznyi *(nagy) csokor rózsza
five box.ful big bouquet rose
'five boxfuls of big bouquets of roses' |
|----|---|

- b. öt raklapnyi *(nagy) üveg sör
 five pallet.ful big bottle beer
 'five palletfuls of big bottles of beer'
- c. öt kis kosárnyi *(nagy) szem szilva
 five small basket.ful big eye plum
 'five small basketfuls of big plums'

Other strategies generally involve expressing the embedded classifier as an attributive adjective of the nominal head (961a,b,c), or a compound (see (961d)).

(961) ● Other strategies for avoiding embedded CCs

- a. öt csokor *(nagy) szál-ú rózsza
 five bouquet big thread-Attr rose
 'five bouquets of big roses'
- b. öt raklap (*?nagy) doboz-os sör
 five rack big box-ed beer
 'five racks of beer in a can'
- c. öt polc (*nagy) kiló-s kenyér
 five shelf big kilo-Attr bread
 'five shelves of one-kilo breads'
- d. öt doboz nagy rózsacsokor
 five box big rose_bouquet
 'five boxes of big rose bouquets'

As can be seen above, there are two derivational suffixes that can take part in attributivizing the classifier head, and they behave differently in terms of the type of classifiers they combine with. Sortal classifiers can only take the suffix *-(j)Ű* (961a), while container and measure classifiers can only host the *-(V)s* suffix (961b, c, d). There is an interesting correlation which provides indirect proof for the fact that sortal classifiers denote inherent properties of the nominal head.

The possessee of the nominal head in possessive constructions not containing a classifier may also be expressed by an adjective phrase. If the possessee denotes an inherent characteristic or part of the head, it can only bear the attributivizing suffix *-(j)Ű*, and must obligatorily be premodified by an attributive adjective to be well-formed (962).

(962) ● The suffix *-(j)Ű* in noun phrases not containing a classifier

- a. [**(hosszú) hajú lány*] / [**(kék) szemű fiú*] / [**(nagy) fejű csecsemő*]
 long hair.Attr girl / blue eye.Attr boy / big head.Attr baby
 '[girl with long hair] / [boy with blue eyes] / [baby with a big head]'
- b. [**hosszú hajas lány*] / [**kék szemes fiú*] / [**nagy fejés csecsemő*]
 long hair.ed girl / blue eye.ed boy / big head.ed baby

Remark 25. This construction incidentally happens to be a bracketing paradox which has long been a matter of debate in the literature. Typically, an attributive adjective is an optional modifier of the head it attaches to; however, when the nominal head itself is attributivized by the suffix *-(j)Ű*, the attributive adjective becomes obligatory.

- (i) A lány nem lát rendesen,
 the girl not see.3Sg properly
 mert a szemébe lóg a (hosszú) haja.
 because the eye.Poss.3Sg.Ill hang.3Sg the long hair.Poss.3Sg
 'The girl cannot see properly because her long hair is hanging over her eyes.'
- (ii) Hogy hívják azt a *(hosszú) hajú lányt?
 how call. Def.Obj.3Pl that.Acc the long hair.Attr girl.Acc
 'What is the name of that long haired girl?'

However, adjectives normally cannot modify other adjectives directly. For different analyses of this construction, see Laczkó (2000c) and Kenesei (1997).

As example (963a) shows, *sortal* classifiers behave the same way in the sense that they can only host *-(j)Ű* and must be premodified by an adjective (Laczkó 2000c: 647–649). *Sortal* classifiers can occasionally host the suffix *-(V)s* 'ed' in cases when several varieties of the denotation of N_1 exists, and the suffixed classifier serves to clarify the reference, for example *csöves kukorica* lit. 'tube.ed corn' ('corn cob') denotes a whole corn cob as opposed to canned corn for instance, where the individual grains have been removed from the cob (*szemes kukorica* 'eye.ed corn' ('corn kernel')) (see subsection 2.6.3.4).

(963) • Attributivizing of classifier constructions

- a. [nagy szál rózsá] / [nagy szálú /*szálas rózsá] [Sortal]
 big thread rose / big thread.Attr / thread.ed rose
 'a rose with long stalk'
- b. [nagy csapat gyerek] / *[nagy csapatú /csapatos gyerek] [Group]
 big group child / big group.Attr / group.ed child
 'a big group of children'
- c. [nagy doboz tej] / *[nagy dobozú tej] / [(*)nagy dobozos tej] [Container]
 big box milk / big box.Attr milk / big box.ed milk
 '[a big box of milk] / [boxed milk]'
- d. [?][nagy kiló kenyér] / [(*)nagy kilós /*kilójú kenyér] [Standard measure]
 big kilo bread / big kilo.ed / kilo.Attr bread
- e. [nagy csepp vér] / *[nagy cseppű / cseppes vér] [Non-standard measure]
 big drop blood / big drop.Attr / drop.ed blood
 'a big drop of blood'
- f. *[kis pár cipő] / *[kis párú / páros cipő] [PÁR]
 little pair shoe / little pair.Attr / pair.ed shoe
- g. *[kis darab könyv] / *[kis darabú / darabos könyv] [DARAB]
 little piece book / little piece.Attr / piece.ed book

Container and measure classifiers, however, do not express inherent properties of the head they combine with, therefore if they are expressed by an adjective, only the *-(V)s* 'ed' suffix can be used (963c, d, e), similarly to alienable possessives (964). The noun suffixed by an *-(V)s* expresses an alienable characteristic of the head noun (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 185).

(964) ● The suffix *-(V)s* in noun phrases not containing a classifier

a. [a (barna) kalapos lány] / [a (piros) úszógumis kisfiú]
 the brown hat.ed girl / the red swim_float.ed little_boy
 '[girl in brown hat] / [boy with red swim float]'

b. *[a (barna) kalapú lány] / *[a (piros) úszógumijú kisfiú]
 the brown hat.Attr girl / the red swim_float.Attr little_boy

As is shown in the examples, sortal classifiers host the attributivizer *-(j)Ű*, and the occurrence of an attributive adjective before the attributivized classifier is obligatory (963a) while measure classifiers do not tolerate any attributive adjectives when attributivized (963d). This may correlate with the fact that measure classifiers are located above high adjectives and therefore they can only be preceded by numerals and quantifiers which prediction is borne out.

VI. Summary

This subsection shows that all types of classifiers can stand beside determiners, quantifiers and numerals and do not exhibit special restrictions concerning modification. However, the classifier *PÁR*, *DARAB* and standard measure classifiers exhibit far fewer syntagmatic relations than sortal, container, and non-standard measure classifiers, since they cannot be preceded by any type of adjectives.

It was shown that the choice between the two attributivizing suffixes, showing complementary distribution, correlates with the inherent/non-inherent quality of the partitions denoted by the classifier in question. The fact that sortal classifiers appear to provide information about the partitions (shape and size), and no classifier can further specify this information, is reflected in their inability to embed other classifier types. Our findings are summarized in Table 79.

Table 79: Syntactic properties of *N₁s* in CCs

Classifiers Tests		Sortal	Group	Con- tainer	Measure		DARAB	PÁR
					standard	non- standard		
Articles + bare classifier		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Obligatory elements		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Modification: high adjectives	after the <i>N₁</i> (type)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	before the <i>N₁</i> (token)	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*	*
Embedding	matrix	*	(?)	✓	??	??	✓	*
	embedded	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*
Attributivizing	<i>-(j)Ű</i> (inherent)	✓	*	*	*	*	*	*
	<i>-(V)s</i> (non-inherent)	*	*	✓	✓!	*	*	*

2.4.3.3. *Semantic properties of N₁*

Having discussed the syntactic properties of Hungarian classifiers extensively, in the next subsection we will provide an overview of the semantic properties of classifiers (N₁). Our main emphasis will be on the count-mass distinction, following Schvarcz (2014). The first subsection briefly demonstrates the importance of the count-mass distinction in the domain of Hungarian classifiers, while the second subsection discusses the countability of classifiers. The third subsection deals with the interpretation of classifiers. (For an overview of the count-mass distinction in Hungarian nominal structures without classifiers, see 1.2.2.2.)

1. *The mass-count distinction*

As mentioned in 1.2.2.2.1, the use of the question words *mennyi* ‘how much’ and *hány* ‘how many’ present an important grammatical test regarding countability. The (distributive) question word *hány* ‘how many’ is compatible with countable nouns; it is used to ask for information about the number of pieces or units. The (collective) question word *mennyi* ‘how much’, however, is compatible with uncountable nouns; it is used to query amounts. The same holds for [numeral + classifier] constructions: only sortal classifiers, and the general classifier DARAB can provide a felicitous answer to the distributive question word *hány* (965a,a’), while every type of classifier (including sortal and general) can be a felicitous answer to the collective question word *mennyi* ‘how much / what amount’ (965b,b’).

(965) • Question words and CCs

- a. Hány dió van a pincében?
 how_many nut be.3Sg the cellar.Ine
 ‘How many nuts are there in the cellar?’
- a’. [Két darab] / [Két szem] / *[Két zsák] / *[Két kiló] / *[Két marék].
 two piece / two eye / two sack / two kilo / two handful
 ‘Two / Two pieces.’
- b. Mennyi dió van a pincében?
 how_much nut be.3Sg the cellar.Ine
 ‘What amount of nuts is there in the cellar?’
- b’. [Két darab] / [Két szem] / [Két zsák] / [Két kiló] / [Két marék].
 two piece / two eye / two sack / two kilo / two handful
 ‘Two / Two pieces / [Two sacks of nuts] / [Two kilos of nuts] / [Two handfuls of nuts].’

The examples above show that countability does play a role in Hungarian classifier constructions, and the distinction between countable and measureable semantics influences the choice of question words.

According to Rothstein “[C]ounting: is putting atomic entities in one-to-one correspondence with the natural numbers” (2013: 10), and “[M]easuring is assigning a quantity a value on a scale” (2013: 12). After Schvarcz (2014) we assume that “counting and measuring are two basic functions of classifiers” (Schvarcz 2014: 86). The next subsection enumerates the types of classifiers based on these two semantic properties.

II. The countability of classifiers

Sortal classifiers “only allow for a count interpretation”; “their main function is to make the atomic structure of the entities in the denotation of the noun available. They pick out naturally discrete entities based on perceptible physical properties of their complements” (Schvarcz 2014: 86). The general classifier DARAB and the classifier PÁR_{CL} also behave in the same way with respect to countability (966).

(966) ● Sortal CCs, DARAB and classifier PÁR_{CL} are countable

- a. két szem / darab szilva
two eye / piece plum
'two plums'
- b. két vekni / darab kenyér
two loaf / piece bread
'two loaves of bread' / 'two pieces of bread'
- b'. két szál / darab rózsa
two thread / piece rose
'two roses'
- c. két cső / darab kukorica
two tube / piece corn
'two ears of corn'
- d. két *vekni / #darab / *szál víz
two loaf / piece / thread water
- e. két pár zokni / *víz
two pair sock / water
'two pairs of socks'

Note that structures involving DARAB ‘piece’ and a substance noun are not ungrammatical (966d), but trigger a different interpretation. In these cases the structures invariably refer to a conventional, often commercially available, unit of the substance noun: in example (967a) *hat darab bor* ‘six piece wine’ refers to six bottles of wine. In example (967b) the same sequence denotes six types of wine.

(967) ● DARAB+ substance noun constructions

- a. *Veszek hat darab bort az ünnepegre.*
buy.1Sg six piece wine the ceremony.Sub
'I buy six bottles of wine for the ceremony.'
- b. *Hat darab bort választanak a díjazottak közé.*
six piece wine choose.3Pl the award.Part.Pl among
'Six types of wines will be awarded a prize.'

Measure classifier constructions only have a measure interpretation. “Measure classifiers combine with ‘stuff’ that does not have a specific naturally occurring form and they give a quantity measure of the ‘stuff’.” (Schvarcz 2014: 87) “The classifier ignores the atomic structure of [N₂] (if it has one)” (Schvarcz 2014: 87). Even though plums are usually measured by the sortal classifier *szem* ‘eye’, they can also stand with standard measure classifiers such as *kiló* ‘kilo’. In this case, however, the discrete atomic units are disregarded and only the physical weight matters (968a). This holds for *mogyoró* ‘hazelnut’ in example (968b) co-occurring with non-standard measure classifiers.

(968) ● Standard and non-standard measure classifiers are measurable

- a. két kiló liszt / szilva
two kilo flour / plum
'two kilos of flour / plums'
- b. két marék liszt / mogyoró
two handful flour / hazelnut
'two handfuls of flour / hazelnuts'

Container and group classifiers are ambiguous between a countable and a measurable reading. Schvarcz (2014) claims that in the first example (969a) *egymással szemben* 'facing each other' triggers a countable interpretation, while in the second example (969b) only a measurable interpretation is available as it does not partition the competitors into groups, but only refers to an amount of competitors equal to that of two groups. In example (969c) every glass of wine constitutes a separate discrete entity, with three separate drinking events. Example (969d), by contrast, denotes an amount of wine equal to three glasses, but makes no reference to the number of drinking events it took to consume it.

(969) ● Container and group classifiers are ambiguous (Schvarcz 2014)

- a. *Két csoport versenyző egymással szemben áll az első fordulóban.*
two group competitor another.Ins across stand.3Sg the first round.Ine
'Two groups of competitors face each one another in the first round.'
- b. *Erre a buszra két csoport versenyző fér fel.*
this.Sub the bus.Sub two group competitor fit_in.3Sg up
'Two groups of competitors can fit in this bus.'
- c. *Megittam három pohár bort:*
drink.Past.1Sg three glass wine.Acc
egyed reggel, egyed délben, egyed este.
one.Acc morning one.Acc noon.Ine one.Acc evening
'I drank *three glasses of wine*: one in the morning, one at noon, one in the evening.'
- d. *A bulin összesen három pohár bort ittam meg.*
the party.Sup altogether three glass wine.Acc drink.Past.1Sg perf.
'At the party, I drank *three glasses of wine* altogether.'

III. Interpretation of classifiers

According to Csirmaz and Dékány (2014: 154) there are two other semantic differences between classifiers (N_1 s) in a CC. On the one hand, they claim that if the lexical noun is not present in the structure (see Remark 24 in 2.4.2.1), "the meaning of group classifier structures is not significantly affected" (970a). However, this does not hold for sortal classifiers, since they are always homophonous with a lexical noun. If N_2 is omitted (970b), the construction can be interpreted either as a sortal classifier or as a lexical noun, such as *szem* 'eye' in the example. The same can be said of the specific classifiers, PÁR and DARAB, since they also have a regular noun counterpart (970d). Container nouns are always regular nouns and so a construction without N_2 is never identical to a CC (970c). Measure classifiers cannot stand independently on their own; constructions only containing a measure classifier are uninterpretable without a context.

(970) ● Interpretation of classifiers

- a. két falka kutya ≈ két falka
two pack dog two pack
'two packs of dogs' ≈ 'two packs (of dogs)'
- b. két szem gyöngy ≠ két szem
two eye pearl two eye
'two pearls'
- c. két pohár bor ≠ két pohár
two glass wine two glass
'two glasses of wine' ≠ 'two glasses'
- d. két pár / darab cipő ≠ két pár / darab
two pair / piece shoe two pair / piece
'two pairs of shoes' / 'two shoes' ≠ 'two pairs (of shoes)'

On the other hand, if the N_1 is omitted, it “does not significantly affect the meaning of a structure” with sortal and general classifiers (Csirmaz and Dékány 2014: 155), but the semantic difference is significant if a group, container or measure classifier, or the classifier PÁR is absent (971).

(971) ● Interpretation of classifiers

- a. két szem gyöngy = két gyöngy
two eye pearl two pearl
'two pearls'
- a'. két darab gyöngy = két gyöngy
two piece pearl two pearl
'two pearls'
- b. két falka kutya ≠ két kutya
two pack dog two dog
'two packs of dogs' ≠ 'two dogs'
- c. két kosár alma ≠ két alma
two basket apple two apple
'two baskets of apples' ≠ 'two apples'
- d. két kiló alma ≠ két alma
two kilo apple two apple
'two kilos of apples' ≠ 'two apples'
- e. két pár cipő ≠ két cipő
two pair shoe two shoe
'two pairs of shoes' ≠ 'two shoes'

Remark 26. Apart from the classifiers discussed in the main body of the section, there exists another classifier-like element FAJTA 'kind'. FAJTA shows near-identical distribution with sortal classifiers according to our (morpho)syntactic tests. FAJTA is involved in compounding and cannot host the suffix *-nyi*.

- (i) [két fajta kutya] / [két kutyafajta]
two kind dog / two dog_kind
'two kinds of dogs'
- (ii) [két fajta kutya] / *[két fajtányi kutya]
two kind dog / two kind-ful dog
'two kinds of dogs'

As for embedding, the general classifier DARAB, container and non-standard measure classifiers can embed constructions containing FAJTA, while FAJTA can embed container classifier constructions. Similarly to sortal classifiers, FAJTA hosts the suffix *-(j)Ű* and not the suffix *-(V)s* when attributivized.

- (iii) két darab *(nagy) fajta kutya
two piece big kind dog
'two big kinds of dogs'
- (iv) két kosár nagy fajta alma
two basket big kind apple
'two baskets of big kinds of apples'
- (v) öt marék *(^{??}nagy) fajta mogyoró
five handful big kind hazelnut
'five handfuls of big kinds of hazelnuts'
- (vi) *öt fajta (nagy) szem mogyoró
five kind big eye hazelnut
- (vii) öt fajta (*nagy) doboz rizs
five kind big box rice
'five kinds of big boxes of rice'
- (viii) *öt fajta (kis) kiló kenyér
five kind small kilo bread
- (ix) [nagy fajta kutya] / [nagy fajtájú / *fajtá-s kutya]
big kind dog / big kind.Attr/ kind-ed dog
'a big kind of dog'

Similarly to other CCs, constructions containing FAJTA have two interpretations, depending on the location of the high adjective, although the difference is not very spectacular. In (x) we are necessarily referring to three distinct types of dogs: one German Shepherd, one Great Dane, and one St. Bernard, while in (xi) the group of three big dogs may be composed of any combination of big dog species, for example two German Shepherds and one Great Dane or the other way around.

- (x) A tenyésztőnél három fajta nagy kutyából lehet választani.
the breeder.Ade thee kind big dog.Ela be.Mod.3Sg choose.Inf
'At the breeder's you can choose from three kinds of big dogs.'
- (xi) A tenyésztőnél három nagy fajta kutya van egy kennelben.
the breeder.Ade thee big kind dog be.3Sg a kennel.Ine
'At the breeder's three big kinds of dogs are in one kennel.'

Despite all the similarities between FAJTA and sortal classifiers, there are numerous differences, due to which its status as a classifier is debatable. It differs from classifiers in its ability to attach to pronouns, directly forming a compound. Classifiers are not capable of this.

- (xii) [mifajta kutya] / *[miszál rózsza]
what_kind dog / what_thread rose
'what kind of dog'

Morphologically, FAJTA can head compounds with pronouns and inflected elements as the non-head, while other classifier compounds are always composed of base forms.

- (xiii) apja-fajta
father.Poss.3Sg-kind
'(s)he is like his/her father'
- (xiv) magunk-fajta
ourselves-kind
'(s)he is like ourselves'

Syntactically, FAJTA shows a distribution similar to that of *-féle* and *-szerű*, since compounds headed by *-fajta* ‘-kind’, *-féle* ‘-sort’ and *-szerű* ‘-like’ all allow Backward and Forward Coordination Reduction (Kenesei 2007), but as opposed to *-féle* ‘-sort’ and *-szerű* ‘-like’, FAJTA can also stand independently.

- (xv) kutyafajta vagy -féle
 dog_kind or -sort
 ‘a kind or a sort of a dog’
- (xvi) kutya- vagy macskafajta
 dog- or cat_kind
 ‘a kind of a dog or a cat’

FAJTA also has special semantic characteristics. Schvarcz establishes that the classifier FAJTA “can only refer to subtypes in a taxonomical situation. Conceptually, neither atoms nor measurement is available in such situations” (Schvarcz 2014: 112).

2.4.4. *Properties of N₂*

This subsection discusses the properties of N₂. Since every noun can co-occur with at least one type of classifier (except proper nouns, pronouns and event-denoting deverbal nouns), and they possess only a few morphological properties in their capacity as an N₂, we do not give a comprehensive account of all nouns capable of appearing in this position. Generally, the only requirement N₂ has to satisfy is that it be a grammatically well-formed noun phrase, semantically compatible with N₁. For this reason, in the following subsections, we only focus on properties which are relevant in classifier constructions: a morphological constraint, the co-occurrence with determiners, complementation and their semantic properties.

2.4.4.1. *Morphological properties*

In Hungarian the plural suffixes *-k* and *-i* cannot appear on a nominal head quantified over by a numeral. The same stands for CCs; the N₁ is in complementary distribution with the plural suffixes. Therefore, N₂ can never host the plural suffix in a CC (972).

(972) ● Complementarity of N₁ and the plural morphemes

- a. rózsák / [három rózsa] / [három szál rózsa]
 rose.Pl / three rose / three thread rose
 ‘roses / [three roses] / [three roses]’
- a’. *[három szál rózsá-k] / [Éva három szál rózsá-i]
 three thread rose-Pl Éva three thread rose.Poss-Pl.3Sg
- b. [Éva rózsái] / [Éva három rózsája] / [Éva három szál rózsája]
 Éva rose.Poss.Pl.3Sg / Éva three rose.Poss.3Sg / Éva three thread rose.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Éva’s roses / [Éva’s three roses] / [Éva’s three roses]’

2.4.4.2. *Syntactic properties*

1. *Determiners*

N₂ can never be preceded by an article, a demonstrative or any type of possessor (973b,b’), as is the case of other numerals (973a, a’).

(973) ● N_2 can never be preceded by determiners in a CC

- a. *öt a / [az a] rózsza
five the / that the rose
- a'. [*öt [Péter/Péternek a rózsája]]
five Péter / Péter.Dat the rose.Poss.3Sg
- b. *öt szál a / [az a] rózsza
five thread the / that the rose
- b'. [*öt szál [Péter/Péternek a rózsája]]
five thread Péter / Péter.Dat the rose.Poss.3Sg

II. Complementation

N_2 can take a complement, as is shown for the 'story/picture' noun *fénykép* 'photo' in (974a). Furthermore, N_2 can be modified by an attributive adjective, see (974b).

(974) ● Complementation and modification of N_2

- a. öt doboz fénykép Iliról / Ilitől
five box photo Ili.Del / Ili.Abl
'five boxes of photos by Ili'
- b. három csésze forró tea
three mug hot tea
'three mugs of hot tea'

For the sake of completeness, note that N_2 can be modified by an adjective in the positive or the comparative form but not by an adjective in the superlative form. This might be due to the fact that noun phrases containing a superlative adjective are definite (975). However, N_1 can be modified by adjectives in the superlative form as well (975a').

(975) ● Modification of N_2 by adjectives in comparative forms

- a. Veszek egy pár sötét / sötétebb /*legsötétebb zoknit.
buy.1Sg one pair dark / darker / darkest sock.Acc
'I buy a pair of dark / darker socks.'
- a'. ?Megveszem a legsötétebb pár zoknit.
perf.buy.DefObj.1Sg the darkest pair sock.Acc
'I buy the darkest pair of socks.'
- b. Veszek egy fej nagy/nagyobb/*legnagyobb salátát.
buy.1Sg one head big / bigger / biggest lettuce.Acc
'I buy a big / bigger lettuce.'

Cardinal numerals and quantifiers cannot precede N_2 . This, however, has no bearing on what the size of the projection of N_2 is, given that a plausible explanation for the impossibility of (976) can be found in the fact that they are in the scope of N_1 , which also has quantificational force; cf. **sok öt diák* 'many five students'.

(976) ● Numerals and quantifiers cannot precede N₂

- a. *három szál három rózsa
 three thread three rose
- b. *három szál sok rózsa
 three thread many rose

III. Summary

In this subsection we demonstrated that the N₂ in a CC can never be directly preceded by any types of determiners, numerals or quantifiers, since N₁ serves as the quantificational part of the whole construction. For this reason, N₂ can only be modified by non-quantificational elements. Attributive adjectives can occur between N₁ and N₂, and N₂ may also have a complement zone.

2.4.4.3. Semantic properties

There are some nouns (e.g., *ház* ‘house’, *asztal* ‘table’, *szék* ‘chair’) which can stand only with the general classifier DARAB. Other nouns occur with several other kinds of classifiers, with a semantic difference between the variants of CCs (cf. *rózsa* ‘rose’: *egy szál rózsa* ‘a rose’ and *egy csokor rózsa* ‘a bouquet of roses’). Since N₂ itself does not possess clearly distinguishable, general semantic criteria, in this subsection we will summarize what semantic restrictions are operative between different types of N₁s and N₂s. We have already established that measure classifiers stand with substance nouns only, while container classifiers occur with both count and substance nouns. Standard measure classifiers are expressions corresponding to accepted units of measurement (e.g., *méter* ‘meter’ for measuring length, *kilogramm* ‘kilogram’ for measuring mass, *perc* ‘second’ for measuring time). Non-standard measure classifiers are associated with various kinds of substance: for instance, *rőf* ‘ell’ was used for measuring the length of textiles, *négyszögöl* ‘square fathom’ and *hold* ‘acre’ are unofficial measures of land area, and *akó* used to be a Hungarian liquid measure.

Now we restrict ourselves to giving a list of some prototypical sortal/group classifiers and their associated N₂, based on Dékány (2011: 64), see Table 80.

Table 80: *Sortal and group classifiers with examples*

CLASSIFIER	SHAPES/TYPES OF OBJECTS REFERRED TO	EXAMPLE
<i>bokor</i> ‘bush’	plants with the shape of a shrub (e.g. potato, raspberry, rose)	<i>két bokor rózsza</i> ‘two bushes of roses’
<i>cserép</i> ‘pot’	flower, plant	<i>két cserép muskátli</i> ‘two pots of geraniums’
<i>csík</i> ‘strip, line’	chewing gum	<i>két csík rágó</i> ‘two strips of chewing gum’
<i>cső</i> ‘tube’	long, hollow (sweet corn)	<i>két cső kukorica</i> ‘two corn cobs’
<i>darab</i> ‘piece’	neutral: any count noun, above all [–HUMAN]	<i>két darab szilva</i> ‘two plums’
<i>fej</i> ‘head’	big spherical (cabbage, onion, lettuce)	<i>két fej káposzta</i> ‘two lettuces’
<i>fő</i> ‘head’	people	<i>két fő legénység</i> ‘a crew comprising two members’
<i>gerezd</i> ‘clove’	3-D, crescent shaped (garlic, orange)	<i>két gerezd fokhagyma</i> ‘two garlic cloves’
<i>karika</i> ‘ring’	flat, round (sausage)	<i>két karika kolbász</i> ‘two sausage slices’
<i>kötet</i> ‘volume’	bound paper	<i>két kötet könyv</i> ‘two volumes’
<i>ív</i> ‘sheet’	paper	<i>két ív papír</i> ‘two sheets of paper’
<i>rózsa</i> ‘rose’	floret (cauliflower, broccoli)	<i>két rózsza brokkoli</i> ‘two florets of broccoli’
<i>rúd</i> ‘stick/rod’	long cylindrical (sausage, salami)	<i>két rúd kolbász</i> ‘two sticks of sausage’
<i>szál</i> ‘thread’	long cylindrical (hair, sausage, salami, cigarette)	<i>két szál rózsza</i> ‘two roses’
<i>szem</i> ‘eye’	small spherical (grape, tomato, berry)	<i>két szem szilva</i> ‘two plums’
<i>tő</i> ‘stem’	plant with a stem (rose, grape)	<i>két tő rózsza</i> ‘two stems of roses’
<i>vegni</i> ‘loaf’	bread	<i>két vegni kenyér</i> ‘two loaves of bread’
<i>falka</i> ‘pack’	dogs, wolves	<i>két falka kutya</i> ‘two packs of dogs’
<i>konda</i> ‘herd’	pigs, boars	<i>két konda disznó</i> ‘two herds of pigs’
<i>csorda/gulya</i> ‘herd’	cattle	<i>két csorda marha</i> ‘two herds of cattle’
<i>nyáj</i> ‘flock’	sheeps	<i>két nyáj juh</i> ‘two flocks of sheep’
<i>raj</i> ‘swarm’	bees	<i>két raj méh</i> ‘two swarms of bees’
<i>csokor</i> ‘bouquet’	flowers	<i>két csokor rózsza</i> ‘two bouquets of roses’

2.4.5. *A note on partitive constructions*

This subsection discusses types of partitive constructions. After a brief general introduction of these constructions we will also explain why we discuss these constructions in this section on classifier constructions.

Partitive constructions are noun phrases that refer to a subset of some set presupposed in discourse. They express partialness and consist of a cardinal numeral or a quantifier expressing the cardinality or size of the subset, followed by a noun. Some examples are given in which the noun phrase *a sütemény* ‘the cake’ refers to the presupposed set (977). The cardinal numeral *négy* ‘four’ indicates that the cardinality of the subset is 4.

(977) ● Partitive constructions

- a. *Veszek négy/néhány szeletet a süteményből.*
take.1Sg four / some slice.Acc the cake.Ela
‘I take four / some slices of the cake.’
- b. *Elveszek négy/néhány szeletet a sütemények közül.*
away.take.1Sg four / some slice.Acc the cake.Pl among
‘I take four / some slices of the cake.’

As the examples above show, in Hungarian there is no uniform structure for expressing partitive relations, but they can be expressed by various unrelated grammatical constructions. Chisarik (2002) differentiates between four kinds of partitive constructions in Hungarian: two possessive partitives (unmarked (978a) and dative case-marked (978b)) and two oblique partitives (*közül* ‘among’ (978d) and elative (978c)).

(978) ● Partitive constructions in Hungarian (Chisarik 2002)

- a. *a diákok bármelyike*
the student.Pl any.Poss.3Sg
‘any one of the students’
- b. *a diákoknak a 10 százaléka*
the student.Pl.Dat the 10 percent.Poss.3Sg
‘ten percent of the students’
- c. *bármennyi a cukorból*
any the sugar.Ela
‘any (amount) of the sugar’
- d. *bármelyik a könyvek közül*
any the book.Pl among
‘any of the books’

Possessive partitives are syntactically and morphologically identical to regular possessive constructions. From this it follows that possessive partitives, too, can contain either an unmarked or a NAK possessor.

(979) ● Possessive partitives in Hungarian (Chisarik 2002)

- a. *a lányok valamelyike*
the girl.Pl some.Poss.3Sg
‘some of the girls’

- b. a lányoknak a 20 százaléka
 the girl.Pl.Dat the 20 percent.Poss.3Sg
 'ten percent of the girls'

The other possibility of expressing partitive relations comes from structures containing an element marked with a particular oblique case. These also come in two subtypes: relative case-marked partitives (980a) and *közül* 'from among' partitives (980b). *Közül* 'from among' involving a case-like postposition (see P2).

(980) ● Oblique case-marked partitive constructions in Hungarian (Chisarik 2002)

- a. valamennyi a sóból
 some the salt.Ela
 'some (amount) of the salt'
- b. bármelyik a lányok közül
 any the girl.Pl among
 'any one of the girls'

Partitive constructions can also be expressed by discontinuous phrases, where one or more constituents of the possessive or oblique-marked noun phrase appear sentence-initially with the remnant phrase either remaining *in situ*, or preposed to a different sentence-initial position (981a,b,c). They share this characteristic with their regular non-partitive counterparts, as both possessive constructions and noun phrases containing an oblique-marked noun can be split (see subsection 3.2.2.1, sub B). Note that unmarked possessors cannot be separated from the possessive noun phrase regardless of whether they appear in a partitive or a regular possessive construction (981a').

(981) ● Partitives in discontinuous phrases

- a. A tejnek Anna megitta a felét.
 the milk.Dat Anna drink.Past.DefObj.3Sg the half.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'Of the milk, Anna drank half.'
- a'. *A tej Anna megitta a felét.
 the milk Anna drink.Past.DefObj.3Sg the half.Poss.3Sg.Acc
- b. A regények közül Péter elolvasott négyet.
 the book.Pl from_among Péter read.Past.3Sg four.Acc
 'Of the novels, Péter read four.'
- c. A cukorból Anna tett a kávéjába valamennyit.
 the sugar.Ela Anna put.Past.3Sg the coffee.Poss.3Sg.Ill some.Acc
 'Of the sugar, Anna put some in her coffee.'

This discontinuity may also span long distances. However, long-distance extraction from a sentential complement is only grammatical if it is governed by the following types of verbs: (i) predicates taking a subject or object clause (e.g., *akar* 'want', *szeretne* 'would like', *kell* 'need', *szabad* 'may', *lehet* 'is possible', *nyilvánvaló* 'is obvious', *valószínű* 'is likely'); (ii) verbs of saying and verbs denoting mental activities (e.g., *mond* 'say', *ígér* 'promise', *állít* 'claim', *gondol* 'think', *hisz* 'believe') (É.Kiss 2002: 253). In example (982a,b,c) the verb *hisz* 'believe' is a mental activity verb, therefore it satisfies the requirement.

As is well-known in the Hungarian literature (Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi 1998, Komlósy 1994, É. Kiss 2002), sentential adjuncts block long-distance movement. This is also true of partitives as observed by Chisarik (2002), see example (982d).

(982) ● Partitives in long distance dependency constructions

- a. A vendégeknek, azt hiszem,
 the guest.Pl.Dat that.Acc believe.DefObj.1Sg
 hogy Dávid ismeri a felét.
 that David know.DefObj.3Sg the half.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'Of the guests, I believe that David knows half.'
- b. A vendégek közül, azt hiszem,
 the guest.Pl among that.Acc believe.Def.Obj.1Sg
 hogy Dávid ismer kettőt.
 that David know.3Sg two.Acc
 'Of the guests, I believe that David knows two.'
- c. A tortából, azt hiszem,
 the cake.Ela that.Acc believe.DefObj.1Sg
 hogy Dávid elfogyasztott két szeletet.
 that Dávid eat_up.Past.3Sg two piece.Acc
 'Of the cake, I believe that David ate up two pieces.'
- d. *A barátainak Péter nevetett,
 the friend.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Dat Péter laugh.Past.3Sg
 amikor beválasztották a csapatba a felét.
 when vote_in.Past.DefObj.3Pl the team.Ill the half.Poss.3Sg.Acc

Classifiers can also appear in partitive constructions (983). These partitive constructions contain a classifier and a head noun, however, the classifier is not unmarked. As in other partitive constructions, the classifier can receive the possessive marker *-(j)A*.

(983) ● Possessive partitives with classifiers

- a. A *rózsa szála* 100 Ft. [Sortal]
 the rose thread.Poss.3Sg 100 HUF
 'A rose is HUF 100.'
- b. A *gyerekek csapata* az udvaron játszik. [Group]
 the child.Pl group.Poss.3Sg the ground.Sup play.3Sg
 'A group of children is playing in the yard.'
- c. *A *sör pohara* 300 Ft. [Container]
 the beer glass.Poss.3Sg 300 HUF.
 Intended meaning: 'A glass of beer is HUF 300.'
- d. A *kenyér kilója* csak 150 Ft. [Standard measure]
 the bread kilo.Poss.3Sg only 150 HUF
 'A kilo of bread is only HUF 150.'
- e. A *bor minden cseppje* aranyat ér. [Non-standard measure]
 the wine every drop.Poss.3Sg gold.Acc worth.3Sg
 'Every drop of wine is worth gold.'
- f. A *zokni párja* 300 Ft. [PÁR]
 the sock pair.Poss.3Sg 300 HUF
 'The pair of the sock costs HUF 300.' or 'A pair of socks is HUF 300.'

- g. *A kukorica darabja* 100 Ft. [DARAB]
the corn piece.Poss.3Sg 100 HUF
 'A corn on the cob is HUF 100.'

Example (983c) demonstrates that container classifiers may not appear in a possessive partitive construction, and the special classifier PÁR also has a meaning entirely different from what is expected: the construction *zokni párja* ('the pair of a sock') can also denote a single sock (983f). It is important to mention that classifier-possessives are lexicalized to some extent, and the process by which they are formed is not entirely productive.

Elative partitives can also be formed from classifier constructions. Similar to non-classifier elative partitives, the word order is not fixed (984a), and long-distance dependencies are also allowed (984b). The N₂ hosts the elative case suffix *-bÓl* (984), and the classifier (N₁) hosts either an accusative or an instrumental case-suffix (see (984a-e), when the partitive construction is the object of a transitive verb. In (984e') the elative partitive construction is the subject of an intransitive verb without any case-marking.

(984)● Elative partitives with classifiers

- a. *Kérek két szálat a rózsából.* / *Kérek a rózsából két szálat.*
 ask.1Sg two thread.Acc the rose.Ela / ask.1Sg the rose.Ela two thread.Acc
 'I would like two roses.'
- a'. *A rózsából kérek két szálat.* / *Két szálat kérek a rózsából.*
 the rose.Abl ask.1Sg two thread.Acc / two thread.Acc ask.1Sg the rose.Ela
 'I would like two roses.'
- a''. *Kérek két szálat a rózsából.* / *Kérek két szállal a rózsából.*
 ask.1Sg two thread.Acc the rose.Ela / ask.1Sg two thread.Ins the rose.Ela
 'I would like two roses.'
- b. **Kérek két poharat a borból.* / *✓Kérek két pohárral a borból.*
 ask.1Sg two glass.Acc the wine.Ela / ask.1Sg two glass.Ins the wine.Ela
 'I would like two glasses of wine.'
- c. *Látok két ^{*?}csapatot / [?]csapattal (azokból) a szurkolókból.*
 see.1Sg two group.Acc / group.Ins that.Ela the fan.Pl.Ela
 'I see two groups of fans.'
- d. *Kérek két kilót / kilóval ^(?)(abból) az almából.*
 ask.1Sg two kilo.Acc / kilo.Ins that.Ela the apple.Ela
 'I would like two kilos of (those) apples.'
- e. *Adj hozzá két cseppet / cseppel ^(?)(abból) az ecetből!*
 give.Subj.2Sg All.3Sg two drop.Acc / drop.Ins that.Ela the vinegar.Ela
 'Add two drops of (that) vinegar.'
- e'. *Az asztalra csöppent két csepp (abból) a mézből.*
 the table.Sup dropp.Past.3Sg two drop that.Ela the honey.Ela
 'Two drops of (that) honey was dropped on the table.'
- f. *Kérek két darabot / ^{??}darabbal (abból) az almából.*
 ask.1Sg two piece.Acc / piece.Ins that.Ela the apple.Ela
 'I would like two pieces of (those) apples.'

- g. Kérek két párat / párral (abból) a zokniból.
ask.1Sg two pair.Acc / pair.Ins that.Ela the sock.Ela
'I would like two kilos of (those) socks.'

Classifiers can also appear as *közül*-partitives (985), however, only sortal classifiers (compare (985a,a') with (985b,c,d)), the general classifier DARAB and the special classifier PÁR may occur, most of these constructions only being at most marginally acceptable (985e, f). In cases when a classifier grammatically occurs in a *közül*-partitive, different permutations of word order and long distance dependencies do not cause the judgments to deteriorate, as is the case with standard, non-classifier *közül*-partitives and relative-partitives.

(985) ● *Közül*-partitives with classifiers

- a. Kérek két szálát a rózsák közül.
ask.1Sg two thread.Acc the rose.Pl from_among
'I would like two roses.'
- a'. A rózsák közül kérek két szálát.
the rose.Pl from_among ask.1Sg two thread.Acc
'I would like two roses.'
- b. *Kérek két dobozt / dobozzal a cukorkák közül.
ask.1Sg two box.Acc / box.Ins the candy.Pl from_among
- c. *Kérek két kilót / kilóval az almák közül.
ask.1Sg two kilo.Acc / kilo.Ins the apple from_among
- d. *Kérek két marékot / marékkal a mogyoró közül.
ask.1Sg two handful.Acc / handful.Ins the hazelnut from_among
- e. Kérek két *párat / ??párral a zoknik közül!
ask.1Sg two pair.Acc / pair.Ins the sock.Pl from_among
'I would like two pairs of socks.'
- f. Kérek két ?darabot / *darabbal az almák közül!
ask.1Sg two piece.Acc / piece.Ins the apple.Pl from_among
'I would like two apples.'

2.5. Articles and demonstratives

This section will discuss the semantic and syntactic behavior of determiners, narrowing the topic to articles (2.5.1) and demonstratives (2.5.2). Subsection 2.5.3 deals with a special type of determiners containing the unique identification suffix *-ik*. The theoretical background adopted here is elaborated on in 1.1.2.2, especially in Remark 5.

2.5.1. Articles (*Anita Viszket, Judit Kleiber, Veronika Szabó*)

According to the traditional view, Hungarian has two articles: an indefinite one, *egy* 'a(n)', and a definite one, *a/az* 'the' (the variant *a* is used before consonants, and *az* is used before vowels). As in many other languages, the definite article is historically and synchronically related to a demonstrative pronoun (near-homonymous with *az* 'that'), and the indefinite article is related to the numeral *egy* 'one' (it has the same segmental form). The articles are normally not stressed, and

they do not receive inflectional or derivational endings. The definite article can be used with all kinds of nouns; the indefinite article typically occurs with singular count nouns (for the count–noncount distinction in Hungarian see 1.2.2; H. Varga (2014)).

In the last few decades, the following question has arisen: is it justifiable to call both *a(z)* ‘the’ and *egy* ‘a(n)’ “articles”? (Moravcsik 2003: 400–403) The former is generally and uniformly regarded as an article; however, the status of *egy* ‘a(n)’ is unclear. While it has traditionally been regarded as an article, Szabolcsi (1992: 6, 36) considers it to be “either a quantifier or a numeral but not an article” and she takes the indefinite article to be zero.

The question is whether they constitute a morphosyntactic class. On the one hand, *egy* ‘a(n)’ cannot co-occur with the definite article, which indicates that they belong to the same class, that is, *egy* ‘a(n)’ is an article (986b–b’). In addition, numerals *can* co-occur with *a(z)* ‘the’, which sets *egy* ‘a(n)’ apart from numerals (986c).

(986) ● Arguments for *egy* ‘a(n)’ being an article (Moravcsik 2003: 401–402)

- a. Kérek egy inget.
ask.1Sg a shirt.Acc
‘I am asking for a shirt.’
- a’. Kérem az inget.
ask.DefObj.1Sg the shirt.Acc
‘I am asking for the shirt.’
- b. *Kérem / *Kérek az egy inget.
ask.DefObj.1Sg / ask.1Sg the a shirt.Acc
- b’. *Kérem / *Kérek egy az inget.
ask.DefObj.1Sg / ask.1Sg a the shirt.Acc
- c. Kérem a két inget.
ask.DefObj.1Sg the two shirt.Acc
‘I am asking for the two shirts, please.’

On the other hand, *egy* ‘a(n)’ is in complementary distribution with numerals as well, which indicates that *egy* ‘a(n)’ belongs to the class of numerals (987a). Furthermore, the distribution of *egy* ‘a(n)’ is more restricted than that of *a(z)* ‘the’: just like numerals, *egy* ‘a(n)’ can be used only with singular nouns (987b–d’), and it cannot occur with abstract and mass nouns (987e–e’’).

(987) ● Arguments against *egy* ‘a(n)’ being an article (Moravcsik 2003: 402)

- a. *egy egy veréb
a one sparrow
‘*a one sparrow’
- b. egy asztal
a table
‘a table’
- b’. *egy asztalok
a table.Pl
‘*a tables’

- c. két asztal
two table
'two tables'
- c'. *két asztalok
two table.Pl
- d. az asztal
the table
'the table'
- d'. az asztalok
the table.Pl
'the tables'
- e. a jószág
the goodness
'the goodness'
- e'. *egy jószág
a/one goodness
'*a/one goodness'
- e''. *két jószág
two goodness

Moravcsik (2003: 403) summarizes her arguments as follows: "In sum, there are several distributional facts that set *egy* 'a(n)' apart from the definite article while at the same time lumping it together with numerals. However, since *egy* 'a(n)' is in complementary distribution not only with numerals but also with the definite article, it may be best considered as a special, shared member of the class of numerals and of the class of articles."

Based on this conclusion, *egy* 'a(n)' could still be regarded as the indefinite article in Hungarian. Additional arguments for this view include that *egy* 'a(n)/one' can present article-like and numeral-like behavior as well. In the numeral-sense ('one'), it is stressed like other cardinals; it can be replaced with *egyetlen* 'single'; and (in special contexts) it can follow the definite article *a(z)* 'the' (988a). In the article-sense ('a(n)'), it is obligatorily unstressed; it cannot be replaced with *egyetlen* 'single'; and it cannot co-occur with the definite article (988a'). Nonetheless, the internal structure (word order) of the noun phrase exhibits that *egy* 'a(n)' cannot occupy the same position as *a(z)* 'the' (988b); consequently, it cannot be regarded as the indefinite counterpart of the definite article after all.

- (988) ● Additional features of *egy* 'a(n)/one' (examples (a,b) from Remark 5)
(The relevant words are stress-marked.)

- a. A(z) (te) 'egy / 'egyetlen / *^oegy 'fiad többet evett,
the you one / single / a son.Poss.2Sg more.Acc eat.Past.3Sg
mint [az (én) 'öt 'lányom].
than the I five daughter.Poss.1Sg
'Your single son ate more than my five daughters.'

- a'. °Egy/ *'egy / *'egyetlen 'fiú többet eszik, mint °egy 'lány.
 a / one / single boy more.Acc eat.Sg1 than a girl
 'Boys eat more than girls.'
- b. Elolvasom Anna egy/ *az érdekes cikkét.
 read.DefObj.1Sg Anna an / the interesting paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'I will read an interesting paper by Anna.' /
 Intended meaning: 'I will read the interesting paper by Anna.'

What is then the indefinite article in Hungarian? As elaborated in Remark 5, Szabolcsi (1992) argues that the D head is responsible for definiteness in Hungarian: when the position is occupied by the definite article *a(z)* 'the', which can be phonetically deleted, then the noun phrase is definite; otherwise it is filled with the genuinely empty "indefinite article" **O**.

The problem with this solution is illustrated in (989). If the indefinite article were solely the **O**, then a sentence with a bare noun phrase like (989b) would be grammatical as the indefinite counterpart of (989a). Instead, some kind of number-specifying extra element is required (989c), since bare noun phrases cannot appear in every position (for details see 2.5.1.2). Note that, in Hungarian, nouns occur in the singular form even when modified by a numeral. Examples in (989c-c') illustrate the previously mentioned statement that cardinals are obligatorily stressed, while *egy* 'a(n)' is obligatory unstressed. The stressed variant of *egy* translates into 'one' instead of 'a(n)', since it refers to the numeral-sense and not the article-sense. Besides cardinals, *néhány/pár* 'some' form grammatical sentences in (989c) as well. They exhibit the same behavior as *egy* 'a(n)/one', namely that they have both stressed and unstressed variants, with the latter showing article-like characteristics. Finally, the ungrammaticality of (989d) indicates that the plural form of an indefinite noun phrase is not the bare plural but rather a construction with (the article-like unstressed) *néhány/pár* 'some' (989c); consequently the **O** in itself cannot be regarded as the indefinite article in a plural environment, either. (Though, in some constructions, bare plurals are acceptable; for details see subsection 2.5.1.2).

(989) ● Arguments against the indefinite article being **O** – in itself

- a. Ekkor 'belépett a 'szaunába a ('magas 'szőke) 'lány.
 then enter.Past.3Sg the sauna.Ill the (tall blond) girl
 'Then the (tall blond) girl entered the sauna.'
- b. *Ekkor 'belépett a 'szaunába ('magas 'szőke) 'lány.
 then enter.Past.3Sg the sauna.Ill (tall blond) girl
 Intended meaning: 'Then a (tall blond) girl entered the sauna.'
- c. Ekkor 'belépett a 'szaunába
 then enter.Past.3Sg the sauna.Ill
 °egy / 'három / 'öt / '°néhány / '°pár ('magas 'szőke) 'lány.
 a / three / five / some / some (tall blond) girl
 'Then a/three/five/some (tall blond) girl(s) entered the sauna.'

- c'. Ekkor 'belépett a 'szaunába
 then enter.Past.3Sg the sauna.Ill
 *'egy / *'egyetlen / *°három / *°öt ('magas 'szőke) 'lány.
 one / single / three / five (tall blond) girl
- d. *Ekkor 'beléptek a 'szaunába ('magas 'szőke) 'lányok.
 then enter.Past.3Sg the sauna.Ill (tall blond) girl.Pl
 Intended meaning: 'Then (tall blond) girls entered the sauna.'

In conclusion, indefiniteness is identified as the lack of definiteness (**O**); however, a number-specifying extra element is required to distinguish referential indefinite constructions from bare noun phrases, specifically the (article-like) unstressed *egy* 'a(n)' in the singular, and the (article-like) unstressed *néhány/pár* 'some' in the plural. Based on the above reasoning, the "indefinite article" in Hungarian is [**O** *egy*] in the singular, and [**O** *néhány/pár*] in the plural. Finally, Table 81 shows the article system in Hungarian.

Table 81: Articles

		COUNT NOUNS		NON-COUNT NOUNS
		singular	plural	
definite		<i>a kutya / az ágy</i> the dog / the bed	<i>a kutyák / az ágyak</i> the dog.Pl / the bed.Pl	<i>a bor / az üveg</i> the wine / the glass
indefinite	REFERENTIAL	O <i>egy kutya</i> a dog	O <i>néhány/pár kutya</i> some /some dog	<i>bor</i> wine
	BARE	<i>kutya</i> dog	<i>kutyák</i> dog.Pl	

This subsection is divided into three subordinate subsections. The semantic properties of definite and indefinite articles are discussed in subsection 2.5.1.1. This is followed in subsection 2.5.1.2 by the examination of noun phrases that do not contain an article. Subsection 2.5.1.3 concludes by giving an overview of two constructions which show special behavior regarding article use, namely proper names and vocatives.

2.5.1.1. Noun phrases with an article

This subsection discusses and illustrates the semantic properties of the definite and indefinite articles. We will start by defining the core meaning of the articles, after which we will discuss the interpretations these articles trigger on the complete noun phrase in general terms: we will discuss the notions of definiteness, specificity, distributivity and genericity. Major parts of this subsection are based on *SoD-NP* (5.1.1.), due to the universal characteristics of this topic. These parts are somewhat shortened; the distinct features of Hungarian, however, are elaborated in more detail.

2.5.1.1.1. *The core meaning of the articles*

The easiest way to explain the core meaning of the articles is by using Figure 3 which can be taken to represent the subject-predicate relation in a clause. In this figure, A represents the denotation set of the subject NP and B the set denoted by the verb phrase. The intersection $A \cap B$ denotes the set of entities for which the proposition expressed by the clause is claimed to be true. In an example like *János sétál az utcán* ‘János is walking in the street’, for example, it is claimed that the set denoted by A, viz. {János}, is properly included in set B, which is constituted by people walking in the street. In other words, it expresses that $A - (A \cap B) = \emptyset$.

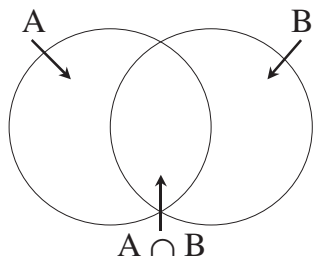


Figure 3: Set-theoretic representation of the subject-predicate relation

The core function of the determiners is to specify the intersection ($A \cap B$) and the remainder of set A, that is, $A - (A \cap B)$. The definite article $a(z)$ ‘the’ in (990) expresses that in the domain of discourse (domain D), all entities that satisfy the description of the NP are included in the intersection $A \cap B$, that is, that $A - (A \cap B) = \emptyset$. The singular noun phrase *a fiú* ‘the boy’ in (990a) has therefore approximately the same interpretation as the proper noun *János* in the discussion above; it expresses that the cardinality of $A \cap B$ is 1 (for which we will use the notation: $|A \cap B| = 1$). The only difference between the singular and the plural example in (990) is that the latter expresses that $|A \cap B| > 1$.

(990) ● The core meaning of the definite article

- a. A fiú sétál az utcán.
the boy walk.3Sg the street.Sup
‘The boy is walking in the street.’
- a’. $a(z) N_{sg}$: $|A \cap B| = 1$ & $A - (A \cap B) = \emptyset$
- b. A fiúk sétálnak az utcán.
the boy.Pl walk.3Pl the street.Sup
‘The boys are walking in the street.’
- b’. $a(z) N_{pl}$: $|A \cap B| > 1$ & $A - (A \cap B) = \emptyset$

The semantic contribution of the indefinite articles in (991a,b) is to indicate that $A \cap B$ is not empty; they do not imply anything about the set $A - (A \cap B)$, which may or may not be empty. The difference between the singular indefinite article [**O** egy] and the plural form [**O** néhány/pár] is that the former expresses that $|A \cap B| = 1$, whereas the latter expresses that $|A \cap B| > 1$.

(991) ● The core meaning of the indefinite articles

- a. Egy fiú sétál az utcán.
 a boy walk.3Sg the street.Sup
 ‘There is a boy walking in the street.’
- a’. [O egy] N_{sg}: $|A \cap B| = 1 \ \& \ |A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$
- b. Néhány / pár fiú sétál az utcán.
 some / some boy walk.3Sg the street.Sub
 ‘There are boys walking in the street.’
- b’. [O néhány/pár] N_{pl}: $|A \cap B| > 1 \ \& \ |A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$

In the following subsections we will see, however, that more can be said about the precise characterization of the meaning of the articles, and it will also become clear that some uses of the articles do not fall under the general characterization of the meaning of the articles given in this subsection (for a comparison between Hungarian and Dutch regarding the core meaning of the articles see 1.1.2.2, Remark 6).

2.5.1.1.2. *Definiteness and indefiniteness*

This subsection discusses one of the core semantic distinctions between noun phrases, namely, the distinction between definite and indefinite noun phrases. We start in subsections I and II by showing that definite noun phrases are typically used to refer to some entity in domain D, whereas indefinite noun phrases are typically used to introduce some new entity into domain D. This does not mean, however, that the introduction of a new entity into domain D always requires the use of an indefinite noun phrase; in subsection III, we will discuss several cases in which this can also be done by means of a definite noun phrase.

I. *Definite noun phrases*

As its name suggests, the definite article *a(z)* ‘the’ serves to pick out a definite referent from the set denoted by their NP-complement. This definite referent may be a specific entity or a group of entities in domain D. The former is the case when the nominal predicate is singular, as in (992a).

(992) ● Definite noun phrases

- a. A macska beteg.
 the cat ill
 ‘The cat is ill.’
- b. A macskák betegek.
 the cat.PL ill.PL
 ‘The cats are ill.’

The noun phrase in example (992a) presupposes that domain D contains a single entity that satisfies the description provided by the NP *macska* ‘cat’, and it is predicated of this entity that it is ill. Because domain D consists of the shared knowledge of the speaker and listener, it is also typically assumed that the latter is able to uniquely identify this entity. The sentence in (992a) would be infelicitous if

domain D contained two entities that would satisfy the description of the NP; in that case, the description would have to be made more specific (e.g., *a kandúr* ‘the tomcat’) in order to satisfy the requirement that a singular definite noun phrase refers to a unique entity.

When the noun phrase is plural, it does not refer to a single entity but to a set. Again, it is presupposed that the listener is able to uniquely identify this set. When the speaker utters a sentence like (992b), he presupposes that the listener knows that he (i.e. the speaker) is referring to, for instance, his own two cats and the three cats of his friend.

The discussion above amounts to saying that the use of a definite article implies that set A in Figure 3 does not include all entities that satisfy the description of the NP, but only those entities that are part of domain D: the referent of the noun phrase is assumed to be identifiable for both the speaker and the listener. In this sense definite noun phrases are typically linked to the discourse (D-linked).

II. Indefinite noun phrases

The indefinite articles lack the implication usually found with the definite article that the entities in set A are part of domain D, and hence known to both the speaker and the user. On the contrary, indefinite noun phrases are often used to introduce a new entity into domain D.

(993) ● Indefinite noun phrases

- a. Egy férfi áll az ajtóban.
a man stand.3Sg the door.Ine
 ‘There is a man (standing) by the door.’
- b. Visszatettem egy könyvet az asztalodra.
put_back.Past.1Sg a book.Acc the table.Poss.2Sg.Sub
 ‘I put a book back on your table.’

The example in (993a) introduces a new entity into domain D, which is therefore not known to the addressee by definition. However, indefinite noun phrases can also be used when the referent could in principle be uniquely identified by the listener, but the speaker does not want to be too specific, for instance, because that would not be relevant in the given context (993b).

The discussion above amounts to saying that, unlike in the case of definite noun phrases, the use of an indefinite noun phrase does not imply that set A in Figure 3 only contains entities that are part of domain D. It rather contains all entities that satisfy the description of the NP, and the referent of the noun phrase therefore need not be identifiable for the speaker and the hearer. In this sense indefinite noun phrases are typically non-D-linked.

III. Special cases

Subsections I and II have shown that the use of a definite noun phrase indicates that the referent in question is part of domain D, whereas indefinite noun phrases may introduce new referents into domain D. There are, however, certain special restrictions on the use of indefinite noun phrases, which is due to the fact that entities can sometimes also be introduced into domain D by using a definite noun

phrase. Without claiming to be exhaustive, we will briefly discuss below some typical situations in which this is possible.

A. *Common knowledge*

Picture the following situation. John is walking in the street, and he meets someone he has never seen before. Given that domain D is largely determined by agreement among the participants in the discourse, one would assume that the conversation between John and the other person starts with a *tabula rasa*. However, the fact that John could not utter example (994a) without sounding silly shows that certain entities cannot be introduced into discourse by means of an indefinite noun phrase: (994a) suggests that there is more than one sun that could be relevant in this context, and this conflicts with the knowledge that we normally ascribe to people. Therefore the use of a definite noun phrase is preferred (994b). This shows that the use of definite noun phrases does not entirely depend on domain D, but may also reflect intuitions of the speaker about the extra-linguistic knowledge one can ascribe to all individuals (in his society). Or, to put it differently, some entities like the sun, moon, etc. can be evoked in any conversation without being explicitly part of domain D; simply mentioning the sun is sufficient for any speaker to identify the entity the noun phrase is referring to.

(994) ● Common knowledge

- a. #Felkelt egy nap.
 rise.Past.3Sg a sun
 'A sun has risen.'
- b. Felkelt a nap.
 rise.Past.3Sg the sun
 'The sun has risen.'

B. *Semantically implied or inferable entities*

Anyone hearing the sentence in (995a) will conclude that the noun phrase *a ruhák* 'the clothes' refers to the clothes of the baby. This is due to the fact that the verb *öltöztet* 'to dress' can be paraphrased as "putting clothes on someone". The fact that the clothes of the baby are semantically implied by the description of the event in the first conjunct apparently makes it unnecessary to introduce the clothes of the baby by means of an indefinite noun phrase. The same holds for (995b), since *elad* 'to sell' means: "to exchange something for money".

(995) ● Semantically implied entities

- a. Fel akartam öltöztetni a kisbabát, de a ruhák még nedvesek voltak.
 up want.Past.1Sg dress.Inf the baby.Acc but the clothes still wet.Pl be.Past.3Pl
 'I wanted to dress the baby, but the clothes were still wet.'
- b. Eladtam a házamat, majd a pénzből vettem egy autót.
 sell.Past.1Sg the house.Poss.1Sg.Acc then the money.Ela buy.Past.1Sg a car.Acc
 'I sold my house, and then I bought a car from the money.'

C. Inferable entities

Appealing to the meaning of the verb *öltöztet* ‘to dress’ does not account for the fact that the noun phrase *a ruhák* ‘the clothes’ in (995a) can be replaced by the noun phrase *a pelenka* ‘the diapers’, as in (996a). After all, the verb *öltöztet* ‘to dress’ cannot be paraphrased as “putting diapers on someone”.

(996) ● Inferable entities

- a. Fel akartam öltöztetni a kisbabát, de a pelenka még nedves volt.
 up want.Past.1Sg dress.Inf the baby.Acc but the diaper still wet be.Past.3Sg
 ‘I wanted to dress the baby, but the diapers were still wet.’
- b. Vettem egy házat vidéken. A kerttel sok munka lesz.
 buy.Past.1Sg a house.Acc countryside.Sup the garden.Ins much work will_be.3Sg
 ‘I bought a house in the countryside. There will be a lot of work to be done with the garden.’

The fact that the definite article is acceptable in the second conjunct shows that language users have richly structured schemata of certain events at their disposal. A language user knows that babies generally wear diapers and, as a result, the event of dressing a baby typically evokes the idea of diapers, which therefore need not be introduced by an indefinite noun phrase. These structured schemata are available not only for events but also for entities. For instance, the mere mention of a house is sufficient to evoke a picture of a building with a garden, a front door, a chimney, etc., and, as is shown in (996b) these entities can be immediately referred to by means of a definite noun phrase. The acceptability of examples like (996) is, of course, due to the fact that parts of the speaker’s and listener’s conceptions of reality are culturally determined, and, therefore, they sufficiently overlap to evoke the desired inferences in these examples.

D. Invited inferences

Occasionally, however, inferences are not socially determined. The use of a definite noun phrase must then be seen as an invitation to the listener to establish some relation between the referent of the definite noun phrase and some known entity in domain D. Consider an example like (997a). Although it is not typically assumed that houses have dogs, the listener is invited to connect the referent of the noun phrase *a kutya* ‘the dog’ to the earlier mentioned house (or, alternatively, to Péter). The most plausible interpretation is that the dog lives in the house (or that Péter has a dog with him). Replacing the definite noun phrase *a kutya* ‘the dog’ by an indefinite one, as in (997b), would not force the listener to adopt such an interpretation; in that case, the referent of *egy kutya* ‘a dog’ may equally well be totally unrelated to the referents in domain D.

(997) ● Invited inferences

- a. Péter elsétált a ház mellett. A kutya ugatott.
 Péter walk.Past.3Sg the house along the dog bark.Past.3Sg
 ‘Péter walked beside the house. The dog barked.’
- b. Péter elsétált a ház mellett. Egy kutya ugatott.
 Péter walk.Past.3Sg the house along a dog bark.Past.3Sg
 ‘Péter walked beside the house. A dog barked.’

E. Conclusion

This brief discussion of the use of definite and indefinite noun phrases shows that a simple description in syntactic and/or semantic terms is not possible. It is not the case that entities are always introduced in domain D by employing indefinite noun phrases. They can also be evoked by the lexical meaning of words or be made available by common knowledge, including generally available structured schemata of events and entities. The most we can say is that the use of a definite noun phrase indicates that the speaker assumes that the listener is able to assign the intended referent a proper place in domain D by connecting it to some referent that is part of it. A full description of the distribution of indefinite and definite noun phrases must therefore appeal to notions from linguistics, semantics, pragmatics and cognition.

2.5.1.1.3. Specificity and non-specificity

The previous subsection has shown that indefinite noun phrases are typically used to introduce a new entity into domain D or to allow the speaker to be less specific than he could be. What we did not discuss is that an indefinite noun phrase like *egy gyerek* ‘a child’ can have at least two readings: either it has a specific reading, in which case it refers to a certain identifiable child, or it has a non-specific reading in which case it may refer to just any child (998a). As defined by Enç (1991), a noun phrase is specific if its referent is a subset of the referents which have been already introduced into the domain of the discourse. In sentence (998b) the noun phrase *egy gyerek* ‘a child’ is specific because its referent is a subset of a formerly introduced set (the class as a set), but the noun phrase *egy pénztárca* ‘a wallet’ is non-specific, since there is no known set of wallets, of which this wallet could be a subset (Burányi and Viszket 2004). In (998c) *egy ceruza* ‘a pencil’ can be interpreted both ways. When the noun phrase is specific, it refers to a certain pencil which the speaker is looking for (talking from under the bed, for instance, where the pencil rolled in) – this is called the *de re* reading in the semantics literature. When the noun phrase is non-specific, on the other hand, the speaker is looking for any pencil to write with and may not even find one – this is called the *de dicto* reading (Maleczki 2008). It can be observed, though, that in Hungarian, non-specific usage tends to “converge” towards bare forms (998c’), while specific reference is often expressed via definite noun phrases (998c’).

(998) ● Specific versus non-specific readings

- a. Egy gyerek kiszaladt az úttestre.
a child run_out.Past.3Sg the street.Sub
'A child ran out into the street.'
- b. Tegnap az osztály kirándulni volt.
yesterday the class take_a_trip.Inf be.Past.3Sg
Egy gyerek talált egy pénztárcát.
a child find.Past.3Sg a wallet.Acc
'Yesterday the class took a trip. A child found a wallet.'
- c. Keresek egy ceruzát.
look_for.1Sg a pencil.Acc
'I am looking for a pencil.'

- c'. A: Mit csinálsz? B: Ceruzát keresek. [non-specific > bare]
 what do.2Sg pencil.Acc look_for.1Sg
 A: 'What are you doing?' B: 'I am looking for a pencil.'
- c''. A: Mit keresel? B: A ceruzámat. [specific > definite]
 what look_for.2Sg the pencil.Poss.1Sg.Acc
 A: 'What are you looking for?' B: 'My pencil.'
- d. Mindig áll egy autó a ház előtt.
 always stand.3Sg a car the house in_front_of
 'There is always a car in front of the house.'

The two readings of indefinite noun phrases can be easily distinguished in sentences containing universal quantification. Consider example (998d), which involves the universally quantified time adverb *mindig* 'always'. When we are dealing with a nonspecific indefinite noun phrase, the sentence expresses the fact that there is a car or another in front of the house. When the noun phrase is specific, on the other hand, it is always the same car that parks there (adding an adverb like *ott* 'there' in front of the verb facilitates this latter reading).

To conclude this subsection, note that, although definite noun phrases normally refer to a specific entity in domain D, they occasionally allow two readings comparable to the specific and nonspecific readings of indefinite noun phrases (999). This is especially the case with noun phrases like *az USA elnöke* 'the president of the USA' in example (999b), the reference of which changes over time: this definite noun phrase may simply refer to a certain person who happens to be the president of the USA at the time of utterance (the specific, *de re* reading), but example (999b) is also felicitous in case elections are being held at the time of utterance, so that it is not clear who will be the president of the USA next year (the non-specific *de dicto* reading).

(999) ● Definite noun phrases with possible non-specific interpretation

- a. Lekéstem a buszt.
 miss.Past.DefObj.1Sg the bus.Acc
 'I missed the bus.'
- b. Az USA elnöke jövőre Magyarországra látogat.
 the USA president.Poss.3Sg future.Sub Hungary.Sub visit.3Sg
 'The president of the USA will visit Hungary next year.'

For more information on definiteness and other degrees of referentiality (and their effect on the possible syntactic positions of noun phrases), see (1.1.1.3.4).

2.5.1.1.4. Distributivity

The examples in (1000) show that plural definite noun phrases like *a fiúk* 'the boys' or *a gyerekek* 'the children' can have either a collective or a distributive reading. The most prominent reading of (1000a) is the collective reading, according to which the boys have built a sandcastle together; the noun phrase *a fiúk* 'the boys' is construed as referring to the boys as a group and we are dealing with a single event of building a sandcastle. The most plausible reading of (1000b), on the other hand, is the distributive one according to which each individual child ate an apple; the

noun phrase is construed as a set of individuals and it is predicated of each of these individuals that he or she ate an apple, that is, we are dealing with multiple events of eating an apple.

(1000) • Collective and distributive readings

- a. A fiúk építettek egy óriási homokvárat. [collective]
 the boy.Pl build.Past.3Pl a huge sandcastle.Acc
 ‘The boys have built a huge sandcastle.’
- a’. A fiúk mind építettek egy óriási homokvárat. [distributive]
 the boy.Pl all build.Past.3Pl a huge sandcastle.Acc
 ‘The boys have all built a huge sandcastle.’
- b. A gyerekek ettek egy almát. [distributive]
 the child.Pl eat.Past.3Pl an apple.Acc
 ‘The children ate an apple.’
- b’. A gyerekek együtt ettek egy almát. [collective]
 the child.Pl together eat.Past.3Pl an apple.Acc
 ‘The children ate an apple together.’
- c. Minden fiú (*együtt) felvitte a zongorát az emeletre.
 every boy together up-take.Past.3Sg the piano.Acc the floor.Sub
 ‘Every boy took the piano upstairs.’

In actual fact, the two examples in (1000a,b) are ambiguous; the suggested readings are simply the ones that seem most prominent or plausible, given the context, but the other readings can easily be coerced by adding an element like *mind* ‘all’ or *együtt* ‘together’ (1000a’,b’). Universally quantified noun phrases like *minden fiú* ‘every boy’ do not easily allow a collective reading, which is clear from the fact that an example like (1000c) must be interpreted distributively, no matter how unlikely this situation is in the real world.

2.5.1.1.5. *Genericity*

The subsections above have shown that noun phrases are generally used to refer to certain entities in domain D. In this subsection, we will discuss GENERIC uses of noun phrases. In examples like (1001), the property denoted by the verb phrase is not predicated of any entity in domain D; the examples express a generalization that is assumed to be true in the speaker’s conception of reality. In other words, by uttering one of the generic examples in (1001), the speaker claims, roughly, that, regardless of the actual choice of domain D, all zebras are striped.

(1001) • Possible generic expressions

- a. A zebra csíkos.
 the zebra striped
 ‘The zebra is striped.’
- b. A zebrák csíkosak.
 the zebra.Pl striped.Pl
 ‘Zebras are striped.’

- c. Egy zebra csíkos.
 a zebra striped
 'A zebra is striped.'

Genericity involves two quite distinct phenomena (Carlson and Pelletier 1995). The first is *reference to a kind*, where the noun phrase denotes a kind, instead of a particular entity or group of entities. In this case, generic interpretation comes from a *generic noun phrase*. The second phenomenon lies in propositions which do not express specific incidents, but instead report a general property, a regularity summarizing groups of particular episodes or facts. This notion of genericity is a feature of the whole *characterizing sentence*, not only the noun phrase (they can also be called *generic generalizations*, or simply *generic sentences*).

Generic sentences have certain distinctive properties. For instance, the examples in (1001) are given in the present tense, because this seems to favor the generic interpretation. This holds especially for (1001a,c): replacing the present tense in these examples by a past tense results in constructions that are preferably construed as contentions about a certain individual zebra/set of zebras, and that can only marginally be interpreted as general statements on states of affairs valid for some time interval in the past. This subsection, however, will mainly focus on the properties of the (generic) noun phrase, though some of the properties of the generic clause as a whole will also be discussed as we go along, since the two phenomena are often hard to separate. (For more details on generic sentences, see, e.g., Carlson and Pelletier (1995).)

The examples in (1001) have shown that nouns can occur in three types of generic constructions: when the noun is singular, the article can be either definite or indefinite, and when it is plural the definite article is used (unlike in English or Dutch, for instance, which use bare plural forms). Subsection 2.5.1.1.5.1 starts with the discussion of definite (singular and plural) generic noun phrases. This is followed in subsection 2.5.1.1.5.2 by examining general uses of indefinite (singular) noun phrases. Before discussing the details, it is important to note that generic constructions show great variation in grammaticality judgments. The possibility of evoking a generic interpretation is highly speaker dependent in many cases.

2.5.1.1.5.1. Generic constructions with definite noun phrases

Generic noun phrases can occur in two types of sentences: statements about kinds – direct kind reference – and generic generalizations – over individual members of a class (Farkas and de Swart 2009). First, let us examine kind-referring, as in (1002).

(1002) • Definite noun phrases referring to kinds

- a. A burgonya Dél-Amerikából származik.
 the potato South-America.Ela originate.3Sg
 'The potato comes from South America.'
- b. Az egyiptomiak szent állatként tisztelték a macskát.
 the Egyptians holy animal.FoE respect.Past.DefObj.3Pl the cat.Acc
 'The Egyptians worshiped the cat.'

- b'. Az egyiptomiak szent állatként tisztelték a macskákat.
 the Egyptians holy animal.FoE respect.Past.DefObj.3Pl the cat.Pl.Acc
 'The Egyptians worshiped cats.'
- c. A hóvirág védett (növény).
 the snowdrop protected (plant)
 'The snowdrop is (a) protected (plant).'
- d. A dodó kihalt.
 the dodo die_out.Past.3Sg
 'The dodo is extinct.'
- d'. A dodók kihaltak.
 the dodo.Pl die_out.Past.3Pl
 'Dodos are extinct.'
- d'*. *Egy dodó kihalt.
 a dodo die_out.Past.3Sg

Examples (1002a,b) illustrate the fact that, though generic noun phrases prefer to function as the logical subject of the sentence, they can fulfill different syntactic roles. In (1002c,d), the predicate is kind-level, as only kinds and not individual entities can be extinct, for instance. This means that their subject argument positions can only be filled with kind-referring noun phrases (Carlson and Pelletier 1995). Since indefinite singular noun phrases form ungrammatical sentences with these predicates (1002d''), we can conclude that, in Hungarian, only definite noun phrases can have direct kind reference; either in the singular (1002d), or in the plural (1002d'), possibly both. Note in passing that (1002d) is ungrammatical for some speakers unless the word *állatfaj* 'species' is added to the end of the sentence. However, there is a slight difference in their interpretation: the singular noun phrase refers to the class as an entity or unit, while the plural form refers to the class as the aggregate of its individual members (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007: 177).

In what follows, we discuss first the singular case (subsection I), next the plural case (subsection II), and finally, in subsection III, we examine the choice between them.

I. Singular definite noun phrases

Generic interpretations of singular definite noun phrases are not encoded in some part of the noun phrase itself, but depend on the semantic content of the construction in which they occur. An example such as (1003a) does not trigger a generic interpretation, since it is highly improbable that a stage-level property, like being in a cage, is a property of the set of entities denoted by a noun like *zebra* 'zebra'. Therefore, this sentence must be interpreted as a proposition involving a specific entity in domain D. Example (1003a'), which involves the individual-level predicate of "being striped", on the other hand, can be seen as a general statement about this set of entities. The noun phrase *a zebra* 'the zebra' can therefore be given both a generic and a referential interpretation. The same holds for (1003b-b') for some speakers or in appropriate contexts. The question mark at the beginning of the expression indicates the uncertainty of a generic interpretation. This will be used throughout the whole subsection. Nevertheless, it is not entirely impossible to

combine a singular definite noun phrase with a stage-level predicate and get a generic interpretation (1003c).

- (1003) • Singular definite noun phrases with stage/individual-level predicates
- a. A zebra ketrecben ül. [specific]
 the zebra cage.Ine sit.3Sg
 ‘The zebra sits in a cage.’
 - a’. A zebra csíkos. [generic]
 the zebra striped
 ‘The zebra is striped.’
 - b. A nő sétál az utcán. [specific]
 the woman walk.3Sg the street.Sup
 ‘The woman is walking in the street.’
 - b’. ?A nő kiszámíthatatlan. [generic]
 the woman unpredictable
 ‘The woman is unpredictable.’
 - c. A macska dorombol, ha éhes. [generic]
 the cat purr.3Sg if hungry
 ‘The cat purrs when it is hungry.’

The discussion above does not imply that the generic interpretation of definite noun phrases is completely determined by context. This becomes clear when we consider some more examples. The primeless examples in (1004) strongly favor a regular referential meaning. That is, they are preferably construed as a contention about a certain entity in domain D. On the other hand, the primed examples in (1004) favor a generic interpretation, allowing their noun phrases to be kind-referring. The symbol “#” indicates the impossibility of a generic reading, and again, this will be used throughout the whole subsection.

- (1004) • Singular definite noun phrases with specific and with generic interpretation
- a. #A serpenyő nehéz.
 the frying_pan heavy
 ‘The frying pan is heavy.’
 - a’. A teflonserpenyő egészségtelen.
 the teflon_frying_pan unhealthy
 ‘Teflon frying pans are unhealthy’
 - b. #A matektanár fejben számol.
 the math_teacher head.Ine calculate.3Sg
 ‘The math teacher calculates in his head.’
 - b’. A jó matektanár fejben számol.
 the good math_teacher head.Ine calculate.3Sg
 ‘The good math teacher calculates in his head.’
 - c. #A könyv drága.
 the book expensive
 ‘The book is expensive.’

- c'. A keményfedeles könyv manapság szinte megfizethetetlen.
 the hardcover book nowadays almost unaffordable
 'The hardcover book is almost unaffordable nowadays.'
- c''. A könyv jó ajándék.
 the book good gift
 'The book is a good gift.'
- d. #A gyerek szereti a csokit.
 the child love.3Sg the chocolate.Acc
 'The child loves chocolate.'
- d'. A kutya szereti a csontot.
 the dog love.3Sg the bone.Acc
 'The dog loves bones.'
- d''. A gyerek nem hülye.
 the child not stupid
 'The child is not stupid.'

The reason for the impossibility of the intended generic readings of the primeless examples is not entirely clear. It seems that it depends mainly on our concept of "kind". Let us examine this notion in more detail. Chierchia (1998: 348) describes kinds as "regularities that occur in nature. They are similar to individuals [...], but their spatiotemporal manifestations are typically 'discontinuous'. To any natural property, like the property of being a dog, there corresponds a kind, viz. the dog-kind. By 'natural' kinds, we do not necessarily mean [...] just biological ones [...]. Artifacts (like chairs or cars) or complex things (like intelligent students or spots of ink) can qualify as kinds, to the extent that we can impute to them a sufficiently regular behavior [...]. What counts as kind is not set by grammar, but by the shared knowledge of a community of speakers. It thus varies, to a certain degree, with the context, and remains somewhat vague".

Based on this description, it is completely natural that grammaticality judgments show so much variation. It seems that, when a kind is "well-established" enough for an individual, it can be referred to by singular definite noun phrases with a generic interpretation. In (1004b-b'), for instance, *matektanár* 'math teacher' as a kind is somewhat more vague than *jó matektanár* 'good math teacher'; math teachers (apparently) do not show sufficiently regular behavior. This can explain the observation that usually [+HUMAN] singular definite noun phrases are much less acceptable in generic constructions: the individuals who constitute the given kind are simply too diverse. A noun phrase like *a gyerek* 'the child' can hardly ever appear in a generic sentence (1004d) – as opposed to *a kutya* 'the dog', for instance (1004d'). Yet, the examination of the doubly-primed examples indicates that the predicate choice can also influence genericity: choosing a more general property of the kind in question can enhance the acceptability of a generic interpretation.

As regards its interpretation, a singular definite generic noun phrase denotes one particular atomic kind level entity (e.g. "dog"), namely the highest node in the taxonomic tree identified by its descriptive content, with possible subnodes like "Spaniel", for instance. The discourse referent introduced by the noun phrase is a well-established kind, which qualifies as a unique, familiar entity; exactly as in

ordinary episodic contexts, the definite article indicates that there is only one kind-level entity the noun phrase can refer to (Farkas and de Swart 2009).

From the discussion above, we may perhaps conclude that the ambiguity between the regular referential reading and the generic reading of a singular definite noun phrase is related to the question of whether the language user is able to interpret the noun phrase as referring to a “well-established” kind or not. This is something in which many non-linguistic aspects may play a role.

II. Plural definite noun phrases

In Hungarian, plural definite noun phrases seem to be the most productive, in the sense that they can be used to express almost any generic statement. On the one hand, they can refer to kinds, just like their singular counterparts (illustrated by the sentence in (1002d') above and repeated as (1005a) below); however, they can also express generic generalizations, both with individual-level predicates (1005b) and with stage-level ones (1005c). On the other hand, plural definite noun phrases can have a generic interpretation even in contexts in which singular ones cannot (1005b-c) (cf. (1006e)), or only marginally can (1005d) (cf. (1003b')).

(1005) ● Plural definite noun phrases

- a. A *dodók* *kihaltak*.
the dodo.PI die_out.Past.3Pl
'Dodos are extinct.'
- b. A *boszorkányok* *gonoszak*.
the witch.Pl evil.Pl
'Witches are evil.'
- c. A *kutyák* *örülnek*, amikor a *gazdi* *hazaér*.
the dog.Pl be_glad.3Pl when the owner get_home.3Sg
'Dogs are happy when their owners get home.'
- d. A *nők* *kiszámíthatatlanok*.
the woman.Pl unpredictable.Pl
'Women are unpredictable.'

As for their interpretation, plural kinds involve the sum of their instantiations across different worlds and situations. A plural definite generic noun phrase refers to a derived kind which contains the sum of all individual entities associated with the descriptive content of the noun phrase. With generic generalizations involving plural definites, we quantify over typical situations about typical witches, dogs or women, for instance. In both cases, Hungarian reflects the determined reference of the discourse referent in the use of the definite article, as opposed to English and Dutch, which use bare plural forms (Farkas and de Swart 2009).

III. Singular versus plural

After the above introduction to definite generic constructions, let us examine the choice between singular and plural definite noun phrases in generic contexts.

Through the examination of previous examples (1002-1005), we have found that the plural form almost always allows a generic reading, while the use of a singular noun phrase is much more limited. Introducing the notion of “well-

established kind” seems to give us a plausible explanation for this phenomenon, even for the fact that personal judgments may differ considerably, since this concept is quite vague. Furthermore, in some cases, the choice between the two types of definite generic noun phrases can also be explained by the difference in their exact meaning: whether the speaker has a single (unique) kind-level entity in mind, or rather a group of entities instantiating the kind. Finally, the third aspect we have mentioned is the type of the predicate these noun phrases are combined with: if the predicate is kind-level, both forms are grammatical (in most cases); using individual-level predicates favors the plural form (but usually allows the singular as well – assuming that the kind is “well-established”); and with stage-level predicates, singular definite noun phrases are much harder to have a generic interpretation than plural ones.

Now let us consider the sentences in (1006) (most of them have already been mentioned), which demonstrate that plural definites cannot be used in every context.

(1006) • Singular versus plural definite noun phrases (as subjects)

- a. A burgonya Dél-Amerikából származik.
the potato South-America.Ela originate.3Sg
'The potato comes from South America.'
- a'. *A burgonyák Dél-Amerikából származnak.
the potato.Pl South-America.Ela originate.3Pl
- b. A hóvirág védett (növény).
the snowdrop protected (plant)
'The snowdrop is (a) protected (plant).'
- b'. ??A hóvirágok védettek.
the snowdrop.Pl protected.Pl
'Snowdrops are protected.'
- c. A denevér emlős (állat).
the bat mammal (animal)
'The bat is a mammal.'
- c'. ?A denevérek emlősök.
the bat.Pl mammal.Pl
'Bats are mammals.'
- d. ?A nő kiszámíthatatlan.
the woman unpredictable
'The woman is unpredictable.'
- d'. A nők kiszámíthatatlanok.
the woman.Pl unpredictable.Pl
'Women are unpredictable.'
- e. #A boszorkány gonosz.
the witch evil
'The witch is evil.'
- e'. A boszorkányok gonoszak.
the witch.Pl evil.Pl
'Witches are evil.'

The examination of the above examples indicates that *exceptionality* plays an important role in the choice between singular and plural definite noun phrases. We can observe that, as generic statements become more and more exceptional (from 1006a to 1006e), the genericity of the singular definite (primeless) examples decreases, while the genericity of their plural counterparts (primed examples) improves.

Let us briefly discuss the degrees of exceptionality in connection with these examples. In (1006a), the “concept” of potato (the “abstract potato”) seems to be of importance; there is no entity in mind, which could also mean that *burgonya* ‘potato’ functions as a substance noun in this context. In (1006b), a kind-level predicate is combined with a noun phrase denoting a plant (not human, not even animal), which strongly favors the class-as-a-unit interpretation. In (1006c), *emlős* ‘mammal’ is a property which “defines” the kind in question, thus there are no exceptions, either. In (1006d), an individual-level predicate (*kiszámíthatatlan* ‘unpredictable’) is combined with a noun phrase referring to a kind (“woman”) which does not qualify as “well-established”, meaning that their individual members do not show sufficiently regular behavior; consequently, the plural form is used. Finally, in (1006e), a generalization is formulated about witches being evil, which is far from exceptionless.

This notion of exceptionality is undoubtedly related to the distinction between the two types of genericity: direct kind reference and generic generalizations; since – unlike statements about kinds – generalizations are normally not valid for every single instance, only for typical members of the class (1006d-e). Adding the word “usually” to a generic generalization does not significantly change its meaning (Carlson and Pelletier 1995), indicating that they allow exceptions. This observation is further supported by the fact that in those clear cases when plural definites denote kinds, for instance, with kind-level predicates like *kihalt* ‘extinct’, they are as exceptionless as singulars. The difference lies in their interpretation.

So far, we have not mentioned the generic uses of non-count nouns. Since they cannot co-occur with the indefinite article in the prototypical use, and cannot be pluralized (see 1.2.2), they normally appear in the singular definite form in generic contexts. Let us consider a few simple examples in (1007).

(1007) ● Non-count nouns in generic contexts

- a. A bor egészséges.
the wine healthy
‘Wine is healthy.’
- a’. Drágulnak a borok.
prices_go_up.3Pl the wine.Pl
‘Wine prices go up.’
- b. A szabadságért harcolni kell.
the liberty.Cau fight.Inf must
‘One must fight for liberty.’
- b’. A szabadságokért harcolni kell.
the time_off.Pl.Cau fight.Inf must
‘One must fight to take time off.’

The first example involves the substance noun *bor* ‘wine’. Typically, it appears in the singular form (1007a); however, it is possible to appear in the plural (1007a’), in which case it denotes different types of wines. The second example involves the abstract noun *szabadság* ‘liberty’ (1007b). When the noun appears in the plural form (1007b’), it evokes a second meaning ‘time off work’, which is a countable noun in Hungarian (its referent can be individualized, see examples (1286) in subsection 2.6.2.2.1). Without this other meaning, the sentence would be ungrammatical.

Above, we have mainly discussed examples in which the generic noun phrase acts as the subject of a clause. In the remaining part of this subsection, we investigate other syntactic functions, mainly the object. First, let us consider the sentences in (1008), where the generic noun phrase denotes a [+ANIMATE] entity.

(1008) • Singular versus plural definite noun phrases as objects; [+ANIMATE]

- a. (Nem) szeretem a(z) (jó) embereket / (óvodás) gyerekeket /
not like.DefObj.1Sg the good man.Pl.Acc / preschool child.Pl.Acc /
(szőke)nőket / (bibircsókós) boszorkányokat / (jó) matektanárokat.
blond woman.Pl.Acc / warty witch.Pl.Acc / good math_teacher.Pl.Acc
‘I (do not) like (good) people / (preschool) children / (blond) women / (warty) witches / (good) math teachers.’
- a’. #Nem szeretem a(z) (jó) embert / (óvodás) gyereket /
not like.DefObj.1Sg the good man.Acc / preschool child.Acc /
(szőke)nőt / (bibircsókós) boszorkányt / (jó) matektanárt.
blond woman.Acc / warty witch.Acc / good math_teacher.Acc
- a’’. (Nem) szeretem a(z) ^{??}őszinte embert / [?]hazug embert.
not like.DefObj.1Sg the honest man.Acc / dishonest man.Acc
‘I (do not) like the honest man / the dishonest man.’
- b. (Nem) szeretem a(z) állatokat / (harapós) kutyákat / tacszkókat.
not like.DefObj.1Sg the animal.Pl.Acc / biting dog.Pl.Acc / Dachshund.Pl.Acc
‘I (do not) like animals / (biting) dogs / Dachshunds.’
- b’. (Nem) szeretem a(z) #állatot / (harapós) ^{??}kutyát / ^{??}tacszkót.
not like.DefObj.1Sg the animal.Acc / biting dog.Acc / Dachshund.Acc
‘I (do not) like animals / (biting) dogs / Dachshunds.’
- c. Félek a [?]kutyától / az orvostól / az orvosoktól.
be_scared.1Sg the dog.Abl / the doctor.Abl / the doctor.Pl.Abl
‘I am scared of the dog / the doctor / doctors.’

In (1008a-a’), the noun phrases all refer to [+HUMAN] entities. It can be seen that they can only appear in the plural form (under a generic reading), regardless of how we specify their denotation. The notion of a well-established kind does not seem to have relevance, either: noun phrases which can have a generic interpretation as subjects, cannot have such an interpretation as objects – they may be slightly better, but still unacceptable generically. The explanation for this phenomenon probably lies in the fact that statements about human beings are more likely to be generic generalizations than kind-referring sentences, since human kinds show so much variation. However, there exists a very few marginal examples in which the singular form can have a generic reading (1008a’’). The contexts these sentences

productively appear in are very much alike where *őszinte/hazug ember* ‘honest/dishonest man’ is actually a “kind” in the speaker’s mind that she longs for.

In (1008b-b’), the noun phrases refer to different kinds of animals. The examples indicate that, similar to human objects, a generic reading is available only when the plural form is used. Although, for some speakers, the singular form may be acceptable in certain contexts (singular definites seem slightly better with animals than with humans). As for a possible explanation: in the speaker’s mind, animals are probably individualized to approximately the same extent as humans are.

Example (1008c) indicates that there are exceptions to the above mentioned regularity. For instance, *a kutya* ‘the dog’ can obtain a generic interpretation as the oblique case-marked argument of the predicate *fél* ‘be scared’, at least for some speakers. Finally, when the same predicate is used with the noun *orvos* ‘doctor’, we find that a generic reading is available both in the singular and in the plural. Their interpretations, however, are different: when the singular definite noun phrase is used, the sentence means that I am afraid to go to the doctors in general; while in the plural case, it means that I am scared of doctors as individuals.

Next, let us consider the sentences in (1009) where the generic noun phrase denotes a [–ANIMATE] entity. The symbol “\$” is used to indicate a somewhat special meaning, namely that the noun phrase denotes different types.

(1009) • Singular versus plural definite noun phrases as objects; [–ANIMATE]

- a. (Nem) szeretem a(z) növényeket / fűzfákat / tölgyfákat
 not like.DefObj.1Sg the plant.Pl.Acc / willow.Pl.Acc / oak_tree.Pl.Acc
 \$zöldségeket / \$tulipánokat / \$almákat / #hóvirágokat / #banánokat.
 vegetable.Pl.Acc / tulip.Pl.Acc / apple.Pl.Acc / snowdrop.Pl.Acc / banana.Pl.Acc
 ‘I (do not) like plants / willows / oak trees / vegetables / tulips / apples / snowdrops / bananas.’
- a’. (Nem) szeretem a(z) #növényt / fűzfát / tölgyfát /
 not like.DefObj.1Sg the plant.Acc / willow.Acc / oak_tree.Acc /
 zöldséget / tulipánt / almát / hóvirágot / banánt.
 vegetable.Acc / tulip.Acc / apple.Acc / snowdrop.Acc / banana.Acc
 ‘I (do not) like the plant / willow / oak tree / vegetable / tulip / apple / snowdrop / banana.’
- b. (Nem) szeretem a(z) járműveket / buszokat / hangszereket /
 not like.DefObj.1Sg the vehicle.Pl.Acc / bus.Pl.Acc / musical_instrument.Pl.Acc /
 gitárokat / \$csokikat / (unalmas) meséket / (keményfedeles) könyveket.
 guitar.Pl.Acc / chocolate.Pl.Acc / boring tale.Pl.Acc / hardcover book.Pl.Acc
 ‘I (do not) like vehicles / buses / musical instruments / guitars / chocolates / (boring) tales /
 (hardcover) books.’
- b’. (Nem) szeretem a(z) #járművet / buszt / #hangszert /
 not like.DefObj.1Sg the vehicle.Acc / bus.Acc / musical_instrument.Acc /
 gitárt / csokit / (??unalmas) mesét / (keményfedeles) ?könyvet.
 guitar.Acc / chocolate.Acc / boring tale.Acc / hardcover book.Acc
 ‘I (do not) like the vehicle / bus / musical instrument / guitar / chocolate / (boring) tale /
 (hardcover) book.’

- b.” Jobban szeretem a buszt, mint a vonatot. /
 better like.Def.Obj.1Sg the bus.Acc than the train.Acc /
 Jobban szeretem a buszokat, mint a vonatokat.
 better like.Def.Obj.1Sg the bus.Pl.Acc than the train.Pl.Acc
 ‘I prefer traveling by bus to traveling by train.’ / ‘I like buses better than trains.’

In (1009a-a’), the noun phrases refer to plants. As opposed to the previously discussed [+ANIMATE] objects, plural definites are not available generically in several cases, such as *hóvirág* ‘showdrop’ or *banán* ‘banana’. Furthermore, nouns like *zöldség* ‘vegetable’, *tulipán* ‘tulip’, or *alma* ‘apple’ receive a special interpretation in the plural: they refer to different types of vegetables/tulips/apples (1009a). The “normal” generic meaning of all the above mentioned nouns requires the singular form (1009a’). We can conclude from these examples that, in the case of plants, the kind-reading is the prominent one, as opposed to humans and animals, which are preferably referred to as individuals. Nouns like *zöldség* ‘vegetable’ or *alma* ‘apple’ receive a substance-noun-like interpretation: they normally appear in the singular, and when they are pluralized, they refer to types of vegetables/apples (cf. *bor/borok* ‘wine’ in (1007a-a’) above). This explains why *hóvirág* ‘showdrop’ and *banán* ‘banana’ cannot appear in the plural form generically: they have no commonly known subtypes. For trees, both constructions seem to be available (1009a-a’); in the case of *tölgyfa* ‘oak tree’, with two different interpretations for some speakers: “timber” in the singular, and “living plant” in the plural. Our final observation regarding plants is that general terms like *növény* ‘plant’ are such that they do not allow a generic reading when referred to by singular definite noun phrases (1009a’).

Finally, in (1009b-b’), inanimate objects are investigated. We can observe that most nouns can have a generic reading both in the singular and in the plural. Their interpretations, however, are quite different. In the singular case (1009b’), a kind of “abstract” meaning emerges, which is connected to the object’s primary function. For instance, if someone likes “the bus”, it means that she likes traveling by bus. In contrast, its plural counterpart (1009b) has a more “concrete” meaning, indicating that she likes buses as “things”: watching them, collecting models of them, and so on. Example (1009b”) helps to evoke the two meanings. Most inanimate nouns can show similar behavior (*gitár* ‘guitar’, *bunda* ‘fur coat’, *rádió* ‘radio’, etc.); moreover, a few animate objects can have the same two kinds of interpretation as well (cf. the example in (1008c) about doctors). However, not all inanimate objects behave the same way. For instance, *csoki* ‘chocolate’, though allowing both forms, rather has the above mentioned “different types”-meaning in the plural (cf. the discussion about *alma/almák* ‘apple(s)’ above). Another example is *könyv* ‘book’, which is quite odd in singular with a generic reading. Finally, as in the case of plants, we can observe that general terms like *jármű* ‘vehicle’ or *hangszer* ‘musical instrument’ cannot have a generic interpretation when referred to by singular definite noun phrases (1009b’).

We close this subsection by summarizing our observations regarding the choice between singular and plural definite noun phrases in the object function. The most important factor seems to be what the speaker has in mind: a unique kind whose members exhibit unified behavior (like plants or inanimate things); or rather typical

individuals of a kind, which can show great variation (like humans or animals). In the case of direct kind reference, usually the singular form is used, while for generic generalizations, the speaker chooses the plural version. Another decisive factor is whether the noun can have an interpretation similar to that of non-count (substance or abstract) nouns, in which case the plural form cannot be used, since non-count nouns normally cannot be pluralized, except when referring to different types, if that is possible. Finally, we can establish that the plural form is much more productive not only in the case of subjects, but in the case of objects as well. However, it is important to emphasize the fact that the choice between singular and plural definite noun phrases with a generic interpretation cannot be determined in every case. It can strongly depend on the context, on the speaker, on cultural knowledge and on several other factors.

2.5.1.1.5.2. Generic constructions with indefinite singular noun phrases

The example in (1001c) above (repeated as (1010a) below) has shown that indefinite singular noun phrases can also be used generically. Indefinite noun phrases differ from definite ones in that they cannot refer to kinds, which is clear from the fact that they cannot be combined with kind-level predicates (1010b-c). Consequently, they can only appear in generic generalizations (1010d), referring to typical members of a class. In a sense, indefinite generic noun phrases “quantify” over the individuals in the set denoted by the noun; they express a categorical statement of the type “all N ...”. This is indicated by the fact that these noun phrases can be modified by adverbials like *általában* ‘usually’, which may modify their “universal” interpretation (1010d).

(1010) ● Indefinite noun phrases: direct reference to kinds versus general generalizations

- a. Egy zebra csíkos.
a zebra striped
'A zebra is striped.'
- b. *Egy dodó kihalt.
a dodo die_out.Past.3Sg
- c. *Egy hóvirág védett.
a snowdrop protected
- d. Egy kutya (általában) veszélyes, amikor éhes.
a dog usually dangerous when hungry
'A dog is (usually) dangerous when it is hungry.'

It is important to note that the grammaticality judgments about indefinite generics are uncertain and greatly vary from speaker to speaker. In Hungarian, the generic use of an indefinite singular noun phrase is very limited. For many speakers, even examples (1010a) and (1010d) are quite marked: they may have a generic reading, but the preferred form is undoubtedly a definite one.

Moreover, in some contexts, indefinite noun phrases are impossible to interpret generically for the majority of speakers (1011). Note that even minor changes can improve the acceptability of these sentences in generic contexts, for instance adding an adverb like *túl* 'too' (1011b). A plausible explanation for this could be that

generic sentences with an indefinite singular noun phrase indicate that the typical members of the class are in some sense inherently endowed with or defined by the property denoted by the predicate; compared with generic sentences with plural definite noun phrases, which seem to ascribe a more incidental or transitory property to the class: musicals may be popular, or books may be expensive, today, but there is no guarantee that this will also be the case in the future. That something like this is indeed the case is clear from the fact that using an adverbial phrase like *manapság* 'nowadays' is possible in the primed examples of (1011) but not in the primeless ones; while adding the adverb *mindig* 'always', for instance, "enforces" the inherency of the property, and thus improving the acceptability of the generic reading.

- (1011) ● Impossible indefinite generics
- a. *Egy musical (manapság) népszerű.
a musical nowadays popular
 - a'. A musicalek (manapság) népszerűek.
the musical.Pl nowadays popular.Pl
'Musicals are (nowadays) popular.'
 - b. *Egy könyv (manapság) drága.
a book nowadays expensive
 - b'. A könyvek (manapság) drágák.
the book.Pl nowadays expensive.Pl
'Books are nowadays expensive.'

Generic generalizations can express not only "descriptive" but "normative" generalizations as well (1012). In Hungarian, this *normative-generic* reading seems to be the primary meaning of indefinite (singular) generic constructions. For some speakers, this is the only possible way in which an indefinite can appear in generic contexts.

- (1012) ● Normative-generic interpretation
- a. Egy (jó) matektanár fejben számol.
a good math_teacher head.Ine calculate.3Sg
'A good math teacher calculates in his head.'
 - b. ?Egy (rendes) kutya örül, amikor a gazdi hazaér.
a good dog be_glad.3Sg when the owner get_home.3Sg
'A (good) dog is happy when its owner gets home.'
 - c. Egy (igazi) férfi nem sír.
a real man not cry.3Sg
'A (real) man does not cry.'

Examples (1012a,c) are completely acceptable as normative-generic statements, while (1012b) is less acceptable, since there is no point in expecting a behavior like this from a dog: either it is happy or not, we cannot bring this about. This is the reason why these sentences normally allow only [+HUMAN] nouns under a generic interpretation. We can observe that when a sentence can have a normative-generic reading, it is often the case that a "normal" quasi-universal interpretation is not possible – the statement simply does not hold in our reality); in which case the

otherwise highly productive plural definite form cannot, or can only marginally, occur. For instance, the assertion in (1012c) is not true, yet the sentence is completely acceptable as a “prescriptive” generalization, but not as a descriptive one. Finally, let us examine the role of the adjectives in the above examples. On the one hand, they facilitate the normative-generic reading; on the other hand, they seem to make it possible to use the definite singular generic noun phrase instead of the indefinite (cf. 1004b’), unlike English, for instance, where, without the adjectives, only special contexts allow the singular definite, like lists or poetic utterances.

There are also differences concerning the syntactic environments in which indefinite noun phrases can occur under a generic interpretation. Above, we have only discussed examples in which the generic noun phrase functions as the subject of a clause. When we widen our discussion to other syntactic functions, it seems that indefinite noun phrases have a highly limited distribution. The primeless, indefinite singular examples in (1013a-c) must be construed specifically; the primed, plural definite examples, on the other hand, seem to readily allow a generic interpretation.

- (1013) ● Indefinite generics have limited distribution
- | | | |
|-----|---|------------|
| a. | Péter egy zebrát tanulmányoz. | [specific] |
| | Péter a zebra.Acc study.3Sg
'Péter studies a zebra.' | |
| a'. | Péter a zebrákat tanulmányozza. | [generic] |
| | Péter the zebra.Pl.Acc study.DefObj.3Sg
'Péter studies zebras.' | |
| b. | Péter egy zebra élőhelyét vizsgálja. | [specific] |
| | Péter a zebra habitat.Poss.3Sg.Acc examine.DefObj.3Sg
'Péter examines the habitat of a zebra.' | |
| b'. | Péter a zebrák élőhelyét vizsgálja. | [generic] |
| | Péter the zebra.Pl habitat.Poss.3Sg.Acc examine.DefObj.3Sg
'Péter examines the habitat of zebras.' | |
| c. | Szeretek egy kutyát. | [specific] |
| | love.1Sg a dog.Acc
'I love a dog.' | |
| c'. | Egy kutyát nagyon lehet szeretni. | [generic] |
| | a dog.Acc very.much be.Mod.3Sg love.Inf
'One can love a dog very much.' | |
| d. | Egy kutyának hiába mondod, hogy szépen egyen. | [generic] |
| | a dog.Dat in_vain tell.2Sg that nicely eat.Subj.3Sg
'It is in vain to tell a dog to eat nicely.' | |

Example (1013b) indicates, first, that generic noun phrases can be embedded in a larger noun phrase; and second, that the indefinite noun phrase in this case also has a more restricted distribution than its plural definite counterpart. It must be noted, however, that we cannot conclude from these examples that indefinite singular noun phrases can only occur as the subject of the clause when interpreted generically.

This is clear from the examples in (1013c',d). In these examples the indefinite noun phrases are not the subjects of the clauses, but still the sentences can be interpreted generically. From these examples we may conclude that an indefinite singular noun phrase can only occur in a generic environment when it is the logical SUBJECT of some predicate.

We close our discussion of genericity with a very brief summary of the main functions of the three possible generic constructions. We have established that, in Hungarian, singular definite generic noun phrases basically refer to (well-established) kinds. Plural definite generic noun phrases are the most productive: they can refer to kinds, but they can also appear in generic generalizations. Finally, indefinite (singular) noun phrases are basically used to express normative-generic statements.

2.5.1.2. *Noun phrases without an article*

Articleless (bare) nouns may fulfill numerous roles in sentences. In Hungarian, the three most common types of bare nouns are predicatively used nouns (see (1014a) and 1.1.3.3), case-marked bare nouns in adverbial functions (1014b) and case-marked bare nouns functioning as complements (1014c).

(1014) • Major types of articleless nouns: predicative element, adjunct, argument

- a. Péter jó tanuló.
Péter good student
'Péter is a good student.'
- b. Péter hétfőn örömmel segített a feladatban.
Péter Monday.Sup joy.Ins help.Past.3Sg the task.Ine
'Péter was glad to help with the task on Monday.'
- c. Péter levelet ír.
Péter letter.Acc write.3Sg
'Péter is writing a letter.'

2.5.1.2.1. *Cases excluded from the inquiry*

In this subsection, we discuss cases when the noun phrase lacks an article, but for reasons other than being a proper name, or a vocative. Proper names and vocatives are referential elements of the sentence, whereas being non-referential is the most salient shared property of bare nouns (see 1.2.2). Apart from proper names and vocatives, we also exclude certain other cases from the domain of inquiry: titles (for instance, titles of newspaper articles (1015a)), telegram or sms texts (1015b), and those sentences, mostly occurring in spoken language, that allow for the omission of the sentence initial article.

(1015) • Bare nouns not discussed: title, telegram, spoken language

- a. Katonák négy gyereket lőttek le Irakban.
soldier.Pl four child.Acc shoot.Past.3Pl down Iraq.Ine
'Soldiers shot four children dead in Iraq.'
- b. Autó tönkrement, kutya megszökött.
car break_down.Past.3Sg dog escape.Past.3Sg
'Car broke down, dog escaped.'

- c. Szobában nincs semmi.
 room.lne not_be.3Sg nothing
 ‘There’s nothing in the room.’

There also exists a special type of bare noun, which are not only specific, but receive an interpretation more typical of definite noun phrases, see (1016a-d).

(1016) ● Bare nouns with a definite interpretation

- a. Szegény fiú katona.
 poor boy soldier
 ‘Poor boy is a soldier.’
- b. Szegény fiúk katonák.
 poor boy.PL soldier.PL
 ‘Poor boys are soldiers.’
- c. Szegény lány féltékeny Marira.
 poor girl jealous Mari.Sub
 ‘Poor girl is jealous of Mari.’
- d. Szegény oroszlán ragadozó.
 poor lion predator
 ‘Poor lion is a predator.’

These sentences are only used in special circumstances, when we wish to give an explanation for some phenomenon: ‘Poor boy is a soldier; he does not manage to restrain himself occasionally’. ‘Poor lion is a predator; we can’t blame him for killing innocent lambs’. Such sentences always appear as parts of complex sentences, and their intonation also follows a pattern characteristic of subordinate clauses. Another characteristic feature of these examples is the interpretation of the bare NP: bare NPs are characterized in the literature as being non-specific. In these examples, however, the bare NP receives an interpretation that is specific, or even characteristic of definite noun phrases. This interpretation may only be bestowed upon the bare NP by a few attributive adjectives, all of them being the synonyms of *szegény* ‘poor’ with this interpretation: *szerencsétlen* ‘luckless’, *nyomorult* ‘wretched’. Other, similar synonyms are not capable of triggering the same interpretation: *ügyefogyott* ‘clumsy’, *béna* ‘lame’, *ügyetlen* ‘inapt’, *nyamvadt* ‘puny’, see Viszket (2004: 62–63). Another property related to referentiality has been noted about the same adjectives by Kenesei (1992): DPs containing them (i.e.: *a szerencsétlen* ‘the luckless’) although referential, may be coreferential with another nominal phrase (see *epithet* and Principle C, Lasnik (1986)).

Bare nouns may also be used in another special communicative context: listing items. Lists also allow linguistic structures which are impossible in other contexts, see (1017a-b).

(1017) ● Plural articleless nouns licensed by listing

- a. *Viharok támadtak. É. Kiss (1995: 66)
 storm.PL arise.Past.3Pl
 ‘Storms arose.’

- b. Akkoriban még hüllők uralták a földet, vulkánok
 back_then still reptilian.Pl rule.Past.DefObj.3Pl the Earth.Acc volcano.Pl
 lövellték az égre a lávát, (heves) viharok támadtak.....
 spew.Past.DefObj.3Pl the sky.Sub the lava.Acc (heavy) storm.Pl arise.Past.3Pl
 ‘Back then, reptilians ruled the Earth, volcanoes spewed lava into the sky, heavy storms arose.’

2.5.1.2.2. *Number neutrality*

Indefinite plural nouns often have no determiner at all. It is generally assumed that the difference between the interpretation of singular and plural indefinite noun phrases is that in the case of a singular indefinite, the statement is true of exactly one individual (1018a), while in the case of a bare plural indefinite, the statement is true of more than one individual (1018b). (For an overview of referential indefinite nouns, see 2.5.1.1.1.)

- (1018) ● The interpretation of singular and plural indefinite noun
- a. Egy csalogány dalolt az ablakomban. (Maleczki 2000: 326).
 a nightingale sing.Past.3Sg the window.Poss.1Sg.Ine
 ‘A nightingale was singing in my window.’
- b. Csalogányok daloltak az ablakomban.
 nightingale.Pl sing.Past.3Pl the window.Poss.1Sg.Ine
 ‘Nightingales were singing in my window.’
- c. Csalogány dalolt az ablakomban.
 nightingale sing.Past.3Sg the window.Poss.1Sg.Ine
 ‘There was nightingale-singing in my window.’

In example (1018a), the set of “singers” is unambiguously a singleton. In example (1018b), it is unambiguously not a singleton, meaning that its cardinality is greater than one. In example (1018c), however, the cardinality of the “singers” is ambiguous: we can accept the sentence as felicitous whether only a single nightingale was singing in the window or a pair of nightingales were singing, in which case the cardinality of the set is two.

For this very reason, in Hungarian it is questions formed with articleless, singular nouns that are number-neutral, in contrast with English, or Dutch.

- (1019) ● Number-neutral questions in Hungarian
- a. Van gyereked?
 be.3Sg child.Poss.2Sg
 ‘Do you have (any) children?’
- b. Vannak gyerekeid?
 be.3Pl child.Poss.Pl.2Sg
 ‘Do you have (multiple) children?’
- c. Van (egy) cigid?
 be.3Sg (a) cigarette.Poss.2Sg
 ‘Do you have a cigarette?’
- d. *Vannak cigijeid?
 be.3Pl cigarette.Poss.Pl.2Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Do you have a cigarette?’

- e. Fitos orra van?
 turned_up nose.Poss.3Sg be.3Sg
 ‘Does she have a turned up nose?’
- f. *Van fitos orra?
 be.3Sg turned_up nose.Poss.3Sg
- g. Van orra?
 be.3Sg nose.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Does she have a nose?’
- h. Melege van? / Mumpsza van? / *Van melege? / *Van mumpsza?
 hot.Poss.3Sgbe.3Sg / mumps.Poss.3Sg be.3Sg / be.3Sg hot.Poss.3Sg / be.3Sg mumps.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Is he feeling hot? / Does she have mumps?’
- i. Igaza van? / *Van igaza?
 truth.Poss.3Sg be.3Sg / be.3Sg truth.Poss.3Sg
 ‘Is he right?’
- j. Itt *(egy) gyerek lakik.
 here *(one) child live.3Sg
 ‘A child lives here.’
- k. Itt gyerekek laknak.
 here child.Pl live.3Pl
 ‘Children live here.’
- l. Ez gyereklakta ház.
 this child_inhabited house
 ‘This is a house inhabited by children.’

Of the question-pair (1019a-b), (1019a) is number-neutral, meaning that the speaker does not specify the number of children he expects his conversational partner to have in advance. Question (1019b) can only be asked, if we assume the addressee to have more than one child in his/her family. Of pair (1019c-d), only (1019c) is grammatical. Example (1019d) is felicitously interpreted as ‘types of cigarettes’, ‘several types of cigarettes’. The pair in (1019e-f) can obviously only be formulated in the singular, given the fact that humans have only a single nose. It is an idiosyncratic property of Hungarian, that the word order of examples (1019a-d) cannot be used here. The reason for this behavior is the fact that bare nouns can only ever occur in a SPEC-XP position. When stranded postverbally, they can only assume such a position if the verb moves into another functional projection (topic, focus) for some reason. This is exactly what happens in existential sentences, see examples (1019a-d). Examples (1019e-f), however, are not existential (as opposed to (1019g) for example), therefore the correct word order of (1019e-f) can only be the order seen in examples (1019h-i), whereby the bare noun precedes the verb. In examples (1019j-l), number-neutrality can only be achieved by using the structure shown in (1019l): both singular and plural nouns expressly show quantity. It is also clear from (1019j), that there are certain cases where the bare noun cannot be used. This happens when the conversational context makes it possible to refer back to a set of entities previously mentioned in the situation. If such sentences contain a number-neutral expression, it is usually in the plural, the singular explicitly referring to one single entity.

It is a unique property of Hungarian that it refers to dual body parts in the singular. Here, we briefly mention this phenomenon, as being relevant from the point of view of number-neutrality, but in actual fact, it is unrelated to bare nouns, because in such structures the noun is almost always suffixed with a possessive agreement morpheme, therefore it no longer counts as a bare (non-referential) noun (1020a-b). For more detailed discussion, see H. Varga (2014: 126).

(1020) • Referring to paired organs in the singular in Hungarian

- a. Fáj a lába.
hurt.3Sg the foot.Poss.3Sg
'His legs hurt.'
- b. Szép a szeme.
pretty the eye.Poss.3Sg
'She has pretty eyes.'

2.5.1.2.3. *Constraining the distribution of the bare NP: syntactic positions*

In the Hungarian sentence, several syntactically distinguished positions have been identified. The main ones are: the postverbal zone, the verbal modifier position immediately left-adjacent to the verb, the positions of quantifiers and 'is-expressions' preceding the VMod, and the topic located at the left periphery of the sentence. Both topics and verbal modifiers have two variants: "neutral" and contrastive. The question to pose is which sentential positions may host bare nouns (singular and plural), and with what constraints (see also subsections 1.1.3.3, and 1.2.2, and M6).

I. Postverbally

In Hungarian, only noun phrases with a determiner can occur postverbally. These are generally arguments of the verb, or arguments of one of the verb's complements. Bare noun phrases may only surface postverbally in sentences containing contrastive focus. It is generally assumed, however, that in these cases the verb surfaces in the position left adjacent to the verbal modifier, essentially making the VMod-position itself postverbal. This is why sentences with focus may contain verbal particles, and bare nouns, the canonical position of which is the VMod-position (1021a-b).

(1021) • Bare noun surfacing postverbally

- a. A postást érte kutyatámadás.
the postman.Acc reach.Past.DefObj.3Sg dog_attack
'It was the postman who suffered a dog attack.'
- b. Ezek az autók szerepeltek már versenyeken.
these the car.Pl partake.Past.3Pl already race.Pl.Sup
'These cars have already taken part in races.'

II. In the verbal modifier position

The neutral verbal modifier position is the canonical position of bare nouns in Hungarian. It also hosts verbal particles, certain place adverbial arguments, resultative

complements, and the nominal part of nominal predicates (1022a) (also see M6). In case the verb is a stress-avoiding verb (e.g. *szertetne* ‘would like to’), which requires its VMod position to be filled, it attracts one of the suitable arguments of its complement, for instance its verbal particle, or place adverbial (1022b-d). At the same time, if the verb is one with obligatory stress (e.g.: *utál* ‘hate’) or has a verbal particle, the verbal modifier position cannot be filled by a bare noun. Therefore, no bare noun can appear before verbs of this type (1022d). The bare noun may move away from its governing head, similarly to verbal particles.

- (1022) ● Bare noun occurring in VMod
- a. A postást kutyatámadás érte.
 the postman.Acc dog_attack reach.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 ‘The postman suffered a dog attack.’
 - b. Peti autókat szeretne nézegetni.
 Peti car.Pl.Acc like.Cond.3Sg look_at.Inf
 ‘Peti would like to look at cars.’
 - c. *Peti meg szeretne autókat nézegetni.
 Peti perf like.Cond.3Sg car.Pl.Acc look_at.Inf
 - d. Peti utál autókat nézegetni. / *Peti autókat utál nézegetni.
 Peti hate.3Sg car.Pl.Acc look_at.Inf / Peti car.Pl.Acc hate.3Sg look_at.Inf
 ‘Peti hates looking at cars.’

III. *In focus*

It is a generally accepted view that bare nouns may appear in Hungarian sentences when they receive a contrastive focus interpretation (1023a-i). This phenomenon, however, is not easy to test for, since whether the immediately preverbal constituent is focused or not is only readily apparent in the case of sentences with a verbal modifier, due to the fact that in focused sentences, the verbal modifier occurs postverbally, and preverbally in focusless, stative (non-progressive) sentences. At the same time, many verbs that generally do have a verbal modifier reject hosting articleless nouns in argument position, even in sentences containing focus. These are mostly particle verbs that strictly subcategorize for a referential complement (1023e-i).

We can, however, observe a subject-object asymmetry between examples (1023b) and (1023f). These sentences feature a verb that, without a verbal particle, subcategorizes for a non-specific argument, and it subcategorizes for a specific one when it does have a verbal particle. Still, sentence (1023b), in which the articleless noun fulfills the role of subject is accepted by more speakers than (1023f), where the articleless noun is an object.

- (1023) ● Bare noun occurring in focus
- a. A postást kutya támadta meg.
 the postman.Acc dog attack.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf
 ‘It was a dog that attacked the postman.’
 - b. Az osztályban kórus alakult meg.
 The class.Ine choir form.Past.3Sg perf
 ‘It was a choir that formed in the class.’

- c. Peti kutyát nyírt meg tegnap.
 Peti dog.Acc shear.Past.3Sg perf yesterday
 'It was a dog that Peti sheared yesterday.'
- d. Peti moziba ment el tegnap.
 Peti cinema.Ill go.Past.3Sg away yesterday
 'It was the cinema Peti went to yesterday.'
- e. *Peti újságot olvasott el tegnap.
 Peti newspaper.Acc read.Past.3Sg away yesterday
- f. *Peti levelet írt meg tegnap.
 Peti letter.Acc write.Past.3Sg perf yesterday
- g. Peti örömmel olvasott el tegnap egy újságot.
 Peti pleasure.Ins read.Past.3Sg away yesterday a newspaper.Acc
 'It was with pleasure that Peti read a newspaper yesterday.'
- h. *Peti sört ivott meg tegnap.
 Peti beer.Acc drink.Past.3Sg perf yesterday
- i. Peti hétfőn ivott meg egy sört.
 Peti Monday.Sup drink.Past.3Sg perf a beer.Acc
 'It was on Monday that Peti drank a beer.'

IV. In quantifier position

As regards quantifiers, Hungarian generally uses nouns with a numeral determiner. These are obviously not bare nouns. However, in Hungarian, the quantifier position also hosts *is*-nouns (*is* means 'also'). *Is*-nouns can also surface postverbally. The *is* 'also' particle can also be added to articleless nouns, in which case these can also appear in the quantifier position. We have specifically looked at verbs that are not DE-verbs, meaning that the ungrammaticality is not caused by the fact that the particle verb only licenses specific arguments.

Following Barwise and Cooper (1981) and De Jongh and Verkuyl (1984), we observe that there are predicates that do not tolerate their (subject or object) argument being specific. These are called Definiteness Effect predicates, henceforth: DE-predicates. Based on Szabolcsi (1986), we can distinguish between two basic categories of predicates in Hungarian: those that show no DE-restrictions, and those that in the case of a neutral sentence, always require that their respective argument be non-specific - subject in the case of an intransitive and object in the case of a transitive verb. While Szabolcsi (1986) assumes the common feature of all DE-predicates to be the semantic component of 'existence or coming into being', Maleczki (1995) and Bende-Farkas (2001) define DE-predicates based on their Vendler-class, the thematic roles they assign, and the aspect of sentences formed with them.

If we assume that the reason for the ban on the co-occurrence of verbal particles and bare nouns is due to their occupying the same position, we make the prediction that a bare noun in quantifier position should be compatible with particle verbs, as it is no longer the case that two elements fight for the VMod position. It is clearly shown in the examples that particle verb sentences containing a bare noun can only be assigned an existential interpretation. A focus position also appears in existential sentences, meaning that the verb surfaces one projection higher, instead of its base position (1024a-h).

The subject-object asymmetry is also observable here (for more discussion, see Marantz (1984), Haegeman (1994)). If the bare noun is an object, the particle-verb word order is ungrammatical, regardless of whether the bare noun surfaces in a quantifier position, or postverbally, see (1024b-g). In this case, speakers are unable to assign an existential interpretation to these sentences.

(1024) • Bare noun in quantifier position

- a. Újságot is olvastam. / Olvastam újságot is.
 newspaper.Acc too read.Past.1Sg / read.Past.1Sg newspaper.Acc too
 'I have also read a newspaper.'
- b. *Újságot is kiolvastam. / *Kiolvastam újságot is.
 newspaper.Acc too out_read.Past.1Sg / out_read.Past.1Sg newspaper.Acc too
- c. Újságot is olvastam (már) ki. / Olvastam ki újságot is.
 newspaper.Acc too read.Past.1Sg (already) out / read.Past.1Sg out newspaper.Acc too
 'I have already read a newspaper.'
- d. Kutya is támadott. / Támadott kutya is.
 dog too attack.Past.3Sg / attack.Past.3Sg dog too
 'There was also a dog attacking.'
- e. Kutya is megtámadott (már). / Megtámadott (már) kutya is.
 dog too perf_attack.Past.3Sg (already) / perf_attack.Past.3Sg (already) dog too
 'I have also been attacked by dogs already.'
- f. Kutya is támadott (már) meg. / Támadott meg (már) kutya is.
 dog too attack.Past.3Sg (already) perf / attack.Past.3Sg perf (already) dog too
 'I have also been attacked by dogs already.'
- g. Kutyát is fürdettem. / Fürdettem kutyát is.
 dog.Acc too bathe.Past.DefObj.1Sg / bathe.Past.DefObj.1Sg dog.Acc too
 'I have also bathed dogs.'
- h. *Kutyát is meg-fürdettem. / *Megfürdettem kutyát is.
 dog.Acc too perf-bathe.Past.DefObj.1Sg / perf_bathe.Past.DefObj.1Sg dog.Acc too
- i. Kutyát is fürdettem (már) meg. / Fürdettem meg kutyát is.
 dog.Acc too bathe.Past.DefObj.1Sg (already) perf / bathe.Past.DefObj.1Sg perf
 dog.Acc too
 'I have already bathed dogs as well.'

V. *In topic position*

Topics may only be specific noun phrases; therefore, bare nouns may not occur as ordinary topics. They can, however, appear as contrastive topics (1025a-h). Even for contrastive topics, the restriction holds that bare nouns may not appear as the object of a particle verb (1025b,g).

(1025) • Bare nouns in contrastive topic position

- a. [Újságot]_{C^{Topic}} Péter olvasott a buszon.
 newspaper.Acc Péter read.Past.3Sg the bus.Sup
 'As for newspapers, they were read by Péter on the bus.'

- b. *[Újságot]_{CTopic} Péter olvasott ki a buszon.
 newspaper.Acc Péter read.Past.3Sg out the bus.Sup
- c. [Kutya]_{CTopic} támadott már Péterre.
 dog attack.Past.3Sg already Péter.Sub
 ‘As for dogs, one or more of them have already attacked Péter.’
- d. [Kutya]_{CTopic} támadta már meg Pétert. /
 dog attack.Past.DefObj.3Sg already perf Péter.Acc /
 *[Kutya]_{CTopic} támadta már Pétert.
 dog attack.Past.DefObj.3Sg already Péter.Acc
 ‘As for dogs, one or more of them have already attacked Péter.’
- e. [Örömmel / Hétfőn]_{CTopic} Mari fürdette meg a kutyát.
 pleasure.Ins / Monday.sup Mari bathe.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the dog.Acc
 ‘With pleasure / On Monday, Mari bathed the dog.’
- f. [Kutyát]_{CTopic} nem csak Mari fürdetett tegnap.
 dog.Acc not only Mari bathe.Past.3Sg yesterday
 ‘As for dogs, they have been bathed not only by Mari yesterday.’
- g. *[Kutyát]_{CTopic} nem csak Mari fürdetett meg tegnap.
 dog.Acc not only Mari bathe.Past.3Sg perf yesterday
- h. [Kutyát fürdetni]_{CTopic} Mari akart tegnap.
 dog.Acc bathe.Inf Mari want.Past.3Sg yesterday
 ‘As for dog-bathing, it was Mari who wanted to do it yesterday.’

2.5.1.2.4. *Are bare-NP structures collocations, or not?*

In subsection 2.5.1.2.3, we saw that the distribution of a bare-NP is constrained not only by its syntactic position, but also by the type of the particle verb, and the grammatical role of the bare-NP.

From the point of view of syntactic roles, the use of bare-NP arguments shows a similarity to the use of verbal particles. The question then arises whether the bare-NP+V structure constitutes a lexical unit, or a collocation.

I. Lexical blocking

Lexical blocking is a phenomenon observed in many languages in connection with bare noun structures. In these cases, the use of the bare-NP structure is blocked if there exists an intransitive verb with the same meaning: for instance, in Dutch, *auto rijden* ‘to drive a car’, is licit, but *fiets rijden*, is not, because there exists a separate intransitive verb *fietsen* ‘to cycle’. In Hungarian, there is no such restriction, see (1026a-c). At the same time, it is a well-known fact, that in transborder Hungarian dialects, Romanian, Slovak or Slovenian influence may cause certain analytical structures to arise, in which the bare-NP+verb form is used, in contrast with the verb form used in colloquial Hungarian spoken in Hungary (1026d-e) (for more details, see É. Kiss (2004)). The reverse case may also occur, whereby it is the dialectal variety that uses a singular verb form, and the standard variety expresses the same content with an analytical structure containing a bare-NP, see (1026f). These differences are not exclusively tied to articleless nominal structures, see (1026g) in the Transylvanian dialect.

- (1026) ● No lexical blocking (dialectal forms, ungrammatical in the standard variety, are marked with a #)
- a. kávézik / kávét iszik
 drink_coffee.3Sg / coffee.Acc drink.3Sg
 ‘He/she has coffee.’
 - b. sörözik, borozik / sört iszik, bort iszik
 drink_beer.3Sg, drink_wine.3Sg / beer.Acc drink.3Sg, wine.Acc drink.3Sg
 ‘He/she drinks beer / wine.’
 - c. megcsókol / csókot ad / ad egy csókot
 perf.kiss.3Sg / kiss.Acc give.3Sg / give3Sg a kiss.Acc
 ‘He/She kisses her/him. / He/She gives a kiss to her/him.’
 - d. zongorán játszik / #zongorára játszik / zongorázik
 piano.Sup play.3Sg / piano.Sub play.3Sg / play_piano.3Sg
 ‘He/She plays the piano.’
 - e. #tust csinál / tusol
 shower.Acc make.3Sg / take_a_shower.3Sg
 ‘He/She takes a shower.’
 - f. felvételt készít / #felvételez
 recording.Acc make.3Sg / make_recording.3Sg
 ‘He/She makes recordings.’
 - g. elálmosodik / #megüti az álom
 get_sleepy / perf.strike.DefObj.3Sg the dream
 ‘He/She becomes sleepy.’

II. Non-compositional, idiomatic structures

Bare-NP structures (similarly to derived or compound words) lexicalize easily, therefore Hungarian also has many bare-NP structures that are not entirely compositional. For instance: *vihar támadt* ‘a storm arose’, *vendég érkezett* ‘a guest arrived’, *fát vág* ‘he is chopping wood’. These share the characteristic that neither the bare-NP, nor the verb can be replaced with another word unless using some strong restrictions, e.g. the number of the words that can occur in these structures is limited and these bare-NP structures are not entirely productive. Since these examples are often used in the literature to illustrate the behavior of bare-NP structures, simplifying and overgeneralizing statements abound in this topic (see Viszket 2012).

The not fully compositional examples also include (1027a). Their meanings are not fully identical with those of the sentences in (1027b). Structures containing the bare noun (1027a) can only be taken to mean that the individual goes to these institutions with the usual goal, while those that contain an article do not have this constraint imposed on their meaning. For instance, example (1027b) can mean that the individual goes to these institutions to clean, while (1027a) always means that he went to the cinema to watch a movie, to the theatre to watch a play or to the school to study.

(1027) ● Not fully compositional structures

- a. Moziba megy./ Színházba megy. / Iskolába megy.
cinema.Ill go.3Sg / theatre.Ill go.3Sg / school.Ill go.3Sg
'He is going to the cinema/to the theatre/to school.'
- b. El-ment a / egy moziba / a / egy színházba / az / egy iskolába.
away-go.Past.3Sg the / a cinema.Ill / the / a theatre.Ill / the / a school.Ill
'He went to the/a cinema /the/a theatre / the/a school.'

III. Coordinate structures

A possible diagnostic to determine the level of lexicalization of a structure that exists in a coordinate form, is to see whether the conjuncts exist individually, too. For instance, if (1028a) exists, we can see whether (1028b) also exists, or whether it can only be used in a different structure, for instance with an article (1028c). If (1028b) did not exist, it would mean that (1028a) is idiomatic, since if we wanted to use only one of the conjuncts of the coordinate structure, we would not be able to use a bare-NP argument anymore.

These idiomatical structures occur in most languages. Of course, there are also pair-idioms in Hungarian, see (1028d-f), although this form is not very characteristic of Hungarian articleless nominal constructions. In Hungarian, the use of bare nominal structures is extremely widespread, and productive.

(1028) ● The use of coordinated bare-NPs

- a. Péter késsel és villával ette a pörköltet.
Péter knife.Ins and fork.Ins eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg the stew.Acc
'Péter ate the stew with knife and fork.'
- b. Péter villával ette a pörköltet.
Péter fork.Ins eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg the stew.Acc
'Péter ate the stew with fork.'
- c. [?]Péter egy/a villával ette a pörköltet.
Péter a / the fork.Ins eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg the stew.Acc
'Péter ate the stew with a / the fork.'
- d. Péter tetőtől talpig úriember.
Péter roof.Abl sole.Term gentleman
'Péter is a gentleman from head to toe.'
- e. *Péter tetőtől úriember.
Péter roof.Abl gentleman
- f. Péter talpig úriember.
Péter sole.Term gentleman
'Péter is a gentleman from head to toe.'

2.5.1.2.5. Obligatory construal

There are some cases in Hungarian, when in order to express a certain meaning, a bare-NP structure must be used, which means that the bare-NP structure has obligatory construal. An important characteristic of these structures is that the noun expressed in the bare-NP cannot be referred to anaphorically by a pronoun.

I. *Who, What*

In the Hungarian standard variety, if we wish to predicate something of someone/something using a nominal predicate, it is considered “bad practice” to use an article before the predicate noun:

- (1029) • The use of predicative nouns
- a. Péter bohóc. / Ez a ház palota.
 Péter clown / this the house palace
 ‘Péter is a clown. / This house is a palace.’
 - b. Péter egy bohóc. / Ez a ház egy palota.
 Péter a clown / this the house a palace
 ‘Péter is a clown. / This house is a palace.’

Sentences (1029a) and (1029b) have different meanings. Sentences in (1029b) do not count as grammatical in the educated standard variety. At the same time, sentences (1029a) and (1029b) have different meanings. The meaning of sentences in (1029a) is that ‘Péter is a clown by profession’ and that ‘This house matches the definition of the word “palace”’, while sentences (1029b) can be translated as ‘Péter behaves like a clown/Péter likes fooling around’ and ‘This house is so big, or is adorned in such a way that it’s too much’ (see also subsection 3.1.3).

II. *A problem*

The following semantic content can also be expressed only by a bare-NP in Hungarian: ‘Something ended up somewhere, and by doing so, causes a problem’.

- (1030) • Bare-NP structures with the meaning ‘causes a problem’
- a. Víz ment az orrába. / Egér van a szobában.
 water go.Past.3Sg the nose.Poss.3Sg.Ill / mouse be.3Sg the room.Ine
 ‘He’s got water in his nose. / There’s a mouse in the room.’
 - b. Belement a víz az orrába. / Van egy egér a szobában.
 in_go.Past.3Sg the water the nose.Poss.3Sg.Ill / be.3Sg a mouse the room.Ine
 ‘The water got into his nose. / There IS a mouse in the room.’

Sentences in (1030b) do not imply that the event described in the sentence causes a problem. Sentences in (1030b) simply describe a state of affairs, which possibly have continued joyfully: for instance, ‘He sneezed and laughed’ or ‘How cute! –She shouted.’ Sentences in (1030a), however, cannot be continued in a joyful context, as they already carry the ‘problem’ element in their meaning.

III. *Habitual actions*

There also exist a few lexicalized structures containing a bare-NP, in which the nominal element can’t be replaced with any similar word in a neutral sentence, for instance: *vendég érkezett* ‘a guest arrived’, **szerzetes érkezett* ‘a monk arrived’, *vihar támadt* ‘a storm arose’, **eső támadt* ‘a rain arose’, *fát vág* ‘he’s chopping wood’, **papírt vág* ‘he’s chopping paper’. It is generally true, however, that predicates expressed by a bare-NP may be understood as a habitual action: the habit of the subject, or a profession, see (1031a-d).

- (1031) ● Bare-NP structures interpreted habitually
- a. Péter öltönyt hord. / #Péter egy öltönyt hord.
 Péter suit.Acc wear.3Sg / Péter a suit.Acc wear.3Sg
 ‘Péter usually wears a suit.’
- b. Péter kutyákat nevel. /
 Péter dog.Pl.Acc raise.3Sg/
 #Péter nevel egy kutyát / neveli a kutyákat.
 Péter raise.3Sg a dog.Acc / raise.DefObj.3Sg the dog.Pl.Acc
 ‘Péter raises dogs.’
- c. Péter (egész nap) feliratot fordít. / Péter feliratokat fordít. /
 Péter (all day) subtitle.Acc translate.3Sg / Péter subtitle.Pl.Acc translate.3Sg /
 #Péter fordítja a feliratokat.
 Péter translate.DefObj.3Sg the subtitle.Pl.Acc
 ‘Péter translates subtitles all day long.’
- d. Péter novellát olvas. / Péter novellákat olvas. /
 Péter short_story.Acc read.3Sg / Péter short_story.Pl.Acc read.3Sg /
 #Péter (el)olvassa a novellákat.
 Péter (away)read.DefObj.3Sg the short_story.Pl.Acc
 ‘Péter reads short stories.’

Native speakers vary significantly in terms of their judgments of sentences expressed using bare-NPs, since grammaticality judgments are heavily influenced by whether the speaker, in his/her present state of mind, is able to attribute a habitual meaning to the predicate.

IV. Creation

Bare-NPs can also appear next to originally intransitive verbs. In this case, the structure receives the obligatory interpretation, that the object denoted by the bare-NP is created as a result of the action (1032a-b).

- (1032) ● Bare-NP structures with ‘creation’ meaning
- a. A királylány rózsát lép.
 the princess rose.Acc step.3Sg
 ‘Roses bloom wherever the princess steps.’
- b. A csacsi aranyat tüszent.
 the donkey gold.Acc sneeze.3Sg.
 ‘The donkey sneezes gold.’

V. Existential

In earlier subsections of 2.5.1.2.5, it was already mentioned that bare-NP structures often obligatorily receive an existential interpretation, see (1033a-b).

- (1033) ● Existentially interpreted bare-NP structures
- a. Mostam (már) fel lépcsőházat.
 wash.Past.1Sg (already) up stairway.Acc
 ‘I have already mopped up a stairway.’

- b. Ettem (már) rákot.
 eat.Past.1Sg (already) crab.Acc
 ‘I have (already) eaten crab.’

2.5.1.2.6. *The referential variety of bare-NP*

„és azt mondta, hogy egy tündért látott a völgyben, és ekkor láttak utoljára tündért ezen a vidéken, bár hallani hallották őket az utóbbi negyven év alatt” (Brontë: Shirley, translated by: Szepessy György)

“saying, she had seen a fairish (fairy) in Fieldhead Hollow; and that was the last fairish that ever was seen on this country side (though they’ve been heard within these forty years)” (Brontë: Shirley)

There are structures, in which the entity denoted by the bare-NP can be anaphorically referred back to by a pronoun. DE-verbs are the easiest to illustrate this with, see (1034a-c):

(1034) • Referential bare-NP

- a. Péter hosszú levelet írt,
 Péter long letter.Acc write.Past.3Sg
 és el is küldte (azt) a barátnőjének.
 and away too send.Past.DefObj.3Sg(that) the girlfriend.Poss.3Sg.Dat
 ‘Péter has written a long letter, and sent it to his girlfriend.’
- b. Péter tavaly énekkart alapított,
 Péter last_year choir.Acc found.Past.3Sg,
 ami nagyon jól szerepelt már az idei versenyeken is.
 which very well perform.Past.3Sg already the this_year contest.Pl.Sup too
 ‘Péter founded a choir last year, which already performed very well in contests this year.’
- c. Ezen a lepusztult telken hatalmas ház épült,
 this the desolate estate.Sup huge house build.Past.3Sg
 ha arra járok, mindig megcsodálom (azt).
 if that.Sub walk.1Sg always admire.DefObj.1Sg (it)
 ‘A great big house has been built on this desolate estate, I always admire it whenever I go that way.’
- d. “Ekkor láttak utoljára tündért ezen a vidéken,
 then see.Past.3Pl last_time fairy.Acc this.Sup the countryside.Sup
 bár hallani hallották őket.”
 though hear.Inf hear.Past.3Pl they.Acc
 “and that was the last fairy that ever was seen on this country side (though they’ve been heard within these forty years)”
- e. Ekkor látták az utolsó tündért ezen a vidéken,
 then see.Past.DefObj.3Pl the last fairy.Acc this.Sup the countryside.Sup
 bár hallani hallották őket.
 though hear.Inf hear.Past.3Pl they.Acc
 “and that was the last fairy that ever was seen on this country side (though they’ve been heard within these forty years)”

Example (1034d) illustrates the fact that in Hungarian, bare nouns may be used even in cases when other languages, such as English, would use a definite article. In such a sentence, bare nouns can be referred back to (‘they have been heard’). Even

in Hungarian, it would be entirely possible to use this structure with an article, see (1034e).

Examples can be found for the non-referential use of the definite article too: in Hungarian, we use a bare noun (1035b) when in a similar structure other languages would use a noun preceded by the definite article in a non-referential sense (1035a).

(1035) • Non-referential nouns with, and without an article

- a. Ik ga wel met de bus. (Dutch)
 I go Prt with the bus
 ‘I went by bus.’
- b. Busszal mentem.
 bus.Ins go.Past.1Sg
 ‘I went by bus.’

Insomuch as we consider the possibility of anaphoric coreference to a referential noun, and its impossibility to a non-referential one to be the diagnostic of referentiality, we cannot use any simple morphological tools (e.g. the presence or absence of the article) in Hungarian to tease referential and non-referential noun phrases apart. Generally, most bare-NPs are non-referential, but they may be referential (1034a-d), or in exceptional cases even definite (1016a-d).

2.5.1.3. *Special cases: proper nouns and vocatives*

In this subsection we will follow the corresponding subsection of *SoD-NP*, and we will discuss noun phrases that normally do not contain an article: proper nouns and vocatives. Since proper nouns are thoroughly discussed in 1.2.1, in this subsection we simply give a short overview of the prototypical use of proper nouns, and focus our attention on their non-prototypical use instead.

2.5.1.3.1. *Proper nouns*

As was mentioned in (1.2.1), most proper nouns are not preceded by an article in standard Hungarian. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that proper nouns are normally used to uniquely identify an entity in the domain of discourse. Since the function of a definite article is to indicate that the entity referred to can be uniquely identified, its use would lead to redundancy since proper nouns typically have a unique referent by definition. As a consequence, addition of a definite article to proper nouns like *Mari* (personal name) and *Pécs* (the name of a city) leads to a grammatically deviant result (compare (1036b) with (1036a)).

(1036) • Proper nouns prototypically do not occur with a definite article

- a. Mari elutazik Pécsre.
 Mari travel.3Sg Pécs.Sub
 ‘Mari leaves for Pécs.’
- b. (*A) Mari elutazik (*a) Pécsre.
 the Mari travel.3Sg the Pécs.Sub
 ‘Mari leaves for Pécs.’

Despite its semantic redundancy, definite articles can co-occur with a personal name in certain Hungarian dialects, if the noun denotes a living, familiar person: *a Mari* ‘the Mari’.

In their prototypical use, proper nouns cannot appear in the indefinite construction, as is demonstrated in (1037) below. This is true even if there is more than one object with the same name, as in the case of the three Körös rivers (1037b), *Fehér-Körös* ‘White Körös’, *Fekete-Körös* ‘Black Körös’ and *Sebes-Körös* ‘Swift Körös’ (see examples in (151) in subsection 1.2.1).

- (1037) ● Proper nouns cannot appear in the indefinite construction in their prototypical use
- a. Ekkor megpillantottunk *egy fiú-t* / **egy Tiszá-t* / **egy Péter-t* / **egy Mexikó-t*.
 then see.Past.1Pl a boy-Acc / a Tisza-Acc / a Péter-Acc / a Mexico-Acc
 ‘Then we saw a boy / *a Tisza / *a Péter / *a Mexico.’
 - b. Tegnap láttam ^{*7}[*egy Körös-t*] / [✓][*az egyik Körös-t*].
 yesterday see.Past.1Sg one Körös-Acc / the one_of Körös-Acc
 ‘Yesterday I saw ^{*7}[a Körös] / [✓][one of the Körös rivers].’

It is worth taking it into consideration that regarding determination, there are certain differences between various types of proper nouns.

I. Proper nouns with and without an obligatory article

Titles of books, journals, paintings and some institutions are special from the point of view of determination, inasmuch as they often begin with *a(z)* ‘the’ or *egy* ‘a(n)/one’: the article is an inherent part of the name (1038). For the use of these types of proper nouns in sentences, see 1.2.1.

- (1038) ● The article is part of the proper noun
- a. Egy polgár vallomásai (title of a book by Sándor Márai)
 a bourgeois confession.Poss.3Sg.Pl
 ‘Confessions of a Bourgeois’
 - b. A Pál utcai fiúk (title of a book by Ferenc Molnár)
 the Pál street.Attr boy.Pl
 ‘The Pál Street Boys’

The definite article also commonly occurs with geographical names but not with names of countries, cities, certain names of islands and parts of cities (see (1039a), and 1.2.1). Geographical names with a definite article include names of mountains (1039b), seas, lakes, rivers (1039c), and celestial bodies (1039d). Names of districts, quarters and other parts of cities or towns show an eclectic picture (1039e). Names of buildings, streets, parks, squares, etc. also take the definite determiner (1039f). The same holds for names of organizations and societies (1039g), and names of papers and magazines (1039h).

- (1039) ● Proper nouns with the definite article *a(z)* ‘the’
- a. (*a) Magyarország / (*a) Budapest / (*a) Zugló
 the Hungary / the Budapest / the Zugló
 ‘Hungary / Budapest / Zugló (part of the city Budapest)’

- b. a Kárpátok / az Alpok
 the Kárpát.Pl / the Alp.Pl
 ‘the Carpathian Mountains / the Alps’
- c. a Fekete-tenger / a Balaton / a Duna
 the black-sea / the Balaton / the Danube
 ‘the Black Sea / the Balaton / the Danube’
- d. a Tej-út / a Merkúr
 the Milk-way / the Mercury
 ‘the Milky Way / Mercury’
- e. a Tettye / (*az) Urán-város
 the Tettye / the uranium-city
 ‘the Tettye / the Uranium City (parts of the Hungarian city of Pécs)’
- f. az Ország-ház / a Városliget / a Hortobágy
 the country-house / the city-park / the Hortobágy
 ‘the Hungarian Parliament / the Budapest City Park / the Hortobágy’
- g. a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia
 the Hungarian scientific academy
 ‘the Hungarian Academy of Sciences’
- h. a Nyelvtudományi Közlemények
 the Linguistics announcement.Pl
 ‘Papers in Linguistics’

Note that the obligatoriness of the definite article can be overridden by syntactic rules. While in (1040a) the proper noun is a referential argument of the verb, therefore it can stand in the postverbal domain; in (1040a’) it occurs in the verbal modifier position as a predicative argument without the definite article. In (1040c) the proper noun also appears in the verbal modifier position as a part of a matrix bare noun phrase. Examples (1040d,d’) express habitual actions, therefore the proper noun appears as a bare noun phrase either in the verbal modifier (1040d) or after the verb (1040d’) (Viszket 2012). Proper nouns without articles can also appear in idiomatic constructions, see (1040e).

(1040) • Proper nouns without an article

- a. Schirilla György átúszta *a Dunát*.
 Schirilla György swim_across.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the Danube.Acc*
 ‘György Schirilla swam across *the Danube*.’
- a’. A várost átszelő folyót *Dunának* hívják.
 the city.Acc crossing river.Acc *Danube.Dat* call.DefObj.3Pl
 ‘The cross-town river is called *the Danube*.’
- b. A *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia* neve
 the *Hungarian Scientific Academy* name.Poss.3Sg
 korábban *Magyar Tudós Társaság* volt.
 previously *Hungarian Scientist Society* be.Past.3Sg
 ‘The name of the *Hungarian Academy of Sciences* was previously the *Hungarian Scientist Society*.’

- c. *Dunára / Balatonra* néző lakást keresek.
Danube.Sub/ Balaton.Sub looking flat.Acc search.1Sg
 ‘I’m searching for a flat looking on to *the Danube/Balaton*.’
- d. *Juli Magyar Nemzetet* szokott olvasni.
Juli Magyar Nemzet.Acc used_to read.Inf
 ‘Juli reads *Magyar Nemzet*.’
- d’. *Juli reggelente* gyakran olvas *Magyar Nemzetet*.
Juli mornings often read.3Sg Magyar Nemzet.Acc
 ‘In the mornings, Juli often reads *Magyar Nemzet*.’
- e. *Mostanában Dunát* lehet rekeszteni az üres ígéretekkel.
nowadays Duna.Acc be.Mod.3Sg block.Inf the empty promise.Pl.Ins
 ‘Empty promises are abundant nowadays.’

II. Modified proper nouns

In (1041a), we see that the name of the city *Budapest* cannot occur with a definite article when it is used on its own, but it must be preceded by the definite article when a modifier is added (1041b). The semantic effect of adding the modifier is that *Budapest* is no longer construed as uniquely identified; the modifier evokes a reading according to which several different instantiations of Budapest can be discerned, which can be located in the past, the present or the future. As a result, the use of the definite article is no longer redundant, and hence (1041b) is completely well-formed. Under similar conditions, the indefinite construction is also well-formed, *egy* ‘a(n)’ can be licensed. In example (1041c), the indefinite noun phrase refers to an (imaginary) instantiation of Budapest, the occurrence of *egy* ‘a(n)’ is optional.

- (1041) ● Modified proper nouns
- a. Gyakran olvasok (*a) Budapestről.
 often read.1Sg the Budapest.Del
 ‘I often read about Budapest.’
- b. Gyakran olvasok *(a) 19. századi Budapestről.
 often read.1Sg the 19. century.Attr Budapest.Del
 ‘I often read about the Budapest of the 19th century.’
- c. (Egy) új Budapestről álmodik a főpolgármester.
 a new Budapest.Del dream the lord_mayor
 ‘The lord mayor dreams about a new Budapest.’

Non-restrictive modifiers may also occur when an article is present, that is, in cases in which reference without the modifier would also be unequivocal. The definite article in (1042a) does not, however, imply that there is more than one Péter, one of whom is laughing, but that the property denoted by the adjective *nevető* ‘laughing’ is applicable to the person referred to as Péter. Similarly, there is only one city called Pécs in Hungary; *mediterrán* ‘Mediterranean’ is one of the most often used attributes in connection with it (1042b).

- (1042) ● Non-restrictive modifiers besides proper nouns
- a. Az ajtóban ott állt a nevető Péter.
the door.Ine there stand.Past.3Sg the laughing Péter
'The laughing Péter stood there in the door.'
 - b. Szeretek itt lakni a mediterrán Pécsen.
love.1Sg here live.Inf the mediterranean Pécs.Loc
'I like to live here in the Mediterranean city of Pécs.'

III. Family names

Family names are one of the most peculiar types of proper nouns. Compare, for instance, the example in (1043a) with the one in (1043b).

- (1043) ● Type and token readings of family names
- a. az igazi Einstein
the true Einstein
'the true Einstein'
 - b. egy (igazi) Einstein
a true Einstein
'a true Einstein'
 - c. igazi Einstein
true Einstein
'true Einstein'
 - d. egy igazi zseni
a true genius
'a true genius'

In (1043a) the name is used with reference to the actual individual bearing that name (TOKEN reading). On a TYPE reading of the proper noun, however, *Einstein* does not represent the actual individual bearing this name but a set of properties assumed to be embodied by this individual (e.g., being a genius). On this reading, the examples in (1043b,c) may be equivalent to the ones in (1043d), where the common noun *zseni* 'genius' replaces *Einstein*. The type reading can be enhanced by adding the attributive adjective *igazi* 'true' or *tipikus* 'typical' to the indefinite noun phrase; in this case *egy* 'a(n)' is omissible (1043c).

With family names, the use of the attributive adjective *tipikus* 'typical' results in a reading of "prototypical member of the family". Example (1044a), for instance, expresses that Archduke Joseph has all the prototypical characteristics (in character or appearance) assumed to be common to the individual members of the house of Habsburg. This use of proper nouns comes fairly close to the case where a proper noun is not used to refer to the (set of) entities normally referred to by means of a particular name, but is, instead, used metaphorically to refer to some property normally associated with this entity. Thus in the example in (1044b), the name of a well-known person or figure with a remarkable feature or talent is used to ascribe these features or talents to some other person.

(1044) ● Family names and prototypes

- a. József nádor egy tipikus Habsburg.
 Joseph archduke a typical Habsburg
 ‘Archduke Joseph is a prototypical member of the house of Habsburg.’
- b. Baráti Kristófot magyar Paganiniként emlegetik.
 Baráti Kristóf.Acc Hungarian Paganini.FoE mention.DefObj.3Pl
 ‘Kristóf Baráti is mentioned as a Hungarian Paganini.’

Consider also the Hungarian *egy* ‘a(n)’ in combination with the family name *Almásy* illustrated in (1045). Here, *Almásy* refers to the set of members of the family named *Almásy*, and the use of *egy* ‘a’ picks out one particular member from among this set (1045a’). In this particular context, the semantics of *egy* is similar to its [+SPECIFIC] meaning found when *egy* is construed with common nouns. Surnames can also be used in the plural to refer to several members of a family: in (1045b) the noun phrase is used for all members of the family. A family name can stand with an indefinite determiner in the construction where the indefinite determiner is followed by the adjective *bizonyos* ‘certain’. The implication of using this construction is that the speaker does not know the person in question: for him or her, the name is merely a description distinguishing the referent from people with other surnames; the name does not, however, enable the speaker to (uniquely) identify this referent. Moreover, the implication is that the addressee may not know the person either (1045c).

 (1045) ● Family names with the determiner *egy* ‘a’

- a. Ismered az Almásy családot? [Speaker A]
 know.DefObj.2Sg the Almásy family.Acc
 ‘Do you know the Almásy family?’
- a’. Igen, osztálytársam volt egy Almásy. [Speaker B]
 Yes classmate.Poss.1Sg be.Past.3Sg a Almásy
 ‘Yes, I had a classmate who was an Almásy.’
- b. Az Almásyak igen befolyásosak voltak.
 the Almásy.Pl very influential.Pl be.Past.3Pl
 ‘The Almásys family was were influential.’
- c. Egy bizonyos Almásy úr vár a kapunál
 a certain Almásy sir wait.3Sg the door.Ade
 ‘A certain Mister Almásy is waiting at the door.’

One more case in which articles are combined with proper nouns is illustrated by the examples in (1046). Here the proper noun acts as a stand-in for a noun denoting an object created by the bearer of the name in question; *egy Csontváry* refers to a painting by Csontváry, a so-called “effected object”, whence the label.

(1046) ● Effected objects

- a. Ez a Csontváry a nappaliban nagyon drága volt.
 this the Csontváry the living_room.Ine very expensive be.Past.3Sg
 ‘This Csontváry in the living room was very expensive.’

- b. Van egy Csontvárynk a nappaliban.
 be.3Sg a Csontváry.Poss.1Pl the living_room.Ine
 'We have a Csontváry in the living room.'
- c. Pécsről Budapestre szállították a Csontvárykat.
 Pécs.Del Budapest.Sub deliver.Past.DefObj.3Pl the Csontváry.Pl.Acc
 'The Csontvárys were delivered from Pécs to Budapest.'

We have to assume that in (1046a-c) the proper noun is directly construed with the determiner, that is, acts like a regular common noun. This accounts for the fact that these proper nouns allow a plural form, as illustrated in (1046c).

2.5.1.3.2. *Vocatives*

Vocative constructions are noun phrases which are not predicates, arguments nor adjuncts, since they do not form parts of (finite) sentences. Vocative constructions are necessarily referential, in spite of the fact that they cannot contain articles (see Remark 1; see also Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 227), since they identify a person (animal, object, etc.) being addressed. Proper nouns and common nouns can also occur in vocative constructions, for a detailed analysis see 1.2.1).

Certain nouns denoting a profession of social importance like *doktor* 'doctor', *atyá* 'vicar, father' or *pincér* 'waiter' can be used as vocatives, that is, in a function similar to that of the proper noun in (1047a,a'). In this function, exemplified in (1047b-c), the noun phrase is determinerless, the verb stands in the third person singular form.

(1047) • Proper nouns and profession names in vocative constructions

- a. Péter, átvjönne egy percre?
 Péter come_over.Cond.3Sg a minute.Sub
 'Péter, could you come over for a minute?'
- a'. Átvjönne egy percre, Péter?
 come_over.Cond.3Sg a minute.Sub Péter
 'Péter, could you come over for a minute?'
- b. Doktor / Atya, átvjönne egy percre?
 doctor / vicar come_over.Cond.3Sg a minute.Sub
 'Doctor / vicar, could you come over for a minute?'
- b'. Átvjönne egy percre, doktor / atya?
 come_over.Cond.3Sg a minute.Sub doctor / vicar
 'Doctor / vicar, could you come over for a minute?'
- c. Pincér, egy pohár sört!
 waiter a glass beer.Acc
 'Waiter, a glass of beer!'

Note, that while *pincér* 'waiter' is a real profession name, *doktor* 'doctor' and *atyá* 'vicar, father' are not, since they cannot occur in predicative sentences denoting the profession of the given person (1048b,c).

- (1048) ● \pm Profession names
- a. Péter pincér.
Péter waiter
'Péter is a waiter.'
 - b. Péter orvos /^{??}doktor.
Péter physician / doctor
'Péter is a doctor.'
 - c. Péter plébános /[#]atya.
Péter vicar / father
'Péter is a vicar / father.'

In Hungarian, we can address somebody by using the third-person singular form in a polite conversation (indirect addressing). In this case noun phrases are arguments of a verb without an article. While the noun *atya* 'vicar' can be used as a proper noun without an article (1049a), the noun *doktor* is only well-formed with the honorific *úr* 'sir/mister' in this context (1049b).

- (1049) ● Profession names in polite conversion (indirect addressing)
- a. Péter / Atya is átjön egy percre?
Péter / Vicar also come_over.3Sg a minute.Sub
'Will Péter / Vicar also come over for a minute?'
 - b. Kovács *(úr) / Doktor *(úr) is átjön egy percre?
Kovács sir / doktor sir also come_over.3Sg a minute.Sub
'Will Mr. Kovács / Doctor also come over for a minute?'

Besides honorifics like *úr* 'sir/mister', the vast majority of nouns denoting a profession can stand in a vocative construction (see *mérnök úr* 'mister engineer', *professzor úr* lit. 'mister professor', *ügyvéd úr* 'mister lawyer', *képviselő úr* 'mister representative'). After 1989, the honorific *úr* 'sir/mister' became the general honorific for referring to a male person. However, a real female counterpart of *úr* 'mister' does not exist.

In Hungarian there is a suffix-like ending *-nő* 'woman', which can be attached to common nouns denoting titles and professions. *Doktornő* lit. 'lady doctor' is, therefore, the female counterpart of the noun *doktor* 'doctor'. Unlike in English, *doktornő* lit. 'lady doctor' can be used both in vocative construction (1050a) and as an argument of the verb without a determiner in a polite conversation (1050b). However, the suffix-like ending *-nő* cannot be attached to every noun denoting a profession; the process is not entirely productive and systematic. In these cases the honorific *asszony* 'woman' appears after the noun (1050c). Note, that the honorific *asszony* 'woman' is not the real counterpart of the honorific *úr* 'sir', since it cannot appear besides surnames; however, the longest form *kisasszony* 'miss' denoting a unmarried woman is well-formed in such a context (1050c). To address a married woman we can also use the surname with another suffix-like element *-né*, in this case the surname is the name of the woman's husband. This kind of addressing is only acceptable if it is the official married name of the woman (1050c). For a detailed explanation, see (169).

- (1050) ● Female counterparts of male profession names in vocatives
- Doktor-nő, *átjönne* egy percre?
lady_doctor, come_over.Cond.3Sg a minute.Sub
'Doctor (lit. lady doctor), could you come over for a minute?'
 - Doktor-nő is *átjön* egy percre?
lady_doctor also come_over.3Sg a minute
'Will doctor (lit. lady doctor) also come over for a minute?'
 - *Professzor-nő / ✓Professzor asszony / *Kovács asszony /
professor-woman / professor woman / Kovács woman /
✓Kovács kisaszony / Kovács-né ?? (asszony), *átjönne* egy percre?
Kovács miss / Kovács-woman woman come_over.Cond.3Sg a minute.Sub
'Professor / Mrs. Kovács / Miss Kovács, could you come over for a minute?'

Unlike in English, honorifics also appear in salutations in letters and e-mails, they are obligatory with profession names, see (1051).

- (1051) ● Salutations in letters and e-mails
- Kedves Péter!
lovely Péter
'Dear Péter!'
 - Tisztelt Igazgató *(Úr) / ✓Professzor Asszony!
revered director sir / professor woman
lit. 'Dear Director / Professor (lady professor)!'
 - Tisztelt Hölgyem / Uram!
revered lady.Poss.1Sg / sir.Poss.1Sg
'Dear Madam / Sir!'

In examples such as (1052), the honorific is used as an independent noun without a surname or a noun denoting profession. Note that the vocative *uram* 'sir.Poss.1Sg', *asszonyom* 'lady.Poss.1Sg' and *hölgyem* 'lady.1Sg' in examples (1052a,b,b') are well-formed if and only if the noun bears the first person singular possessive suffix. The modified noun *méltóságos úr* lit. 'right honorable' and the long form denoting a young man *fiatalúr* 'young sir' stand without the possessive suffix. However, the title is archaic, and *fiatalúr* 'young sir' is not a real honorific, since it can only be used independently.

- (1052) ● Honorifics as independent nouns in vocative constructions
- Hozhatok egy csésze teát, *úr / ✓uram /
bring.Mod.1Sg a cup tea.Acc sir / sir.Poss.1Sg/
✓méltóságos úr / ✓fiatalúr / *fiataluram?
right_honourable / young_sir / young_sir.Poss.1Sg
'Can I bring you a cup of tea, sir / Your Excellency / young sir?'
 - Hozhatok egy csésze teát, #asszony / ✓asszonyom /
bring.Mod.1Sg a cup tea.Acc woman / woman.Poss.1Sg/
✓méltóságos asszony / ✓kisaszony / *kisaszonyom?
your_ladyship / miss / miss.Poss.1Sg
'Can I bring you a cup of tea, madam / Your Ladyship / miss?'

- b'. Hozhatok egy csésze teát, *hölgy / [✓]hölgyem?
 bring.Mod.1Sg a cup tea.Acc lady / lady.Poss.1Sg
 'Can I bring you a cup of tea, madam?'

While the honorific *úr* 'sir' can appear as an argument of the verb in a polite conversion (1053a), the noun *asszony* must be replaced by the noun *hölgy* 'lady' in this context (1053b), otherwise it denotes the wife of the addressee in an informal dialogue. *Kisasszony* 'miss', a somewhat archaic form again, may occur both in vocative constructions and in indirect addressing constructions, and it is, compared to *hölgy* 'lady', a real honorific. In Hungarian, the addressing system is not entirely systematic, especially in the case of addressing a woman.

(1053) ● Honorifics in indirect polite contexts

- a. Hozhatok egy csésze teát az úrnak /
 bring.Mod.1Sg a cup tea.Acc the sir.Dat /
 a méltóságos úrnak / a fiatalúrnak?
 the right_honourable.Dat / the young_sir.Dat
 'Can I bring you a cup of tea mister / Your Excellency / young sir?'
- b. Hozhatok egy csésze teát #az asszonynak /
 bring.Mod.1Sg a cup tea.Acc the woman.Dat /
[✓]a méltóságos asszonynak / [✓]a hölgynek / [✓]a kisasszonynak?
 the your_ladyship.Dat / the lady.Dat / the miss.Dat
 'Can I bring you a cup of tea, madam / Your Ladyship / miss?'

Kinship nouns like *nagymama* 'grandmother' in (1054a) can also be used in a way similar to the use of the nouns in (1047), without a definite determiner. They behave like proper nouns in these contexts.

(1054) ● Kinship nouns in vocatives

- a. Nagymama, átjönnél egy percre?
 grandmother come_over.Cond.2Sg a minute.Sub
 'Grandmother, could you come over for a minute?'
- b. Nagymama is nemsokára átjön?
 grandmother also soon come_over.3Sg
 'Grandmother is coming over soon?'

As was mentioned in 1.2.2.2.2, examples containing bare kinship nouns like *apa* 'father', are often multiply ambiguous, depending on the context. Example (1055) has a reading where *apa* is the "label" normally used by the listener (but not necessarily by the speaker himself) in addressing the person under discussion: this is the "your daddy" reading in (1055i). In addition, it also has a reading in which the speaker uses the "label" *apa* 'father' to refer to himself, that is, (1055ii) can be uttered by the addressee's father himself. Finally, the sentence can be uttered by the person who normally uses the "label" *apa* 'father' to address the person under discussion: this is the "my daddy" reading in (1055iii). In all three interpretations of (1055), we are dealing with extended uses of bare vocatives.

(1055) • Kinship nouns as proper nouns

- Apa mindjárt itt lesz.
 daddy soon here will_be.3Sg
 i. 'Your daddy will be here straightaway.'
 ii. 'I, your daddy, will be here straightaway.'
 iii. 'My daddy will be here straightaway.'

Finally, we only make a brief comment on evaluative vocative constructions. These constructions consist of a first or a second person pronoun and an epithet noun, which is intended as a judgment of value, see (1056) (Corver 2008).

(1056) • Evaluative vocatives

- a. Én hülye / bolond / [szegény ördög] /*angyal (mit tettem)!
 I stupid / fool / poor devil / angel (what.Acc do.Past.1Sg)
 'How stupid / What a fool / [poor devil] I am (what have I done)!'
 b. Te bolond / idióta / [szegény ördög] / angyal!
 you fool / idiot / poor devil / angel
 'You fool / idiot / [poor devil] / angel!'

2.5.1.4. *Summary*

Table 82 summarizes the different types of noun phrases in Hungarian (Alberti 1997: 342, Table 1). As we have established, constructions with the definite article *a(z)* are typically definite, while indefinite descriptions are able to refer to either a non-specific or a specific element. Bare nominals in singular are generally non-referential (their referents cannot be referred to). However, substance nouns (as singular bare noun phrases) can be understood as (indefinite) referential expressions. There are special constructions which are necessarily referential, even though they typically cannot contain articles: proper names and vocatives. There are very few constructions which do not fit in this structure. One of them is the non-specific use of a definite noun phrase (999). Another phenomenon is discussed briefly in (2.5.1.2), namely the referential usage of bare noun phrases. We came to the conclusion that generic interpretations of singular definite noun phrases are not encoded in some part of the noun phrase itself, but they depend on the semantic content of the construction in which they occur. Therefore, Table 82 does not include the notion of genericity.

Table 82: *The different types of Hungarian noun phrases*

non-referential	referential	
non-specific	specific	
indefinite	definite	
bare noun phrase	<i>egy</i> 'a(n)' / plural bare noun phrase	<i>a(z)</i> 'the' / proper noun
substance noun (singular bare noun phrase)		

2.5.2. *Demonstratives (Veronika Szabó)*

Demonstratives also seem to play the role of determiners in Hungarian: they are integrated into the DP-domain. Noun phrases containing demonstratives are definite

since they can be used to refer to certain entities in the domain of discourse. However, Hungarian demonstratives differ from demonstratives in Indo-European languages, since they may co-occur with the definite article, and the two determiners are juxtaposed. This determiner doubling is a particular phenomenon the explanation of which has led to controversies in the Hungarian generative literature (see Egedi 2014). In this subsection we do not take a stance on the exact structural position of demonstratives, we only illustrate the peculiar behavior of this type of determiners by several examples.

As regards the semantic characteristics of demonstratives, they normally form a partition of the entities in the domain of discourse. For example, in contrast to the DP *a könyvek* ‘the books’, a DP like *ezek a könyvek* ‘these books’ need not refer to the complete set of books in the domain of discourse; the set of books is, rather, divided into two (or more) subsets, and the DP refers to the entities contained in one of the resulting subsets.

This subsection is divided into two parts: subsection 2.5.2.1 will discuss the core functions of demonstrative pronouns and provide a classification of the various types, while subsection 2.5.2.2. will deal with the morphological properties of demonstratives. We will focus here on the core function of demonstratives as determiners (2.5.2.2.1) and briefly summarize the behavior of demonstratives as arguments and predicates (see subsections 2.5.2.2.2. and 2.5.2.2.3).

2.5.2.1. Classification

Traditional grammar distinguishes several types of demonstratives, see Table 83.

Table 83: *Demonstrative pronouns in Hungarian*

		PROXIMAL	DISTAL
BASIC TYPES OF DEMONSTRATIVES (NOMINAL)	IN PRE-D POSITION	<i>ez</i> ‘this’ <i>ugyanaz</i> ‘this same’	<i>az</i> ‘that’ <i>ugyanaz</i> ‘that same’
	IN POST-D POSITION	<i>e/ eme(z)/ezen</i> ‘this other’ <i>ugyaneme</i> ‘this same’	<i>ama(z)/azon</i> ‘that other’ <i>ugyanama</i> ‘that same’
	<i>ily, ilyen</i> ‘such’		<i>oly, olyan</i> ‘such’
	<i>emilyen</i> ‘such like this’		<i>amolyan</i> ‘such like that’
OTHER DEMONSTRATIVES		<i>ugyanilyen</i> ‘same as this’	<i>ugyanolyan</i> ‘same as that’
		<i>ilyesféle, ilyenféle, ilyesmi</i> ‘this kind’	<i>olyasféle, olyanféle, olyasmi</i> ‘that kind’
		<i>ekkora</i> ‘this size’	<i>akkora</i> ‘that size’
		<i>ugyanekkora</i> ‘this same size’	<i>ugyanakkora</i> ‘that same size’
		<i>ennyi</i> ‘this amount’	<i>annyi</i> ‘that amount’
		<i>ugyanennyi</i> ‘this same amount’	<i>ugyanannyi</i> ‘that same amount’

First, let us take a closer look at the data in Table 83. As can be seen, all kinds of demonstratives can be combined with the prefix-like element *ugyan-* ‘same’, expressing identity with something (e.g. *ugyanez* ‘this same’, *ugyanaz* ‘that same’). To understand the form of Hungarian demonstratives, it is also worth mentioning that the consonant *z* of the basic pronouns *az* ‘that’ and *ez* ‘this’ assimilates to the suffix-initial consonant. The form *ennyi* ‘this amount’ contains, for example, the basic stem *ez* ‘this’ and the suffix *-nyi* ‘-ful’ (Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi 1998).

Now let us explain the principles of our classification. Hungarian demonstratives can be classified in two dimensions. The first is the fact that demonstratives can stand for different constructions of a sentence. Basic types of demonstratives are nominal, while other demonstratives can refer to adjectives. We can also make a distinction between various types of basic demonstratives from a syntactic point of view: there are basic demonstratives which occur in a pre-D position, others in a post-D position.

The second dimension correlates with the phonemic structure of the pronouns: demonstratives containing a front vowel are proximal, while demonstratives containing a back vowel are distal. In the following subsections we will discuss the main differences between nominal and other demonstratives, and we also make a distinction between proximal and distal ones.

A. *Basic types of (nominal) and other demonstratives*

The class of basic demonstratives consists of the pronouns *ez* ‘this’, *az* ‘that’, *e* ‘this’, *eme(z)/ezen* ‘this other’ and *ama(z)/azon* ‘that other’. Note, however, that *eme* ‘this’ and *ama* ‘that’ are more or less archaic and they typically occur in written texts only.

There are several differences between the basic demonstratives and the others. On the one hand, the basic types of demonstratives are nominal: this means that they can be used as noun phrases in a sentence; other types refer to adjectives. Consequently, their syntactic distributions are also different. Although all types of demonstratives can appear independently (see 1057a,b), they occupy various positions within the DP (1057c). Note, that the demonstrative *ilyen* ‘such’ in example (1057b) is responsible for the pejorative meaning of the sentence.

(1057) • Syntactic positions of various kinds of demonstratives

- a. *Ezt szeretném megvenni.*
 this.Acc like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg buy.Inf
 ‘I would like to buy this (one).’
- b. *Az ebéd most ilyen lett.*
 the lunch now such become.Past.3Sg
 ‘This is how the lunch ended up now.’
- c. [*Ezt az almát*] *szeretném megenni.*
this.Acc the apple.Acc like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg eat.Inf
 ‘I would like to eat this apple.’
- c.’ [*Ilyen almát*] *szeretnék enni.*
such apple.Acc like.Cond.1Sg eat.Inf
 ‘I would like to eat *such an apple*.’

Basic demonstratives may occur both in the pre-D zone (1058a) and in the post-D zone (1058b), following a possessor and a universal determiner (see also subsection 1.1.2.2). *Ez* ‘this’ and *az* ‘that’ always occur in the pre-D zone combined with the definite article *a* ‘the’ as the D head (1058a); while *eme* ‘this other’ and *ama* ‘that other’ cannot co-occur with the definite article, and appear in the post-D zone (1058b). Note, however, that demonstratives which occur in the post-D zone are more or less archaic. Recall that all types of basic demonstratives obligatorily precede numerals in the post-D zone (1.1.2.2).

(1058) • Syntactic positions of basic types of demonstratives

- a. *Ilinek ezeken / azokon / mind-ezeken/ mind-azokon* *(a) *játékain*
 Ili.Dat this.Pl.Sup/ that.Pl.Sup / all-this.Pl.Sup / all-that.Pl.Sup the toy.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Sup
 ‘on the / these / those / [all these] / [all those] toys of Ili’s’
- b. (az) *Ili* *(mind)e / (mind)ezen / [?](mind)eme / [?](mind)ama / ^(?)(mind)azon
 the Ili all this / all this / all this / all that / all that
 (*a) *három játékán*
 the three toy.Poss.3Sg.Sup
 ‘on (all of) these / those three toys of Ili’s’

Other demonstratives cannot occur in the pre-D zone (1059a), and they cannot precede numerals in the post-D zone (1059a’). They can also be combined with the basic demonstratives appearing in the pre-D zone (1059b), but not with the post-D variants (1059b’).

(1059) • Syntactic positions of post-D demonstratives

- a. **Ilinek ilyen / ilyesféle / ekkora a három játéka*
 Ili.Dat such / such_like / such_big the three toy.Poss.3Sg
- a’. *Ilinek három ilyen / ilyesféle / ekkora játéka*
 Ili.Dat three such / such_like / such_big toy.Poss.3Sg.Pl
 ‘the three of such (big) toys of Ili’s’
- b. *Ilinek ez a három ilyen / ^{??}ilyesféle / ^{??}ekkorá játéka*
 Ili.Dat this the three such / such_like / such_big toy.Poss.3Sg
 ‘these three of such (big) toys of Ili’s’
- b’. **Ilinek eme / ezen három ilyen / ilyesféle / ekkora játéka*
 Ili.Dat this / this three such / such_like / such_big toy.Poss.3Sg

Constructions with basic demonstratives are definite and trigger definite conjugation on the matrix verb of the sentence (1060a,a’), while constructions containing other demonstratives can be combined both with the definite article *az* ‘the’ (1060b), and with numerals and quantifiers (1060b’).

(1060) • Basic demonstratives trigger a definite conjugation

- a. *Keres-em / *keres-ek [(ugyan)ezt / (ugyan)azt a könyvet].*
 search-DefObj.1Sg / search-1Sg same this.Acc / same that.Acc the book.Acc
 ‘I am searching [for this / that (same) book].’
- a’. *Keres-em / *keres-ek [(ugyan)eme / (ugyan)ama könyvet].*
 search-DefObj.1Sg / search-1Sg same this_other / same that_other book.Acc
 ‘I am searching [for this other/that other (same) book].’

- b. Keres-em [az ilyen könyveket].
 search-Def.Obj.1Sg the such book.Acc
 'I am searching [for such books].'
- b'. Keres-ek [(egy) /három /néhány ilyen könyvet].
 search-1Sg one / three / some such book.Acc
 'I am searching [for a/one / three / some of such books].'

Given the main differences between basic and other types of demonstratives, in this subsection, we will only deal with basic demonstratives.

B. Different functions of proximal and distal demonstratives

As mentioned above, demonstratives containing a front vowel are proximal, while demonstratives containing a back vowel are distal. Proximal and distal demonstratives indicate different relative distances between the referent of the noun phrase and the (imagined) speaker: the proximal ones indicate that the referent is close to the speaker (Bühler 1934); whereas the distal ones indicate that the referent is more remote from the speaker.

Let us explain their use with some examples. In the examples in (1061), the relevance of the relative distance can be stressed by modifying the noun phrase by means of the adverbs *itt* 'here' and *ott* 'there'. The former adverb is used with proximal demonstratives (1061a), whereas the latter is used with distal ones (1061b). The pointing gesture or the presence of adverbs is not obligatory in many contexts: the distance can be more or less symbolic, as in example (1061c).

(1061) • Proximal and distal demonstratives in deictic contexts

- a. Mennyibe kerül ez a könyv itt / *ott?
 How_much.Ine cost.3Sg this the book here / there
 'How much is this book here?'
- b. Mennyibe kerül az a könyv ott / *itt?
 how_much cost.3Sg that the book there / here
 'How much is that book there?'
- c. Szeretem ezt / azt a várost.
 love.DefObj.1Sg this.Acc / that.Acc the city.Acc
 'I love this / that city.'

Note, however, that this kind of difference between proximal and distal demonstratives holds only in contexts in which the expression containing a demonstrative refers directly to the extra-linguistic (or to an imagined) context. This means that demonstratives are used deictically, such as in the examples in (1061).

Note in passing that contrastiveness also plays a crucial role in the use of demonstratives in deixis. In a contrastive context the speaker expresses that (s)he prefers something rather than another thing (1062a). According to the experiments of Tóth, Csatár and Banga (2014), in a contrastive context native speakers use the distal demonstrative, even though the entity which the demonstrative refers to, is closer to the speaker.

It should be mentioned that with *emez* 'this other' we can compare an object close to the speaker with an object that is also close to her/him (1062b). The same can be said of *amaz* 'that other', it forms a pair with the distal demonstrative *az*

‘that’ in contexts in which both of the objects are far from the speaker (1062c). To sum up, prefix-like elements *em-* and *am-* can emphasize distance. The factors which influence the choice of demonstrative in a contrastive deictic context call for further research.

(1062) ● Proximal and distal demonstratives in contrastive contexts

- a. Melyik szendvicset kéred, a sonkásat vagy a sajtosat?
 which sandwich.Acc ask.DefObj.2Sg the ham_sandwich.Acc or the cheese_sandwich.Acc
 Inkább azt a sajtosat.
 rather that.Acc the cheese_sandwich.Acc
 ‘Which sandwich do you want? The ham sandwich or the cheese one? I’d rather take that cheese sandwich.’
- b. Ez a toll Péteré, emez pedig a tiéd.
 this the pen Péter.Posr this_other by_contrast the you.Posr
 ‘This pen is Péter’s and this other one is yours.’
- c. Az a kutya Julié, amaz pedig Dóráé.
 that the dog Juli.Posr that_other by_contrast Dóra.Posr
 ‘That dog is Juli’s and that other one is Dora’s.’

Demonstratives have other functions besides their deictic use, and it should be emphasized that non-deictic demonstratives are not explicitly associated with a distance (Tóth, Csatár and Banga 2014). Consider the following dialogue (1063).

(1063) ● Demonstratives which do not express distance

- A Tudod, van ez a Juli. Olvastad a könyvét
 know.DefObj.2Sg be.3Sg this the Juli read.Past.DefObj.1Sg the book.Poss.3Sg.Acc
arról a híres színésztől?
that.Del the famous actor.Del
 ‘You know Juli. Did you read her book about *that* famous actor?’
- B Igen, *azt* már olvastam.
 Yes *that.Acc* already read.Past.1Sg
 ‘Yes, I have already read *that one*.’
- A Egy igazi rajongó, *az* nem is tehetett volna másként.
 a real fan *that* no also do.Mod.Past.3Sg be.Cond other.FoE
 ‘A real fan, (*s/he*) couldn’t have done otherwise.’

In the first sentence of the examples in (1063) speaker (A) wants to remind the hearer of an author and of an actor well-known by both of them, and uses the proximal demonstrative *ez* ‘this’ and the distal demonstrative *arról* ‘that.Del’, respectively. This function of demonstratives is defined as anamnestic by Himmelmann (1997).

In the answer, speaker (B) refers back to the aforementioned book, and without repeating the whole noun phrase (s)he uses a distal demonstrative pronoun *azt* ‘that.Acc’. In this utterance, the demonstrative pronoun is anaphoric. In Hungarian, back-reference is realized rather by the distal demonstrative than by the proximal one, however, the choice of the demonstrative is influenced by several pragmatic and textual factors.

In the third sentence the distal demonstrative *az* ‘that’ is a resumptive anaphoric pronoun associated with the left-dislocated noun phrase in a topic position, and

hosts the same case marking which the corresponding noun phrase hosts (in the example, both of them are nominative). In this function, the distal demonstrative appears as the default one (see M2).

Note that the choice of demonstrative pronouns as back-referring elements also coincides with the animacy feature. Since this feature is discussed in subsection 1.1.1.3.5, here we only recall the main observations. In Hungarian, we can refer back to a noun phrase with a [-HUMAN] feature by a pro-element (1064a), by a personal pronoun (1064a', b), or by distal demonstratives (1064c, d). In (1064a) the corresponding noun phrase is singular nominative, and none of the pronouns occurs in the second sentence. In (1064a') the pronoun *vele* 'Ins.3Sg' is the Instrumental case-marked third-person pronoun standing after the verb *végez* 'finish'. In (1064b) the noun phrase is plural and marked with an accusative case suffix; therefore, we can refer back to it again with the case-suffixed variant of the third-person pronoun standing after the verb. However, if the corresponding pronoun does not occur after the verb, but in an operator position before the verb, the distal demonstrative pronoun has to be used. In (1064c) the demonstrative in a focus position refers back to the singular noun phrase *egy könyvet* 'a book.Acc', while in (1064d) the demonstrative stands in a topic position referring back to the plural noun phrase *könyveket* 'book.Pl.Acc'.

(1064) • Animacy-feature influences the choice of back-referring elements (É. Kiss 1999: 176–177)

- a. János megvette a könyvet, de még nem olvasta el.
 János buy.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc but yet no read.Past.DefObj.3Sg away
 'János has bought the book but he hasn't read it yet.'
- a'. János elkezdte a könyvet, de még nem végzett vele.
 János begin.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc but yet no finish.Past.3Sg *Ins.3Sg*
 'János began to read the book but he hasn't finished it yet.'
- b. János megvette a könyveket,
 János buy.Past.DefObj.3Sg the book.Pl.Acc
 de még nem olvasta el őket.
 but yet no read.Past.DefObj.3Sg away *they.Acc*
 'János has bought the books but he hasn't read them yet.'
- c. János Maritól is kapott egy könyvet, és azt olvasta
 János Mari.Abl also get.Past.3Sg a book.Acc and *that.Acc* read.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 el legelőször.
 away first.
 'János also got a book from Mari and that was the one which he read first.'
- d. János Maritól könyveket kapott, és azok tetszettek is neki.
 János Mari.Abl book.Pl.Acc get.Past.3Sg and *that.Pl* please.Past.3Pl also Dat.3Sg
 'János got books from Mari and he liked them.'

It is worth mentioning that in certain circumstances demonstratives can also refer back to noun phrases with the [+HUMAN] feature. There can be more than one noun phrase with the [+HUMAN] feature in the sentence, and the change of the subject in the next sentence is marked with the use of a distal demonstrative pronoun as a back-referring element. In (1065a) the demonstrative pronoun *az* 'that' is coreferential with the object of the first sentence, while the personal pronoun *neki*

‘Dat.3Sg’ is coreferential with the subject of the first sentence. In (1065b), the subject of the first and second sentences is the same, the demonstrative pronoun does not occur in the second sentence. As mentioned above, a more detailed analysis of the animacy-effect can be found in 1.1.1.3.5.1.

(1065) • Demonstratives referring to persons (É. Kiss 1999: 176–177)

- a. János_i meglátta Mari_{tj}. Az_j megörült neki_i.
 János see.Past.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc That glad.Past.3Sg Dat.3Sg
 ‘János caught sight of Mari. She was glad to see him.’
- b. János_i meglátta Mari_{tj}. Megörült neki_j.
 János see.Past.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc glad.Past.3Sg Dat.3Sg
 ‘János caught sight of Mari. He was glad to see her.’ / ‘He was glad about it.’

For the sake of completeness, it must be noted that distal demonstrative pronouns play a particular role in subordination as cataphoric elements (elements which refer ahead). Subordinate clauses can be associated with a distal demonstrative pronoun of the matrix verb which “serves to pick up a case assigned to the clause by the matrix predicate and/ or represent the clause in the matrix operator position that is not available for clausal constituents” (É. Kiss 2002: 230). In example (1066a,b) the pronoun bears the accusative case suffix demonstrating the object status of the matrix clause. While in (1066a) the demonstrative is optional, in (1066b) the pronoun is Q-raised, the occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun is obligatory (about subordination, see E4, about the animacy feature in subordination, see 1.1.1.3.5.2).

(1066) • Demonstratives in subordination

- a. Juli (azt) mondta, hogy eljön a koncertre.
 Juli that.Acc say.Past.DefObj.3Sg that come.3Sg the concert.Sub
 ‘Juli said that she is coming to the concert.’
- b. Juli *(azt) is mondta, hogy eljön a koncertre.
 Juli that.Acc also say.Past.DefObj.3Sg that come.3Sg the concert.Sub
 ‘Juli also said that she is coming to the concert.’

Proximal demonstratives can also be used anticipatorily (i.e. cataphorically), but not in subordination. In dialogues, the introductory sentence may contain a proximal demonstrative, as in example (1067).

(1067) • Discourse deixis

- a. Ránézett és ezt kiabálta: Nyertünk a lottón!
 look_upon.Past.3Sg and this.Acc shout.Past.DefObj.3Sg win.Past.3Pl the lottery.Sup
 ‘He looked at her and shouted: ‘We won the lottery!’
- b. Ez nem lehet igaz! – suttogta meglepetten.
 This do be.Mod.3Sg true whisper.Past.DefObj.3Sg surprised
 ‘This cannot be true’ she whispered with surprise.’

While in the first sentence the proximal demonstrative *ez* ‘this’ is used to refer to the next sentence (cataphoric usage), the second *ez* ‘this’ refer to the whole event described in the utterance, i.e. to the fact that the speaker and his partner won the lottery. In the literature this phenomenon is called discourse deixis (see K. Laczkó 2010), and it is realized in general with a proximal demonstrative pronoun. We

cannot give a detailed description of discourse deixis here, since the behavior of demonstratives in discourse is “a rather unexplored territory” (K. Laczkó 2010: 114).

Finally, demonstratives can also be used to express a negative (1068a) or positive (1068b) evaluation. Under the evaluative reading, the difference between proximal and distal demonstratives does not play any role.

(1068) • Demonstratives in evaluative contexts

- a. *Ez / az az átkozott vakond már megint feltúrta a pázsitot!*
 this / that the damned mole already again up_dig.Past.DefObj.3Sg the lawn.Acc
 ‘That damned mole dug up the lawn again!’
- b. *Ó, ez / az a sármos DiCaprio!*
 Oh this / that the handsome DiCaprio
 ‘Oh, this / that handsome DiCaprio!’

We summarize the various functions of demonstratives in Table 84, based on Levinson (2004: 108).

Table 84: *Functions of demonstrative pronouns in Hungarian*

DEICTIC			NON-DEICTIC			
EXOPHORIC		DISCOURSE DEICTIC (1067b)	ENDOPHORIC		ANAMNESTIC (1063A)	EMPHATIC, EVALUATIVE (1068)
GESTURAL OR TRANSPOSED			ANA- PHORIC (1064b)	CATA- PHORIC (1067a)		
NON- CONTRAS- TIVE (1061a,b)	CONTRAS- TIVE (1062)				SYMBO- LIC (1061c)	

2.5.2.2. *Morphological properties of demonstratives in Hungarian*

Demonstrative pronouns behave like nouns with respect to their ability to host case suffixes (1069a,c). If they are used as determiners, they show agreement in number and case with their nominal head (1069b). Note that only the two basic demonstrative pronouns *ez* ‘this’ and *az* ‘that’ and the two rather old-fashioned variants, *emez* ‘this one over here’ and *amaz* ‘that one over there’, take part in an agreement in predicative use (compare 1069a,c with 1069e,f), and only the basic demonstratives *ez* ‘this’ and *az* ‘that’ are able to take case suffixes as determiners (compare 1069b with 1069d,f).

(1069) • Basic demonstratives can host case suffixes

- a. *Ez-t / az-t kérem.*
 this-Acc / that-Acc ask.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘I would like this / that one.’
- b. *Ez-t / az-t az asztal-t kérem.*
 this-Acc / that-Acc the table-Acc ask.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘I would like this / that table.’
- c. *Emez-t / amaz-t kérem.*
 this_other-Acc / that_other-Acc ask.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘I would like this / that other one.’

- d. *Eme-t / ama-t (asztal-t) kérem.
 this_other-Acc / that_other-Acc table-Acc ask.DefObj.1Sg
- e. *Ezen-t / azon-t kérem.
 this-Acc / that-Acc ask.DefObj.1Sg
- f. *Ezen-t / azon-t asztal-t kérem.
 this-Acc / that-Acc table-Acc ask.DefObj.1Sg

Table 85 summarizes the case-suffixed forms of demonstratives. As can be seen the consonant of the basic demonstrative pronouns assimilates to the consonant of case suffixes, such as in the case of the derivational suffix *-nyi* ‘ful’. The single exception seems to be the Terminative case-marked form *eddig* ‘until this/up to this’ or *addig* ‘until that’, which contains a consonant originating in an archaic stem of the pronoun. Most of the case-suffixed forms of post-D demonstratives *emez* ‘this other’ and *amaz* ‘that other’ are too archaic to be considered well-formed constructions, see the last column of the Table 85.

Table 85: *Case suffixes on demonstrative pronouns*

NOMINATIVE	-∅	ez	emez
ACCUSATIVE	-t/-at/-et/-ot/-öt	ez-t	?emez-t
DATIVE	-nak/-nek	en-nek ‘to this’	?emen-nek ‘to this’
INSTRUMENTAL	-val/-vel	ez-zel/ev-vel ‘with this’	??emez-zel ‘with this’
CAUSALIS	-ért	ez-ért ‘for this’	??emez-ért ‘for this’
TRANSLATIVE/ESSIVE	-vá/-vé	ez-zé ‘(turn) into this’	??emez-zé ‘(turn) into this’
INESSIVE	-ban/-ben	eb-ben ‘in this’	??emeb-ben ‘in this’
SUPERESSIVE	-n/-on/-en/-ön	ez-en ‘on this’	??emez-en ‘on this’
ADESSIVE	-nál/-nél	en-nél ‘at this’	??emen-nél ‘at this’
SUBLATIVE	-ra/-re	er-re ‘onto this’	?emer-re ‘onto this’
DELATIVE	-ról/-ről	er-ről ‘off this’	?emer-ről ‘off this’
ILLATIVE	-ba/-be	eb-be ‘into this’	??emeb-be ‘into this’
ELATIVE	-ból/-ből	eb-ből ‘out of this’	??emeb-ből ‘out of this’
ALLATIVE	-hoz/-hez/-höz	eh-hez ‘to this’	??emeh-hez ‘to this’
ABLATIVE	-tól/-től	et-től ‘from this’	??emet-től ‘from this’
TERMINATIVE	-ig	ed-dig ‘untill this’	??emed-dig ‘untill this’
FORMALIS/ESSIVE	-ként	ek-ként ‘like this’	??emez-ként ‘like this’

Remark 27. In colloquial speech and in certain dialects, case-marking can be doubled on the accusative forms of Pre-D determiners, if they are used independently. However, these constructions are not used in standard Hungarian.

- (i) Kérem ez-t-et.
ask.DefObj.1Sg this-Acc-Acc.
'I would like this one.'
- (ii) Kérem az-t-at.
ask.DefObj.1Sg that-Acc-Acc.
'I would like that one.'

Demonstratives can also bear the plural suffix (1070a) and the possessor suffix *-é* 'Posr' which is used when the word that contains it refers to something/someone possessed by what the relative stem denotes (1070b). However, personal possessive agreement suffixes (1070c), the possessive plural suffix (1070d,d') and the associative plural suffix *-ék* (1070e) do not occur on the pronouns (Bartos 2000b: 704–708). For a detailed analysis, also see the subsection on Agreement (1.1.1.4).

(1070) • Demonstratives can bear several nominal suffixes

- a. [Ez-ek /az-ok / emez-ek / amaz-ok az épület-ek] még a 19. században
this-Pl / that-Pl / this_other-Pl / that_other-Pl the building-Pl still the 19th century.Ine
épültek.
built.Past.3Pl
'This / that / [this other] / [that other] buildings were built in the 19th century.'
- b. A toll [ez-é / az-é / emez-é / amaz-é a fiú-é].
the pen this-Posr / that-Posr / his_other-Posr / that_other-Posr the boy-Posr
'The pen is possessed by this / that / [this other] / [that other] boy.'
- c. [Ez / az /*ez-em / *az-om / *emez-em /*amaz-om a kutyá-m]
this / that / this-Poss.1Sg / that-Poss.1Sg / this_other-Poss.1Sg / that_other-1Sg the dog-Poss.1Sg
beteg lett.
ill become.Past.3Sg
'This / that dog of mine got ill.'
- d. [Ez a kutyám] beteg lett.
this the dog.Poss.1Sg ill become.Past.3Pl
'These dogs of mine got ill.'
- d'. [*Ez-e-im / *emez-e-i-m a kutyá-i-m] betegek lettek.
this-Poss-Pl-1Sg / this_other-Poss-Pl-1Sg the dog.Poss-Pl-1Sg ill.Pl become.Past.3Pl
'These dogs of mine got ill.'
- e. *Ez-ék / *Az-ék / *Emez-ék / *Amaz-ék a fiú-ék látogattak meg.
this-Apl / that-Apl / this_other-Apl / that_other-Apl the boy-Apl visit.Past.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: 'I was visited by THIS / THAT BOY AND THE OTHERS.'

Remark 28. In the north-eastern dialectal region, plural marking does not appear on the demonstrative itself (i) (Egedi 2014: 80–81). Egedi also mentions a certain dialect spoken in the village Domos, where the case-marking also disappears (ii).

- (i) Hagyjuk ez-t a gyerek-ek-et táncolni.
let.Subj.1Pl this-Acc the child-Pl-Acc dance.Inf
'Let these children dance.'
- (ii) Add az a gyermek-nek.
give.Subj.2Sg that the child-Dat
'Give (it) to that child.'

Pre-D demonstrative pronouns can also be combined with postpositions (1071). Besides dressed postpositions which take unmarked complements, the demonstrative also remains unmarked (1071a). So-called naked postpositions take oblique complements, besides them the demonstrative itself is also case-marked (1071b). Note, however, that the patterns are not entirely the same. If the demonstrative is used as a determiner, it shows agreement with the head noun. In the case of dressed postposition, the postposition occurs twice: once besides the demonstrative pronoun and once besides the head noun (1071a'). In the case of naked postpositions, the postposition occurs only after the head noun (1071b'), the pattern which was well-formed besides dressed postpositions is ill-formed now (1071c).

(1071) ● Demonstrative constructions in PPs

- a. [^(?)Ez alatt] / [^(?)az alatt] / *[eme(z) alatt] találtuk meg a labdát.
 this under / that under / this_other under find.Past.DefObj.1Pl perf the ball.Acc
 'We found the ball before this / that.'
- a'. [Ez alatt a fa alatt] / [az alatt a fa alatt] volt a labda.
 this under the tree under / that under the tree under be.Past.3Sg the ball
 'The ball was under this / that tree.'
- b. [Ezen túl] / [azon túl] van Horvátország.
 this.Sup over / that over be.3Sg Croatia
 'Croatia is over this / that.'
- b'. [Ezen a folyón túl] / [azon a folyón túl] van Horvátország.
 this.Sup the river.Sup over / that.Sup the river.Sup over be.3Sg Croatia
 'Croatia is over this / that river.'
- c. [*Ezen túl a folyón túl] /
 this.Sup over the river.Sup over /
 [*azon túl a folyón túl] van Horvátország.
 that.Sup over the river.Sup over be.3Sg Croatia

With respect to suffix-like semiwords (see Remark 18), *-fajta* 'kind', *-féle* 'sort' and *-szerű* 'like', demonstratives can be combined with the first two, but not with the latter one (compare (1072a,b) with (1072c)). Note that in these constructions the demonstrative stands behind the D head, and the suffix-like element does not occur after the nominal head.

(1072) ● Semiwords co-occurring with demonstratives

- a. Nem szeretem az ef-féle / af-féle helyeket.
 no like.DefObj.1Sg the this-sort / that sort place.Pl.Acc
 'I don't like this/that sort of places.'
- b. Nem szeretem az ef-fajta /^{??}af-fajta zenét.
 no like.Def.Obj.1Sg the this-kind / that-kind music.Acc
 'I don't like this/that kind of music.'
- c. Nem szeretem az *e-szerű / *a-szerű megoldásokat.
 no like.DefObj.1Sg the this-like / that-like solution.Pl.Acc

Note in passing: the fact that demonstratives can bear certain nominal suffixes does not automatically mean that they behave similarly to noun phrases in sentences. An

un-marked noun, for instance, can be used as an un-marked possessor (1073a), but an independently used demonstrative cannot (1073b) (É. Kiss 2002: 170). Pre-D demonstratives can only be used as NAK possessor (1073c), while post-D demonstratives as NAK possessors are archaic to some extent (1073c’).

(1073) ● Demonstratives cannot be used as un-marked possessors

- a. A kutya lába megsérült.
the dog leg.Poss.3Sg get_hurt.Past.3Sg
‘The dog’s leg got hurt.’
- b. *[Ez / az / ezen / azon / eme / ama lába] megsérült.
this / that / this / that / this_other / that_other leg.Poss.3Sg. get_hurt.Past.3Sg
- c. [A kutyának a lába] / [Ennek / annak a lába] megsérült.
the dog.Dat / the leg.Poss.3Sg / this.Dat / that.Dat the leg.Poss.3Sg get_hurt.Past.3Sg
‘[The dog’s leg] / [the leg of this / that] one got hurt.’
- c’. [[?]Emennek / [?]amannak a lába] megsérült.
this_other.Dat / that_other.Dat the leg.Poss.3Sg get_hurt.Past.3Sg
‘The leg of this / that other one got hurt.’

2.5.2.2.1. *Demonstrative as determiner*

With respect to their functions, we can distinguish between demonstratives functioning as modifiers and demonstratives functioning as independent nouns. In the former case, the demonstrative is a determiner. In this subsection we will focus on this function, and will only make some brief remarks on the use of demonstratives as arguments and as predicates in the following subsections (2.5.2.2.2, and 2.5.2.2.3).

As was mentioned above (2.5.2.2), basic demonstratives may occur both in the pre-D zone and in the post-D zone. However, (*ugyan*)*ez* ‘this (same)’ and (*ugyan*)*az* ‘that (same)’ always occur in the pre-D zone combined with the definite article *a* ‘the’ as the D head, while (*ugyan*)*eme* ‘this other/same’ and (*ugyan*)*ama* ‘that other/same’ cannot co-occur with the definite article, and appear in the post-D zone. Recall the general structure of the determining domain (see 1.1.2.2, example (105)).

(1074) ● The general structure of the determining domain of the noun phrase

- a. Pre-D zone:
[... NP ...]_{NAK} ∇ DP_{Dem} **D** ... [NP-domain] ...]
- b. Post-D zone:
[... **D** [... NP ...]_∅ ∇ DetP_{Dem} NumP [NP-domain] ...]
- c. Post-NP zone:
[... [NP-domain] XP* CP]

Pre-D demonstratives show agreement in number and case with their nominal head, while post-D ones do not. Pre-D demonstratives as determiners cannot co-occur with other determiners, e.g. *-ik* quantifiers like *mindegyik* ‘each’ in (1075a), or post-D demonstrative, as in (1075b), within a single DP.

(1075) • Demonstratives cannot co-occur with other determiners (except the definite article)

- a. [*ez a mind-egy-ik fiú] / [*az a mind-egy-ik fiú]
 [this the each_one_ik boy] / [that the each_one_ik boy]
- b. [*ez az eme fiú] / [*az az ama fiú]
 [this the this_other boy] / [that the that_other boy]

The use of pre-D demonstratives is also restricted in possessive constructions. If the possessor is unmarked, such as *fiú* ‘boy’ in (1076a), the demonstrative cannot appear. Recall that the combination of a pre-D demonstrative pronoun with an unmarked possessor is only possible with personal pronouns, and the construction is interpreted in a pejorative sense ((1076a’), see also the examples in (108)). Since post-D demonstratives follow the possessor, their occurrence is allowed (1076b). Both of the demonstratives can appear besides NAK possessors (1076c,d).

(1076) • Demonstratives in possessive constructions

- a. *ez-t a fiú könyvé-t
 this-Acc the boy book.Poss.3Sg-Acc
- a’. ez-t a te híres barátod-at
 this-Acc the you famous friend.Poss.2Sg-Acc
 ‘this famous friend of yours’
- b. a fiú eme könyvé-t
 the boy this_other book.Poss.3Sg-Acc
 ‘this other book of the boy’
- c. a fiú-nak ez-t a könyvé-t
 the boy-Dat this-Acc the book.Poss.3Sg-Acc
 ‘this book of the boy’
- d. a fiúnak eme könyvé-t
 the boy.Dat this_other book.Poss.3Sg-Acc
 ‘this book of the boy’

There are also restrictions on the use of post-D demonstratives. Since these phenomena were discussed in 1.1.2.2, we only repeat the main observations here. We examined whether a PartP may appear in all the three positions relative to the demonstrative–numeral pair: before the demonstrative (1077a), between the demonstrative and the numeral (1077b), and after the numeral (1077c), and we established that the grammaticality judgments depend on the position of the PartP and on the quality of the initial sound of the word (consonant/vowel) immediately following the given demonstrative. For the detailed analysis see (1.1.2.2, example (125)).

(1077) • The order of non-simplex adjectival participles, demonstrative elements and numerals

- a. a [_{PartP} Pinket felemelő] *e / eme / [?]ezen / ^{??}ama / ^{*?}azon öt táncos
 the Pink.Acc lifting this / this / this / that / that five dancer
 ‘these / those five dancers who lift Pink’
- b. *e / eme / ^{??}ezen / [?]ama / *azon [_{PartP} Adele-t felemelő] három táncos
 this / this / this / that / that Adele-Acc lifting three dancer
 ‘these / those three dancers lifting Adele’

- c. *e /eme /??ezen /(?)ama /*?azon öt [PART Pinket felemelő] táncos
 this / this / this / that / that five Pink.Acc lifting dancer
 ‘these / those five dancers lifting Pink’

2.5.2.2.2. *Demonstratives as arguments*

This subsection discusses demonstrative pronouns that can be used as arguments. Since in subsection 2.5.2.1 we summarized most functions of demonstratives in texts and discourses, in this subsection we only illustrate the use of demonstratives with a brief example. As can be seen in (1078), an independently occurring demonstrative can play the role of the subject (1078a), accusative object (1078b) or an oblique case-marked argument (1078c,d) of a verb (1078a,d), of a non-finite clause (1078b) or of an adjective. As can be seen above (1071), it can also appear in PPs, just like other noun phrases.

(1078) • Demonstratives as arguments

- a. Ez is nagyon zavar.
 this also very disturb.3Sg
 ‘This also disturbs me very much.’
- b. Ezt meg fogod érteni.
 this.Acc perf will.DefObj.2Sg understand.Inf
 ‘You will understand it’
- c. Erre büszke vagyok.
 this.Sub proud be.1Sg
 ‘I’m proud of it.’
- d. Erről nem beszélhetünk.
 this.Del no speak.Mod.1Pl
 ‘We are not allowed to speak about it.’

2.5.2.2.3. *Demonstratives as predicates*

The examples in (1079) show that demonstratives can also be used to refer to an adjectival or nominal predicate. In (1079a), both the distal and the proximal pre-D demonstratives can be used as a nominal predicate. In (1079b), a subordinate clause is associated with the demonstrative which is used predicatively, in this case the distal demonstrative is the only possible choice. In (1079c), the demonstrative as predicate refers back to a nominal predicate (*tanár* ‘teacher’), while in (1079d) it refers to an adjectival one (*okos* ‘clever’). Surprisingly in both cases the distal demonstrative *az* ‘that’ occurs. Neither the proximal demonstrative *ez* ‘this’ nor the adjectival demonstrative *olyan* ‘such’ can appear in this context. The distal demonstrative *az* ‘that’ also refers back to predicative adjectives (1079e).

(1079) • Demonstratives as predicative elements

- a. A legkényelmesebb fotel a szobában
 the most_comfortable armchair the room.Ine
*ez / az / emez / amaz / *eme / *ama / *e.*
this / that / this_other / that_other / this_other / that_other / this
 ‘The most comfortable armchair in the room is *this / that.*’

- b. Péter *az* / **ez* / **ama* / **eme*, akire mindig vágytam.
 Péter *that / this / that_other / this_other* which.Sub always wish.Past.1Sg
 ‘Péter is the one who I have always wanted.’
- c. Úgy tudtam, hogy Péter tanár, és *az* / **ez* / **ama* / **eme* is.
 so know.Past.1Sgt that Péter teacher and *that / this / that_other / this_other* also.
 ‘As far as I knew, Péter was a teacher, and he is indeed a teacher.’
- d. Úgy tudtam, hogy Péter okos, és *az* / **ez* / **eme* / **ama* / **olyan* is.
 so know.Past.1Sg that Péter clever and *that / this / this_other / that_other / such* also
 Intended meaning: ‘As far as I knew Péter was clever, and he actually is clever.’
- e. Pétert okosnak tartják?
 Péter.Acc clever.Dat consider.DefObj.3Sg
 Igen, annak / **olyannak* / **ennek* / **emeznek*.
 Yes that.Dat / such.Dat / this.Dat / this_other.Dat
 ‘Is Péter considered clever?’ Yes, he is considered clever.’

2.5.3. *Determiners containing the unique identification suffix -ik*

In Hungarian, there are certain determiners containing the unique identification suffix *-ik*. As can be seen in subsection 2.6.1.3.3, this suffix also appears on ordinal numerals (1080a). This suffix can also be added to comparative adjectives (1080b), and to some pronouns (1080c).

As regards their semantics, we can say that “nominals marked for *-ik* assume a limited set of items predefined for both speaker and listener, and are identified by personal knowledge as unique” (Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi 1998: 260).

(1080) • Functions of the suffix *-ik*

- a. Ez lesz a harm-ad-ik műtétem.
 This will_be.3Sg the three-Fract-Ord operation.Poss.1Sg.
 ‘This will be my third surgery.’
- b. A nagyobb-ik lányom jövőre megy iskolába.
 the bigger-ik daughter.Poss.1Sg future.Sub go.3Sg school.Ill
 ‘My elder daughter will go to school next year.’
- c. Egy-ik / mind-egy-ik / vala-mely-ik diákom nyelvész lesz.
 one-ik / each-one-ik / some-which-ik student.Poss.1Sg linguist will_be.3Sg
 ‘One / all / one of my students will be a linguist.’

All constructions containing an *-ik* determiner are definite, and trigger definite conjugation (1081). However, they do not have a uniform syntactic distribution. *Egyik* ‘one’ and *másik* ‘other one’ can occur with the definite article (1081a,b), while the interrogative pronoun *melyik* ‘which one’ and the *-ik* quantifiers cannot be combined with it (1081c,d). Note that *másik* ‘other one’ can also function attributively; in this case it is synonymous with *másmilyen* ‘other’, and the noun phrase is indefinite (1081b’). Other *-ik* determiners also have an attributive counterpart, for instance *valamelyik* ‘some’–*valamilyen* ‘a sort of’, *bármelyik* ‘whichever’–*bármilyen* ‘whatsoever’.

(1081) ● Combination of the definite article and *-ik* determiners and quantifiers

- a. (Az) egy-ik lányomat ismered.
 the one-*IK* daughter.Poss.1Sg.Acc know.DefObj.2Sg
 ‘You know one of my daughters.’
- a’. Ismered [?](az) egy-ik lányomat?
 know.DefObj.2Sg the one-*IK* daughter.Poss.1Sg.Acc
 ‘Do you know one of my daughters?’
- b. *(A) más-ik lányomat is meghívod a koncertre.
 the other-*IK* daughter.Poss.1Sg.Acc also invite.DefObj.2Sg the concert.Sub
 ‘You also invite my other daughter to the concert’
- b’. (Egy) másik / más-milyen ceruzát kérek.
 a other-*IK* / other-what_like pencil.Acc ask.1Sg
 ‘I would like another pencil.’
- c. (*A) mely-ik lányomat ismered?
 the which_one-*IK* daughter.Poss.1Sg.Acc know.DefObj.2Sg
 ‘Which of my daughters do you know?’
- d. (*A) bármelyik / valamelyik / mindegyik lányt meghívnam
 the any-*IK* / some-*IK* / each_one-*IK* girl.Acc invite.Cond.DefObj.1Sg
 a koncertre.
 the concert.Sub
 ‘I would like to invite [one of] / [some of] / [each of] the girls to the concert.’

As was mentioned above, other demonstratives typically cannot be combined with *-ik* determiners (1082a,d); however, the expression *másik* ‘other one’ seems to be an exception (1082b). If the *-ik* suffix is added to a comparative adjective, the occurrence of a pre-D demonstrative is not excluded (1082c).

(1082) ● Combination of demonstratives and *-ik* determiners and quantifiers

- a. *Azt az egy-ik lányt ismered.
 that.Acc the one-*IK* girl.Acc know.DefObj.2Sg
- b. Azt a más-ik lányt is meghívod a koncertre.
 that.Acc the other-*IK* girl.Acc also invite.DefObj.2Sg the concert.Sub
 ‘You also invite the other girl to the concert.’
- c. [Azt a kisebb-ik táskámat] / *[a kisebbik ama táskámat]
 that.Acc the smaller-*IK* bag.Poss.1Sg.Acc / the smaller-*IK* that_other bag.Poss.1Sg.Acc
 elveszítettem.
 lost.Past.1Sg
 ‘I have lost my smaller bag.’
- d. A [?]nagyobb-ik / *mindegy-ik / *az egyik eme lányt meghívnam.
 the bigger-*IK* / each_one-*IK* / the one-*IK* this_other girl.Acc invite.Cond.DefObj.2Sg

For semantic reasons, *egyik* ‘one’ and *mindegyik* ‘each one’ cannot appear with cardinal numerals, only with ordinal ones (see 1083a,c). Other *-ik* determiners and quantifiers may appear besides numerals, and they take the position directly preceding numerals (1083b).

- (1083) ● Combination of *-ik* determiners, quantifiers and numerals
- a. [Az egyik / a másik második helyezett] /
 the one / the other_one second placed /
 [az *egyik / a másik két versenyző] elérzékenyült.
 the one / the other_one two competitor be_touched.Past.3Sg
 ‘[The one/the other second-placed competitor] / [the other two competitors] were touched.’
 - b. [Melyik második helyezett] / [melyik két versenyző]
 which_one second placed / which_one two competitor
 érzékenyült el?
 be_touched.Past.3Sg away
 ‘[Which one of the second-placed competitors] / [which two competitors] were touched?’
 - c. [Mindegyik / valamelyik második helyezett] /
 each-one / some-one second placed /
 [*mindegyik / valamelyik két versenyző] elérzékenyült.
 each_one / some-one two competitor be_touched.Past.3Sg
 ‘[All / some of the second-placed competitors] / [two competitors] were touched.’

Constructions containing the suffix *-ik* may also be used independently in elliptical noun phrases, in which the overt suffixes of the elided noun phrase are phonologically added to the determiner, see examples in (1084).

- (1084) ● *-ik* determiners in elliptical noun phrases

- a. Mindegyikből egyél!
 each_one.Ela eat.Subj.2Sg
 ‘Eat from each one.’
- b. Csak az egyiket kérem.
 only the one.Acc ask.DefObj.1Sg
 ‘I would like only the one of them’.

When used independently, *-ik* determiners can appear with plural possessive suffixes referring to humans (1085a,a’’) and with the third person possessive suffix (1085b). The implicit partitive meaning of the suffix is evident in these examples: *egyikük* ‘one of them’ for instance refers to a certain person of a presupposed set of people.

Note that there is only a stylistic difference between *mindegyikünk* ‘each one of us’ and *mindegyikőnk* ‘each one of us’, namely, the latter one is more archaic (see (1085a)).

Possessive suffixed *-ik* pronouns behave like other nouns, and can function not only as subjects and objects but also as possessors (1085c).

- (1085) ● *-ik* determiners with possessive suffixes

- a. (Mind)egyikünk / (mind)egyikőnk segíteni szeretne.
 each_one.Poss.1Pl / each_one.Poss.1Pl help.Inf like.Cond.3Sg
 ‘One of us / each and every one would like to help.’
- a’. (Mind)egyikőtök segíteni szeretne.
 each_one.Poss.2Pl help.Inf like.Cond.3Sg
 ‘One of you / each and all of you would like to help.’

- a". (Mind)egyikük / mindegyikőjük segíteni szeretne.
 each_one.Pl.3Sg / each_one.Pl.3Sg help.Inf like.Cond.3Sg
 'One of them / each and all of them would like to help.'
- b. A diákok (mind)egyike segíteni szeretne.
 the student.Pl each_one.Poss.3Sg help.Inf like.Cond.3Sg
 'Each of the students would like to help.'
- c. Figyeljük meg bármelyikük(nek) a) magatartását!
 observe.Subj.1Pl perf any.Poss.3Sg.(Dat the) behavior.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'Observe the behavior of any of them.'

In elliptical noun phrases, *-ik* determiners can also be used predicatively, see the examples in (1086).

- (1086) • *-ik* determiners used predicatively in elliptical noun phrases
- a. Az iskolában két kitűnő tanuló van. Péter az egyik,
 the school.Ine two pre-eminent student be.3Sg Péter the one
 Juli a másik.
 Juli the other_one
 'There are two pre-eminent students in the school. Péter is one of them, Juli is the other one.'
- b. A barátaim közül András az egyik,
 the friend.Pl.Poss.1Sg from_among András the one
 akiben még sosem csalódtam.
 who.Ine still never be_disappointed.Past.1Sg
 'András is one of those friends of mine, I've never been disappointed in.'
- c. Sok okos barátom van.
 many clever friend.Poss.1Sg be.3Sg
 ?Andrást tartom az egyiknek.
 Andás.Acc consider.DefObj.1Sg the one.Dat
 'I have many clever friends. I consider András the one of them.'

2.6. Numerals and quantifiers (*Éva Dékány and Anikó Csirmaz*)

This chapter will discuss the use of numerals and quantifiers within the nominal projection. Generally speaking, these elements occur in prenominal position after the determiners (1087a). This can be accounted for by assuming that the structure of the noun phrase is as given in (1087b), where D indicates the position of determiners and NUM / Q the position that can be occupied by a numeral or a quantifier.

- (1087) • The position of numerals and quantifiers within the noun phrase
- a. ez az én három / sok nehéz könyvem
 this the I three / many heavy book.Poss.1Sg
 'these three/many heavy books of mine'
- b. [_{DP} D [_{NumP} NUM/Q [_{NP} ... N ...]]]

We will start in subsection 2.6.1 with a discussion of the numerals. Subsection 2.6.2 will be concerned with the quantifiers. Subsection 2.6.3 concludes this chapter with a discussion of sortal numeral classifiers.

2.6.1. Numerals

This subsection summarizes the morphology, syntax and semantics of numerals and those of expressions involving numerals. The discussion addresses cardinal numerals first (subsection 2.6.1.1) and then it turns to fractional numerals (section 2.6.1.2) and finally to ordinal numerals (subsection 2.6.1.3).

2.6.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The subsection addresses the following aspects of cardinal numerals in order: morphological makeup (subsection 2.6.1.1.1); semantic properties (subsection 2.6.1.1.2); the syntax of noun phrases that contain cardinals (subsection 2.6.1.1.3); modification structures (subsection 2.6.1.1.4); and special constructions or properties involving cardinal numerals (subsection 2.6.1.1.5).

2.6.1.1.1. Simple and compound forms

2.6.1.1.1.1. Simple forms

Hungarian uses a decimal numeral system. There are monomorphemic equivalents for ‘half’, for numbers from ‘zero’ to ‘ten’, for ‘twenty’ (1088a) and for powers of ‘ten’ (1088b). The counting form (used when reciting the counting sequence) and the attributive form of cardinals (used in combination with nouns) is the same.

(1088) • Monomorphemic numerals

- a. fél, nulla / zéró, egy, kettő, három, négy, öt, hat, hét, nyolc,
half zero / zero one two three four five six seven eight
kilenc, tíz, húsz
nine ten twenty
- b. száz, ezer, millió, milliárd
hundred thousand million billion
‘hundred, thousand, million, billion’

Remark 29. An alternative, colloquial, perhaps dialectal or idiolectal way of expressing *ezer* ‘thousand’ is *kiló* ‘kilo’ (i):

- (i) két k/kiló
two k/kilo
‘two thousand’

When used attributively, numerals precede the noun (1089). Note that the noun does not have plural marking in the presence of a numeral.

- (1089) öt tojás
five egg
‘five eggs’

The numeral ‘two’ has two forms, *kettő* and *két*. Generally, the former is used in counting, as shown in (1088a). The form *két* is often used when setting the rhythm, for example, several people marching together (1090). These variants of ‘two’ will be discussed in detail in subsection 2.6.1.1.5.1.

- (1090) egy, két, egy, két
 one two one two
 ‘one, two, one, two’

In such contexts, the numeral *három* also appears in a special truncated form, *há(r)* (1091):

- (1091) egy, két, há(r), négy
 one two three four
 ‘one, two, three, four’

Both forms of ‘two’ are acceptable as attributives (1092a), but only the longer form of ‘three’ is (1092b):

- (1092) ● Acceptable forms of ‘two’ and ‘three’ in attributive position
- a. két / kettő tojás
 two / two egg
 ‘two eggs’
 - b. három / *hár tojás
 three / three egg
 ‘three eggs’

There also appears to be a monomorphemic form for ‘twelve’: *tucat* is the equivalent of English ‘dozen’ (1093a). Unlike real cardinals, however, *tucat* must always be preceded by a multiplier: a numeral or a (non-downward monotonic) quantifier (1093b).

- (1093) ● The use of *tucat* ‘dozen’
- a. *(egy / kettő / húsz) tucat
 one / two / twenty dozen
 ‘one / two / twenty dozen(s)’
 - b. több tucat, *kevés tucat
 more dozen few dozen
 ‘several dozens, (a) few dozens’

Tucat ‘dozen’ is different from real cardinals in another way, too. Real cardinals can be directly suffixed by the collective suffix *-Vn* to form predicative numerals (1094a). *Tucat* ‘dozen’, on the other hand, cannot be suffixed by the collective suffix directly: the suffix *-nyi* ‘-ful’, generally expressing a quantity corresponding to some container or measure, must appear between *tucat* and the collective suffix (1094b). The same suffix cannot appear between real cardinals and the collective suffix.

- (1094) ● The collective suffix with real cardinals and *tucat* ‘dozen’
- a. A diákok het-en voltak.
 the student.PL seven-Coll be.Past.3Pl
 ‘There were seven students.’
- b. A diákok hét tucat*(-nyi)-an voltak.
 the student.PL seven dozen-ful-Coll be.Past.3Pl
 ‘There were seven dozen students.’

Tucat ‘dozen’ and complex cardinals containing *tucat* cannot be used in the counting sequence, but they are grammatical in an attributive position.

2.6.1.1.1.2. Complex forms

1. Derivation and compounding

The rest of the cardinals are formed by derivation and compounding. (There are also a few cases of subtraction and division, however, which we take up in the next subsection.) Derivation involves cases where the complex form is derived by means of a bound morpheme. This is mainly the case with the formation of those numerals from 40 to 90 that correspond to multiples of 10. Compounding forms complex cardinal numerals from simpler ones that can occur independently. It must be noted, however, that at least some of these complex forms may plausibly be analyzed as phrases. According to the orthographical conventions of Hungarian, if numerals are written out with letters, then complex numerals up to 2000 are written as one word, while numerals higher than 2000 involve hyphenation.

As far as multiples of ten are concerned, ‘twenty’ and ‘thirty’ have suppletive forms (1095a), while ‘forty’ through ‘ninety’ are formed by the *-van/-ven* suffix, the equivalent of English *-ty* (1095b). The surface form of the suffix *-van/-ven* is determined by vowel harmony: the choice of allomorph is determined by whether the stem contains front or back vowels. Note that the long vowel in *négy* ‘four’ and *hét* ‘seven’ is shortened when the numeral is suffixed by *-van/-ven*. Throughout the section, hyphens are used to indicate morpheme boundaries; these hyphens are not present in the standard Hungarian orthography.

- (1095) ● Multiples of ‘ten’
- a. tíz, húsz, harminc
 ten twenty thirty
 ‘ten, twenty, thirty’
- b. negy-ven, öt-ven, hat-ven, het-ven, nyolc-ven, kilenc-ven
 four-ty five-ty six-ty seven-ty eight-ty nine-ty
 ‘forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety’

Cardinal numerals that are not multiples of ten are formed by adding the single digit numeral to the multiple of ten. For ‘eleven’ through ‘twenty nine’, an additional affix appears between the two numerals. The affix is *-on/-en* (1096), with the allomorphic choice regulated by vowel harmony with the preceding stem. The long vowel (in *tíz* ‘ten’ and *húsz* ‘twenty’) is also affected; these vowels become short, as indicated by the spelling.

- (1096) tiz-en-egy, tiz-en-öt, husz-on-egy, husz-on-öt
 ten-ty-one ten-ty-five twenty-ty-one twenty-ty-five
 ‘eleven, fifteen, twenty-one, twenty-five’

The cardinals ‘thirty-one’ through ‘ninety-nine’ are formed by simply placing a numeral after a multiple of ‘ten’ (1097).

- (1097) harminc-egy, negyven-kettő, ötven-három, hatvan-négy
 thirty-one forty-two fifty-three sixty-four
 ‘thirty-one, forty-two, fifty-three, sixty-four’

Multiples of ‘hundred’, ‘thousand’, ‘million’, etc. are formed by placing the required multiple in front of the numeral (1098).

- (1098) három-száz, tíz-ezer, száz-millió
 three-hundred ten-thousand hundred-million
 ‘three hundred, ten thousand, hundred million’

The numerals in (1097) can be placed after the numerals in (1098) to form other numerals, and combinations of numerals involving multiples of ‘one hundred’ can also be combined naturally (1099a). Numerals are ordered in a decreasing order (e.g. ‘thousand’, possibly modified by a numeral, followed by ‘hundred’, possibly modified by a numeral, etc). This type of compounding can form numbers of great length (1099b).

- (1099) a. három-száz-harminc-egy
 three-hundred-thirty-one
 ‘three hundred and thirty-nine’
- b. hét-száz-milliárd-öt-millió-négy-száz-ezer-száz-nyolcvan-kilenc
 seven-hundred-billion-five-million-four-hundred-thousand-hundred-eighty-nine
 ‘seven hundred billion five million four hundred thousand one hundred and eighty-nine’

‘Hundred’, ‘thousand’, etc. can also be modified by certain quantifiers (1100a). As shown below, downward monotonic quantifiers (*kevés* ‘few’, *kevesebb* ‘fewer’) are ungrammatical in these structures (1100b).

- (1100) a. sok / több / néhány / pár száz alma
 many / several / few / couple hundred apple
 ‘many / several / [a few] / [a couple of] hundred apples’
- b. *kevés száz alma, *kevesebb ezer alma
 few hundred apple, fewer thousand apple
 Intended meaning: ‘few hundred apples, fewer thousand apples’

Special rules apply if the multiplier is ‘one’. *Egy* ‘one’ is ungrammatical with *tíz* ‘ten’; it is optional with *száz* ‘hundred’ and *ezer* ‘thousand’; it is obligatory with *millió* ‘million’ and onwards (1101).

- (1101) (*egy-)tíz, (egy-)száz, (egy-)ezer, (egy-)millió
 one-ten one-hundred one-thousand one-million
 ‘ten, one hundred, one thousand, one million’

With the bare numeral *száz* ‘hundred’, all modifiers are grammatical. If *egy* ‘one’ co-occurs with *száz* ‘hundred’, however, then some speakers find *pont* ‘exactly’ to be degraded (1102a). No such restriction holds, however, for *ezer* ‘thousand’ (1102b).

- (1102) a. kerek(en) / pontosan / [%]pont / éppen / majdnem egy-száz forint
 round(Adv) / exactly / exactly / exactly / almost one-hundred HUF
 ‘exactly / almost one hundred forints’
- b. kerek(en) / pontosan / pont / éppen / majdnem egy-ezer forint
 round(Adv) / exactly / exactly / exactly / almost one-thousand HUF
 ‘exactly / almost one thousand forints’

The conjunction *ezer és egy* ‘thousand and one’ can exceptionally have a quantifier interpretation ‘many’ (1103):

- (1103) a. Ezer és egy kifogásom van.
 thousand and one excuse.Poss.1sg be.3Sg
 ‘I have [a thousand and one] / many excuses.’
- b. *[Tíz és egy] / *[száz és egy] / *[millió és egy] kifogásom van.
 ten and one / hundred and one / million and one excuse.Poss.1Sg be.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I have many excuses.’

II. Subtraction and division

The productive ways of forming Hungarian complex numerals are derivation and compounding, as discussed in the previous subsection. However, there are also sporadic examples of subtraction and division in the language. Examples of division involve powers of ten that are divided either into two (via the multiplier *fél* ‘half’, as in 1104a) or four (via the multiplier *negyed* ‘quarter’, as in 1104b). Such forms are always an alternative to some other form that uses multiplication:

- (1104) ● Complex cardinals by division of ‘hundred’
- a. fél-száz / ötven
 half-hundred / five.ty
 ‘half a hundred, fifty’
- b. negyed-millió / kétszázötvenezer
 quarter-million / two.hundred.fifty.thousand
 ‘quarter million, two hundred and fifty thousand’

Not all powers of ten numerals are acceptable with *fél* ‘half’ and *negyed* ‘quarter’. The following example shows that *száz* ‘hundred’ and *ezer* ‘thousand’ are ungrammatical with *negyed* ‘quarter’ (1105b). Note that *tíz* ‘ten’ is unacceptable with both *fél* ‘half’ and *negyed* ‘quarter’.

- (1105) ● Complex cardinals by division with ‘half’ and ‘quarter’
- a. fél-száz / fél-ezer / fél-millió / fél-milliárd
 half-hundred / half-thousand / half-million / half-billion
 ‘half a hundred, half a thousand, half a million, half a billion’

- b. *negyed-száz / *negyed-ezer / negyed-millió / negyed-milliárd
 quarter-hundred / quarter-thousand / quarter-million / quarter-billion
 'quarter hundred, quarter thousand, quarter million, quarter billion'

The division-based constructions shown above are more frequent with higher numerals (*millió* 'million' and above). *Tucat* 'dozen' can also appear with *fél* 'half' (1106a) but not with *negyed* 'quarter' (1106b).

(1106) • *Tucat* 'dozen' in the division construction

- a. fél-tucat
 half-dozen
 'half a dozen'
- b. *negyed-tucat
 quarter-dozen

The subtractive *híján* 'missing' construction can be used to express numbers when the number subtracted from is the expected cardinality of the items involved, or a number of items with that cardinality would make a complete set. That is, an example like (1107) can be used when we expected to have forty students, or when forty students would have made a complete set (for instance in a game that requires forty players).

(1107) • Complex cardinals by subtraction

- kettő híján negyven
 two missing forty
 'thirty-eight (lit. two missing forty)'

The *híján* 'missing' construction can be used to express numbers in an attributive (1108a) or a predicative position (1108b) but not in the counting sequence.

- (1108) a. Kettő híján negyven diák jött.
 two missing forty student come.Past.3Sg
 'Thirty-eight students came. (lit: Two short of forty students came.)'
- b. Az egyik tizenkilenc, a másik egy híján húsz.
 the one nineteen the other one missing twenty
 'One is the same as the other. (lit. One is nineteen, the other is one missing twenty.)'

The number that is being subtracted must be small in comparison with the number that is being subtracted from (1109).

- (1109) *tíz híján negyven
 ten missing forty
 Intended meaning: 'thirty (lit. ten missing forty)'

III. The *fél* 'half' construction

The numeral 'one and a half' can be expressed either literally as 'one and a half' (1110a), or with a special complex form composed of *más* 'other' and *fél* 'half' (1110b).

- (1110) a. egy és fél
 one and half
 ‘one and a half’
- b. más-fél
 other half
 ‘one and a half’

The Hungarian ordinal ‘second’ is derived from *más* ‘other’ rather than *kettő* ‘two’; Hungarian ‘second’ is literally ‘the other-th’ (see subsection 2.6.1.3.1). The form *másfél* expresses that the second item to be counted is only a half; i.e. we have one and a half items altogether. *Másfél* can modify higher multiples of ten (1111).

- (1111) másfél %száz / ezer / millió / milliárd
 other.half hundred / thousand / million / billion
 ‘one and a half hundred / thousand / million / billion’

For most speakers, the *fél* ‘half’ construction is limited to the stem *más* ‘other’, and real numerals cannot combine with *fél* ‘half’ in absence of the conjunction *és* ‘and’. Some speakers, however, also allow the *fél* ‘half’ construction with other numerals. In this case the *-Vd* ordinalizer suffix appears between the numeral and *fél* ‘half’, and the resulting meaning is ‘numeral minus one plus a half’ (1112). That is, if *öt* ‘five’ is followed by the ordinalizer and *fél* ‘half’, the meaning is ‘four and a half’ (1112a). The logic behind this is that the fifth number is just a half. The numeral in this construction must be relatively small.

- (1112) a. öt-öd-fél
 five-Ord-half
 ‘four and a half’
- b. hat-od-fél
 six-Ord-half
 ‘five and a half’

2.6.1.1.1.3. The absence of plural marking on the noun

The preceding examples already showed that cardinals occur with singular nouns; there is no overt plural marker (1113).

- (1113) száz ház(*-ak)
 hundred house-Pl
 ‘one hundred houses’

The number specification is singular; it is not just the morphological plural marking that is absent. This is shown by the fact that nouns modified by cardinals trigger singular agreement on demonstratives (1114) as well as on verbal and other predicates (1115). In Hungarian the singular feature is unmarked morphologically, while plurality is marked with the *-(V)k* suffix.

(1114) ● Number marking on demonstratives in the presence of a numeral

- a. ez a száz ház
 this the hundred house
 'these one hundred houses'
- b. *ez-ek a száz ház
 this-Pl the hundred house
- c. *ez-ek a száz ház-ak
 this-Pl the hundred house-Pl

(1115) ● Predicate agreement with NPs containing a numeral

- a. Hét vendég érkezett / *érkeztek.
 seven guest arrive.Past.3Sg / arrive.Past-3Pl
 'Seven guests arrived.'
- b. Hét vendég beteg / *beteg-ek.
 seven guest sick / sick-Pl
 'Seven guests are sick.'

2.6.1.1.2. *Semantics*

The semantics of numerals has an extensive literature. For reasons of space, we forgo a summary of the semantics of numerals in general, and refer the interested reader to *SoD-NP* (6.1.1.2) for a good introduction. We will briefly discuss those semantic issues, however, that have direct relevance to Hungarian syntax.

The interpretation of numerals differs depending on whether the nominal containing the numeral appears in a focus or non-focus position. The designated focus position in question is immediately preverbal in Hungarian, and the constituent in that focus position must bear nuclear stress (as indicated by ' in the examples below).

If the numeral is in focus position (1116c), it has an 'exactly' interpretation, while if it appears in some other position (even if it has nuclear stress there), it has an 'at least' interpretation (É. Kiss (2006b), see examples (1116a,b)). Naturally, even in non-focus environments, scalar implicature will yield an 'exactly' interpretation, but that interpretation can be canceled. No cancellation is possible, however, when the numeral is in preverbal focus (1116c). The contrast can be shown by the continuation given in parentheses.

(1116) ● Focused numerals have an 'exactly' interpretation

- a. Két vendég rosszul lett (sőt, több is).
 two guest sick became moreover more too
 'Two guests became sick (and even more).'
- b. 'Rosszul lett két vendég (sőt, több is).
 sick became two guest moreover more too
 'Two guests became sick (and even more).'
- c. 'Két vendég lett rosszul (*sőt, több is). [focus]
 two guest became sick moreover more too
 '(Exactly) two guests became sick (*and even more).'

There are further restrictions on numerals. For example, certain modifiers with numerals cannot appear in focus positions. Such restrictions will be discussed in subsection 2.6.1.1.4.

There is an additional restriction that holds for *egy* ‘one’. Nominals with *egy* ‘one’ are positive polarity items, thus they are excluded from downward entailing contexts (1117c), unless they appear with *sem* ‘even’ (1117a). Clausal negation, *nem* ‘not’, is never overt if the negative nominal with *sem* precedes the verb (1117b) (see also M5.1 and M5.3)

- (1117) ● The distribution of NPs containing *egy* ‘one’
- a. Nem láttam egy tengerészt sem.
not see.Past.1Sg one seaman.Acc even
‘I didn’t see any seamen.’
 - b. Egy tengerészt sem láttam.
one seaman.Acc even see.Past.1Sg
‘I didn’t see even a seaman.’
 - c. *Nem láttam egy tengerészt.
not see.Past.1Sg one seaman.Acc
Intended meaning: ‘I didn’t see a seaman.’

2.6.1.1.3. NPs containing a cardinal numeral

2.6.1.1.3.1. The head noun

As we have already mentioned above, the nominal head of an NP containing a numeral does not bear the plural marker. There is one idiosyncratic exception to this generalization. In the set phrase *a három királyok* ‘the three kings of the East’, the noun obligatorily bears plural marking (1118). (1118) cannot refer to any arbitrary set of three kings. It can only refer to the Biblical magi that visited the baby Jesus, namely Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar. In an ordinary noun phrase that refers to any three kings, the noun cannot bear the plural marker (1119).

- (1118) három király-ok
three king-Pl
‘the three kings of the East’

- (1119) három király
three king
‘three kings’

The set phrase in (1118) triggers plural agreement on the predicate (1120). The non-idiomatic (1119) triggers singular agreement on the predicate (1121).

- (1120) A három király-ok [megérkeztek] / *[megérkezett].
the three king-Pl perf.arrive.Past-3Pl / perf.arrive.Past.3Sg
‘The three kings of the East have arrived.’

- (1121) A három király [megérkezett] / *[megérkezt-ek].
 the three king perf.arrive.Past.3Sg / perf.arrive.Past-3Pl
 'The three kings have arrived.'

Another exception to the generalization that the plural does not co-occur with cardinals is the following: when the numeral *egy* 'one' functions as (part of) the predicate and the subject is plural, then the plural marker appears on *egy* 'one' (1122). This is the result of regular subject-predicate agreement in the language.

- (1122) (Mi) egy-ek vagy-unk.
 we one-Pl be-1Pl
 'We are one.'

In addition, there are also some systematic exceptions to the co-occurrence restriction of numerals and the plural marker. The first type of systematic exception is when the noun is a plurale tantum. The second type of exception is when the cardinal supports the plural marker in the absence of an overt noun. These examples can be divided into two groups: in the first group the plural scopes over the covert noun, while in the second group the plural scopes over the numeral. Below we shall discuss these cases in turn.

INPs with pluralia tantum

Some proper names obligatorily bear the plural marker and refer to entities that comprise several similar parts. These include *Amerikai Egyesült Államok* 'United States of America' (or *Egyesült Államok* 'United States' for short) and all proper names ending in *-szigetek* 'islands'. Some examples are given in (1123).

- (1123) Amerikai Egyesült Állam-ok, Maldív-sziget-ek, Kanári-sziget-ek
 american united state-Pl Maldive-island-Pl Canary-island-Pl
 'United States of America, Maldive Islands, Canary Islands'

These proper names trigger singular agreement on the predicate (1124).

- (1124) Az Amerikai Egyesült Állam-ok hadat üzent / *üzent-ek az
 the american united state-Pl war.Acc declare.Past.3Sg / declare.Past-3Pl the
 ellenségeinek.
 enemy.Poss.Pl.Dat
 'The United States of America declared war on its enemies.'

Some common nouns have only a plural-marked form, but this form can have either a singular or a plural referent. These nouns are *hal-ak* fish-Pl 'Pisces' (the constellation and the sign of the zodiac), *ikr-ek* twin-Pl 'Gemini' (the constellation and the sign of the zodiac), *gázműv-ek* gas.work-Pl 'gasworks', *vízműv-ek* water work-Pl 'waterworks', *elektromos műv-ek* electric work-Pl 'electric works', and *csatornázási műv-ek* sewerage work-Pl 'sewerage plant'. These nouns can co-occur with cardinals (and with other quantifiers as well). Regardless of whether the cardinal is 'one' or a numeral higher than 'one', these nouns bear the plural marker (1125).

- (1125) ● Pluralia tanta with cardinals
- a. Az osztályban egy/ két hal-ak van.
 the class.Ine one / two fish-Pl be.3Sg
 'There [is a] / [are two] (student(s) born under the sign of) Pisces in the class.'
- b. Az országban összesen egy/ négy gázműv-ek üzemel.
 the country.Ine altogether one / four gas.work-Pl operate.3Sg
 'There [is altogether one gas company] / [are altogether four gas companies] in the country.'

These pluralia tanta are compatible with both singular and plural agreement on the predicate (1126) and the demonstrative (1127). With singular agreement the NP has a singular referent, while with plural agreement the NP has a plural referent. These nouns cannot be further pluralized, even if their referent is a plural entity (1128).

- (1126) ● Predicate agreement with pluralia tanta
- a. Én hal-ak / ikr-ek vagy-ok.
 I fish-Pl / twin-Pl be-1Sg
 'I was born under the sign of Pisces / Gemini.'
- b. Mi hal-ak / ikr-ek vagy-unk.
 we fish-Pl / twin-Pl be-1Pl
 'We were born under the sign of Pisces / Gemini.'

- (1127) ● Demonstrative agreement with pluralia tanta
- a. ez / ez-ek az ikr-ek
 this / this-Pl the twin-Pl
 'this / these (person(s) born under the sign of) Gemini'
- b. ez / ez-ek a gázműv-ek
 this / this-Pl the gas.work-Pl
 '[this gasworks] / [these gasworks]'

- (1128) ● Further pluralization of pluralia tanta
- Mi hal-ak(*-ak) / ikr-ek(*-ek) vagy-unk.
 we fish-Pl-Pl / twin-Pl-Pl be-1Pl
 'We were born under the sign of Pisces / Gemini.'

Remark 30. As an alternative to (1126a), some speakers may drop the plural marking when the referent is singular. For these speakers, *halak* 'Pisces' and *ikrek* 'Gemini' are not pluralia tanta (i).

- (i) %Én hal / iker vagyok.
 I fish / twin be.3Sg
 'I am a Pisces / Gemini.'

II. Numeral+plural: plural scoping over the covert noun

In some set phrases, when the NP refers to a well-defined group of people that acts together as a unit and can be characterized by some common, salient trait, then the

noun remains covert and the numeral that signals the cardinality of the group bears the plural marker (1129). In these cases the plural marks the plurality of the covert noun, in other words, it scopes over the covert noun. Given that these NPs denote well-defined groups, they contain the definite article.

- (1129) a. a hárm-ak elhivatása
 the three-Pl drawing.Poss
 ‘The Drawing of the Three (Hungarian title of a Stephen King novel)’
- b. a Visegrád-i négy-ek
 the Visegrad-Attr four-Pl
 ‘the Group of 4 (regional collaboration of Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland)’
- c. a négy-ek jele
 the four-Pl sign.Poss
 ‘the sign of four (Hungarian title of a Sir Arthur Conan Doyle novel)’
- d. a Cambridge-i öt-ök
 the Cambridge-Attr five-Pl
 ‘the Cambridge five (members of a KGB spy ring)’
- e. a hat-ok
 the six-Pl
 ‘founding countries of the European Economic Community’
- f. a het-ek csoportja
 the seven-Pl group.Poss
 ‘the Group of seven (an independent acting company in Szeged, Hungary)’
- g. a G8-ak
 the G8-Pl
 ‘the group of 8’
- h. a novemberi kilenc-ek
 the November-Attr nine-Pl
 ‘November Nine (nine finalists of the 2009 World Series of Poker)’
- i. a tíz-ek tanácsa
 the ten-Pl council.Poss
 ‘the Council of ten (governing body of the Republic of Venice)’

III. Numeral+plural: plural scoping over the numeral

If the numeral that bears the plural suffix is a power of ten (above ‘hundred’), and the noun is not overt, then the NP is understood to refer to humans or units of currency (dollars, euros, etc.) (1130).

- (1130) a. Száz-ak / ezer-ek / millió-k maradtak áram nélkül.
 hundred-Pl / thousand-Pl / million-Pl remain.Past.3Pl electricity without
 ‘There were hundreds / thousands / millions (of people) left without electricity.’

- b. Ezr-ek / millió-k / milliárd-ok / ^{??}száz-ak tűntek el a
 thousand-Pl / million-Pl / billion-Pl / hundred-Pl disappear.Past.3Pl away the
 kasszából.
 register.Ela
 ‘Thousands / millions / billions / hundreds disappeared from the register.’

In this case the plural acts as a multiplier of the number expressed by the cardinal rather than signaling the plurality of the covert noun. In other words, the plural scopes over the numeral rather than the covert noun.

Note that the numeral ‘ten’ cannot be used with the plural marker in this way (1131). The ungrammaticality may be due to the requirement that the numeral describe a large number (if ‘ten’ is never contextually determined as being large, as opposed to ‘hundred’, ‘thousand’, etc.).

- (1131) *tíz-ek
 ten-Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘tens (of people/units of currency)’

An NP containing the numeral *száz* ‘hundred’ bearing the plural marker can refer to people, but not to currency (1132). Once again, this restriction may follow from what can be considered to be a large number.

- (1132) száz-ak
 hundred-Pl
 ‘hundreds (of people)’

IV. *Substance nouns*

As far as substance nouns are concerned, they can appear with a numeral directly (1133). In these examples cardinals are acceptable because the ‘universal packager’ applied, creating contextually determined units, or perhaps types. This pattern is productive.

- (1133) ● Cardinals with substance nouns
- a két cukor
 ‘two sugar
 ‘[two sugar cubes] / [two spoons of sugar] / [two bags of sugar]’
- b. két zacskó / kanál cukor
 two bag / spoon sugar
 ‘two bags / spoons of sugar’

As expected of nominals with cardinal numerals, substance nouns trigger singular agreement on predicates and demonstratives (1134).

- (1134) ● Agreement with substance nouns modified by cardinals
- a. Két cukor már ártalmas(*-ok).
 two sugar already harmful-Pl
 ‘Two sugars are harmful.’

- b. *ez* / **ez-ek* a két cukor
 this / this-Pl the two sugar
 'these two (bags / spoonfuls of) sugars'
- c. *ez* / **ez-ek* a három kávé
 this / this-Pl the three coffee
 'these three coffees'

V. *Measure nouns*

As for measure nouns in Hungarian, they can be divided into various subtypes. In general, measure nouns precede the substance noun and permit modification by cardinal numerals (1135).

- (1135) ● Measure nouns
- a. három méter(*-ek) cérna
 three meter-Pl thread
 'three meters of thread'
- b. három liter bor
 three liter wine
 'three liters of wine'
- c. három kiló cukor
 three kilo sugar
 'three kilograms of sugar'

As with other expressions with cardinal nouns, these phrases trigger singular agreement on the predicate and the demonstrative as well (1136).

- (1136) a. A három méter cérna [drága volt] / [*drág-ák volt-ak].
 the three meter thread expensive be.Past.3Sg / expensive-Pl be.Past-3Pl
 'The three meters of thread were expensive.'
- b. *ez* / **ez-ek* a három méter cérna
 this / this-Pl the three meter thread
 'these three meters of thread'

A. *Measure nouns denoting time units*

There is a variety of measure nouns which denote time units. Their behavior is not surprising; they can combine with cardinal numerals and they appear as singular nouns when they do so (1137). They trigger singular agreement on the predicate and on the demonstrative.

- (1137) ● Time denoting measure nouns
- a. négy perc
 four minute
 'four minutes'
- b. [négy perc-en át] / [négy perc-ig] / [négy perc-en keresztül]
 four minute-Sup across / four minute-Ter / four minute-Sup through
 'for four minutes'

- c. [négy perc alatt] / [négy perc-en belül]
four minute under / four minute-Sup inside
'in four minutes'
- d. négy perc múl-va
four minute pass-Conv
'after four minutes'
- e. négy perc-cel korábban / később
four minute-Ins earlier / later
'four minutes earlier / later'
- f. négy perc-re
four minute-Sub
'for four minutes (e.g. he borrowed the ladder for four minutes)'

An exhaustive list of time units appears below. The morpheme *-Vd* featured in (1138b) is the ordinalizer suffix (see 2.6.1.2).

(1138) • Time units

- a. nanoszekundum, másodperc, perc, óra, nap, hét, hó(nap)
nano.second second.minute minute hour day week month(day)
'nanosecond, second, minute, hour, day, week, month'
- b. év, év-tíz-ed, év-száz-ad, év-ezr-ed, év-millió,
year year-ten-Ord year-hundred-Ord year-thousand-Ord year-million
év-milliárd
year-billion
'year, decade, century, millenium, one million years, one billion years'

Remark 31. In (i), taken from Mihály Vörösmarty's 19th century poem *Szózat*, the two parts of the compound *év-ezred* 'millennium' exceptionally appear in the opposite order.

- (i) Egy ezr-ed-év-i szenvedés kér éltet vagy
one thousand-Ord-year-Attr suffering ask.3Sg life.Acc or
halált.
death.Acc
'One thousand years of suffering asks for life or death.'

As expected, *fényév* 'light year' is not a time unit. This is also shown by the absence of the form **fényévszázad* 'light.year.century' (1139), which would be expected to be grammatical if *fényév* was a temporal expression.

- (1139) fényév, száz fényév, *fényévszázad
light.year hundred light.year light-year-hundred-Ord
'light year, one hundred light years, a century of light years'

Some more complex examples containing temporal units and cardinal numerals are given in (1140).

- (1140) a. három meghatározó / döntő másodperc
three crucial / decisive second
'three crucial / decisive seconds'

- b. életem három leghosszabb órája
 life.Poss.1Sg three longest hour.Poss
 'the three longest hours of my life'

Let us now turn to punctual time expressions. For calendar dates specifying the day of the month, two strategies are possible. If the day is specified by an ordinal, then it bears the possessive suffix (effectively, the month behaves as the possessor of the day), as in (1141a). Ordinals will be discussed in detail in subsection 2.6.1.3. Alternatively, the day can be specified as a simple cardinal numeral, in which case it does not bear the possessive suffix (1141b). The two alternative forms are not fully interchangeable. While both may answer the question of *What day is it today?* (1141c), the cardinal form is marked when it appears in the full answer (1141d). If written with digits, a period is placed after the numeral.

- (1141) ● The day of the month
- a. szeptember tizenegyedik-e / 11.
 September eleventh-Poss / 11
 'September 11'
- b. szeptember tizenegy / 11.
 September eleven / 11
 'September 11'
- c. Mi van ma? Szeptember tizenegyedik-e / tizenegy.
 what be.3Sg today September eleventh-Poss / eleven
 'What day is it today? September 11.'
- d. Ma szeptember tizenegyedik-e / [?]tizenegy van.
 today September eleventh-Poss / eleven be.3Sg
 'It's September 11 today.'

Case suffixed forms of the day of the month show a heterogeneous behavior. The Supressive, as in 'on September 11', can only appear with the ordinal-based form (1142a). If the day is interpreted as an endpoint, the appropriate affixes are grammatical with both forms (1142b,c).

- (1142) a. Ez szeptember tizenegyedik-é-n / *tizenegy-en történt.
 this September eleventh-Poss-Sup / elven-Sup happened
 'This happened on September 11.'
- b. Szeptember tizenegyedik-é-től / tizenegy-től lesz New Yorkban.
 September eleventh-Poss-Abl / eleven-Abl will.be.3Sg New York.Ine
 'He will be in New York from September 11.'
- c. Szeptember tizenegyedik-é-ig / tizenegy-ig lesz New Yorkban.
 September eleventh-Poss-Ter / eleven-Ter will.be.3Sg New York.Ine
 'He will be in New York until September 11.'

Simple punctual time expressions involving other temporal units (minutes, hours, months) are formed with the bare form (1143).

- (1143) a. [Hat óra] / [hat óra tíz perc] (van).
 six o'clock / six o'clock ten minute be.3Sg
 'It's six o'clock / six ten.'

- b. Szeptember / 1973 van.
 September / 1973 be.3Sg
 'It's September / 1973.'

Complex punctual temporal expressions are shown in (1144). Reporting a time, including complex times, requires the verbs shown in (1144a,b), depending on the tense. The past and future verbs can have the interpretation 'it will be six in a few minutes / it was six a few minutes ago'. The past tense copula can only be used to describe the time in the past, not to state that it was six o'clock a few minutes ago (1144b).

- (1144) ● Complex punctual temporal expressions
- a. Hat óra van / lesz / múlt.
 six o'clock be.3Sg / will.be.3Sg / pass.Past.3Sg
 'It is / [will soon be] / [is just past] six o'clock'
- b. Hat óra volt.
 six o'clock was.3Sg
 'It was six o'clock. (*It was six a few minutes ago.)'
- c. Hat óra lesz tíz perc múlva.
 six o'clock will.be ten minute pass.Conv
 'It is ten to six.'
- d. Tíz perc híján hat.
 ten minute short.of six
 'It is ten to six.'
- e. Hat óra tíz perc.
 six o'clock ten minute
 'It is ten past six.'
- f. Hat óra múlt tíz perccel.
 six o'clock pass.Past.3Sg ten minute.Ins
 'It is ten past six.'

It is also possible to specify fractions of hours. The fraction is followed by the following full hour, and the fraction expresses the time that has passed since the past hour. Only the fractions *negyed* 'quarter', *fél* 'half', and *háromnegyed* 'three quarters' are grammatical; they express that one quarter, one half, and three quarters of an hour have passed since the past full hour, respectively.

- (1145) ● Fractions of hours
- a. negyed hat
 quarter six
 'five fifteen'
- b. fél hat
 half six
 'five thirty'
- c. három-negyed hat
 three-quarter six
 'five forty five'

- d. *ötöd / [*négy-ötöd] hat
 fifth / four-fifth six
 'five twelve / five forty eight'
- e. *harmad hat
 third six
 'five twenty'

B. Measure nouns denoting monetary units

As for nouns denoting monetary units or currencies, they can appear with cardinal numerals; the unit appears in the singular form. There is a variety of ways of specifying the cost of an item. It is possible to use the verb *kerül* 'cost', in which case the currency bears Illative case (1146a), or one can use copular constructions, shown in (1146b). The copula is covert in the present tense (1146b), but it is overt in other tenses, such as the past (1146c).

- (1146) a. A kávé két euróba kerül.
 the coffee two euro.Ill cost
 'The coffee costs two euros.'
- b. A kávé (ára) két euró.
 the coffee price.Poss two euro
 'The cost of the coffee is two euros.'
- c. A kávé (ára) két euró volt.
 the coffee cost.Poss two euro was.3Sg
 'The cost of the coffee was two euros.'

Monetary units can also be covert. In this case the numeral expressing the cost appears with the adjectivalizing suffix *-(V)s* (roughly the equivalent of English *-ed*) and it is preceded by the numeral *egy* 'one' (1147a). Low numerical values are ungrammatical in these structures (1147b). High numerical values are also out (1147b), presumably because there is no currency in use with that denomination. The monetary unit is supplied by the context.

- (1147) a. A kávé egy öt-ös / tíz-es / ötven-es / száz-as / ezer-es.
 the coffee one five-ed / ten-ed / fifty-ed / hundred-ed / thousand-ed
 'The coffee costs five / ten / fifty / [one hundred] / [one thousand] [contextually determined currency].'
- b. *A kávé egy egy-es / kett-es / millió-s.
 the coffee one one-ed / two-ed / million-ed
 Intended meaning: 'The coffee costs one / two / [one million] [contextually determined currency].'

The complex expressions in question can also describe the coin or bill which has the value specified; the low number restriction is not operative in this case (1148a,b). Coins and bills can also be described by a form where the suffix attaches to the monetary unit itself (1148b). This is not possible when describing a monetary value as a predicate (1148c), but it is grammatical as a nominal modifier (1148d).

- (1148) a. Ez egy egy-es / kett-es / tíz-es / száz-as / ezer-es.
 this one one-ed / two-ed / ten-ed / hundred-ed / thousand-ed
 ‘This is a one / two / ten / hundred / thousand [contextually determined currency] coin / bill.’
- b. Ez egy egy-euró-s / két-euró-os / tíz-euró-os / száz-euró-os.
 this one one-euro-ed / two-euro-ed / ten-euro-ed / hundred-euro-ed
 ‘This is a one / two / ten / hundred Euro coin / bill.’
- c. *[NP Ez a kávé] egy öt-forint-os / száz-forint-os.
 this the coffee one five-HUF-ed / hundred-HUF-ed
 Intended meaning: ‘This coffee costs a five / [one hundred] Forint coin / bill.’
- d. Ez [NP egy öt-forint-os / tíz-forint-os / száz-forint-os kávé].
 this one five-HUF-ed / ten-HUF-ed / hundred-HUF-ed coffee
 ‘This is a five / ten / hundred Forint coffee.’

2.6.1.1.3.2. The determiner

There are few restrictions on what determiners can appear with cardinal numerals. Demonstratives, definite determiners and possessive pronouns can all co-occur with cardinals (1149a,b,c). The quantifier *minden* ‘every’ can co-occur with cardinals. A noun phrase containing this combination is fully grammatical in the subject position (see (1149d), taken from Bartos (1999: 23)), but highly degraded in the object position (1149d’). Other quantifiers cannot co-occur with cardinals (1149e).

- (1149) a. ez / az a két könyv
 this / that the two book
 ‘these / those two books’
- b. a két könyv
 the two book
 ‘the two books’
- c. az én két könyvem
 the I two book.Poss.1Sg
 ‘my two books’
- d. Minden három tanuló kap egy közös szekrényt.
 every three student get a shared locker.Acc
 ‘Every three students get a shared locker.’
- d’.[?]*Feri minden három könyvet becsomagolt.
 Feri every three book.Acc in.wrap.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Feri wrapped every three books.’
- e. *Feri sok / kevés három könyvet becsomagolt.
 Feri many / few three book.Acc in.wrap.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Feri wrapped many / few three books.’

A notable exception to the generalization that determiners may freely co-occur with cardinals is *egy*, the element that functions as the indefinite determiner as well as the numeral one (1150a). *Egy* cannot co-occur with cardinals (1150c) or the quantifier *minden* ‘every’ (1150b). Given that the same element functions as the

indefinite determiner and the numeral ‘one’, these two functions cannot co-occur in the same NP (1150c).

- (1150) a. az én egy könyvem
 the I one book.Poss.1Sg
 ‘my one book’
 b. minden (*egy) könyv
 every one book
 ‘every book’
 c. *egy egy / két könyv
 one one / two book

For some speakers, *egy* can precede cardinals, but the interpretation is ‘about’ rather than an indefinite or a numeral (1151). In this use *egy* can always be followed by *olyan* ‘as, so, like’.

- (1151) a. %egy (olyan) négy alma
 one like four apple
 ‘about four apples’
 b. %Hozzál egy (olyan) négy almát!
 bring.Subj.2Sg one like four apple.Acc
 ‘Bring about four apples.’

Cardinal numerals can be reduplicated and receive a distributive interpretation, as shown in (1152).

- (1152) Minden diáknak van egy-egy / két-két számológépe.
 every student.Dat be.3Sg one-one / two-two calculator.Poss
 ‘Every student has [one calculator] / [two calculators] each.’

Remark 32. In the Csángó dialect, the reduplicated numeral *egy-egy* ‘one-one’ can co-occur with a cardinal (i); this results in a distributive interpretation, like the standard Hungarian (1152).

- (i) Minden autónak van egy-egy négy kereke.
 every car.Dat be.3Sg one-one four wheel.Poss
 ‘Every car has four wheels each.’

2.6.1.1.3.3. The position of the cardinal numeral within the noun phrase

Cardinal numerals precede adjectives and sortal classifiers (1153a), and they follow demonstratives, determiners, possessors, and quantifiers (1153b). The elements preceding cardinals were illustrated in the introductory paragraph of section 2.6, too.

- (1153) ● The position of cardinals in the NP
 a. minden öt szem piros alma
 every five eye red apple
 ‘every five red apples’

- b. nekem ez a három könyv-em
 Dat.1Sg this the three book.Poss.1Sg
 'these three books of mine'

Default stress in Hungarian falls on the left edge of the nominal. The definite determiner, however, cannot be stressed, so if the numeral is immediately preceded by *a* 'the', then the stress falls on the numeral (1154a). A numeral that follows the quantifier *minden* 'every' cannot be stressed; in this case stress falls on *minden* (1154b).

- (1154) a. a 'három hosszú könyv
 the three long book
 'three long books'
 b. 'minden két könyv
 every two book
 'every two books'

If the entire nominal is focused, or the cardinal is focused, then the stress is placed as described above (1155a,a'). If any other constituent within the nominal is focused, then the stress is shifted, but the word order does not change (1155b,c).

- (1155) ● Stress in focused NPs with a cardinal
 a. a 'HÁROM HOSSZÚ KÖNYV
 the three long book
 'the THREE LONG BOOKS'
 a'. a 'HÁROM hosszú könyv
 the three long book
 'the THREE long books'
 b. a három 'HOSSZÚ könyv
 the three long book
 'the three LONG books'
 c. a három hosszú 'KÖNYV
 the three long book
 'the three long BOOKS'

Generally, if focus falls anywhere inside the nominal, then the entire nominal appears in the immediately preverbal focus position. In (1156) the verb-particle order indicates the fact that the NP is in focus.

- (1156) a. Feri 'el-olvasott [NP három hosszú könyvet].
 Feri away-read.Past.3Sg three long book.Acc
 'Feri read three long books.'
 b. Feri [NP 'HÁROM HOSSZÚ KÖNYVET] olvasott el.
 Feri three long book.Acc read.Past.3Sg away
 'Feri read THREE LONG BOOKS (not two articles).'
 c. Feri [NP három 'HOSSZÚ könyvet] olvasott el.
 Feri three long book.Acc read.Past.3Sg away
 'Feri read three LONG books (not three short ones).'

- d. Feri [_{NP} három hosszú 'KÖNYVET] olvasott el.
 Feri three long book.Acc read away
 'Feri read three long BOOKS (not three long articles).'

2.6.1.1.4. *Modification*

This subsection will show that it is possible to modify the cardinal numerals, and discusses some of the means that can be used.

I. Approximative modifiers

First, approximate and estimated values involving two cardinals can be expressed by putting the two cardinals next to each other without any connective (1157a). This is always possible for numerals that are next to each other in the counting sequence. It is also possible to use the connective *vagy* 'or' (1157b).

- (1157) a. négy-öt
 four-five
 'about four or five'
 b. négy vagy öt
 four or five
 'four or five'

It is not entirely clear when two cardinals can be placed next to each other without a connective to express an estimated or approximate value. (1158a') does not sound particularly good, but (1158b') and (1158c') do. If the numerals are simply juxtaposed, then it is possible that the actual number falls between the two numerals, as in (1158b'). This is not possible for numerals conjoined by *vagy* 'or', compare (1158b).

- (1158) a. négy vagy hét
 four or seven
 'four or seven'
 a'. *²négy-hét
 four-seven
 Intended meaning: 'about four or seven'
 b. nyolc vagy tíz
 eight or ten
 'eight or ten' (cannot be nine)
 b'. nyolc-tíz
 eight-ten
 'about eight or ten' (could be nine)
 c. tíz vagy tizenöt
 ten or fifteen
 'ten or fifteen'
 c'. tíz-tizenöt
 ten-fifteen
 'about ten or fifteen'

It is possible that the magnitude of the juxtaposed numerals influences the grammaticality of the approximative expression: non-adjacent numerals are better when they are higher numerals (1159).

- (1159) a. húsz-harminc
 twenty-thirty
 ‘about twenty or thirty’
- a’. *húsz-ötven
 twenty-fifty
 Intended meaning: ‘about twenty or fifty’
- b. száz-száznegyven
 hundred-hundred.forty
 ‘about a hundred or a hundred and forty’
- c. másfél-kétmillió
 other.half-two.million
 ‘about one and a half or two million’

Approximation can also be expressed with the adverb *körülbelül* ‘about’, which precedes the numeral (1160a). The possibly related postposition *körül* ‘around’ must follow the numeral (1160b) (*körül* can be used in spatial and temporal PPs as well, see P1). If the approximative numeral modifies a noun, then *körül* must bear the *-i* attributivizer suffix (1160b’). This is a property that characterizes all adnominal PPs in the language (see P1).

- (1160) a. körülbelül / *körül száz
 about / about hundred
 ‘about one hundred’
- a’. Körülbelül száz diák jött.
 about hundred student come.Past.3Sg
 ‘About one hundred students came.’
- b. száz körül / *körülbelül
 hundred about / about
 ‘about one hundred’
- b’. Száz körül*(-i) diák jött.
 hundred about-Attr student come.Past.3Sg
 ‘About one hundred students came.’

Approximation can be expressed in a number of other ways, too, such as (i) the use of *egy* ‘one’ (1161a), (ii) the use of *olyan* ‘as, so, like’ (1161b) and (iii) the use of the indefinite pronoun *valami* ‘something’ (1161d). *Egy* and *olyan* can co-occur (1161c), but *egy* and *valami* cannot (1161e).

- (1161) a. %Adjál egy öt almát!
 give.Subj.2Sg one five apple.Acc
 ‘Give me about five apples.’
- b. Adjál olyan öt almát!
 give.Subj.2Sg like five apple.Acc
 ‘Give me about five apples.’

- c. Adjál egy olyan öt almát!
give.Subj.2Sg one like five apple.Acc
'Give me about five apples.'
- d. Valami ötven diákja van.
something fifty student.Poss.3Sg be.3Sg
'He has about fifty students.'
- e. *Adjál egy valami öt almát!
give.Subj.2Sg one something five apple.Acc
Intended meaning: 'Give me about five apples.'

There are a number of other modifiers which denote approximation; these are illustrated in (1162).

- (1162) a. nagyjából tíz alma
roughly ten apple
'roughly ten apples'
- b. hozzávetőlegesen húsz könyv
approximately twenty book
'approximately twenty books'
- c. kábé öt alma
around five apple
'around five apples'
- d. sacc per kábé öt alma
guess per around five apple
'about five apples'
- e. cirka hat alma
circa six apple
'circa six apples'
- f. úgy tíz alma
so ten apple
'about ten apples'
- g. jó tíz alma
good ten apple
'a good ten apples'

Normally, approximate modifiers are only used with fairly round figures. Without any context, (1163a) sounds strange, but it is acceptable if it is known that John aims at collecting exactly 472 books. This restriction does not hold if the noun is a unit of currency: (1163b) could refer to, e.g., an amount of 471.67 euros.

- (1163) a. ^{\$}Jánosnak körülbelül négy-száz-hetven-két könyve van.
János.Dat around four-hundred-seventy-two book.Poss be.3Sg
'János has about 472 books.'
- b. Jánosnak körülbelül négy-száz-hetven-két eurója van.
János.Dat around four-hundred-seventy-two euro.Poss be.3Sg
'János has about 472 euros.'

II. Modifiers indicating exact values

The fact that the number is precise can also be expressed in a variety of ways (1164).

- (1164) a. pontosan tíz alma
 exactly ten apple
 'exactly ten apples'
- b. pont tíz alma
 point ten apple
 'exactly ten apples'
- c. kerek-en tíz alma
 round-Adv ten apple
 'exactly ten apples'

III. Modifiers indicating an upper or lower bound

Turning to other complex forms, let us consider upper and lower bounds first. Upper bounds can be expressed as shown in (1165), and lower bound expressions are illustrated in (1166).

- (1165) ● Upper bounds
- a. legfeljebb hat könyv
 at.most six book
 'at most six books'
- b. maximum hat könyv
 maximum six book
 'maximum six books'

- (1166) ● Lower bounds
- a. legalább két autó
 at.least two car
 'at least two cars'
- b. minimum két autó
 minimum two car
 'minimum two cars'

IV. Comparative modifiers

Other complex numeral forms, which include comparison, can also have a variety of forms (1167). Note that *több* 'more' and *kevesebb* 'less/fewer' both contain the comparative *-bb* suffix. *Több* involves suppletion (compare *sok* 'many, much'), while *kevesebb* is more transparent; it only involves a vowel length change (*kevés* 'few, little'). (On comparatives, see also A3.3.)

- (1167) ● Comparatives involving numerals
- a. több / kevesebb, mint harminc könyv
 more / fewer than thirty book
 'more / fewer than thirty books'

- b. harminc-nál több / kevesebb könyv
 thirty-Ade more / fewer book
 'more / fewer than thirty books'
- c. [%]harminc-től több / kevesebb könyv
 thirty-Abl more / fewer book
 'more / fewer than thirty books'
- d. Több / kevesebb könyve van Marinak, mint Jánosnak.
 more / fewer book.Poss be.3Sg Mari.Dat than János.Dat
 'Mari has more / fewer books than János.'

Differences between numerical values are usually expressed using *több* 'more' and *kevesebb* 'less' as well (1168). Note that the case marking on *több* and *kevesebb* in (1168c',d') is predictable; it is the case marking that is assigned to the noun (phrase).

(1168) ● Differences between numerical values

- a. Három könyvet kapott.
 three book.Acc receive.Past.3Sg
 'He received three books.'
- b. Három extra könyvet kapott.
 three extra book.Acc receive.Past.3Sg
 'He received three extra books.'
- c. Három-mal több / kevesebb könyvet kapott, mint Ili.
 three-Ins more / fewer book.Acc receive.Past.3Sg than Ili
 'He received three more / fewer books than Ili.'
- c'. Három könyv-vel többet / kevesebbet kapott mint Ili.
 three book-Ins more.Acc / less.Acc receive.Past.3Sg than Ili
 'He received three more / fewer books than Ili.'
- d. Három könyv-ről gondolta, hogy meg kellene venni.
 three book-Del think.Past.3Sg.DefObj that perf must.Cond buy.Inf
 'He thought of three books that they should be bought.'
- d'. Három könyv-vel több-ről / kevesebb-ről gondolta, hogy
 three book-Ins more-Del / less-Del think.Past.3Sg.DefObj that
 meg kellene venni.
 perf must.Cond buy.Inf
 'He thought of three more / fewer books that they should be bought.'

V. Noun phrases containing a modified numeral in the clause

There are restrictions as to where modified numeral expressions can appear (Szabolcsi 2010). In the examples below, the modified expression appears in a preverbal position. If the particle is preverbal, then the nominal is either in a topic position or a quantifier position (we remain agnostic about this choice here). Foci precede the verb immediately, so if the numeral is focused, then the particle *el* (lit. 'away') of *el-olvas* 'read entirely' is postverbal. Thus in the following examples if the string *olvasott el* is grammatical, then the nominal with the modified numeral can be focused. If the string *el-olvasott* is grammatical, then the nominal can appear

in the preverbal topic or quantifier position. (1169) shows the behavior of approximate and specific values and (1170) illustrates the behavior of upward and downward monotone expressions. Note that upward and downward monotone nominals are acceptable as foci, but they are excluded from other preverbal positions.

- (1169) ● NPs with an approximate and specific numeral in the preverbal field
- a. Ili körülbelül három könyvet *[olvasott el] / [el-olvasott].
 Ili approximately three book.Acc read.Past.3Sg away / away-read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili read approximately three books from beginning to end.’
 (*with focused nominal, unless *three* or *book* is contrasted)
- b. Ili pontosan három könyvet [olvasott el] / ??[el-olvasott].
 Ili exactly three book.Acc read.Past.3Sg away / away-read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili read exactly three books from beginning to end.’
- (1170) ● Upward and downward monotone expressions in the preverbal field
- a. Ili három könyvet [olvasott el] / [el-olvasott].
 Ili three book.Acc read.Past.3Sg away / away-read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili read three books.’
- b. Ili három-nál több könyvet [olvasott el] / *[el-olvasott].
 Ili three-Ade more book.Acc read.Past.3Sg away / away-read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili read more than three books.’
- c. Ili három-nál kevesebb könyvet [olvasott el] / *[el-olvasott].
 Ili three-Ade fewer book.Acc read.Past.3Sg away / away-read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili read fewer than three books.’
- d. Ili három könyv-vel több-et [olvasott el] / *[el-olvasott].
 Ili three book-Ins more-Acc read.Past.3Sg away / away-read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili read three books more.’
- e. Ili három könyv-vel kevesebb-et [olvasott el] / *[el-olvasott].
 Ili three book-Ins fewer-Acc read.Past.3Sg away / away-read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Ili read three books less.’

2.6.1.1.5. *Special cases*

This subsection offers a detailed discussion of numerals that show a special behavior. We will first discuss cardinals with more than one form (subsection 2.6.1.1.5.1). Then we turn to cardinals with paired body parts (subsection 2.6.1.1.5.2) and to adjectives derived from cardinals (subsection 2.6.1.1.5.3). The collective suffix and the multiplicative suffix on cardinals will be taken up in subsections 2.6.1.1.5.4 and 2.6.1.1.5.5. Distributivity and exceptives will be the topics of subsection 2.6.1.1.5.6 and 2.6.1.1.5.7 respectively. Subsection 2.6.1.1.5.8 is dedicated to partitives. Finally, subsection 2.6.1.1.5.9 examines the co-occurrence of cardinals with quantifier *mind* (*a*) ‘all (the)’.

2.6.1.1.5.1. Cardinals with more than one form

Certain numerals have more than one form, as mentioned at the outset; these numerals are *nulla* ‘zero’, *kettő* ‘two’, *három* ‘three’ and *ezer* ‘thousand’. We will start the discussion with *három* ‘three’ and *ezer* ‘thousand’, then turn to *nulla* ‘zero’, and close this subsection with a closer look at *kettő* ‘two’.

I. ‘Three’ and ‘thousand’

Some Hungarian content words exhibit a so-called stem-internal vowel-zero alternation (see Rebrus 2000: chapter 13.3, Rebrus and Törkenczy 2008). These content words end in a CVC sequence, but the last (interconsonantal) vowel of their stem is dropped in front of a plural or accusative suffix. It is not possible to predict which roots have this property. This is illustrated in (1171) with three words, all of which have *r* and *ny* as their last two consonants. *Torony* ‘tower’ loses the vowel when suffixed, *szurony* ‘bayonet’ retains the vowel even when suffixed, while *szörny* ‘monster’ does not have the vowel in any environment.

- (1171) a. torony, torny-ot, *torony-ot
tower tower-Acc tower-Acc
‘tower, tower(Acc)’
- b. szurony, szurony-t, *szurny-ot
bayonet bayonet-Acc bayonet-Acc
‘bayonet, bayonet(Acc), bayonet(Acc)’
- c. szörny, szörny-et
monster monster-Acc
‘monster, monster(Acc)’

The numerals *három* ‘three’ and *ezer* ‘thousand’ belong to the group of stems that exhibit this vowel-zero alternation. With *három* ‘three’, the vowel-zero alternation is optional for some speakers; these speakers accept the form *háromat* ‘three.Acc’ as well (1172).

- (1172) a. három, hárm-at, %három-at
three three-Acc three-Acc
‘three, three(Acc), three(Acc)’
- b. ezer, ezi-et, *ezer-et
thousand thousand-Acc thousand-Acc
‘thousand, thousand(Acc), thousand(Acc)’

The form *há(r)* of ‘three’ is also possible; it is used in dictating rhythm (e.g. uttered by a conductor or a coach; note also the form of ‘two’ in (1173), which will be discussed in detail below):

- (1173) egy, két, há(r), négy
one two three four
‘one, two, three, four’

II. 'Null/zero'

Turning to the cardinal zero, it has two basic forms, illustrated in (1174).

- (1174) nulla, zéró
 null zero
 'null, zero'

Furthermore, the final vowel of the form *nulla* is dropped in certain contexts such as sports commentaries and the lottery (1175a,b). The final vowel is also typically dropped in compounds (1175c-f). The final vowel, however is always retained in mathematical operations: (1175g,h).

- (1175) ● *Null(a)* and *null* 'null'
- a. kettő null a Manchester javára
 two null the Manchester in.favor.of
 'two-nil to Manchester'
 - b. null–null
 null–null
 'nil-nil, i.e. a scoreless draw'
 - c. null(*a)-széria
 null-series
 'trial series'
 - d. null(*a)-kópia
 null-copy
 'reference print (in color photography)'
 - e. null(*a)-pont
 zero point
 'zero point'
 - f. null(*a)szaldó-s
 null-sum-ed
 'sum with which one breaks even'
 - g. Null*(a) meg null*(a) az null*(a).
 null plus null that null
 'Zero plus zero is zero.'
 - h. Null*(a)-szor null*(a) az null*(a).
 null-Mult null that null
 'Zero times zero is zero.'

III. 'Two'

The numeral 'two' has a shorter and a longer form in Hungarian: *két* and *kettő*. The distribution of these forms is almost (but not quite) complementary. Both can be used attributively (1176a), both combine with the multiplicative suffix *-szVr* (1176b,b'), both can form complex numerals (1176c,c'), and both can form asyndetic coordination with the numeral 'one' with the meaning 'a few' (1176d,d').

- (1176) ● Contexts that admit both *két* and *kettő* ‘two’
- a. *két* / *kettő* labda
two / two ball
‘two balls’
 - b. *két-szer*
two-Mult
‘twice’
 - b’. *kettő-ször*
two-Mult
‘twice’
 - c. *két-száz*
two-hundred
‘two hundred’
 - c’. *kettő-száz*
two-hundred
‘two hundred’
 - d. *egy-két*
one-two
‘[one or two] / [a few]’
 - d’. *egy-kettő*
one-two
‘[one or two] / [a few]’

In the spoken language *két* ‘two’ and *hét* ‘seven’ sound very much alike, and addressees are often not sure which number their interlocutor said. In order to avoid this confusion, some speakers prefer the form *kettő* in (1176a), and they also prefer (1176b’) over (1176b).

Both *kettő* and *két* can take a derivational suffix that yields a verb (1177). However, the suffixes are different (*-(V)z* and *-(V)l* respectively), and the verbs derived from *kettő* and *két* have different meanings: the verb derived from *kettő* has a predictable meaning, while the verb derived from *két* does not. (Note that both *-(V)z* and *-(V)l* are productive verbalizing suffixes and both can yield verbs with predictable meanings.)

- (1177) a. *kettő-z-öm*
two-Vrb-1Sg
‘I double (sth)’
- b. *két-l-em*
two-Vrb-1Sg
‘I doubt (it that ...)’

Similarly, both forms of the numeral ‘two’ can support the derivational suffix *-(V)s* (roughly the equivalent of English *-ed*) that yields an adjective, but the adjectives derived from them have different meanings, and it is again the form derived from *kettő* that has the predictable meaning (1178).

- (1178) a. kettő-s
two-ed
'dual / double'
- b. két-es
two-ed
'questionable / shady / uncertain'

In other contexts *két* and *kettő* are in complementary distribution. Fragment answers with no overt material following the numeral (1179a'), elliptical noun phrases in which the overt suffixes of the elided noun are phonologically supported by the numeral (1179b), and predicative contexts (1179c) only admit *kettő*.

- (1179) ● Some contexts that admit only *kettő* 'two'
- a. How many shoes are missing?
a'. Kettő / *Két. [fragment answer]
two / two
'Two.'
- b. Kérek kettő-t / *két-et. [elliptical NP]
want.1Sg two-Acc / two-Acc
'I want two.'
- c. A labdák száma kettő / *két. [predicative context]
the ball.Pl number.Poss two / two
'The number of the balls is two.'

The possessor suffix *-é*, the fractionalizer suffix *-Vd*, the suffix *-(V)s* deriving sequential numbers, and the collective suffix *-Vn* are also only compatible with *kettő* (1180). When the latter suffix is added to the numeral, it yields the meaning 'a group of people with the cardinality of the numeral'.

- (1180) ● Further contexts that admit only *kettő* 'two'
- a. kettő-é / *két-é [possessor suffix *-é*]
two-Posr / two-Posr
'of two'
- b. kett-ed / *két-ed [fractionalizer suffix]
two-Fract / two-Fract
'half'
- c. kett-es / *két-es számrendszer [adjectivalizer suffix]
two-ed / two-ed numeral.system
'binary numeral system'
- d. Kett-en / *két-(e)n vagyunk. [collective suffix]
two-Coll / two-Coll be.1Pl
'[We are two] / [there are two of us].'

As only *kettő* can co-occur with the collective suffix *-an/en*, the sequence 'cardinal+diminutive suffix+collective suffix *-Vn*' is also only possible with *kettő* (1181).

- (1181) Kett-ecské-n / *két-(e)cské-n vagyunk
 two-Dim-Coll / two-Dim-Coll be.1Pl
 'It's just the two of us.'

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the ordinalizer suffix *-Vd* and the partitive-like suffix *-ik* to the cardinal (see subsection 2.6.1.3). The days of the month are formed by adding the possessive suffix *-(j)a/-(j)e* to the ordinal. Since only *kettő* can support the ordinalizer suffix, only this version of the numeral 'two' can occur in these contexts (1182). (Note that 'second' has a suppletive form, *második*, but in complex numerals it is regularized to *kettedik*.)

- (1182) kett-ed-ik / *két-ed-ik
 two-Ord-Ptv / two-Ord-Ptv
 'second / second'

A further context that admits only *kettő* is the counting sequence (1183).

- (1183) • *Kettő* and *két* 'two' in the counting sequence
 egy, kettő / *két, három, négy ...
 one two / two three four
 'one, two, three, four ...'

There is an important caveat to this, however. In the counting sequence the numeral *három* 'three' can be abbreviated to *há'*. If this shorter form of 'three' is used, then only *két* can precede it (1184).

- (1184) a. egy, két, há', négy
 one two three four
 'one, two, three, four'
 b. *egy, kettő, há', négy
 one two three four

In mathematical operations, where members of the counting sequence are used, the use of *két* is highly restricted. Only *kettő* can be used with addition and extraction (1185a,b). With multiplication *két* is possible only as the multiplicator, but not as the multiplicand or the product (1185c-e).

- (1185) • *Kettő* and *két* 'two' in mathematical operations
 a. Egy meg kettő / *két az három.
 one and two / two that three
 'One plus two is three.'
 b. Ötből kettő / *két az három.
 five.Ela two / two that three
 'Five minus two is three.'
 c. Egy-szer kettő / *két az kettő / *két.
 one-Mult two / two that two / two
 'One times two is two.'
 d. Két-szer kettő / *két az négy.
 two-Mult two / two that four
 'Two times two is four.'

- e. Kettő-ször kettő / *két az négy.
 two-Mult two / two that four
 'Two times two is four.'

While in most contexts either *kettő* or *két* are grammatical or only *kettő* is acceptable, *két* is strongly preferred in compounds (1186).

- (1186) ● *Két* 'two' and compounds
- a. két-értelm-ű
 two-meaning-Attr
 'ambiguous'
 - a'.^{??}kettő értelm-ű
 two meaning-Attr
 'with / having two meanings'
 - b. két-fillér-(es)
 two-penny-ed
 'a coin worth two pennies'
 - b'. két / kettő fillér
 two / two penny
 'two pennies'

2.6.1.1.5.2. Cardinals with paired body parts

Paired body parts can be referred to in the plural or in the definite singular (1187).

- (1187) ● Cardinals with paired body parts
- a. Fáj-nak a láb-a-i-m.
 hurt-3Pl the leg-Poss-Pl-1Sg
 'My legs hurt.'
 - b. Fáj a láb-am.
 hurt the leg-Poss.1Sg
 'My legs hurt. / One of my legs hurts.'

The expression 'half a + paired body part' is ambiguous between half of the pair (i.e. one body part) or half of one body part (1188a). This ambiguity can be resolved by the context when it is unlikely that one has just a half of one body part, as in (1188b,c).

- (1188) a. A háborúban ellőtték a fél karját.
 the war.Ine away.shoot.3Pl.DefObj the half arm.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'They shot off [one of his arms] / [half of one of his arms] in the war.'
- b. Kilőtték a fél szemét.
 out.shoot.Past.3Pl.DefObj the half eye.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'They shot out one of his eyes.'
- c. fél-szem-ű
 half-eye-Attr
 'one eyed'

Body parts consisting of two symmetrical units are also used in the singular (1189).

- (1189) a. A háborúban ellőtték a karját.
 the war.Ine away.shoot.3Pl the arm.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'They shot off one of his arms in the war.'
- b. Kilőtték a szemét.
 out.shoot.Past.3Pl the eye.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 'They shot out one of his eyes.'

Body parts consisting of multiple, identical units are also used in the singular (1190).

- (1190) a. Növesztem a hajamat.
 make.grow.1Sg the hair.Poss.1Sg.Acc
 'I am growing my hair.'
- b. Megmosom a fogamat.
 perf.wash.1Sg the tooth.Poss.1Sg.Acc
 'I'll brush my teeth.'

Articles of clothing or accessories that come in pairs and are used on paired body parts (shoes, earrings, gloves) are used with numerals similarly to paired body parts. With these nouns, 'half' means one half of a pair (1191a) and the plural means multiple pairs (1191b).

- (1191) a. Elvesztettem a fél fülbevalómat.
 away.lose.Past.1Sg the half earring.Poss.1Sg
 'I have lost one from a pair of earrings.'
- b. Fülbevalókat kaptam Jánostól.
 earring.Pl.Acc get.Past.1Sg János.Abl
 'I got multiple pairs of earrings from János.'

With these nouns the numeral *egy* 'one' and the expression *egy pár* 'one pair' refer to a pair of articles (1192a). Note that *egy* 'one' cannot co-occur with paired body parts to mean both members of the pair (1192b).

- (1192) a. Vettem egy (pár) csizmát.
 buy.Past.1Sg one pair boot.Acc
 'I bought a pair of boots.'
- b. Van egy lábam.
 be.3Sg one leg.Poss.1Sg
 'I have one leg. (Not: I have a pair or legs.)'

2.6.1.1.5.3. Adjectives derived from cardinals

Adjectives are derived from cardinals by the suffix *-(V)s*, the equivalent of English *-ed* (1193).

- (1193) ● Adjectivalized cardinals
 egy-es, kett-es, harminchárom-as, száz-as, ezer-es
 one-ed two-ed thirty.three-ed hundred-ed thousand-ed
 'one(Adj), two(Adj), thirty-three(Adj), one hundred(Adj), one thousand(Adj)'

The use of adjectivalized numerals is illustrated in (1194). If a noun can only be understood to refer to a group of people, then it cannot be modified by an adjectivalized numeral directly (1194e). In these cases the numeral must first combine with the human classifier *fő* ‘head’, and it is the constituent comprising the numeral and the classifier that is adjectivalized (1194e’). If the noun can refer to a group of people (but does not necessarily do so), then the adjectivalized numeral can modify the noun directly (1194d), but the classifier construction is also possible (1194d’).

- (1194) a. a hárm-as szám
the three-ed number
‘the number three’
- b. négy-es fogat
four-ed team.of.horses
‘four-in-hand’
- c. harminchat-os farmer
thirty.six-ed jeans
‘jeans of size thirty-six’
- d. hat-os csoportokban
six-ed group.Pl.Ine
‘in groups of six’
- d’. [hat fő]-s csoportokban
six head-ed group.Pl.Ine
‘in groups of six’
- e. *hat-os család / osztály
six-ed family / class
‘a family / class of six people’
- e’. [hat fő]-s család / osztály
six head-ed family / class
‘a family / class of six people’

A numeral adjectivalized with the *-(V)s* suffix may refer to the name of the number (except for zero) (1195a). This adjectival form is also used to refer to school grades (labeled with numbers from one ‘fail’ to five ‘excellent’) (1195b), the averaged academic achievement of students (1195c) as well as coins and banknotes.

- (1195) a. Ma megtanuljuk írni az egy-es-t / kett-es-t.
today perf.learn.3Pl write.Inf the one-ed-Acc / two-ed-Acc
‘Today we’ll learn how to write the number one / two.’
- b. Öt-ös-t kaptam matekból.
five-ed-Acc get.Past.1Sg math.Ela
‘I got a five (i.e. A) in maths.’
- c. Tamás négy-es tanuló.
Tamás four-ed student
‘Tamás gets a grade 4 (approx. B) on average.’

- d. Csak egy husz-as van nálam.
 only a twenty-ed be.3Sg Ade.1Sg
 'I only have a twenty [contextually determined currency] coin / banknote on me.'

An adjectivalized numeral may combine with the possessive suffix and the Instrumental case marker to yield the meaning 'in groups of (number)' (1196).

- (1196) hat-os-á-val
 six-ed-Poss-Ins
 'in groups of six'

Adjectivalized low cardinals (from 2 to 4) can combine with the Inessive case suffix to express the total number of participants in the event.

- (1197) Kett-es-ben / három-as-ban / négy-es-ben mentünk nyaralni.
 two-ed-Ins / three-ed-Ins / four-ed-Ins go.Past.1Pl holiday.take.Inf
 'The two / three / four of us went on a holiday.'

The adjectivalized form of *kettő* 'two' can be further nominalized by the *-ság/ség* suffix (1198) (roughly corresponding to English *-ness*, see subsection 1.3.3.1). This nominalization is uncommon for other numerals.

- (1198) kettő-s-ség
 two-ed-Nmn
 'duality, duplicity'

Remark 33. In the set expression 'Holy Trinity' the nominalizer *-ság/ség* attaches directly to the cardinal (i).

- (i) Szent-három-ság
 holy-three-Nmn
 'Holy Trinity'

Similarly to numerals, *szám* 'number' can also be adjectivalized by the *-(V)s* suffix. The adjective derived this way has the meaning 'numerous' (1199).

- (1199) Szám-os díjat kapott.
 number-ed award.Acc get.Past.3sg
 'He received numerous awards.'

2.6.1.1.5.4. Cardinals and the collective suffix

Cardinals (except for zero and one) may combine with the *-(V)n* collective suffix (1200b). The resulting form refers to groups of animate entities, and preferably to humans with the cardinality of the numeral. (The collective suffix is phonologically identical to the suffix that derives adverbs from adjectives, cf. *szép* 'nice' and *szépen* 'nicely'. We remain agnostic about whether we are dealing with two different *-(V)n* suffixes or the collective suffix is, in fact, the ordinary *-(V)n* adverbializer suffix. In the rest of this chapter we shall refer to the *-(V)n* suffix on cardinals as the collective suffix.)

- (1200) ● Cardinals with the collective suffix
- a. Három tanár / oroslán / szék van kint.
 three teacher / lion / chair be.3Sg outside
 ‘There are three teachers / lions / chairs outside.’
- b. A tanár-ok / [?]oroszlán-ok / *szék-ek hárm-an vannak.
 theteacher-Pl / lion-Pl / chair-Pl three-Coll be.3Pl
 ‘There are three teachers / lions / chairs.’

If the numeral bears the collective suffix, then no overt noun can follow it (1201b), and the predicate bears plural agreement (1201c).

- (1201) a. Három ember jött / magas / *jött-ek / *magas-ak.
 three people come.Past.3Sg / tall / come.Past-3Pl / tall-Pl
 ‘Three people came / [are tall].’
- b. Hárm-an (*ember / *ember-ek) jött-ek.
 three-Coll person / person-Pl come.Past-3Pl
 ‘Three people came.’
- b. Hárm-an jött-ek / magas-ak / *jött / *magas.
 three-Coll come.Past-3Pl / tall-Pl / come.Past.3Sg / tall.Sg
 ‘Three people came / [are tall].’

Cardinals bearing the collective suffix can modify pronouns (1202). They can either immediately follow the pronoun or appear separated from it.

- (1202) a. Mi négy-*(en) elmentünk.
 we four-Coll away.go.Past.1Pl
 ‘The four of us left.’
- b. Mi tegnap elmentünk négy-*(en) a moziba.
 we yesterday away.go.Past.1Pl four-Coll the cinema.Ill
 ‘Yesterday the four of us went to the cinema.’

2.6.1.1.5.5. The multiplicative suffix

Multiplication is expressed by the *-szVr* multiplicative suffix (1203). Apart from cardinals, this suffix can also combine with the quantifiers *sok* ‘many’ and *kevés* ‘few’, and with ordinals. In the latter case, it yields the meaning ‘for the Xth time’. Here we illustrate only cardinals and the multiplicative suffix. Ordinals and the multiplicative suffix will be discussed in subsection 2.6.1.3.4.4, while quantifiers and the multiplicative suffix will be taken up in subsection 2.6.2.4.4.

- (1203) ● Cardinals with the multiplicative suffix
- egy-szer, két-szer, három-szor, százöt-ször
 one-Mult two-Mult three-Mult hundred.five-Mult
 ‘once, twice, three times, one hundred and five times’

2.6.1.1.5.6. Distributivity

Distributivity can be expressed in three ways: by the distributive suffix *-(V)nként*, by adjectivalized numerals bearing the possessive suffix and the Instrumental case, or by reduplication.

The combination of cardinals with the distributive suffix *-(V)nként* is shown in (1204).

- (1204) a. hárm-anként
 three-Dist
 'three at a time, three by three'

The combination of adjectivalized numerals with the possessive suffix and the Instrumental case marker *-val/vel* is illustrated in (1205). The meaning of these expressions is 'in/by number (at a time)'.

- (1205) a. Kett-es-é-vel szedte a lépcsőket.
 two-ed-Poss-Ins take.Past.3Sg.DefObj the stair.Pl.Acc
 'He took two steps at a time.'
- b. A vizsgázók hárm-as-á-val jöttek be.
 the examinee.Pl three-ed-Poss-Ins come.Past.3Pl in
 'The examinees came in in threes (i.e three examinees at a time).'

(1206) is multiply ambiguous, as the numeral may quantify either over the subject or the object. The sentence can mean that (i) each man carried three pieces of luggage at a time, or (ii) the men carried suitcases in groups of three, each man carrying one or more suitcases, or (iii) each suitcase was carried by three men.

- (1206) A férfiak harm-as-á-val vitték a bőröndöket.
 the man.Pl three-ed-Poss-Ins carry.Past.3Pl the suitcase.Pl.Acc
 'The men carried the suitcases in threes.'

Reduplication of a cardinal yields a distributive reading. In (1207a), altogether three apples are involved in the giving event, while (1207a') describes a situation in which each participant was given three apples. In (1207b), where the numeral of the subject is reduplicated, each room was decorated by three children, while in (1207c), with the numeral of the object reduplicated, each child decorated three rooms. In the latter example the children may have worked on their own or in groups, but no child was involved in the decoration of more than three rooms (or that of fewer than three, for that matter).

- (1207) a. Adtam nekik három almát.
 give.Past.1Sg Dat-3Pl three apple.Acc
 'I gave them three apples.'
- a'. Adtam nekik három-három almát.
 give.Past.1Sg Dat-3Pl three-three apple.Acc
 'I gave them three apples each.'
- b. Három-három gyerek díszítette a termeket.
 three-three child decorate.Past.3Pl.DefObj the room.Pl.Acc
 'Each room was decorated by three children.'

- c. A gyerekek három-három termet díszítettek.
 the child.Pl three-three room.Acc decorate.Past.3Pl
 '[The children decorated three rooms each.] / [Every group of children decorated three rooms.]'

2.6.1.1.5.7. Exceptives

Exceptives involve either an Accusative marked numeral followed by the adverbial participle *kivéve* 'except for' (lit. 'out.take.Conv', as in (1208a,a')), or a morphologically unmarked numeral followed by *kivételével* 'with the exception of' (lit. 'exception.Poss.Ins'), as in (1208b,b').

(1208) • Exceptives

- a. Kett-öt kivéve megoldottam a feladatokat.
 two-Acc except.for perf.solve.Past.1Sg the exercise.Pl.Acc
 'I solved the exercises except for two.'
- a'. Kett-öt kivéve minden feladatot megoldottam.
 two-Acc except.for every exercise.Acc perf.solve.Past.1Sg
 'I solved all exercises except for two.'
- b. Kettő kivételével megoldottam a feladatokat.
 two with.the.exception.of perf.solve.Past.1Sg the exercise.Pl.Acc
 'I solved the exercises except for two.'
- b'. Kettő kivételével minden feladatot megoldottam.
 two with.the.exception.of every exercise.Acc perf.solve.Past.1Sg
 'I solved all exercises except for two.'

2.6.1.1.5.8. Partitives

Partitives are formed by adding either the Inessive case marker or the postposition *közül* 'out of' to the noun (1209).

(1209) • Partitives

- a. A bombákból kettő felrobbant.
 the bomb.Pl.Ela two explode.Past.3Sg
 'Two of the bombs went off.'
- a'. Három bombából kettő felrobbant.
 three bomb.Ine two explode.Past.3Sg
 'Two of three bombs went off.'
- b. A bombák közül kettő felrobbant.
 the bomb.Pl out.of two explode.Past.3Sg
 'Two of the bombs went off.'
- b. Három bomba közül kettő felrobbant.
 three bomb out.of two explode.Past.3Sg
 'Two of three bombs went off.'

2.6.1.1.5.9. Co-occurrence with the quantifier *mind* ‘all (the)’

The quantifier *mind* ‘all (the)’ can co-occur with cardinals higher than *egy* ‘one’ (1210). This contrasts with the behavior of most other quantifiers, e.g. *sok* ‘many’ or *néhány* ‘some’, which do not co-occur with cardinals (see subsection 2.6.1.1.5.1). When *mind* is in the NP, it is obligatorily followed by the definite article and a cardinal.

- (1210) ● *Mind* ‘all (the)’ with cardinals
 mind *(a) *(kettő / tíz / harmincöt) tojás
 every the two / ten / thirty-five egg
 ‘both / [all ten] / [all thirty-five] eggs’

Furthermore, *mind* can form a compound with both the *két* and the *kettő* versions of ‘two’ (see subsection 2.6.1.1.5.9) as well as with *három* ‘three’ (1211). In these compounds there is no definite article intervening between the quantifier and the cardinal.

- (1211) mind-kettő / mind-két, mind-három
 every-two / every-two every-three
 ‘both, all three’

Note that *mind* can also serve as a floating quantifier. In this case it is associated with a definite noun phrase, and the presence of a cardinal within that noun phrase is not obligatory (1212).

- (1212) ● floating *mind* ‘all (the)’
 a. *(A) (három) tojás mind elgurult.
 the three egg all away.roll.Past.3Sg
 ‘The (three) eggs all rolled away.’
 b. *(A) tojások mind elgurultak.
 the egg.Pl all away.roll.Past.3Pl
 ‘The eggs all rolled away.’

2.6.1.2. *Fractional numerals*

In this subsection we are going to examine the form and use of fractional numerals. The discussion begins with the morphological make-up of fractions in subsection 2.6.1.2.1. Then we turn to some special cases involving fractions in subsection 2.6.1.2.2.

2.6.1.2.1. *Simple and compound forms*

Fractions are formed from simple and complex cardinals by the fractionalizer suffix *-Vd* (1213).

- (1213) ● Fractions
 nyolc-ad, negyvenöt-öd
 eight-Fract forty-five-Fract
 ‘(one) eighth, (one) forty-fifth’

Fractional forms may be preceded by a cardinal numeral that serves as a multiplier of the fraction (1214).

- (1214) három nyolc-ad, hét negyvenöt-öd
 three eight-Fract seven fortyfive-Fract
 ‘three eighths, seven forty-fifths’

If the fraction is not preceded by a multiplier, then the multiplier is understood to be ‘one’ (1213). The fraction form of the numeral *kettő* ‘two’ is exceptional because it must be preceded by a multiplier (1215).

- (1215) egy-kett-ed, öt-kett-ed, *kett-ed
 one-two-Fract five-two-Fract two-Fract
 ‘one half, five over two, (one) half’

If no multiplier is present, then instead of the ordinal form *ketted* ‘half’ the monomorphemic form *fél* ‘half’ must be used. *Fél* cannot be preceded by a multiplier (1216).

- (1216) (*egy-)fél, *öt-fél
 one-half five-half

The semantic operation of addition does not require or allow a connective when integers are added to integers within complex cardinals: that is, Hungarian generally does not make use of *and* as English does in *one thousand and fifty two* (see subsection 2.6.1.1.1.2). The addition of *fél*, however, requires the connective *és* ‘and’ (1217).

- (1217) négy *(és) fél
 four and half
 ‘four and a half’

Using the monomorphemic form *fél*, the number ‘one and a half’ can be expressed in two ways: as in (1218a), or more naturally, as in (1218b). See subsection 2.6.1.1.1.2 for a more detailed exposition.

- (1218) a. egy és fél
 one and half
 ‘one and a half’
 b. más-fél
 other-half
 ‘one and a half’

Decimal fractions do not require or allow the connective *és* ‘and’ between the integer part and the fractional part of the fraction. Instead, they require the expression *egész* ‘whole’ in this position (compare English *point*). Unlike in English, the tenths, hundredths, thousandths, etc. positions are not spelled out separately (cf. English *zero point zero five*). Instead, the fractional part is spelled out as if it were one integer, and it is followed by the fractional form of the tenths, hundredths, or thousandths position (whichever is relevant in the given decimal fraction). Thus 0.05, for instance, is literally ‘zero whole five hundredth’ (1219).

- (1219) nulla egész három tiz-ed, egy egész öt száz-ad, hét egész
 zero whole three ten-Fract one whole five hundred-Fract seven whole
 ötvenkét száz-ad
 fifty.two hundred-Fract
 ‘zero point three, one point zero five, seven point fifty-two’

2.6.1.2.2. *Special cases*

Percentages are formed by placing the word *százalék* ‘percentage’ after the numeral (1220).

- (1220) ● Percentages
 három százalék
 three percent
 ‘three percents’

2.6.1.3. *Ordinal numerals*

In Hungarian, ordinal numerals are formed by attaching two suffixes to the cardinal: the ordinal suffix and the partitive suffix. We first discuss the form of ordinal numerals in subsection 2.6.1.3.1. Subsection 2.6.1.3.2 continues with a discussion of the semantics of ordinals. Subsection 2.6.1.3.3 examines the position of ordinal numerals within the noun phrase. Finally subsection 2.6.1.3.4 discusses some special cases involving ordinals.

2.6.1.3.1. *Simple and compound forms*

Ordinals are formed by attaching both the ordinalizer suffix *-Vd* and the partitive-like *-ik* suffix to the cardinal form (1221).

- (1221) ● Ordinals
- a. nyolc-ad-ik, száznegyvenöt-öd-ik
 eight-Ord-Ptv hundred.forty.five-Ord-Ptv
 ‘eighth, one hundred and forty-fifth’
 - b. A nyolc-ad-ik prímszám a 19.
 the eight-Ord-Ptv prime.number the 19
 ‘The eighth prime number is 19.’

The ordinalizer suffix is homophonous with the fractional suffix (see section 2.6.1.2.1). The partitive-like suffix is used to mark that the individual or group under discussion is a member of a larger group known from or identifiable in the context, as has uses beyond the domain of ordinal numerals, too. Some examples are given in (1222).

- (1222) ● Other uses of the partitive-like suffix *-ik*
- a. egy-ik-ük
 one-Ptv-Poss.3Pl
 ‘one of them’

- b. a más-ik
the other-Ptv
'the other one'
- c. mind-egy-ik, némely-ik
each-one-Ptv some-Ptv
'each and every one, some of'
- d. a nagyobb-ik
the bigger-Ptv
'the bigger one'

The ordinals 'first' and 'second' have suppletive forms (1223a,a'). The suppletive form of 'first' involves partial suppletion. The suppletive form of 'second' involves complete suppletion: 'second' involves the stem *más* 'other' followed by the ordinalizer and the partitive-like *-ik* suffix. In complex ordinals 'first' and 'second' are regularized (1223b,c).

(1223) ● 'First' and 'second' in simple and complex ordinals

- a. *egy-ed-ik, *kett-ed-ik
one-Ord-Ptv two-Ord-Ptv
- a'. első, más-od-ik
first other-Ord-Ptv
'first, second'
- b. *tiz-en-első, *huszon-első
ten-ty-first twenty-first
- b'. tiz-en-egy-ed-ik, huszon-egy-ed-ik
ten-ty-one-Ord-Ptv twenty-one-Ord-Ptv
'eleventh, twenty-first'
- c. *tiz-en-második, *huszon-második
ten-ty-second twenty-second
- c'. tiz-en-kett-ed-ik, huszon-kett-ed-ik
ten-ty-two-Ord-Ptv twenty-two-Ord-Ptv
'twelfth, twenty-second'

2.6.1.3.2. *Semantics*

Ordinal numerals can only be used as nominal modifiers when we are dealing with an ordered set of entities, and the numeral is used in order to identify the intended referent from that set. In the majority of cases the ordinal numeral requires a definite determiner to be present, since it picks out an entity from a known set (1224).

- (1224) *(az) ötödik versenyző
the fifth contestant
'the fifth contestant'

There are also some sporadic contexts in which no article is required to the left of the ordinal numeral. Such examples seem restricted to more or less "telegraphic" registers (1225).

- (1225) Harmadik pont: az egyesület tavalyi mérlegének ismertetése.
 third point the association last.year.Attr balance.Poss.Dat review.Poss
 ‘Third point (on the agenda): review of the association’s balance from last year.’

In many cases, it is implicitly clear what the principles underlying the ordering are. In (1226a), for instance, the ordering is temporal. When it is not unambiguously clear where the listener must start counting, this can be made explicit by means of a modifier (1226b).

- (1226) a. Az első magyar könyv Szent Ferencről szól.
 the first Hungarian book saint Francis.Del be.about.Past.3Sg
 ‘The first Hungarian book was about St. Francis (of Assisi).’
 b. Balról az első könyv Szent Ferencről szól.
 left.Del the first book saint Francis.Del be.about.3Sg
 ‘The first book from the left is about St. Francis (of Assisi).’

2.6.1.3.3. *The position of the ordinal numeral within the noun phrase*

Subsection 2.6.1.1.3.3 has shown that cardinal numerals are generated in the position NUM (1227a), which accounts for the fact that these numerals follow determiners but precede the nominal head and its attributive modifiers (1227b).

- (1227) a. [DP D [NUMP NUM [NP N]]]
 b. Az igazgató jóváhagyta a négy új javaslatot.
 the director approve.of.Past.3Sg the four new proposal.Acc
 ‘The director approved of the four new proposals.’

Ordinal numerals normally occupy this position as well (1228).

- (1228) Az igazgató jóváhagyta a negyedik új javaslatot.
 the director approve.of.Past.3Sg the fourth new proposal.Acc
 ‘The director approved of the fourth new proposal.’

Normally speaking, the ordinal and cardinal numerals are in complementary distribution, which suggests that the two compete for the same position NUM. An exception must, of course, be made for those cases where the ordinal numeral and the noun constitute a lexical unit. In those cases, the lexicalized form can be preceded by a cardinal numeral (1229).

- (1229) a két [első hegedűs]
 the two first violinist
 ‘the two leading violinists’

Another exception is when the ordinal and the cardinal make up a complex modifier, which picks out e.g. the first/last two/three/four/five etc. candidates in an ordered set (1230). Apart from *első* ‘first’ and *második* ‘second’, other ordinals are possible, too. A *harmadik öt randevű* ‘the third five dates’, for instance, can be felicitously used if somebody buys several packages of speed dates, such that each package contains five dates. A *harmadik öt randevű* ‘the third five dates’ can then

refer to the five dates in the third package. In these cases the ordinal precedes the cardinal numeral.

- (1230) az [első / utolsó / harmadik öt] randevú
 the first / last / third five date
 ‘the first / last / third five dates’

Yet another exception is when there are multiple ordered sets, and the cardinal picks out the first/second/third etc. member of each ordered set. In these cases the cardinal precedes the ordinal (1231). In (1231) one had a series of dates with several people, and the first/last/third dates are picked from the series of dates with each person.

- (1231) az öt első / utolsó / harmadik randevú
 the five first / last / third date
 ‘the five first / last / third dates’

Like cardinals, ordinal numerals can also co-occur with quantifiers (1232a), and when they do so, they invariably follow quantifiers (1232b). The position of quantifiers in the noun phrase will be taken up in detail in subsection 2.6.2.1.

- (1232) a. Minden / sok első randevú rosszul sikerül.
 every / many first date badly go.3Sg
 ‘Every / many first dates were unsuccessful.’
- b. *első sok / minden randevú
 first many / every date

2.6.1.3.4. *Special cases*

2.6.1.3.4.1. Co-occurrence with the plural marker

In noun phrases containing an ordinal numeral, the noun may bear the plural marker if the ordinal is *első* ‘first’, or the general ordinal *utolsó* ‘last’ (1233a,b). The Hungarian equivalent of the set expression ‘the end of days’ features the general ordinal *utolsó* ‘last’, and it requires the plural marking on the noun (1233c).

- (1233) a. Az első könyv-ek nagy gonddal készültek.
 the first book-Pl great care.Ins prepare.Past.3Pl
 ‘The first books were made with great care.’
- b. Az utolsó könyv-ek-et féláron adjuk.
 the last book-Pl-Acc half.price.Sup give.1Pl
 ‘We are selling the last books at half-price.’
- c. az utolsó idő*(-k)
 the last time-Pl
 ‘the end of days’

When used predicatively, the ordinal itself may also be plural marked (1234).

- (1234) Ili és Imi holtversenyben első-k / második-ak / harmadik-ak lettek.
 Ili and Imi tie.Ine first-Pl / second-Pl / third-Pl be.Past.3Pl
 ‘Ili and Imi came in a tie at the first / second / third place.’

2.6.1.3.4.2. Dates and days of the month

Dates begin with the year and end with the day (1235). The orthographic convention requires a dot after the year, the month (if written with a number rather than with letters) as well as the day.

- (1235) a. 1686. szeptember 2.
 1686 September 2
 ‘September 2, 1686’
- b. 1686. 09. 2.
 ‘September 2, 1686’

Morphologically, the day of the month is an ordinal numeral bearing the possessive suffix (1236) (compare English ‘the first of May’). Note that the last vowel of *első* ‘first’ changes to *e* if it is followed by the possessive suffix: the possessive form of ‘first’ is *elseje* rather than **elsője*.

- (1236) március else-je / második-a / tizenegyedik-e / huszonkettedik-e
 March first-Poss / second-Poss / eleventh-Poss / twenty.second-Poss
 ‘the first / second / eleventh / twenty-second of March’

2.6.1.3.4.3. Adjectives derived from ordinals

Ordinals, like cardinals, can bear the adjectivalizing suffix *-(V)s* (roughly equivalent to English *-ed*). The adjectives formed this way mean ‘Xth grader’ (1237).

- (1237) a. első-s, második-os, harmadik-os, tizenegyedik-es
 first-ed second-ed third-ed eleven-ed
 ‘first grader, second grader, third grader, eleventh grader’
- b. Kata második-os.
 Kata second-ed
 ‘Kata is a second grader.’

2.6.1.3.4.4. Ordinals without the partitive-like *-ik* suffix

In some cases the ordinal appears without the partitive-like *-ik* suffix. This happens, for instance, when the ordinal takes the multiplicative suffix *-szVr*, yielding the meaning ‘for the Xth time’ (1238). Note that when the suppletive form *első* ‘first’ combines with the multiplicative suffix, the *s* is obligatorily dropped from the ordinal: *először* rather than **elsőször*.

- (1238) ● Cardinals with the multiplicative suffix
 elő-ször, más-od-szor, öt-öd-ször, hat-od-szor
 first-Mult other-Ord-Mult five-Ord-Mult six-Ord-Mult
 ‘for the first / second / fifth / sixth time’

The same meaning, ‘for the Xth time’, can be expressed in two other ways as well: (i) by placing the multiplicative suffix and the Sublative suffix on the ordinal

(1239a), and (ii) by putting the possessive suffix and the Sublative suffix on the ordinal (1239b).

- (1239) a. nyolc-ad-szor-ra
 eight-Ord-Mult-Sub
 ‘for the eighth time’
 b. nyolc-ad-já-ra
 eight-Ord-Poss-Sub
 ‘for the eighth time’

Ordinals followed by [*maga* ‘self’ + possessive suffix + Instrumental case] mean that X did something together with a number of other people, where the total number of people involved in the event is given by the numeral that forms the basis of the fraction (1240). The *-ik* suffix is obligatorily missing in this case, too.

- (1240) harm-ad-maga-m-mal, öt-öd-maga-d-dal
 three-Ord-self-Poss.1Sg-Ins five-Ord-self-Poss.2Sg-Ins
 ‘me and / with two others, you and / with four others’

Ordinals also appear without *-ik* when they function as the first part of a compound (1241).

- (1241) ● Cardinals in compounds
 másod-virágzás, másod-év-es tanuló, másod-rend-ű vádlott,
 second-bloom second-year-ed student third-order-Attr defendant
 harmad-osztály-ú áru
 third-class-Attr goods
 ‘second growth, [second grader] / [second year student], second defendant, third rate goods’

Such a compound form is also found in the Apostles’ Creed (1242):

- (1242) Harm-ad-nap-ra feltámadt.
 three-Ord-day-Sub resurrect.Past.3Sg
 ‘On the third day he rose again from the dead.’

Note that the compound ‘(on) the next day’ has no ordinal suffix either:

- (1243) Más-nap hazamentünk.
 other-day home.go.Past.1Pl
 ‘On the next day we went home.’

2.6.2. *Quantifiers*

This subsection discusses quantifiers like *minden* ‘every’, *néhány* ‘a few’, *sok* ‘many/much’, *kevés* ‘few/little’. We will begin in subsection 2.6.2.1 with a discussion of some more general properties of, and notions related to these quantifiers. Subsection 2.6.2.2 discusses universal quantifiers in more detail, while 2.6.2.3 discusses existential quantifiers. Subsubsection 2.6.2.4 addresses the behavior of degree modifiers. In subsection 2.6.2.5 we address floating quantifier-like structures, while in subsection 2.6.2.6 we discuss the modification of

quantificational structures. The discussion in this subsection draws on Csirmaz and Szabolcsi (2012); the reader is encouraged to consult that paper for more details.

2.6.2.1. Introduction

Hungarian has various forms of both existential and universal quantifiers.

I. Core semantics

A. Existential quantifiers

Existential quantifiers are illustrated below. The numeral *egy* ‘one’ also functions as an indefinite determiner when not stressed; this is shown in (1244).

- (1244) *egy alma* / **homok*
 one apple / sand
 ‘an apple / sand’

Except for *egy* ‘one’, quantifiers in general can appear with both count and mass nouns. The nouns *alma* ‘apple’ and *homok* ‘sand’ are representative of these two kinds of nouns. The quantifiers *valamennyi* and *valahány* can have both an existential and a universal interpretation (the two readings are disambiguated by stress (ˈ): on the universal interpretation these quantifiers bear salient stress). On the existential reading, they are interpreted as ‘some, a smallish number / amount of’. *Valamennyi*, which comprises an existential morpheme, *vala* ‘some’ and the ‘wh’-word *mennyi* ‘how many/much’, may appear both with count and mass nouns (1245a). In this respect, it is similar to *mennyi* (1245a’). *Valahány*, which comprises an existential morpheme, *vala* ‘some’, and the ‘wh’-word *hány* ‘how many’, can only appear with count nouns (1245b). In this respect, it is similar to *hány* (1245b’).

- (1245) ● Some existential quantifiers
- a. *valamennyi alma* / *homok*
 some apple / sand
 ‘some apples / sand’
 - a’. *mennyi alma* / *homok*
 how.many apple / sand
 ‘[how many apples] / [how much sand]’
 - b. *valahány alma* / **homok*
 some apple / sand
 ‘some apples / sand’
 - b’. *hány alma* / **homok*
 how.many apple / sand
 ‘[how many apples] / [how much sand]’

A number of different quantifiers with an indefinite interpretation require semantic plurality. This is consistent with the fact that they cannot appear with mass nouns (1246).

- (1246) a. *néhány* / *pár alma*
 a_few / couple apple
 ‘a few / [a couple of] apples’

- b. *néhány homok, *pár homok
 a_few sand couple sand
 Intended meaning: 'a few sand, a couple of sand'

B. Negative quantifiers

Negative quantifiers are negative concord items. All of them comprise the morpheme *se-* 'no, none' and a 'wh'-word. *Sehány* 'not any number of' contains the 'wh'-word *hány* 'how many', and like *hány*, it appears with count nouns (1247a). *Semennyi* 'not any amount of' contains the 'wh'-word *mennyi* 'how many/much', and like *mennyi*, it can quantify both count and mass nouns (1247b). *Semmi* 'not any amount of' contains the 'wh'-word *mi* 'what'. This quantifier is compatible only with mass nouns (1247c). These quantifiers are illustrated below.

- (1247) ● Some negative quantifiers
- a. *se-hány alma / *homok*
 se-how.many apple / sand
 'no apples / no sand'
- b. *se-mennyi alma / homok*
 se-how.many apple / sand
 'no apples / no sand'
- c. *sem-mi *alma / homok*
 se-what apple / sand
 'no apples / no sand'

C. Universal quantifiers

Hungarian has a variety of universal quantifiers (1248). Some of these can generally appear only with count nouns, while others are compatible with both count and mass nouns. Note that, as already mentioned above, the quantifiers *valamennyi* and *valahány* have both a universal and an existential reading. On the former reading they must be stressed (ˈ), and have the interpretation 'every' and 'every single' respectively.

- (1248) ● Some universal quantifiers
- a. *minden / mindegyik alma*
 every / each apple
 'every / each apple'
- a'. **minden / *mindegyik homok*
 every / each sand
- b. *'valahány / [az összes] alma*
 every_single / the all apple
 '[every single apple] / [all (the) apples]'
- b'. **'valahány homok, az összes homok*
 every_single sand the all sand
 'every single sand, all the sand'

- c. 'valamennyi alma / *homok
 every apple / sand
 'every apple / sand'

The quantifier *mind* 'all' occurs in a variety of morpho-syntactic constructions which do not have a unitary analysis in the literature and do not have literal equivalents in English. While acknowledging the special status of *mind*, we gloss it as 'all' in all the environments it occurs in. *Mind* is in complementary distribution with *minden* 'every'. *Minden* appears in nominal expressions only (1249).

- (1249) minden kutya
 every dog
 'every dog'

Mind 'all' appears as a predicative element in (1250a). It can also immediately precede a definite DP (1250b). In the latter case, the DP must contain a numeral or certain universal quantifiers. Unlike other quantifiers, *mind* cannot precede a bare noun (1250c).

- (1250) a. Az almát tegnap mind megettem.
 the apple.Acc yesterday all perf.eat.Past.1Sg
 'As for the apples, I ate all of them yesterday.'
- b. mind [az összes] / [a húsz] / [a két] diák
 all the all / the twenty / the two student
 '[all the students] / [all the twenty students] / [both of the two] students'
- b'. *mind a kevés / sok / legtöbb / egy diák
 all the few / many / most / one student
 Intended meaning: 'all the few / many / most / one student(s)'
- c. *mind kutya
 all dog
 Intended meaning: 'all dogs'

While generally *mind* 'all' and *minden* 'every' are not acceptable with mass nouns, they can occasionally co-occur with mass nouns (1251). In this case the noun has a 'kind' or 'portion' reading.

- (1251) a. Minden hús büdös.
 every meat smelly
 'Every kind of meat is smelly. / Every portion of meat in the context is smelly.'
- a'. A hús ebben a boltban mind büdös.
 the meat this.Ine the shop.Ine all smelly
 'All meat in this shop is smelly.'
- b. Minden hús szép.
 every meat nice
 'Every kind of meat is nice. / Every portion of meat in the context is nice.'
- b'. A hús ebben a boltban mind szép.
 the meat this.Ine the shop.Ine all nice
 'All the meat in this shop is nice.'

We note here that *mind* ‘all’ is also used as a conjunction (see Szabolcsi 2010, 2015), while such a use is not possible for *minden* ‘every’. (1252) shows that when used as a conjunction, *mind* appears in front of all conjuncts, and it is not possible to replace it with *és* ‘and’ in front of the second (or other further) conjuncts. *Mind*-conjunction is used only with definite DPs, and mostly when only two conjuncts are involved (such conjunctions are best rendered in English with *both*), but a higher number of conjuncts is also possible.

- (1252) ● *Mind* as a conjunction
- a. *Mind* Feri, *mind* Mari olvasott.
 all Feri all Mari read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Both Feri and Mari were reading.’
- a’. *(*Mind*) Feri, *mind* Mari olvasott.
 all Feri all Mari read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Both Feri and Mari were reading.’
- a’’. *Mind* Feri, *(*mind*) Mari olvasott.
 all Feri all Mari read.Past.3Sg
 ‘Both Feri and Mari were reading.’
- b. **Mind* Feri és Mari olvasott.
 all Feri and Mari read.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘Both Feri and Mari were reading.’

II. Strong and weak quantifiers

By using the terms “weak / strong” for quantifiers, we assume that the distinction is a semantic one. The semantic properties of weak quantifiers correlate with their acceptability in *there*-sentences in English, and those of strong quantifiers correlate with their ungrammaticality in these sentences. Specifically, we assume, following Keenan (1987), that weak quantifiers are symmetric and strong quantifiers are non-symmetric. As relevant for the strong / weak distinction, a quantifier is symmetric if and only if given two arguments of the quantifier A and B, and an existential argument E which appears in presentational sentences, $Q(A,B)$ is equivalent to $Q(E, A \cap B)$. In (1253a), A is ‘cat’ and B is ‘in the garden’; the semantic structure can be represented as $\text{some}(\text{cat}, \text{in-the-garden})$. The structure in (1253b) is $\text{some}(E, \text{cat} \cap \text{in-the-garden})$.

- (1253) a. Some cat is in the garden.
 b. There is some cat in the garden.

Keenan (1987) argues that, among others, the sentences in (1254a) are equivalent while those in (1254b) are not.

- (1254) a. Some cat is in the garden \leftrightarrow There is some cat in the garden.
 b. Every cat is in the garden \leftarrow/\rightarrow There is every cat in the garden.

In this light, the relevant generalizations are as follows: all existential quantifiers and numerals are weak (since they are symmetric) and all universal quantifiers are strong, because they are non-symmetric.

Given the examples above, it appears that Hungarian allows only weak quantifiers in presentational sentences, while strong quantifiers are banned in these constructions. In other words, Hungarian presentational sentences appear to pattern with *there*-sentences in English. However, we will show below that only a subset of weak quantifiers can appear in Hungarian presentational sentences; a fact for which we offer no explanation here.

In Hungarian, presentational sentences distinguish strong and weak quantifiers, as expected. First, note that the novel quantifiers discussed in this subsection can also appear with both count and mass nouns (1255).

- (1255) a. sok / kevés / elég alma
 many / few / enough apple
 'many / few / enough apples'
- a'. sok / kevés / elég homok
 many / few / enough sand
 'many / few / enough sand'
- b. a legtöbb alma / homok
 the most apple / sand
 'most apples / sand'

Only weak quantifiers can appear in presentational sentences. These involve a verb-initial clause, as shown below.

- (1256) • Weak quantifiers in presentational sentences
- a. Volt egy pár / kevés (szem) dió a polcon. [weak]
 was a couple / few CLeye walnut the shelf.Sup
 'There were a couple / few walnuts on the shelf.'
- b. Volt egy / elég dió a polcon. [weak]
 was a / enough walnut the shelf.Sup
 'There was [a walnut] / [enough walnuts] on the shelf.'
- c. *Volt minden / [a legtöbb] dió a polcon. [strong]
 was every / the most walnut the shelf.Sup
 'There was every / [the most] walnuts of the shelf.'

Note that not all nominals with weak quantifiers can appear in these structures. The value judgment quantifier *kevés* 'few' can only appear in these structures if it co-occurs with the numeral *egy* 'one' (1257). This is related, we assume, to the fact that normally *kevés* without *egy* cannot occur postverbally (unless the clause contains focus or negation).

- (1257) a. Volt *(egy) kevés dió a polcon.
 was a few walnut the shelf.Sup
 'There were a few walnuts on the shelf.'

- b. Feri olvasott *(egy) kevés könyvet.
 Feri read.Past.3Sg a few book.Acc
 'Feri has read a few books.'

In addition, *sok* 'many' is ungrammatical in presentational sentences unless the verb is focused, as indicated by capitalization (1258a). As before, *sok* is ungrammatical if it is postverbal (1258b).

- (1258) a. VOLT / *VOLT sok dió a polcon.
 WAS / was many walnut the shelf.Sup
 'There WERE many walnuts on the shelf.'
- b. *Feri olvasott sok könyvet.
 Feri read.Past.3Sg many book.Acc
 Intended meaning: 'Feri has read many books.'

The string in (1258a) is possible without focus on the copula only in the context of enumeration and with stress on all major constituents, as shown in (1259).

- (1259) Beléptünk a kamrába. 'VOLT sok 'dió a 'polcon, a 'sarokban
 enter.Past.1Pl the pantry.Ill was many walnut the shelf.Sup the corner.Ine
 néhány 'alma, és még 'lekvárt is 'találtunk.
 some apple and even jam too find.Past.1Pl
 'We entered the pantry. There were many walnuts on the shelf, there were some apples in the corner, and we even found some jam.'

Sok 'many' and *kevés* 'few' are not entirely parallel. Even if the verb is focused, *kevés* on its own remains ungrammatical (1260). We merely note these additional restrictions on weak quantifiers, but present no account of the facts.

- (1260) a. *VOLT kevés dió a polcon.
 WAS few walnut the shelf.Sup
 Intended meaning: 'There WERE a few walnuts on the shelf.'
- b. VOLT egy kevés dió a polcon.
 WAS a few walnut the shelf.Sup
 'There WERE some walnuts on the shelf.'

III. *Quantifiers as modifiers and elsewhere*

It was noted above that the universal quantifiers *mind* 'all' and *minden* 'every' are in complementary distribution. Let us consider the environments where *mind* can appear by comparing it to the other quantifiers.

With the exception of *mind*, predicative quantifiers must have the collective suffix *-Vn*, which is also required for the collective form of cardinals (see subsection 2.6.1.1.5.4). These quantifiers will be labeled adverbial quantifiers below. Most quantifiers have an adverbial counterpart (i.e. most quantifiers can take the collective suffix), but their distributions are different, as the following examples show.

- (1261) a. A diákok tegnap keves-en / sok-an / elég-en mentek (el) a
 the student.Pl yesterday few-Coll / many-Coll / enough-Coll go.Past.3Pl away the
 tüntetésre.
 demonstration.Sub
 ‘Yesterday few / many / enough students went to the demonstration.’
- b. A diákok tegnap sok-an elmentek a tüntetésre.
 the student.Pl yesterday many-Coll away.go.Past.3Pl the demonstration.Sub
 ‘Yesterday many students went to the demonstration.’
- b’. *A diákok tegnap keves-en / elég-en elmentek a
 the student.Pl yesterday few-Coll / enough-Coll away.go.Past.3Pl the
 tüntetésre.
 demonstration.Sub
 Intended meaning: ‘Yesterday few/ enough students went to the demonstration.’
- c. A diákok tegnap mind / [a legtöbb-en] / 'valamennyi-en / pár-an
 the student.Pl yesterday all / the most-Coll / every-Coll / couple-Coll
 *(el)mentek a tüntetésre.
 away.go.Past.3Pl the demonstration.Sub
 ‘Yesterday [all students] / [most students] / [every student] / [a couple of students] went to
 the demonstration.’

Strong quantifiers must precede the particle and the verb (1261c). The ungrammaticality of some quantifiers in (1261b’) correlates with the fact that nominals with these quantifiers must immediately precede the verb (1262):

- (1262) a. Sok diák elment a tüntetésre
 many student away.go.Past.3Sg the demonstration.Sub
 ‘Many students went to the demonstration.’
- b. *[Kevés diák] / *[Elég diák] elment a tüntetésre.
 few student / enough student away.go.Past.3Sg the demonstration.Sub
 Intended meaning: ‘Few / enough students went to the demonstration.’

Some of the quantifiers lack an adverbial counterpart (i.e. they cannot take the collective suffix, see (1263)).

- (1263) A diákok *összes-en / ??valahány-an elmentek a
 the student.Pl altogether-Coll / some-Coll away.go.Past.3Sg the
 tüntetésre.
 demonstration.Sub
 ‘All / some of the students went to the demonstration.’

It should be noted that the nominal associated with the adverbial quantifier must modify the subject. This observation holds for all adverbial quantifiers except for *mind* ‘all’.

- (1264) a. A rölapokat mind elolvastam.
 the flyer.Pl.Acc all away.read.Past.1Sg
 ‘As for the flyers, I have read all of them.’

- b. *A röplapokat sok-an / elég-en / [a legtöbb-en] elolvastam.
 the flyer.Pl.Acc many-Coll / enough-Coll / the most-Coll away.read.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘As for the flyers, I have read many / enough / [the most] of them.’

In addition to adverbial quantifiers, quantifiers with overt case marking can also form a constituent distinct from the nominal they are associated with. Consider first examples where the quantifier is associated with an object (1265). The object must be a bare nominal, without an overt determiner or plural marker (1265a). The quantifier associated with the nominal can only be weak. *Valamennyi* appears in both (1265b) and (1265c); it is grammatical with an existential interpretation ‘some’ and ungrammatical with a universal interpretation ‘every’, as expected.

- (1265) a. Röplapot sokat elolvastam.
 flyer.Acc many.Acc away.read.Past.1Sg
 ‘I have read many flyers.’
- a’. *[A röplap-ok-at] / *[A röplap-ot] sokat elolvastam.
 the flyer-Pl-Acc / the flyer.Acc many-Acc away.read.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I have read many flyers.’
- b. Röplapot sokat / eleget / keveset / valamennyit olvastam.
 flyer.Acc many.Acc / enough.Acc / few.Acc / some.Acc read.Past.1Sg
 ‘I have read many / enough / few / some flyers.’
- c. *Röplapot mind / [a legtöbbet] / 'valamennyit olvastam.
 flyer.Acc all / the most.Acc / every.Acc read.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I have read all / [the most] / all flyers.’
- d. A röplapokat mind(et) / *[a legtöbbet] elolvastam.
 the flyer.Pl.Acc all(Acc) / the most.Acc away.read.Past.1Sg
 ‘I have read all / most flyers.’

Floating quantifier-like structures will be discussed in more detail in subsection 2.6.2.5.

2.6.2.2. *Universal quantifiers*

This subsection discusses universal quantifiers. We will start in subsection 2.6.2.2.1 with their use as modifiers of the noun phrase. After that, we will examine their use as arguments in subsection 2.6.2.2.2.

2.6.2.2.1. *Use as modifier*

The universal quantifiers shown in subsection 2.6.2.1 can all modify nominals, except for *mind* ‘all’ and *mindenki* ‘everybody’ (1266). Note that just like with numerals, the noun has no plural marking when it appears with universal quantifiers.

- (1266) a. minden / [az összes] / 'valamennyi / 'valahány / mindegyik diák
 every / [the all] / every / every_single / each student
 ‘[every student] / [all students]’
- b. *mindenki diák, *mind diák
 everybody student all student

Remark 34. In very few set expressions that contain no overt noun, *minden* 'every' obligatorily bears the plural marker (i). The form in (i.c) was used in earlier stages of the language but is not part of the contemporary language any more.

- (i) a. minden-ek felett
every-Pl above
'above all'
- b. minden-ek előtt
every-Pl in.front.of
'above all'
- c. \$minden-ek
every-Pl
'everything / everybody'

I. Distributive and collective interpretation

All of the universal quantifiers that can modify nominals allow a distributive interpretation (1267a). A collective interpretation is only available with some quantifiers (1267b, c).

- (1267) a. Minden / [az összes] / 'valamennyi' / 'valahány' / mindegyik diák
every / [the all] / every / every_single / each student
megette az ebédet.
perf.eat.Past.3Sg the lunch.Acc
'[Every student] / [all students] / [each student] ate up the lunch.'
- b. Minden / az összes / 'valamennyi' diák összegyűlt a
every / the all / every student together.gather.Past.3Sg the
téren.
square-Sup
'[Every student] / [all students] gathered on the square.'
- b'. *Valahány / *Mindegyik diák összegyűlt a téren.
every_single / each student together.gather.Past.3Sg the square-Sup
Intended meaning: 'Every / each student gathered on the square.'
- c. Minden / [az összes] / 'valamennyi' diák összeverekedett.
every / [the all] / every student together.fight.Past.3Sg
'[Every student] / [all students] got into a fight (with each other).'
- c'. *Valahány / *Mindegyik diák összeverekedett.
every_single / each student together.fight.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'Every / each student got into a fight (with each other).'

II. Distributivity and cumulativity

Universal quantifiers show heterogeneous behavior with respect to the availability of a cumulative interpretation. A distributive interpretation is available universally. No cumulative interpretation is available for *mindegyik* 'each' and for the adverbial *mind* 'all'. For the other universal quantifiers, a cumulative interpretation is available. However, in general it is available if the quantifier has a left dislocation interpretation.

- (1268) a. [Az összes] / 'Valamennyi / Minden könyv 5000 forintba kerül.
 the all / every / every book 5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg
 '[All books] / [every book] costs HUF 5000.' [distributive, cumulative]
- b. Mindegyik / minden könyv 5000 forintba kerül.
 each / every book 5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg
 'Each / every book costs HUF 5000. [distributive, %cumulative]
- c. A könyvek mind 5000 forintba kerülnek.
 the book.PI all 5000 HUF.III cost.3PI
 'The books all cost HUF 5000.' [distributive, *cumulative]

If the quantificational expression is postverbal, then both the distributive and the cumulative interpretations are available with a neutral intonation; no left dislocation is necessary for cumulativity (1269a,c). As before, *mindegyik* 'each' and adverbial *mind* 'all' only permit a distributive interpretation (1269b,d).

- (1269) a. 5000 forintba kerül [az összes] / 'valamennyi/ minden könyv.
 5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg the all / every / every book
 '[All books cost] / [every book costs] HUF 5000.' [distributive, cumulative]
- b. 5000 forintba kerül mindegyik könyv.
 5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg each book
 'Each book costs HUF 5000.' [distributive, %cumulative]
- c. ??5000 forintba kerül 'valahány könyv.
 5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg every_single book
 'Every (single) book costs HUF 5000.'
- d. 5000 forintba kerülnek a könyvek mind.
 5000 HUF.III cost.3PI the book.PI all
 'All the books cost HUF 5000.' [distributive, *cumulative]

The cumulative and distributive interpretations can be enforced by certain adverbial elements. These are illustrated in (1270).

- (1270) a. A könyvek összesen / együtt / együttesen / cakumpakk / cuzammen
 the book.PI altogether / together / collectively / in.all / altogether
 5000 forintba kerülnek.
 5000 HUF.III cost.3PI
 'The books altogether / together / collectively / [in all] /altogether cost HUF 5000.' [cumulative]
- b. A könyvek egyenként / külön-külön / darabonként 5000 forintba
 the book.PI one.by.one / separate-separate / piece.Dist 5000 HUF.III
 kerülnek.
 cost.3PI
 'The books cost HUF 5000 each.' [distributive]

As expected, enforcing a distributive reading with universal quantifiers is grammatical (1271c). Forcing a cumulative interpretation with the quantifiers shown in (1271a) is also grammatical. While the cumulative reading is marked with *mindegyik* 'each', as in (1271b), the sentence is judged better if *mindegyik* has a salient stress.

- (1271) a. 5000 forintba kerül együtt [az összes] / 'valamennyi/ minden könyv.
5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg together the all / every / every book
'[All books] / [Every book] together cost(s) HUF 5000.'
- b. ^{??}5000 forintba kerül együtt mindegyik könyv.
5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg together each book.
'All books together cost HUF 5000.'
- c. 5000 forintba kerül külön-külön [az összes] / 'valamennyi / minden /
5000 HUF.III cost.3Sg separate-separate the all / every / every /
mindegyik könyv.
each book
'The books cost HUF 5000 each.'

III. Predicative use

The predicative use of quantifiers in isolation was illustrated above. Of the universal quantifiers, only *minden* 'every' is excluded, as was noted earlier (1272b). Examples like (1272) will be taken up in detail in subsection 2.6.2.5.

- (1272) a. Az almát mind(et) / [az összeset] / 'valamennyit / mindegyiket
the apple.Acc all(Acc) / the all.Acc / every.Acc / each.Acc
megettem.
perf.eat.Past.1Sg
'I have eaten [all the apples] / [every apple] / [each apple].'
- b. Az almát ^{??}valahányat / *mindent megettem.
the apple.Acc every_single.Acc / every.Acc perf.eat.Past.1Sg
'I have eaten every apple.'

When the quantifier appears with a noun, most universal quantifiers are acceptable (1273a). *Mind* 'all' is ungrammatical, as is generally true for the modifier usage of the quantifier. *Mindegyik* 'each' is also ungrammatical, which is expected, since the example forces a cumulative interpretation and *mindegyik* allows only a distributive one (1273b).

- (1273) a. Ez a négy lány [az összes] / minden / 'valamennyi/ [?]valahány
this the four girl the all / every / every / every_single
diákom.
student.Poss.1Sg
'These four girls are all the students I have.'
- b. *Ez a négy lány mindegyik / mind diákom.
this the four girl each / every student.Poss.1Sg
Intended meaning: 'These four girls are all the students I have.'

IV. Co-occurrence with numerals

Some universal quantifiers can co-occur with an ordinal numeral (1274). Only *minden* 'every' is clearly grammatical (1274a); other quantifiers have a marginal or clearly ungrammatical status.

- (1274) ● Universal quantifiers with a numeral: single series reading
- a. Minden ötvenedik rabot elengedték a rendőrök.
 every fiftieth prisoner.Acc let.go.Past.3PI the policeman.Pl
 ‘The police let every 50th prisoner go.’
- b. *Valamennyi / *Valahány / *Mindegyik / *[Az összes] / *Mind
 every / every_single / each / [the all] / all
 ötvenedik rabot elengedték a rendőrök.
 fiftieth prisoner.Acc let.go.Past.3PI the policeman.Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘The police let every 50th prisoner go.’

The judgments shown in (1274) reflect a single series where every 50th prisoner in that series was freed. Thus potentially there are many prisoners freed from a single group; each 50th prisoner from that group was let go. Judgments are subtly different if there are multiple series. For example, there are different groups of prisoners. From each group, the 50th prisoner is let go (a single prisoner from each group). (1275) shows judgments for the multiple groups / series scenario.

- (1275) ● Universal quantifiers with a numeral: multiple series reading
- a. Minden / valamennyi / mindegyik / [az összes] ötvenedik rabot
 every / every / each / [the all] fiftieth prisoner.Acc
 elengedték a rendőrök.
 let.go.Past.3PI the policeman.Pl
 ‘The police let every 50th prisoner go.’
- b. *Valahány / *Mind ötvenedik rabot elengedték a rendőrök.
 every_single / all fiftieth prisoner.Acc let.go.Past.3PI the policeman.Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘The police let every 50th prisoner go.’

Universal quantifiers can also co-occur with cardinal numerals. The specific structures may allow a different set of universal quantifiers, however, and the quantifiers themselves that are grammatical in these structures also vary.

If the cardinal *n* determines groups of *n* members, then only *minden* ‘every’ is grammatical, as shown in (1276). Visitors were escorted to the elevator in groups of ten.

- (1276) a. Minden tíz látogatót bekísértek a liftbe.
 every ten visitor.Pl in.escort.Past.3PI the elevator.Ill
 ‘They escorted all the visitors to the elevator in tens / [groups of ten].’
- b. *Valamennyi / *Valahány / *Mindegyik / *[Az összes] / *Mind tíz
 every / every_single / every / the all / all ten
 látogatót bekísértek a liftbe.
 visitor.Pl.Acc in.escort.Past.3PI the elevator.Ill
 Intended meaning: ‘They escorted [every visitor] / [all the visitors] into the elevator in tens / [groups of ten].’

If the universal quantifier precedes a definite determiner as well, as in (1277a), then there is a unique group of visitors and the numerosity of this group is specified by the cardinal. In (1277), there is a single group of ten visitors, who were escorted to the elevator.

- (1277) a. Mind a tíz látogatót bekísérték a liftbe.
 all the ten visitor.Acc in.escort.Past.3Pl the elevator.Ill
 'They escorted all 10 visitors into the elevator.'
- b. *Minden / *Valamennyi / *Valahány / *Mindegyik / *[Az összes] (a)
 every / every / every_single / each / the all the
 tíz látogatót bekísérték a liftbe.
 ten visitor.Acc in.escort.Past.3Pl the elevator.Ill
 Intended meaning: 'They escorted all 10 visitors into the elevator.'

The cardinal numeral can also appear with *összesen* 'altogether', the adverbial form of *összes* 'all'. According to (1278), there were altogether ten visitors. Note that *összesen* 'altogether' also enforces a cumulative interpretation, as noted above.

- (1278) Összesen tíz látogatót kísérték a liftbe.
 altogether ten visitor.Acc escort.Past.3Pl the elevator.Ill
 'They escorted altogether ten visitors into the elevator.'

Finally, *összesen* 'altogether' can also appear prefixed with *mind* 'all'. It suggests that the number specified, in (1279) 'ten', was lower than expected.

- (1279) Mind-összesen tíz látogatót kísérték a liftbe.
 all-altogether ten visitor.Acc escort.Past.3Pl the elevator.Ill
 'They escorted altogether (only) ten visitors into the elevator.'

V. *Generic use*

Universal quantifiers lack an unambiguously generic use. Definite singular and plural nominals as well as indefinite singulars have generic interpretation (1280). Indefinite generic expressions have a law-like interpretation, which definite generic expressions lack. Definite nominals also allow kind interpretations (1281).

- (1280) ● Generic use of definite nominals
- a. A zebra csíkos.
 the zebra striped
 'The zebra is striped.'
- a'. A brontoszaurusz leveleket eszik.
 the brontosaurus leaf.Pl.Acc eat.3Sg
 'The brontosaurus eats leaves.'
- b. A zebrá-k csíkos-ak.
 the zebra-Pl striped-Pl
 'Zebras are striped.'
- b'. A brontoszaurusz-ok leveleket esz-nek.
 the brontosaurus-Pl leaf.Pl.Acc eat-3Pl
 'Bronatosauruses eat leaves.'
- c. Egy zebra csíkos.
 a zebra striped
 'A zebra is striped.'

- c'. Egy brontosaurusz leveleket eszik.
 a brontosaurus leaf.Pl.Acc eat.3Sg
 'A brontosaurus eats leaves.'

- (1281) ● Kind interpretations
- a. A dodó kihalt.
 the dodo out.die.Past.3Sg
 'The dodo died out.'
- b. A dodó-k kihalt-ak.
 the dodo-Pl out.die.Past-3Pl
 'Dodos died out.'
- c. *Egy dodó kihalt.
 a dodo out.die.Past.3Sg

As shown in (1282), indefinites cannot appear with stage-level predicates if the interpretation is generic: the asterisk here indicates that the string is ungrammatical on a generic interpretation.

- (1282) ● Stage-level predicates and generic interpretation
- a. A brontosaurusz buta.
 the brontosaurus stupid
 'The brontosaurus is stupid.'
- b. A brontosaurusz-ok butá-k.
 the brontosaurus-Pl stupid-Pl
 'Brontosauruses are stupid.'
- c. *Egy brontosaurusz buta.
 a brontosaurus stupid
 Intended meaning: 'A brontosaurus is stupid.'

As noted above, universal quantifiers do not allow a generic interpretation. It should be noted that whenever the predicate allows (1283a) or requires (1283b) a kind interpretation, universally quantified nominals allow the noun to refer to subspecies rather than individuals belonging to the species. Thus the statement in (1283a) can refer to subspecies of dinosaurs and the one in (1283b) must do so.

- (1283) a. Minden / [az összes] / 'valamennyi' / 'valahány' / mindegyik
 every / the all / every / every_single / each
 dinoszaurusz kihalt.
 dinosaur out.die.Past.3Sg
 '[Every (single) dinosaur] / [all dinosaurs] / [each dinosaur] died out.'
- b. Minden / [az összes] / 'valamennyi' / 'valahány' / mindegyik
 every / the all / every / every_single / each
 dinoszaurusz több évezreden át élt ezen a területen.
 dinosaur more millennium.Sup across live.Past.3Sg this.Sup the area.Sup
 '[Every (single) dinosaur] / [all dinosaurs] / [each dinosaur] lived in this area for many millennia.'

VI. *Mass nouns*

Many quantifiers in Hungarian can appear with count and mass nouns alike. Ignoring abstract nouns for the time being, most universal quantifiers are grammatical with mass nouns (1284a).

- (1284) a. Minden / [az összes] / 'valamennyi vaj megolvadt.
 every / the all / every butter perf.melt.Past.3Sg
 'All the butter melted.'
- b. *'Valahány vaj megolvadt.
 every_single butter perf.melt.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'All the butter melted.'

The distributive *mindegyik* 'each' can also appear with mass nouns (1285). It does not quantify over an undifferentiated mass of butter (unlike the quantifiers in (1284a)), but over individual lumps, sticks, or perhaps types of butter. In this respect, *mindegyik* behaves similarly to quantifiers which require count nouns.

- (1285) Mindegyik vaj megolvadt.
 each butter perf.melt.Past.3Sg
 'Each lump of butter melted. (or: Every type of butter melted.)'

Let us turn to abstract nouns next. The judgments about these nouns seem to depend on how easily the referent can be individualized. For example, consider *szabadság* 'freedom'. If it is interpreted as the term describing a work holiday, then *szabadság* allows individualization, so it is grammatical with universal quantifiers. Note that the requirement of individualization of abstract nouns does not apply to concrete nouns such as *vaj* 'butter'; except for *mindegyik* 'each', universal quantifiers do not require individualization for the latter. We propose that unlike *szabadság* 'freedom', *nyomor* 'misery' is grammatical with some quantifiers because it allows individualization, with the interpretation of 'example / occurrence of misery' (compare (1286a) and (1286b)). We have no explanation for the ungrammaticality of the use of some universal quantifiers with *nyomor*, shown in (1286a').

- (1286) a. Minden / [az összes] / ³valamennyi nyomor a kapitalisták
 every / the all / every misery the capitalist.Pl
 bűne.
 sin.Poss.3Sg
 'All the misery is the capitalists' doing.'
- a'. *'Valahány / *Mindegyik nyomor a kapitalisták bűne.
 every_single / each misery the capitalist.Pl sin.Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'All the misery is the capitalists' doing.'
- b. *Minden / [az összes] / *valamennyi / *valahány / *mindegyik
 every / the all / every / every_single / each
 szabadságért meg kell harcolni.
 freedom.Cau perf must fight.Inf
 Intended meaning: 'One must fight for all / every freedom.'

It should be noted that universal quantifiers do not require a mass interpretation for non-abstract mass nouns. They allow both a type and a portion interpretation, as shown in (1287). The quantifier quantifies over types and portions of the referent of the mass noun, respectively.

- (1287) Minden bor hideg / francia.
 every wine cold / French
 ‘Every wine is cold / French.’

VII. Agreement

Some comments are in order with respect to agreement on the noun as well as on the verb. As is generally true, quantifiers with an overt nominal trigger singular agreement in Hungarian (1288).

- (1288) Minden / [az összes] / 'valamennyi / 'valahány / mindegyik diák
 every / the all / every / every_single / each student
 elmenekült*(-ek).
 away.flee.Past-3PI
 ‘[Every (single) student] / [all students] / [each student] fled.’

With *mind*, in contrast, the agreement is plural (1289).

- (1289) (A diákok) mind elmenekült*(-ek).
 the student.Pl all away.flee.Past-3PI
 ‘(The students) all fled.’

A noun phrase that has no definite article but contains *minden* ‘every’ elicits indefinite agreement on the verb (1290a), while noun phrases that have no definite article and contain *mindegyik* ‘each’ or *valamennyi* ‘every’ elicit definite agreement on the verb (1290b). The quantifier *összes* ‘all’ is obligatorily preceded by the article, and so it also elicits definite agreement on the verb (1290b).

- (1290) ● Verbal agreement with some quantifiers
- a. Minden bombát megtaláltak.
 every bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3PI
 ‘They found every bomb.’
 - b. Mindegyik / 'valamennyi / [az összes] bombát megtalálták.
 each / every / the all bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3PI.DefObj
 ‘They found [each bomb] / [every bomb] / [all bombs].’

VIII. Co-occurrence with possessive morphology

In contrast to other universal quantifiers, *mindegyik* ‘each’ can appear with the possessive suffix (1.1.1.4.1) and it can agree with the (plural) restrictor, which appears as a possessor (1291a,b).

- (1291) ● *Mindegyik* ‘each’ with a possessive suffix
- a. A bombák mindegyik-e elpusztította volna az épületet.
 the bomb.Pl each-Poss away.destroy.Past.3Sg be.Cond the building.Acc
 ‘Each one of the bombs would have destroyed the building.’
- a’. *A bombák minden-e / [(az) összes-e] / ‘valamennyi-je / ‘valahány-a
 the bomb.Pl every-Poss / the all-Poss / every-Poss / every_single-Poss
 elpusztította volna az épületet.
 away.destroy.Past.3Sg be.Cond the building.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘[Every (single) bomb] / [all the bombs] / [each bomb] would have destroyed the building.’
- b. A gombák mindegyik-e / *minden-e / *[az összes-e] /
 the mushroom.Pl each-Poss / every-Poss / the all-Poss /
 *‘valamennyije / *‘valahány-a már elég sok volt az
 every-Poss / every_single-Poss already quite lot be.Past.3Sg the
 ebédhez.
 lunch.All
 ‘[Each mushroom] / [every (single) mushroom] / [all the mushrooms] taken together was /
 were quite a lot for lunch.’

Interestingly, the possessor in these examples cannot appear as a dative nominal if the quantifier is preceded by a definite determiner (a parallel possessive example is given for comparison as well, see also subsection 2.6.2.5), as shown in (1292).

- (1292) a. A gombáknak a kalapja elég volt az ebédhez.
 the mushroom.Pl.Dat the cap.Poss enough be.Past.3Sg the lunch.All
 ‘The cap of the mushrooms was enough for lunch.’
- b. *A bombáknak a mindegyik-e elpusztította volna az
 the bomb.Pl.Dat the each-Poss away.destroy.Past.3Sg be.Cond the
 épületet.
 building.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Each one of the bombs would have destroyed the building.’
- c. *A gombáknak a mindegyik-e már elég sok volt az
 the mushroom.Pl.Dat the each-Poss already quite lot be.Past.3Sg the
 ebédhez.
 lunch.All
 Intended meaning: ‘Each of the mushrooms would have been quite a lot for lunch.’

Finally, some universal quantifiers can appear with possessive agreement (1.1.1.4.1), but only with a non-overt plural possessor, which is interpreted as referring to humans (1293a-c). One of these, *mindegyik* ‘each’ comprises *mind* ‘all’, *egy* ‘one’ and the partitive-like *-ik* suffix. Two of the quantifiers that can appear with possessive agreement have an unusual form and distribution. The first is the quantifier *mindnyáj* ‘all of (a group expressed by a pronoun)’. Historically it can probably be decomposed into *mind* ‘all’ and *nyáj* ‘flock’. Contemporary speakers, however, do not perceive it as a bi-morphemic form any more. This quantifier must bear either a possessive suffix or a collective suffix (see below); the bare form

mindnyáj is not grammatical. The other unusual quantifier is *mindannyi*. It has the same meaning, ‘all of (a group expressed by a pronoun)’, and the same distribution as *mindnyáj*, i.e. it always occurs with possessive agreement or with the collective suffix but never in the bare uninflected form. *Mindannyi* appears to be decomposable into *mind* ‘all’ and *annyi* ‘that.much’. This decomposition, however, would not explain the overall meaning ‘all of (a group expressed by a pronoun)’. Thus, either *mindannyi* has a non-compositional, idiomatic meaning, or, more plausibly, speakers do not analyze it as a bi-morphemic form.

- (1293) ● Universal quantifiers with possessive agreement
- a. *mindnyáj-unk, mindnyáj-atok, mindnyáj-uk*
all_of-Poss.1Pl all_of-Poss.2Pl all_of-Poss.3Pl
‘each and all of us, each and all of you, each and all of them’
 - b. *mindannyi-unk, mindannyi-ótok, mindegyik-ük*
all_of-Poss.1Pl all_of-Poss.2Pl all_of-Poss.3Pl
‘each and all of us, each and all of you, each and all of them’
 - c. *mindegyik-ünk, mindegyik-ötök, mindegyik-őjük*
each-Poss.1Pl each-Poss.2Pl each-the_one-Poss.3Pl
‘each and all of us, each and all of you, each and all of them’
 - d. *'valamennyi-ünk, 'valamennyi-ötök, 'valamennyi-jük*
every-Poss.1Pl every-Poss.2Pl every-Poss.3Pl
‘every one of us, every one of you, every one of them’
 - e. **az összes-ünk, *minden-ünk, *'valahány-unk*
the all-Poss.1Pl every-Poss.1Pl every_single-Poss.1Pl

The other environment where *mindnyáj* and *mindannyi* are acceptable is one where they appear with the collective suffix *-Vn*. In these structures they can optionally co-occur with an overt nominative pronoun, and as before, they must quantify over a group of humans (1294).

- (1294) a. (Mi) *mindnyáj-an tudjuk az igazat.*
we all_of-Coll know.1Pl.DefObj the truth.Acc
‘Each and all of us know the truth.’
- b. (Ti) *mindannyi-an tudjátok az igazat.*
you(pl) all_of-Coll know.2Pl.DefObj the truth.Acc
‘Each and all of you know the truth.’

The possessive marked quantifiers shown in (1293) can appear with Accusative case marking as well (1295), as expected given the discussion in subsection III of 2.6.2.1. The collective marked *mindnyájan*, in contrast, can only modify the subject.

- (1295) a. *A rendőrség mindnyáj-unk-at / mind-egyik-ünk-et*
the police all_of-Poss.1Pl-Acc / all-the_one-Poss.2Pl-Acc
letartóztatta.
down.arrest.Past.3Sg.DefObj
‘The police arrested each and all of us.’

- a'. A rendőrség 'valamennyi-ünk-et letartóztatott.
 the police every-Poss.1Pl-Acc down.arrest.Past.3Sg
 'The police arrested each and all of us.'
- b. *A rendőrség mind-nyáj-an (-t) letartóztatta.
 the police all_of-Coll-Acc down.arrest.Past.3Sg.DefObj
 Intended meaning: 'The police arrested each and all of (contextually determined group).'

2.6.2.2.2. *Use as argument*

Universal quantifiers can appear without an overt noun. Based on their behavior in this environment, quantifiers fall into two groups. *Minden* 'everything' and *mindenki* 'everybody', the latter only acceptable without an overt nominal, are non-elliptical and they quantify over all non-human and human individuals, respectively (1296a,b). That is, these quantifiers can fill argument positions themselves. Note that *minden* may also appear in a modifier position, in which case it means 'every'. *Mindenki* 'everybody', on the other hand, is only acceptable without an overt nominal.

- (1296) a. Mindenki eltűnt.
 everybody away.disappear.Past.3Sg
 'Everybody disappeared.'
- b. Minden eltűnt.
 everything away.disappear.Past.3Sg
 'Everything disappeared.'

The other universal quantifiers can also appear without an overt noun, but they involve ellipsis in these structures (1297). They do not quantify over all non-human individuals, but rather over individuals of a contextually determined type (e.g. books or bugs). In other words, these quantifiers cannot fill argument positions themselves.

- (1297) [Az összes] / 'valamennyi' / 'valahány' / mindegyik eltűnt.
 the all / every / every_single / each away.disappear.Past.3Sg
 'All / [every one] / [each one] (contextually specified referent) disappeared.'

In an elliptical object noun phrase that has no overt noun, *minden* 'every' is ungrammatical (1298a). On the other hand *mind* 'all', *mindegyik* 'each', and *az összes* 'all the' are grammatical (1298b).

- (1298) ● Elliptical object NP, no overt noun
- a. *Minden-t megtaláltak.
 every-Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: 'They found all / each of them.'
- b. [Az összeset] / mindet / mindegyiket megtalálták.
 the all.Acc / every.Acc / each.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj
 'They found all / [every one] / [each of them].'

Note that (1298a) is a grammatical string in another interpretation (1299), but in this case we are dealing with *minden* in an argument position, not with an elliptical noun

phrase from which the noun has been elided. As a result, in this case *minden* receives the ‘everything’ interpretation.

- (1299) *Mindent megtaláltak.*
 everything.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl
 ‘They found everything.’

2.6.2.3. Existential quantifiers

In Hungarian, there are a variety of existential quantifiers. The quantifiers in (1300a) are compatible with situations in which there is only one individual for which the noun predicate holds. For some speakers, though, *valamennyi* ‘some’ requires there to be at least two such individuals. The quantifiers in (1300b) require the existence of more than one individual for which the noun predicate holds. Of these, *némelyik* ‘some of’ is obligatorily partitive (it can be deconstructed into *némely* ‘some’ and the partitive-like suffix *-ik*), and requires definite object agreement on the verb (1301). As already mentioned before, the quantifiers *valamennyi* and *valahány* also have universal readings: ‘every’ and ‘every (single)’ respectively. These quantifiers are stressed on the universal reading and unstressed on the existential ‘some’ reading.

- (1300) ● Existential quantifiers in Hungarian
- a. *valamennyi / egy tüntető*
 some / one protester
 ‘[some protesters] / [one protester]’ (felicitous even if there is a single protester)
 - b. *néhány / pár / valahány / némelyik tüntető*
 a_few / couple / some / some.of protester
 ‘[a few] / [a couple of] / some / [some of the] protesters’ (felicitous only if there are at least two protesters)

- (1301) ● Object agreement with nouns modified by existential quantifiers
- a. *Lát-ok néhány / pár / valahány / valamennyi / egy tüntetőt.*
 see-1Sg a_few / couple / some / some / one protester.Acc
 ‘I can see [a few] / [a couple of] protesters.’
 - a’. **Lát-om néhány / pár / valahány / valamennyi / egy tüntetőt.*
 see-1Sg.DefObj a_few / couple / some / some / one
 tüntetőt.
 protester.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘I can see [a few] / [a couple of] protesters.’
 - b. *Lát-om / *lát-ok némelyik tüntetőt.*
 see-1Sg.DefObj / see-1Sg some.of protester.Acc
 ‘I can see some of the protesters.’

The quantifier *pár* ‘a couple of, a few’ is homophonous with the noun meaning ‘couple, pair’ – the two uses are presumably related to each other (1302).

(1302) ● The use of *pár* as a quantifier and as a noun

- a. *pár ház, három pár zokni*
 couple house three couple sock
 'a couple of houses, three pairs of socks'
- b. *Ili és Imi egy pár.*
 Ili and Imi a couple
 'Ili and Imi are a couple.'

Pár can also co-occur with the indefinite article *egy* 'one'. This complex form is multiply ambiguous between the meanings 'one couple', 'one pair (of sth)' and 'a few, a couple of'. In the 'one pair (of sth)' reading, stress falls on the indefinite article (1303a), while in the 'one couple' and the 'a few, a couple of' readings stress is on *pár* (1303b,c).

(1303) ● The use of *egy pár*

- a. *'egy pár zokni*
 one couple sock
 'one pair of socks'
- b. *egy 'pár zokni*
 one couple sock
 'a few socks, a couple of socks'
- c. *Bejött a szobába egy 'pár.*
 in.come.Past.3Sg the room.Ill a couple
 'A couple came into the room.'

2.6.2.3.1. *Use as modifier*

The existential quantifiers, except for *némelyik* 'some of', can appear as modifiers in both presentational and non-presentational contexts (1304). In presentational contexts, they are obligatorily postverbal.

- (1304) a. *Van néhány / valahány / valamennyi / pár / egy bomba*
 be.3Sg a_few / some / some / couple / one bomb
az udvaron.
 the yard.Sup
 'There are [a few] / [a couple of] bombs in the yard. / There is a bomb in the yard.'
 [presentational]
- a'. **Van némelyik bomba az udvaron.*
 be.3Sg some.of bomb the yard.Sup
 Intended meaning: 'There are some of the bombs in the yard.'
 [presentational]
- b. *Néhány / valahány / valamennyi / pár / egy bomba az udvaron*
 a_few / some / some / couple / one bomb the yard.Sup
van.
 be.3Sg
 '[A few] / [A couple of] bombs are in the yard. / A bomb is in the yard.'
 [non-presentational]

- b'. Némelyik bomba az udvaron van.
 some.of bomb the yard.Sup be.3Sg
 'Some of the bombs are in the yard.' [non-presentational]

I. Count and mass nouns

Existential quantifiers can appear with count nouns, as shown in (1305).

- (1305) ● Count nouns with existential quantifiers
- a. Néhány / pár / valahány / valamennyi / egy fiú elment
 a_few / couple / some / some / one boy away.go.Past.3Sg
 a moziba.
 the cinema.Ill
 '[A few boys] / [A couple of boys] / [Some boys] / [Some boys] / [One boy] went to the cinema.'
- b. Némelyik fiú elment a moziba.
 some.of boy away.go.Past.3Sg the cinema.Ill
 'Some of the boys went to the cinema.'

Mass nouns must have some countable interpretation if they appear with existential quantifiers. They require either a unit interpretation (for example, mugs in (1306)) or a type interpretation.

- (1306) ● Mass nouns with existential quantifiers
- a. Néhány / pár / valamennyi / egy sör megmelegedett.
 a_few / couple / some / one beer perf.warm.Past.3Sg
 '[A few] / [a couple of] / some / one beer(s) warmed up.'
- b. %Valahány sör megmelegedett.
 some beer perf.warm.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Some beers / [glasses / bottles / cans of beer] warmed up.'

With abstract nouns, existential quantifiers are ungrammatical (1307). A countable interpretation corresponding to 'work holiday' or 'rights' may allow these quantifiers to co-occur.

- (1307) ● Abstract nouns with existential quantifiers
- *Néhány / *pár / *valahány / *valamennyi / *egy szabadságért évekig
 a_few / couple / some / some / one freedom.Cau year.Pl.Ter
 harcolt Budapest lakossága.
 fight.Past.3Sg Budapest people.Poss
 Intended meaning: 'The people of Budapest have been fighting for [a few] / [a couple of] / some / one freedom for years.'

II. Intensifiers with existential quantifiers

Intensifiers in Hungarian are illustrated in (1308). Some quantifiers are included in parentheses with the intensifiers.

- (1308) elég (sok), meglehetősen (kevés), nagyon (kevés)
 enough (lot) rather (few) very (few)
 ‘quite a lot, rather few, very few’

None of these intensifiers can co-occur with existential quantifiers (1309). This holds for all existential quantifiers and all of the intensifiers shown in (1308).

- (1309) *elég néhány, *meglehetősen pár, *nagyon valamennyi
 enough a_few rather couple very some

Hungarian has a construction, however, in which some existential quantifiers appear prefixed with *jó* ‘good’ (1310). This prefixed form indicates a quantity larger than that marked by the non-prefixed form. In fact, the prefixed forms are largely equivalent to *many*.

- (1310) • Existential quantifiers prefixed by *jó* ‘good’
 a. jó-néhány, jó-pár
 good-a_few good-couple
 both: ‘quite a few’
 b. *jó-valahány, *jó-valamennyi, *jó-egy
 good-some good-some good-one

III. Other

A. Negative polarity items

Some existential quantifiers, eg. *valaki is* ‘somebody too’ *valami is* ‘something too’, can behave as NPIs (1311).

- (1311) a. Ha valami is kimaradt, Ili majd figyelmeztet.
 if some(thing) too out.stay.Past.3Sg Ili then warn.3Sg
 ‘If anything has been left out, Ili will warn us.’
 b. Ha néhány / pár / valahány / valamennyi / kimaradt, Ili
 if a_few / couple / some / some / out.stay.Past.3Sg Ili
 majd figyelmeztet.
 then warn.3Sg
 ‘If [a few] / [a couple] / [some] have been left out, Ili will warn us.’
 [all are * as NPIs; OK as elliptical NPs with the noun elided]
 c. Akar valaki is fagyit enni?
 want.3Sg anybody too ice-cream.Acc eat.Inf
 ‘Does anybody want to eat ice-cream?’
 d. Akar néhány / pár / valahány / valamennyi fagyit enni?
 want.3Sg a_few / couple / some / some ice-cream.Acc eat.Inf
 ‘[Do a few] / [Do a couple of] / [Do some] want to eat ice-cream?’
 [all are * as NPIs; OK as elliptical NPs with the noun elided]

On a broader definition of the term *NPI*, n-words like *senki* ‘nobody’ and *semmi* ‘nothing’ are also (strong) NPIs (as opposed to the *valaki is* ‘anybody too’ type

NPIs discussed above, which are called weak NPIs in this broader definition). See M5.

B. Type-related interpretation

A type interpretation in Hungarian is available with dedicated quantificational elements (1312). Two of these contain the suffix *-féle*, which we will gloss as ‘type’. These elements are *mindenféle* lit. ‘every-type’ meaning ‘all kinds of’ and *különféle* lit. ‘different-type’ meaning ‘different types of’. The third modifier, *különböző*, means ‘different’.

- (1312) a. Minden-féle könyv van az asztalon.
 every-type book be.3Sg the table.Sup
 ‘There are all kinds of book on the table.’
- b. Külön-féle / különböző könyvek vannak az asztalon.
 different-type / different book.PI be.3PI the table.Sup
 ‘There are different kinds of books on the table.’

The type interpretation is not available with bare existential quantifiers, as shown in (1313a). The interpretation is available if the quantifier appears with *-féle* ‘type’. The only existential quantifier which can co-occur with *-féle* is the indefinite *egy* (1313b). The ability of co-occurring with *-féle* may be tied to the fact that numerals in general, as well as some other, non-existential quantifiers, can appear with *-féle*, as shown in (1313c). As shown in (1313c), *kevésféle* ‘few types of’ is slightly degraded with respect to *sokféle* ‘many types of’. *Kevésféle* ‘few types of’ sounds natural only when more types of books were expected to be on the table. *Sokféle* ‘many types of’ does not express any previous expectations with regard to the diversity of book types.

- (1313) a. Néhány / pár / valahány / valamennyi / egy könyv van az
 a_few / couple / some / some / one book be.3Sg the
 asztalon.
 table.Sup
 ‘There are / is [a few] / [a couple of] / some / one book(s) on the table.’
- b. Csak egy-féle könyv van az asztalon.
 only one-type book be.3Sg the table.Sup
 ‘There is only one type of book on the table.’
- b*. *Néhány-féle / *pár-féle / *valahány-féle / *valamennyi-féle könyv
 a_few-type / couple-type / some-type / some-type book
 van az asztalon.
 be.3Sg the table.Sup
 Intended meaning: ‘There are / is [a few] / [a couple of] / some types of book on the table.’
- c. Sok-féle / három-féle / ötven-féle / ³kevés-féle könyv van
 many-type / three-type / fifty-type / few-type book be.3Sg
 az asztalon.
 the table.Sup
 ‘There are many / three / fifty / few types of books on the table.’

- c'. *Számos-féle könyv van az asztalon.
 numerous-type book be.3Sg the table.Sup
 Intended meaning: 'There are numerous types of books on the table.'

C. Other quantifiers with an existential flavor

There are some other existential elements which can appear as modifiers of nominals; these are illustrated in (1314). *Valamiféle* 'some kind of' comprises the existential *vala-* and *-féle* 'type'. It is synonymous with *valamilyen* 'some kind of'. Using *valami* 'some, something' as a modifier results in a negative connotation (1314b,c), unlike *valami* as an independent argument (see subsection 2.6.2.3.2). The latter lacks this connotation.

- (1314) a. Valamiféle / valamilyen szakember hatástalanítja a bombát.
 some.kind.of / some.sort.of specialist defuse.3Sg.Def.Obj the bomb.Acc
 'Some [kind of] / [sort of] specialist is defusing the bomb.'
- b. Valami örült üvöltözik a rendőrség előtt.
 some(thing) madman shout.3Sg the police.station in.front.of
 'Some madman is shouting in front of the police station.'
- c. Valami szakember hatástalanítja majd a bombát.
 some(thing) specialist defuse.3Sg.Def.Obj later the bomb.Acc
 'Some specialist will defuse the bomb.'

IV. Special uses

A generic reading is only available with *egy* 'one' (see subsection V of 2.6.2.2.1 for more details).

- (1315) Egy dinoszaurusz húst eszik.
 a dinosaur meat.Acc eat.3Sg
 'A dinosaur eats meat.' [generic]

2.6.2.3.2. Use as argument and adjunct

When used as arguments, existential quantifiers have complex forms. The first part expresses existential quantification (the purely existential *vala-* or the free choice item *bár-*) and the second part is a 'wh'-word. (1316) lists the 'wh'-words, the first two of which can appear with a variety of case markers. Note that there are two 'wh'-words corresponding to 'how many': *mennyi* and *hány*. *Mennyi* is grammatical with both count and mass nouns, while *hány* is only acceptable with count nouns (1317).

- (1316) ● 'Wh'-words
 ki, mi, hol, mikor, hogyan, miért, hány, mennyi, melyik
 who what where when how why how.many how.many which
 'who, what, where, when, how, why, how many, how many'

- (1317) a. Mennyi ember / homok van az udvaron?
 how.many person / sand be.3Sg the yard.Sup
 '[How many people are] / [how much sand is] there in the yard?'
- b. Hány ember / *homok van az udvaron?
 how.many person / sand be.3Sg the yard.Sup
 'How many [people are] / [sand is] there in the yard?'

The complex forms that serve as arguments are given in (1318); note that the form **bárhány* is ungrammatical (1318c).

- (1318) ● Existential quantifiers used as arguments: *vala-* and *bár-* forms
- a. *vala-ki, vala-mi, vala-hol, vala-mikor, vala-hogyan, vala-miért,*
 some-who some-what some-where some-when some-how some-why
vala-hány, vala-mennyi, vala-melyik
 some-how.many some-how.much some-which
 'somebody, something, somewhere, sometime, somehow, for some reason, some, some, one or the other'
- b. *bár-ki, bár-mi, bár-hol, bár-mikor, bár-hogyan, bár-miért,*
 any-who any-what any-where any-when any-how any-why
bár-mennyi, bár-melyik
 any-how.much any-which
 'anybody, anything, anywhere, any time, anyhow, for whatever reason, any amount of, any'
- b'. **bár-hány*
 any-how.many
 Intended meaning: 'any number of'

(1319) shows some examples of *vala-* existentials as arguments.

- (1319) a. *Valaki / valami zörög.*
 some.who / some.what rumble.3Sg
 'Somebody / something is rumbling.'
- b. *Valaki-k / valami-k zörögnek.*
 some.who-Pl / some.what-Pl rumble.Pl
 'Some people / things are rumbling.'
- c. *Valaki valahol valamiért zörög.*
 some.who some.where some.why rumble.3Sg
 'Somebody is rumbling somewhere for some reason.'

The existential quantifier *néhány* 'a few' can be used as a possessee; in this case it cannot be followed by a noun (1320). The possessor is a covert plural pronoun and the quantifier shows agreement with this pronoun. Overt pronominal possessors are ungrammatical (1320b). (Also compare the possessed forms of universal quantifiers discussed in 2.6.2.2.1 subsection VIII and subsection 2.6.2.2.2.) As a possessee, *néhány* 'a few' must refer to humans, even if it is 3Pl.

- (1320) ● *Néhány* ‘a few’ as a possessee
- a. *Néhány-unk* / *néhány-atok* / *néhány-uk* *zörög*.
 a_few-Poss.1Pl / a.few-Poss.2Pl / a.few-Poss.3Pl rumble.3Sg
 ‘A few of us / you / them are rumbling.’
- b. *[*Mi* *néhány-unk*] / *[*Ti* *néhány-atok*] / *[*Ő* *néhány-uk*]
 we a_few-Poss.1Pl / you(Pl) a.few-Poss.2Pl / they a.few-Poss.3Pl
zörög.
 rumble.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘A few of us / you / them are rumbling.’
- c. **Néhány-unk* *zörg-ünk*.
 a_few-Poss.1Pl rumble.1Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘A few of us are rumbling.’

As (1320a,c) show, these quantifiers trigger third person singular agreement. The only existential quantifier which can appear as a possessee is *néhány* ‘a few’; other existential quantifiers are ungrammatical in this construction.

- (1321) **pár-unk* / **valahány-unk* / **valamennyi-ünk* / **egy-ünk*
 couple-Poss.1Pl / some-Poss.1Pl / some-Poss.1Pl / one-Poss.1Pl

Some other existential quantifiers can appear as a possessee only if they are adorned with the partitive-like *-ik* suffix (1322).

- (1322) *egy-ik-ünk*, *egy-ik-ünk-más-ik-unk*, *némely-ik-ünk*,
 one-Ptv-Poss.1Pl one-Ptv-Poss.1Pl-other-Ptv-Poss.1Pl some-Ptv-Poss.1Pl
bármely-ik-ünk, *valamely-ik-ünk*
 any-Ptv-Poss.1Pl some-Ptv-Poss.1Pl
 ‘one of us, one or the other of us, some of us, any of us, one of us’

It is possible for an existential quantifier to appear without an associated nominal even if it lacks possessive morphology (1323). These can refer to both humans and non-humans. These structures, however, are elliptical; the nominal is elided. Not all existential quantifiers are acceptable in such elliptical constructions.

- (1323) a. *Néhány zörög*.
 a_few rumble.3Sg
 ‘A few are rumbling.’
- b. [*Egy pár*] / *valahány* / *valamennyi* / *valamelyik* *zörög*.
 one couple / some / some / one.or.the.other rumble.3Sg
 ‘[A couple of them are] / [some of them are] / [one or the other is] rumbling.’
- c. **Pár* / **valamilyen* *zörög*.
 couple / some.sort.of rumble.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘[A couple of them] / [some sort of (sth)] is rumbling.’

2.6.2.3.3. *Free choice items*

Free choice items are also complex forms. They contain the prefix *akár-* or *bár-*, both meaning ‘any’ and they are affixed to the equivalents of ‘wh’-words, which are

shown in (1316). An example involving free choice items is given in (1324a) and a list of these items is shown in (1324b,c). Free choice items are discussed in detail in M4.

- (1324) a. Most már akár-mit / bár-mit megehetsz.
 now already any-what.Acc / any-what.Acc perf.eat.Mod.2Sg
 ‘You can now eat anything.’
- b. akár-mi, akár-ki, akár-hol, akár-mikor, akár-hogyan, akár-miért,
 any-what any-who any-where any-when any-how any-why
 akár-hány, akár-mennyi, akár-melyik
 any-how.many any-how.many any-which
 ‘anything, anybody, anywhere, any time, any way, for whatever reason, any number /
 amount of, any number of, any’
- c. bár-mi, bár-ki, bár-hol, bár-mikor, bár-hogyan, bár-miért,
 any-what any-who any-where any-when any-how any-why
 bár-mennyi, bár-melyik
 any-how-much any-which
 ‘anything, anybody, anywhere, any time, any way, for whatever reason, any number /
 amount of, any’
- c’. *bár-hány
 any-how.many
 Intended meaning: ‘any number of’

2.6.2.4. Degree quantifiers

This subsection discusses degree quantifiers. Subsection 2.6.2.4.1 deals with their use as modifiers of the noun phrase. Subsection 2.6.2.4.2 is concerned with their independent use as arguments, and 2.6.2.4.3 discusses degree quantifiers as adverbials. Finally, subsection 2.6.2.4.4 examines some special cases involving degree quantifiers.

Following *SoD-NP*, we will label value judgment quantifiers or scalar quantifiers as ‘degree quantifiers’. Degree quantifiers involve a kind of standard; the truth of the quantificational proposition is evaluated with respect to that standard.

We note that bare degree quantifiers do not appear in presentational contexts (1325b). (This is partially due to the fact that decreasing degree quantifiers are obligatorily focused, and so they are immediately preverbal, see also M4.) *Egy kevés* ‘a few’ (lit. ‘one few’) can appear in a presentational sentence (and be postverbal, as expected, see (1325a)). Other degree quantifiers with *egy* ‘one’ are ungrammatical (1325a’), which may be the reason why these quantifiers are excluded from presentational environments.

- (1325) ● Degree quantifiers in a presentational context
- a. Van egy kevés diák a tüntetésen.
 be.3Sg a few student the demonstration.Sup
 ‘There are a few students at the demonstration.’

- a'. *Van egy sok / rengeteg/ tömérdek / töméntelen diák a
 be.3Sg a many / scores / slathers / countless student the
 tüntetésén.
 demonstration.Sup
 Intended meaning: 'There are many / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless students at the demonstration.'
- b. *Van kevés / sok / rengeteg/ tömérdek / töméntelen diák a
 be.3Sg few / many / scores / slathers / countless student the
 tüntetésén.
 demonstration.Sup
 Intended meaning: 'There are few / many / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless students at the demonstration.'

2.6.2.4.1. *Use as modifier*

In general, degree quantifiers can appear with both count and mass nouns (1326). If they appear with mass nouns, they do not require a type or unit interpretation (1326b).

- (1326) ● Degree quantifiers with count and mass nouns
- a. Kevés / sok / rengeteg/ tömérdek / töméntelen / elég diák
 few / many / scores / slathers / countless / enough student
 volt a tüntetésén.
 be.Past.3Sg the demonstration.Sup
 'There were few / many / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless / enough students at the demonstration.'
- b. Kevés / sok / rengeteg/ elég füst volt az utcán.
 few / many / scores / enough smoke be.Past.3Sg the street.Sup
 'There was little / much / [scores of] / enough smoke on the street.'
- b'. [?]Töméntelen / ^{??}Tömérdek füst volt az utcán.
 countless / slathers smoke be.Past.3Sg the street.Sup
 'There was a vast amount of /slathers of smoke on the street.'

I. Value different from the standard

A number of degree quantifiers, including those illustrated below, indicate a quantity that is below or above the standard. The examples in (1327) serve as an illustration.

- (1327) a. sok, rengeteg, tömérdek, töméntelen
 many scores slathers countless
 'many / much, scores of, slathers of, countless / a vast amount of'
- b. kevés
 few
 'few, little'

In general, degree quantifiers are ambiguous. (1328a), for example, can be interpreted as either stating that many of the contextually determined books contain typos, or that in general, many of the books (in existence) contain typos. The quantifiers in (1328b) are similarly ambiguous.

- (1328) a. Sok könyvben van nyomdahiba.
 many book.Ine be.3Sg typo
 ‘Many books contain typos.’
- b. Kevés / rengeteg / tömérdek / töméntelen könyvben van
 few / scores / slathers / countless book.Ine be.3Sg
 nyomdahiba.
 typo
 ‘Few / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless books contain typos.’

Sok ‘many, much’ and *kevés* ‘few, little’ can be modified by a variety of degree modifiers (1329a,b). They also have comparative and superlative forms (1330). The other degree quantifiers cannot be modified in this way (1330c) and they also lack comparative and superlative forms.

- (1329) • Modification of degree quantifiers
- a. elég sok, nagyon sok, túl(ságosan) sok
 enough many very many over(ly) many
 ‘quite a lot, very many / much, too many / much’
- b. elég kevés, nagyon kevés, túl(ságosan) kevés
 enough few very few over(ly) few
 ‘fairly few / little, very few / little, too few / little’
- c. *elég rengeteg, *elég tömérdek, *elég töméntelen
 enough scores enough slathers enough countless’

- (1330) • Comparative and superlative of *sok* ‘many, much’ and *kevés* ‘few, little’
- a. sok / több / [a legtöbb] nyomdahiba
 many / more / the most typo
 ‘many / more / most typos’
- b. kevés / kevesebb / [a legkevesebb] nyomdahiba
 few / fewer / the fewest typo
 ‘few / fewer / [the fewest] typos’

(1331a) and (1331b) are ambiguous: they either mean that (too) many books contain typos in general, or that (too) many contextually determined books contain typos.

- (1331) a. Sok könyv tartalmaz nyomdahibát.
 many book contain.3Sg typo.Acc
 ‘Many books contain typos.’
- b. Túl sok könyv tartalmaz nyomdahibát.
 too many book contain.3Sg typo.Acc
 ‘Too many books contain typos.’

Some degree quantifiers can appear as a *mint* ‘than’-clause with the comparative *több* ‘more’ (1332). The quantifier *több* ‘more’ can appear with *mint* ‘than’ only predicatively, in the set phrase in (1332a’) or its alternative in (1332a’').

(1332) • Degree quantifiers in *mint* ‘than’-clauses

- a. Több, mint elég tüntető volt ahhoz, hogy kikényszerítsék a
 more than enough protester be.Past.3Sg that.All that force.Subj.3Sg the
 változást.
 change.Acc
 ‘There were more than enough protesters to force the change.’
- a’. Ez már több, mint sok!
 this already more than lot
 ‘This is a bit steep. / That is going too far.’
- a’’. Ez már több a soknál!
 this already more the lot.Ade
 ‘This is a bit steep. / That is going too far.’
- b. *több mint kevés / rengeteg / tömérdek / töméntelen tüntető
 more than few / scores / slathers / countless protester
- c. *kevesebb mint sok / kevés / rengeteg / tömérdek / töméntelen /
 fewer than many / few / scores / slathers / countless /
 elég tüntető
 enough protester

We speculate that *rengeteg* ‘scores of’, *tömérdek* ‘slathers of’ and *töméntelen* ‘countless’ are ungrammatical in (1332b) because they mean ‘more than many’. *Több mint sok* ‘more than many’ means ‘[more than what] / [more than the minimal amount] that counts as ‘many’’.

Degree quantifiers appear between definite determiners and the highest adjective (1333a), except for *elég* ‘enough’, which cannot appear with a determiner (1333b). If the high adjective precedes the quantifier, as in (1333a’), the result is severely degraded. It is relatively more acceptable on an ironic interpretation, such that the adjective modifies the degree quantifier (allegedly there are many weapons) rather than the noun itself (there are many alleged weapons).

- (1333) a. a(z) sok / kevés / rengeteg / tömérdek / töméntelen / elég állítólagos
 the many / few / scores / slathers / countless / enough alleged
 fegyver
 weapon
 ‘the many / few / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless / enough alleged weapons’
- a’.^{???} az állítólagos sok / kevés / rengeteg / tömérdek / töméntelen fegyver
 the alleged many / few / scores / slathers / countless weapon
 ‘the alleged many / few / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless weapons’

The last type of degree quantifier to be discussed is complex phrases with *menyiségű* lit. ‘quantity.Attr’ (‘of quantity’) and *számú* lit. ‘number.Attr’ (‘of numerosity’). These expressions can appear with various quantifiers, yielding interpretations comparable to the degree quantifiers shown above. Only *töméntelen*

‘countless’ can appear with these expressions (1334a, 1335a). The meaning comparable to *many*, *little* and *enough* is conveyed by *nagy* ‘big’, *kis* ‘small’ and *elegendő* ‘sufficient’, respectively (1334c, 1335c). Count nouns, shown in (1334a, 1335a), can appear with *mennyiségű* ‘of quantity’ as well as *számú* ‘of numerosity’, even though the former is somewhat marked.

(1334) ● Degree quantifiers with *számú* ‘of numerosity’

- a. ^{??}töméntelen számú tüntető
 countless number.Attr protester
 ‘countless protesters’
- b. *sok / *kevés / *rengeteg / *tömerdek / *elég számú tüntető
 many / few / scores / slathers / enough number.Attr protester
 Intended meaning: ‘many / few / [scores of] / [slathers of] / enough protesters’
- c. nagy / kis / elegendő számú tüntető
 big / small / sufficient number.Attr protester
 ‘a large / small / sufficient number of protesters’

(1335) ● Degree quantifiers with *mennyiségű* ‘of quantity’

- a. töméntelen mennyiségű könnygáz
 countless amount.Attr teargas
 ‘a vast amount of teargas’
- b. *sok / *kevés / *rengeteg / *tömerdek / *elég mennyiségű könnygáz
 many / few / scores / slathers / enough amount.Attr teargas
 Intended meaning: ‘much / little / [scores of] / [slathers of] / enough teargas’
- c. nagy / kis / elegendő mennyiségű könnygáz
 big / small / sufficient amount.Attr teargas
 ‘a large / small / sufficient amount of teargas’

II. Value meets the standard

In addition to the high and low degree quantifiers discussed above, there are quantifiers such as *elég* ‘enough’, *elegendő* ‘sufficient’ and *elégséges* ‘sufficient’, which express that the cardinality of the intersection satisfies a certain contextually determined norm. *Elég* ‘enough’ and *elegendő* ‘sufficient’ can stand in an adnominal position with both countable and uncountable nouns, while *elégséges* ‘sufficient’ is at best degraded in an adnominal position (1336).

- (1336) a. elég / elegendő / ^{??}elégséges tüntető
 enough / sufficient / sufficient protester
 ‘[a sufficient number of] / enough protesters’
- b. elég / elegendő / ^{??}elégséges sör
 enough / sufficient / sufficient beer
 ‘[a sufficient amount of] / enough beer’

All of these quantifiers can be used predicatively with both countable and uncountable nouns (1337).

- (1337) a. A víz elég / elégséges / elegendő.
 the water enough / sufficient / sufficient
 'The water is enough / [of the sufficient amount].'
- b. Három tüntető elég / elégséges / elegendő.
 three protester enough / sufficient / sufficient.3Sg
 'Three protesters are enough / sufficient.'

Complex phrases with *mennyiségű* 'of quantity' and *számú* 'of numerosity' can combine with *elegendő* 'sufficient', they are degraded with *elégséges* 'sufficient', and ungrammatical with *elég* 'enough' (1338).

- (1338) a. elegendő / [?]elégséges / *elég számú tüntető
 sufficient / sufficient / enough number.Attr protester
 'sufficient / enough protesters'
- b. elegendő / [?]elégséges / *elég mennyiségű könnygáz
 sufficient / sufficient / enough amount.Attr teargas
 'enough / sufficient amount of teargas'

2.6.2.4.2. *Use as argument*

This subsection discusses the use of the degree quantifiers as independent arguments. Degree quantifiers behave similarly to other quantifiers which can form a constituent distinct from the associated numeral (this will be discussed in detail in subsection 2.6.2.5). They can appear with the collective suffix *-Vn* or with case marking. Adverbial quantifiers are impossible for a number of degree quantifiers (1339b). All degree quantifiers can appear as case marked quantifiers (1339c). Also, as may be expected, all of these quantifiers can appear in elliptical structures, where the nominal is deleted (1339d).

- (1339) a. A diákok sok-an / keves-en / rengeteg-en / elég-en voltak.
 the student.Pl many-Coll / few-Coll / scores-Coll / enough-Coll be.Past.3Pl
 'There were many / few / [scores of] / enough students.'
- a'. Sok-an / keves-en / rengeteg-en / elég-en voltak.
 many-Coll / few-Coll / scores-Coll / enough-Coll be.Past.3Pl
 'There were many / few / [scores of] / enough people.'
- b. *A diákok tömérdek-en / töméntelen-(en) voltak.
 the student.Pl slathers-Coll / countless-Coll be.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: 'There were countless / enough students.'
- c. Diákot sokat / keveset / rengeteget / tömérdeket / töméntelent /
 student.Acc many.Acc / few.Acc / scores.Acc / slathers.Acc / countless.Acc /
 eleget tartóztattak le a rendőrök.
 enough.Acc arrest.Past.3Pl down the policeman.Pl
 'The police arrested many / few / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless / enough students.'
- d. Sok / kevés / rengeteg / tömérdek / töméntelen / elég volt bent.
 many / few / scores / slathers / countless / enough be.Past.3Sg inside
 'There were many / few / [scores of] / [slathers of] / countless / enough (contextually
 determined entities) inside.'

Degree quantifiers can be predicative as well, as shown in (1340).

- (1340) a. Ez (a mennyiség) sok / kevés / rengeteg / tömérdek / töméntelen /
 this the quantity many / few / scores / slathers / countless /
 elég.
 enough
 ‘This (quantity) is a lot / little / [very much] / enough.’
- b. Sok-ba / kevés-be / rengeteg-be kerül.
 many-III / few-III / scores-III cost.3Sg
 ‘This costs a lot / little / [very much].’
- b’. *Tömérdek-be / *Töméntelen-be / *Elég-be kerül.
 slathers-III / vast.amount-III / enough-III cost.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘This costs [very much] /enough.’
- c. Sok-at / keves-et / rengeteg-et / eleg-et nyom.
 many-Acc / few-Acc / scores-Acc / enough-Acc weigh.3Sg
 ‘This weighs [a lot] / little / [very much] / enough.’
- c’. *Tömérdek-et / *Töméntelen-t nyom.
 slathers-Acc / countless-Acc weigh.3Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘This weighs very much.’

2.6.2.4.3. Use as adverb

Degree quantifiers can be used as adverbs when they appear with Accusative case marking. Compare the meaning difference between a degree quantifier with Accusative case in (1341a) and one with the collective suffix *-Vn* in (1341b).

- (1341) ● Degree quantifiers used as adverbs
- a. Sok-at / keves-et utaztak a tüntetők.
 many-Acc / few-Acc travel.Past.3Pl the protester.Pl
 ‘The protesters traveled a lot / little.’ (distance or number of times traveled)
- b. Sok-an / keves-en utaztak a tüntetők.
 many-Coll / few-Coll travel.Past.3Pl the protester.Pl
 ‘There were many / few protesters who traveled.’

The adverbial function is only available to degree quantifiers that appear with accusative marking (1342). With the collective suffix *-Vn*, the quantifier must modify an associated nominal.

- (1342) a. Sok-at olvas verseket, keves-et néz tévét.
 many-Acc read.3Sg poem.Pl.Acc few-Acc watch.3Sg TV.Acc
 ‘He reads poems a lot, but the watches little TV.’
- b. Sok-at akar utazni.
 many-Acc want travel.Inf
 ‘He wants to travel a lot.’

Compare also the adverbial use of numerals in (1343).

- (1343) a. Kettő-t csenget.
two-Acc ring.3Sg
'He rings twice.'
- b. *Kettő-t utazik.
two-Acc travel.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'He travels twice.'

Comparative and superlative forms of *sok* 'many, much' and *kevés* 'few, little' can also appear as an accusative constituent (1344). On the morphological composition of comparatives and superlatives, see A3.3.1.2.

- (1344) a. Több-et / kevesebb-et utazik.
more-Acc / less-Acc travel.3Sg
'He travels more / less.'
- b. [A legtöbb-et] / [a legkevesebb]-et Ili utazik.
the most-Acc / the least-Acc Ili travel.3Sg
'It is Ili that travels [the most] / [the least].'

Accusative degree quantifiers cannot function as a degree modifier in examples such as (1345a). In these contexts the grammatical degree modifiers contain Translative/Essive case morphology, or the modifier can be *nagyon* 'very', as given in (1345b).

- (1345) a. *Sok-at / *keves-et szereti a sajtot.
many-Acc / few-Acc like.3Sg the cheese.Acc
Intended meaning: 'He likes cheese [a lot] / [a little].'
- b. Kevés-sé / kevésbé / nagyon szereti.
few-TrE / fewer-TrE / very like.3Sg
'He likes it [only a little] / [less (than sth or sy else)] / [very much].'

Only stage-level predicates can be modified by accusative degree modifiers (1346). This is expected if such degree quantifiers can quantify over the number of occurrences of the event or over some scalar property (e.g. distance or time) associated with the event.

- (1346) a. Sok-at részeg / *részezes.
lot-Acc drunk / drunkard
'[He is drunk a lot.] / [He is a drunkard a lot.]'
- b. *Sok-at kopasz / magas.
lot-Acc bald / tall
Intended meaning: 'He is bald / tall a lot.'

2.6.2.4.4. *Special cases*

I. Co-occurrence with the plural marker

As already mentioned before, nouns modified by numerals and quantifiers are morphologically singular (1347).

- (1347) hét / minden / néhány / sok cikk(*-ek)
 seven / every / a_few / many article.Pl
 'seven / every / [a few] / many article(s)'

We have seen in subsection 2.6.1.1.3.1 that in the absence of an overt noun, numerals can co-occur with the plural marker under two exceptional circumstances. When a low numeral is involved, the plural scopes over (modifies or multiplies) the covert [+HUMAN] noun (1348). When a high numeral, such as a power of ten, is involved, then the plural scopes over, i.e. modifies or multiplies, the numeral (1348b), and the covert noun refers to humans or units of currency.

- (1348) a. a hárm-ak elhivatása
 the three-Pl drawing.Poss
 'The Drawing of the Three (Hungarian title of a Stephen King novel)'
 b. Száz-ak / ezr-ek / millió-k maradtak áram nélkül.
 hundred-Pl / thousand-Pl / million-Pl remain.Past.3Pl electricity without
 'There were hundreds / thousands / millions (of people) left without power.'

The quantifiers *sok* 'many, much' and *kevés* 'few, little', *több* 'many, much' and *a legtöbb* 'the most' may also co-occur with the plural marker. The resulting interpretation is similar to that in (1348a): the plural scopes over the covert [+HUMAN] noun. An interpretation whereby the covert noun refers to units of currency is not available (1349b, 1350b).

- (1349) ● *Sok* 'many, much' with the plural marker
 a. sok-ak véleménye szerint
 many-Pl opinion.Poss according.to
 'according to the opinion of many (people)'
 b. *Sok-ak tűntek el a kasszából.
 many-Pl disappear.Past.3Pl away the register.Ela
 Intended meaning: 'Many (units of currency) disappeared from the register.'
 (1350) ● *Kevés* 'few, little' with the plural marker
 a. Kevés-ek-nek tetszik a döntés.
 few-Pl-Dat please.3Sg the decision
 'Few (people) like the decision.'
 b. *Kevés-ek tűntek el a kasszából.
 few-Pl disappear.Past.3Pl away the register.Ela
 Intended meaning: 'Few (units of currency, eg. dollars or euros) disappeared from the register.'

The quantifier *több* 'more' has some unusual properties when it co-occurs with the plural marker (1351). The meaning of the complex form *több-ek* lit. 'more-Pl' is 'many people', not 'more people', as would be expected. Thus *többek* is synonymous with *sokak*, lit. 'many-Pl'.

- (1351) ● *Több* ‘more’ with the plural marker
- a. több-ek véleménye szerint
 more-Pl opinon.Poss according.to
 ‘according to the opinion of many (people)’
- b. *Több-ek eltűntek a kasszából.
 more-Pl away.disappear.Past.3Pl the register.Ela
 Intended meaning: ‘Many (units of currency, eg. dollars or euros) disappeared from the register.’

II. Degree quantifiers with the collective suffix and comparison with *minden* ‘every’

Degree quantifiers can support the collective suffix. The distribution of forms like (1352) will be detailed in subsection 2.6.2.5.

- (1352) sok-an, keves-en, több-en
 many-Coll few-Coll more-Coll
 ‘many people, few people, many people’

A comparison between the forms in (1352) and the quantifier *minden* ‘every’ shows that *minden* cannot be decomposed into the quantifier *mind* ‘all’ and the collective suffix *-Vn*. To wit, the distribution of *minden* ‘every’ is different from that of the adverbs *sokan* ‘many people’ and *kevesen* ‘few people’. *Sokan* ‘many people’ and *kevesen* ‘few people’ appear in floating quantifier-like structures (see subsection 2.6.2.5) and have no adnominal uses (1353b). *Minden*, however, can appear in a prenominal position (1353a). As adverbs do not modify nouns, this points to the conclusion that unlike *sokan* ‘many people’ and *kevesen* ‘few people’, *minden* ‘every’ is not an adverbial form.

- (1353) a. minden fiú
 every boy
 ‘every boy’
- b. *sok-an fiú
 many-Coll boy

Secondly, while *sokan* ‘many people’ and *kevesen* ‘few people’ must have human referents (1354a), *minden* ‘every’ must have inanimate referents if no overt noun follows it (1354b). This leads us to concluding that *minden* cannot be deconstructed into *mind* ‘all’ and the collective suffix in the same way as *sokan* ‘many people’ and *kevesen* ‘few people’ can be deconstructed into *sok* ‘many’ / *kevés* ‘few’ and *-Vn*.

- (1354) a. Sok-an eltűntek.
 many-Coll away.disappear.Past.3Pl
 ‘Many people disappeared.’
- b. Minden eltűnt.
 every away.disappear.Past.3Sg
 ‘Everything disappeared.’

The genuine adverbial forms of the quantifier *mind* ‘all’, both bearing the *-Vn* collective suffix, are shown in (1355); they contain an additional morpheme

between the quantifier and *-Vn*. That these are genuine adverbs is corroborated by the facts that, just as in the case of *sokan* and *kevesen*, they do not have an adnominal use (1355b), and they must have human referents. These forms are discussed in more detail in subsection 2.6.2.2.2.

- (1355) a. mindannyi-an, mindnyáj-an
 all_of-Coll all_of-Coll
 both: ‘each and all of (a group)’
- b. *mindannyi-an / mindnyáj-an ember
 all_of-Coll / all_of-Coll person
 Intended meaning: ‘each and all persons’

III. The multiplicative suffix and the fractional suffix

As already shown in subsection 2.6.1.1.5.5, the multiplicative suffix *-szor/-szer/-ször* can combine with cardinals. In addition, this suffix can also be supported by the degree quantifiers (1356). The quantifier *több-ször* ‘more-Mult’ is ambiguous between the meanings ‘more times’ and ‘many times’; in the latter reading it is synonymous with *sok-szor* ‘many-Mult’.

- (1356) sok-szor, kevés-szer, több-ször, a legtöbb-ször, elég-szer
 many-Mult few-Mult more-Mult the most-Mult enough-Mult
 ‘many times, few times, [more times] / [many times], the most times, enough times’

Just as the multiplicative suffix can attach to the ordinal form of numerals to derive the meaning ‘for the Xth time’ (1357a), it can also attach to the ordinal form of degree quantifiers to derive the meaning ‘for the Xth time’ (1357b). The degree quantifiers that have an ordinal form are *sok* ‘many’ and *több* ‘more’, so only these can support the multiplicative suffix. *Több* ‘more’ again has an unexpected meaning: *több-ed-szer* lit. ‘more-Ord-Mult’ means what English ‘manyeth time’ would, if this English phrase existed, rather than the also non-idiomatic ‘moreth time’. *Kevés* ‘few’ and *elég* ‘enough’ have no ordinal form, shown in (1357c), hence they have no multiplicative form either.

- (1357) a. harm-ad-szor
 three-Ord-Mult
 ‘for the third time’
- b. sok-ad-szor, több-ed-szer
 many-Ord-Mult more-Ord-Mult
 both: ‘for the manyeth time’
- c. *keves-ed-szer, elég-ed-szer
 few-Ord-Mult enough-Ord-Mult

Sok ‘many’ and *több* ‘more’ also have ordinal full forms with the *-ik* suffix (1358). The ordinal form of *több* ‘more’ is ambiguous between what English ‘moreth’ and ‘manyeth’ would mean if these words existed; in the latter reading *többedik* is synonymous with *sokadik*.

- (1358) sok-ad-ik, több-ed-dik
 many-Ord-Ptv more-Ord-Ptv
 both: 'manyeth'

IV. Distributivity

As we have seen in subsection 2.6.1.1.5.6, reduplication of numerals yields a distributive meaning (1359).

- (1359) Adtam nekik három-három almát
 give.Past.1Sg Dat-3Pl three-three apple.Acc
 'I gave them three apples each.'

The degree quantifier *sok* 'many, much' can also be reduplicated (1360), but this yields an emphatic reading rather than a distributive meaning. The quantifier *kevés* 'few, little' cannot be reduplicated.

- (1360) a. Sok-sok férfi vitte a bőröndöket.
 many-many man carry.Past.3Pl the suitcase.Pl.Acc
 '(Very) many men carried the suitcases.'
- b. A férfiak sok-sok bőröndöt vittek.
 the man.Pl many-many suitcase.Pl.Acc carry.Past.3Pl
 'The men carried (very) many suitcases.'

Remark 35. Texts from the 18th and 19th centuries also feature the degree quantifier *több* 'more' in a reduplicated form (i). This expression, however, has a different structure. *Több több* does not have an emphatic 'very many' reading; instead, it means 'more and more'. This form is thus probably an instance of asyndetic coordination rather than genuine reduplication. Note that when *több több* modifies a count noun, the noun characteristically bears plural marking. (The example in (i) is from János Imre's 1830 book *Az ifju magyar bölcselkedő*.)

- (i) akaratomat is mindig több több jótettekkel nemesíteni
 will.Poss.1sg too always more more good.deed.Pl.Ins noble.make.Inf
 'to make my will, too, more noble with more and more good deeds'

In contemporary Hungarian the reduplicated form of *több* 'more' is marked; many speakers outright reject it. These speakers require (while others allow) the conjunction *és* 'and' to appear overtly (ii) (this would not be possible for *sok-sok* 'many-many').

- (ii) A férfiak több és több bőröndöt vittek.
 the man.Pl more and more suitcase.Pl.Acc carry.Past.3Pl
 'The men carried more and more suitcases.'

The coordinated form *több és több* 'more and more' is often preceded by the intensifiers *egyre* 'ever' or *mind* 'ever / all'. In the presence of these modifiers the conjunction *és* 'and' is obligatory even for those speakers who otherwise allow *több több* 'more more'. The coordinated form *kevesebb és kevesebb* 'fewer and fewer / less and less' is also possible (iii), and is also often preceded by the intensifiers *egyre* 'ever' or *mind* 'ever / all'.

- (iii) Egyre kevesebb és kevesebb könyvet olvasnak az emberek.
 ever fewer and fewer book.Acc read.3Pl the people
 'People read ever fewer and fewer books.'

2.6.2.5. Floating quantifier-like structures

It was mentioned above and in subsection 2.6.2.1 that quantifiers can form a constituent distinct from the nominal that they are associated with. Such quantifiers were mentioned earlier, but the facts are summarized in this subsection. These quantifiers are labeled floating quantifier-like structures because we are not committing ourselves to assuming a complete parallelism with any construction labeled ‘floating quantifier’ crosslinguistically. Floating quantifier-like structures fall into two groups: the quantifier may be adverbial, bearing the collective suffix *-Vn*, or it can have case morphology identical to the nominal it is associated with. We shall discuss these types in turn.

1. Floating quantifier-like structures with adverbial quantifiers

Adverbial quantifiers require the associated nominal to refer to humans (1361a-c) and may only be associated with the subject (1361d,e). Below we illustrate these facts with the degree quantifier *sok* ‘many’.

- (1361) a. A fiúk sok-an elestek.
 the boy.Pl many-Coll away.fall.Past.3Pl
 ‘Many boys fell.’
- b. ??A tyúkok sok-an voltak az udvaron.
 the chicken.Pl many-Coll be.Past.3Pl the garden.Sup
 ‘There were many chickens in the garden.’
- c. *A buszok sok-an késtek.
 the bus.Pl many-Coll late.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Many buses were late.’
- d. Mari (*sok-an) meghívta (*sok-an) a fiúkat.
 Mari many-Coll perf.invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg many-Coll the boy.Pl.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Mari invited many boys.’
- e. Mari (*sok-an) küldött (*sok-an) a fiúknak meghívót.
 Mari many-Coll send.Past.3Sg many-Coll the boy.Pl.Dat invitation.Acc
 Intended meaning: ‘Mari sent an invitation to many boys.’

The associated nominal must be plural definite (1362). If, however, the associated nominal is a contrastive topic, then it may also be indefinite (1362 c).

- (1362) a. A fiúk sok-an elestek.
 the boy.Pl many-Coll away.fall.Past.3Pl
 ‘Many boys fell.’
- b. *Fiúk sok-an elestek.
 boy.Pl many-Coll away.fall.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Many boys fell.’
- c. Fiúk, sok-an elestek.
 boy.Pl many-Coll away.fall.Past.3Pl
 ‘As for boys, many (of them) fell.’

As shown by (1363), adverbial quantifiers do not appear in the prenominal quantifier position.

- (1363) a. a sok fiú
 the many boy
 'the many boys'
- b. *a sok-an fiú(-k)
 the many-Coll boy-Pl

In fact, the adverbial quantifier and the associated nominal never form a constituent. Note, however, that the focus test cannot directly confirm this. In Hungarian, it must be a unique constituent that appears in the preverbal focus position. The focused constituent bears nuclear stress on the first syllable; this is indicated by ' in (1364). The focused constituent, however, must be a phrase in which the head is the last element. Since adverbial quantifiers always follow the associated nominal, a *DP* [*adverbial quantifier*] string will be excluded from the focus position for independent reasons, too. The examples in (1364a,b,c') indicate that *sok fiú* 'many boys', *sokan* 'many.Coll' and *a fiúk* 'the boys' all form a constituent. The DP followed by an adverbial quantifier, in contrast, is out because of the above-mentioned restriction, too (1364c).

- (1364) a. 'Sok fiú jött el.
 many boy come.Past.3Sg away
 'Many boys came.'
- b. 'Sokan jöttek el a fiúk.
 many.Coll come.Past.3Pl away the boy.Pl
 'Many boys came.'
- b'. '[A fiúk]_{FOC} jöttek el sokan.
 the boy.Pl come.Past.3Pl away many.Coll
 'It is the boys that came in a large number.'
- c. *'[A fiúk sokan] jöttek el.
 the boy.Pl many.Coll come.Past.3Pl away
 Intended meaning: 'It is many boys that came.'
- c'. [A fiúk]_{TOP} 'sokan jöttek el.
 the boy.Pl many.Coll come.Past.3Pl away
 'As for the boys, many of them came.'

The surface position of adverbial quantifiers is restricted. They cannot appear postverbally in a neutral sentence. Whenever they are postverbal, the sentence contains a contrastive topic, negation, focus, or it is imperative, as (1365) illustrates.

- (1365) ● The surface position of adverbial quantifiers
- a. *A fiúk eljöttek sokan.
 the boy.Pl away.come.Past.3Pl many.Coll
 Intended meaning: 'Many boys came.'
- b. A fiúk, eljöttek sokan (de a lányok nem).
 the boy.Pl away.come.Past.3Pl many.Coll but the girl.Pl not
 'As for the boys, many came (but as for the girls, this isn't the case).' [contrastive topic]

- c. A fiúk nem OTTMARADTAK, hanem ELJÖTTEK sokan.
 the boy.Pl not there.stay.Past.3Pl but away.come.Past.3Pl many.Coll
 'Many boys CAME, rather than many boys STAYED THERE.' [focus on verb]
- d. A FIÚK jöttek el sokan.
 the boy.Pl come.Past.3Pl away many.Coll
 'Many BOYS came.' [subject focus]
- e. Gyertek el sokan!
 come.Subj.2Pl away many.Coll
 'Many of you should come.' [imperative]
- f. A fiúk nem jöttek el sokan.
 the boy.Pl not come.Past.3Pl away many.Coll
 'The boys didn't come in large numbers.' [negation]

Adverbial quantifiers can be formed from universal, existential, and degree quantifiers alike (1366).

- (1366) A diákok 'valamennyi-en / néhány-an / sok-an' eljöttek.
 the student.Pl every-Coll / a_few-Coll / many-Coll away.come.Past.3Sg
 '[Every student] / [A few students] / [Many students] came.'

Not all universal quantifiers can be used as adverbial quantifiers. While '*valamennyi* 'every' can be adorned with the collective suffix *-Vn* (1367a), the universal quantifiers *az összes* 'all the', '*valahány* 'every single' and *mindegyik* 'each', cannot support the collective suffix and so cannot appear as adverbial quantifiers (1367b). Despite appearances, *minden* is not an adverbial quantifier; instead, *mind* 'all' appears in these structures (1367a).

- (1367) • Adverbial quantifiers based on universal quantifiers
- a. A diákok 'valamennyien / mind' eljöttek.
 the student.Pl every.Coll / all away.come.Past.3Sg
 '[Every student] / [All the students] came.'
- b. *A diákok minden / [az összesen] / 'valahányan' / mindegyiken
 the student.Pl every.Coll / the all.Coll / every_single.Coll / each.Coll
 eljöttek.
 away.come.Past.3Sg
 Intended meaning: '[Every (single) student] / [All the students] / [Each student] came.'

As mentioned above, adverbial quantifiers in general require the associated nominal to refer to humans (1368a). *Mind* 'all', however, is an exception; it does not impose the human requirement (1368b). It is likely that the [+HUMAN] restriction on adverbial quantifiers is rooted in the collective suffix itself, and the restriction does not apply to *mind* because this form does not contain the collective suffix.

- (1368) a. *A buszok sok-an / keves-en / néhány-an késtek.
 the bus.Pl many-Coll / few-Coll / a_few-Coll come.late.Past.3Pl
 Intended meaning: 'Many / few / a few buses were late.'

- b. A buszok mind késtek.
 the bus.Pl all late.Past.3Pl
 'The buses were all late.'

II. Floating quantifier-like structures with case matching

Case-marked floating quantifier-like elements can be associated with a nominal (phrase) and they bear the same case as the associated nominal. In (1369) we illustrate this with the degree quantifier *sok* 'many'.

- (1369) • Case on the floating quantifier-like element
- a. Diák-ot sok-at tartóztatott le a rendőr.
 student-Acc many-Acc arrest.Past.3Sg down the policeman
 'The police arrested many students.' [Accusative]
- b. Diák-nak sok-nak jutott zászló.
 student-Dat many-Dat get.Past.3Sg flag
 'Many students got a flag.' [Dative]

The associated nominal must be a bare singular noun (1370).

- (1370) a. Diákat sokat tartóztatott le a rendőr.
 student.Acc many.Acc arrest.Past.3Sg down the policeman
 'Of students, the police arrested many.'
- b. *[A diákat] / *Diákokat / *[A diákokat] sokat tartóztatott
 the student.Acc / student.Pl / the student.Pl many.Acc arrest.Past.3Sg
 le a rendőr.
 down the policeman

Mind 'all' is unusual in that if the associated noun (phrase) bears Accusative marking, then the case marking on *mind* is optional (1371b).

- (1371) a. A beszédek mind felrázták az embereket.
 the speech.Pl all up.psych.Past.3Sg.DefObj the man.Pl.Acc
 'The speeches all psyched the people up.' [Nominative]
- b. A rölapokat mind(et) olvastam.
 the flyer.Pl.Acc all(Acc) read.Past.1Sg
 'I have read all flyers.' [Accusative]

The associated nominal of *mind* 'all' must be definite plural (1372), unlike the case marked quantifiers discussed above.

- (1372) a. *Rölapot mind olvastam.
 flyer.Acc all read.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: 'I have read all flyers.'
- b. *Beszéd mind felrázta az embereket.
 speech all up.psych.Past.3Sg.DefObj the man.Pl.Acc
 Intended meaning: 'The speech all psyched the people up.'

Not all quantifiers can appear as a case-marked quantifier; the restrictions are illustrated in (1373).

- (1373) a. Röplapot sokat / eleget / keveset / valamennyit / párat /
flyer.Acc many.Acc / enough.Acc / few.Acc / some.Acc / couple.Acc /
néhányat olvastam.
a_few.Acc read.Past.1Sg
'I have read many / enough / few / some / [a couple of] / [a few] flyers.'
- b. *Röplapot mind / [a legtöbbet] / 'valamennyit' / 'valahányat'
flyer.Acc all / the most.Acc] / every.Acc / every_single.Acc
olvastam.
read.Past.1Sg
Intended meaning: 'I have read [all flyers] / [the most flyers] / [every flyer] / [every single] flyer.'

2.6.2.6. *Modification of quantifiers*

I. *Universal quantifiers*

Universal quantifiers can be modified by approximatives. The specific range of modifiers can differ depending on the quantifier, so we provide examples for the various universal quantifiers below. (1374) shows the various approximatives and (1375a-f) show the acceptability of the approximatives with the quantifiers.

- (1374) majdnem, szinte, körülbelül, hozzávetőlegesen, saccperkábé, kábé, közel
almost almost about roughly guess.per.around about nearly
'almost, almost, about, roughly, at a rough guess, about, nearly'
- (1375) ● Approximative modification of universal quantifiers
- a. Majdnem / szinte / közel minden bombát megtaláltak.
almost / almost / nearly every bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl
'They have found almost / almost / nearly every bomb.'
- a'. *Körülbelül / *Hozzávetőlegesen / *Saccperkábé / *Kábé minden
about / roughly / guess.per.around / about every
bombát megtaláltak.
bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl
- b. Majdnem / szinte / [?]közel az összes bombát megtalálták.
almost / almost / nearly the all bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj
'They have found almost / almost / nearly all the bombs.'
- b'. *Körülbelül / *Hozzávetőlegesen / *Saccperkábé / *Kábé az összes
about / roughly / guess.per.around / about the all
bombát megtalálták.
bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj
- c. *Majdnem / *szinte / *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé /
almost / almost / about / roughly / guess.per.around/
*kábé / *közel 'valamennyi bombát megtalálták.
about / nearly every bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj

- d. *Majdnem / *szinte / *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé /
almost / almost / about / roughly / guess.per.around /
*kábé / *közel 'valahány bombát megtaláltak.
about / nearly every_single bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl
- e. Majdnem / szinte / közel mindegyik bombát megtalálták.
almost / almost / nearly each bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj
'They have found almost / almost / nearly each bomb.'
- e'. *Körülbelül / *Hozzávetőlegesen / *Saccperkábé / *Kábé mindegyik
about / roughly / guess.per.around / about each
bombát megtalálták.
bomb.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj
- f. Majdnem / szinte / közel mindet megtalálták.
almost / almost / nearly all.Acc perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj
'They have found almost/ almost / nearly all of them.'
- f'. *Körülbelül / *Hozzávetőlegesen / *Saccperkábé / *Kábé mindet
about / roughly / guess.per.around / about all.Acc
megtalálták.
perf.find.Past.3Pl.DefObj

The universal *minden* 'every' may be modified by *sok* 'many' (1376). The resulting meaning is non-compositional; this complex quantifier can have a wide variety of interpretations. *Sokminden* cannot appear in a genuine partitive structure with *közül* 'out of' (1376b), and it cannot form a constituent with a nominal (1376c).

- (1376) a. Sok minden történt az elmúlt években.
many everything happen.Past.3Sg the past year.Pl.Ine
'Many things happened in the past years.'
- b. *A röpcédulák közül sok mindent megsemmisítettek.
the flyer.Pl out.of many everything.Acc perf.destroy.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: 'They destroyed many (of the) flyers.'
- c. *Sok minden tüntetőt letartóztattak.
many everything protester.Acc down.arrest.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: 'Many (of the) protesters were arrested.'

II. Existential quantifiers

Of existential quantifiers, only negative existential quantifiers can be modified. As mentioned in subsection 2.6.2.1, negative existential quantifiers are negative concord items. In this subsection we only illustrate how these quantificational elements are modified. First, note that these items are morphologically complex. They have the prefix *se(n)-* and it is affixed to the 'wh'-word stem. The forms are shown in (1377). The only exception is *soha* 'never': in this case the *se(n)-* prefix appears in the form *so-*, and it combines with *ha* 'if/when'. This form exists along the expected *sem-mikor* lit. 'se-when' ('at no time').

- (1377) ● Negative existential quantifiers
 sen-ki, sem-mi, se-hol, sem-mikor, so-ha, se-hogyan, sem-miért,
 se-who se-what se-where se-when se-if se-how se-why
 se-hány, se-mennyi
 se-how.many se-how.many
 ‘nobody, nothing, nowhere, at no time, never, in no way, for no reason, none, none’

In general, negative concord items can be modified only by *majdnem* ‘almost’, *szinte* ‘almost’ and *közel* ‘nearly’ (1378).

- (1378) ● Approximative modification of negative existential quantifiers
- a. majdnem / szinte / közel senki
 almost / almost / nearly nobody
 ‘almost / almost / nearly nobody’
- a’. *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé / *kábé senki
 about / roughly / guess.per.around / about nobody
- b. majdnem / szinte / közel semmi
 almost / almost / nearly nothing
 ‘almost / almost / nearly nothing’
- b’. *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé / *kábé semmi
 about / roughly / guess.per.around / about nothing
- c. majdnem / szinte / közel sehol
 almost / almost / nearly nowhere
 ‘almost / almost / nearly nowhere’
- c’. *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé / *kábé sehol
 about / roughly / guess.per.around / about nowhere
- d. majdnem / szinte / közel soha
 almost / almost / nearly never
 ‘almost / almost / nearly never’
- d’. *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé / *kábé soha
 about / roughly / guess.per.around / about never
- e. majdnem / szinte / közel sehogyan
 almost / almost / nearly in.no.way
 ‘almost / almost / nearly in no way’
- e’. *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé / *kábé sehogyan
 about / roughly / guess.per.around / about in.no.way
- f. majdnem / szinte / közel semmiért
 almost / almost / nearly for.no.reason
 ‘almost / almost / nearly for no reason’
- f’. *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé / *kábé semmiért
 about / roughly / guess.per.around / about for.no.reason

- g. *majdnem / *szinte / *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé /
 almost / almost / about / roughly / guess.per.around /
 *kábé / *közel sehány bomba
 about / nearly not_any_number_of bomb
- h. *majdnem / *szinte / *körülbelül / *hozzávetőlegesen / *saccperkábé /
 almost / almost / about / roughly / guess.per.around /
 *kábé / *közel semmi bomba
 about / nearly not_any_amount_of bomb'

III. Degree quantifiers

In general, degree quantifiers cannot co-occur with approximatives. They can co-occur, however, with the intensifiers given in (1379). Note that as an approximative, *elég* lit. 'enough' means 'rather'. Examples of modified degree quantifiers are given in (1380).

- (1379) nagyon, jó, szép, túl, elég, meglepően, váratlanul
 very good nice overly enough surprisingly unexpectedly
 'very, good, nice, overly, rather, surprisingly, unexpectedly'

(1380) ● Modification of degree quantifiers

- a. nagyon / jó / túl / elég / meglepően / váratlanul sok
 very / good / overly / enough / surprisingly / unexpectedly many
 'very / a good / overly / enough / surprisingly / unexpectedly many'
- a'. *szép sok
 nice many
- b. nagyon / túl / elég / meglepően / váratlanul kevés
 very / overly / enough / surprisingly / unexpectedly few
 'very / overly / rather / surprisingly / unexpectedly few'
- b'. %jó / %szép kevés
 good / nice few
 both: 'very few'

The quantifier *elég* 'enough' is acceptable with the same range of approximatives as numerals (1381).

- (1381) a. nagyjából / bőven / majdnem / ?szinte / körülbelül / hozzávetőlegesen /
 by.and.large / more.than / almost / almost / about / roughly /
 saccperkábé / ?kábé / közel elég
 guess.per.around / about / nearly enough
 '[by and large] / [more than] / almost / almost / about / roughly / [at a rough guess] / about /
 nearly enough'
- b. nagyjából / bőven / majdnem / ?szinte / körülbelül / hozzávetőlegesen /
 by.and.large / more.than / almost / almost / about / roughly /
 saccperkábé / ?kábé / közel húsz
 guess.per.around / about / nearly enough
 '[by and large] / [more than] / almost / almost / about / roughly / [at a rough guess] / about /
 nearly twenty'

2.6.3. Numeral (sortal) classifiers

Hungarian features different types of classifier constructions: there are sortal classifiers (denoting individual units of count nouns), as in (1382), group classifiers (denoting groups of mostly animate entities that act together as a unit), illustrated in (1383), container classifiers, shown in (1384), and mensural classifiers (denoting units of measuring), as in (1385).

- (1382) ● Sortal classifier structure

két szem alma
two eye apple
'two apples'

- (1383) ● Group classifier structure

két falka kutya
two pack dog
'two packs of dogs'

- (1384) ● Container classifier structure

két csésze kávé
two cup coffee
'two cups of coffee'

- (1385) ● Mensural classifier structure

két liter / csepp vér
two liter / drop blood
'two liters / drops of blood'

This subsection discusses sortal classifiers. These are different from group, container, and measure classifiers because the latter can be found in every language, but not every language has sortal classifiers. We will first give a general overview of sortal classifiers in Hungarian in subsection 2.6.3.1, and then turn to their distribution in subsection 2.6.3.2. Compound formation involving the classifier and the noun is the topic of subsection 2.6.3.3. Subsection 2.6.3.4 focuses on adjectivalized classifiers, while subsection 2.6.3.5 zooms in on the position of classifiers with respect to adjectives. Classifiers in noun phrases without an overt noun are discussed in subsection 2.6.3.6. Finally, subsection 2.6.3.7 is dedicated to the exceptional use of two classifiers.

Group, container, and measure classifiers are discussed in detail in section 2.4; that chapter also offers a discussion of sortal classifiers.

2.6.3.1. General overview

Hungarian features numeral classifiers (see also Dékány (2011), Csirmaz and Dékány (2014) and section 2.4); these classifiers are similar to the numeral classifiers of the Chinese languages. An example is given in (1386).

- (1386) egy szem keksz
 one eye biscuit
 'one (piece of) biscuit'

Table 86 presents a near-exhaustive list of numeral classifiers (see also Table 77 in section 2.4.1.1). Most of them are homonymous with garden variety nouns. *Szem*, for instance, means 'eye' in its ordinary nominal use. When used as a classifier, on the other hand, it categorizes the noun as a characteristically small and spherical object. The classifiers *gerezd* 'clove' and *vekni* 'loaf' have only a classifier use, however.

Table 86: *Sortal classifiers*

CLASSIFIER	NOMINAL MEA	CLASSIFIER MEANING	EXAMPLES OF CLASSIFIED NOUNS
<i>BOKOR</i>	bush	plant used in agriculture or gardening	potato, raspberry, rose
<i>CIKK</i>	segment, section	edible with crescent shaped parts	garlic, orange, tangerine, grapefruit
<i>CSERÉP</i>	pot	potted plant	any potted flower
<i>CSÍK</i>	stripe, line	long, flat, square-shaped	chewing gum
<i>CSŐ</i>	tube	edible plant with tubular shape	sweetcorn, bell pepper
<i>DARAB</i>	piece, item	count noun	any count noun, preferably [-human]
<i>FEJ</i>	head	big spherical	cabbage, lettuce, cauliflower, onion
<i>FŐ</i>	head	people, esp. in regimented situations	crew, infantryman
<i>GEREZD</i>	segment	edible with crescent shaped parts	garlic, orange, tangerine, grapefruit
<i>KARIKA</i>	circle, ring	round shaped slice	sausage
<i>KÖTET</i>	volume	bound volume	book, journals
<i>ÍV</i>	sheet, arc	flat, thin	paper
<i>RÓZSA</i>	rose	floret	broccoli, cauliflower
<i>RÚD</i>	pole, stick, rod	stick of sausage or other food	chitterling, salami, vanilla
<i>SZÁL</i>	thread	long, thin with round cross-section	flower, hair, fur, grass, match, sausage, welt, candle, green onion, carrot, cigarette, plank
<i>SZEM</i>	eye	small spherical	grape, tomato, all types of berries, pearl, all types of nuts, potato, raisin, corn, biscuit, coffee bean, pepper, pill, sand
<i>TŐ</i>	stem	plant	grape, rule, nursling, any plant with a nursling
<i>VEKNI</i>	loaf	loaf of bread	bread

2.6.3.2. *Distribution*

Numeral classifiers can appear in the noun phrase if there is a numeral, quantifier, or (singular) demonstrative in the noun phrase (1387).

- (1387) a. hét / sok szem ribizli
 seven / many eye redcurrant
 'seven / many redcurrant berries'
- b. az / ez a szem ribizli
 this / that the eye redcurrant
 'this / that redcurrant berry'

Neither the definite article (1388a) nor the plural marker can license the classifier (1388b), and classifiers also cannot co-occur with bare nouns (1388c). While the present authors do not share these judgments, some speakers find that the presence of both a (plural marked) demonstrative and the plural marker makes the classifier acceptable (1388d) (see Rothstein and Schvarcz to appear).

- (1388) a. *a szem ribizli
 the eye redcurrant
 Intended meaning: 'the redcurrant berry'
- b. *szem ribizli-k
 eye redcurrant-Pl
 Intended meaning: 'redcurrant berries'
- c. *szem ribizli
 eye redcurrant
 Intended meaning: 'redcurrant berry'
- d. %az-ok a szem ribizli-k
 that-Pl the eye redcurrant-Pl
 'those redcurrant berries'

Numeral classifiers are mostly optional (1389) in the sense that leaving them out of the noun phrase does not lead to ungrammaticality (but see below for a possible impact on meaning if the classifier is left out).

- (1389) egy (szem) keksz, két (fej) káposzta, egy (szál) cigaretta
 one eye biscuit two head cabbage one thread cigarette
 'one (piece of) biscuit, one head of cabbage, one cigarette'

In a few cases, however, it is not possible to drop the classifier (1390).

- (1390) a. egy *(szál) fű / haj / szalma / széna
 one thread grass / hair / straw / hay
 'one blade of grass, one strand of hair, one blade of straw, one blade of hay'
- b. egy *(szem) homok
 one eye sand
 'one grain of sand'
- c. öt *(fő) legénység / személyzet / őrség
 five head crew / staff / ward
 'a crew / staff / ward comprising five members'

This shows that *fű* ‘grass’, *haj* ‘hair’, *széna* ‘hay’, *szalma* ‘straw’, *homok* ‘sand’, *legénység* ‘crew’, etc. are mass nouns, and the classifier serves the function of making them countable. *Vanília* ‘vanilla’ and *kávé* ‘coffee’ are very similar to *fű* ‘grass’, *haj* ‘hair’, and *homok* ‘sand’, except that the former can be used without a classifier in case the context provides the ‘natural units’ of vanilla and coffee. For instance, if a baker is making a cake and there are sticks of vanilla and coffee beans on the table, then (1391c) is a grammatical sentence. Without such a strong context, however, (1391c) is ungrammatical, and (1391b) can only be interpreted as referring to a cup of coffee rather than a coffee bean.

- (1391) a. egy *(rúd) vanília
 one rod vanilla
 ‘one stick of vanilla’
- b. egy ??(szem) kávé
 one eye coffee
 ‘one coffee bean’
- c. Tegyéél félre három vaníliát / kávé!
 take.Subj.2Sg aside.Sub three vanilla.Acc / coffee.Acc
 ‘Put three [(sticks of) vanilla] / [coffee beans] aside.’

The classifier *darab* ‘piece / item’ is a so-called general (or generic) classifier: it can co-occur with any count noun (1392). This classifier is not compatible with abstract nouns.

- (1392) egy darab ház, egy darab autó
 one piece house one piece car
 ‘one house, one car’

Darab ‘piece / item’ is most natural with [–HUMAN] nouns. [+HUMAN nouns are not impossible with *darab* but there is a slight preference for dropping *darab* in these noun phrases (1393).

- (1393) ?száz darab katona / tanár / űrhajós
 hundred piece soldier / teacher / astronaut
 ‘one hundred soldiers / teachers / astronauts’

Note that *darab* ‘piece / item’ is, in fact, an ambiguous lexical item. In one of its uses it is a classifier meaning ‘item’ or ‘(whole) piece’. In the other use it is a measure expression meaning ‘piece of’. In the former use *darab* cannot bear stress, while in the latter case it has to bear stress (1394).

- (1394) a. 'egy darab kolbász
 one piece sausage
 ‘one sausage’
- b. egy 'darab kolbász
 one piece sausage
 ‘a piece of a sausage’

The other classifiers are specific classifiers: they can co-occur with only a small group of selected nouns. Most specific classifiers categorize nouns on the basis of

shape, size and structure: *szem* is for small spherical objects, *fej* ‘head’ is for big spherical objects, *szál* ‘thread’ is for long and thin objects. Not every noun can take a specific classifier. The shape, size, and kind combinations that classifiers cover are not appropriate for all nouns. Houses, watches, chairs and desks, for instance, have a shape that is not compatible with the meaning of any specific classifier. Such nouns can co-occur only with the general classifier *darab*. *Darab* ‘piece / item’, however, is not restricted to these nouns; it can also co-occur with nouns that are compatible with a specific classifier, too (1395). (1395a) and (1395b) have the same meaning.

- (1395) a. egy (darab) meggy
 one piece sour.cherry
 ‘one sour cherry’
- b. egy (szem) meggy
 one eye sour.cherry
 ‘one sour cherry’

In certain cases a noun is compatible with more than one specific classifier, and the choice of the classifier has an impact on the meaning of the noun phrase. Numeral classifiers in these cases thus play a disambiguating role. Compare (1396a) and (1396b): the former means a single rose stem with a flower on it, while the latter refers to a rose bush. Leaving out the classifier is compatible with both meanings. In this case the context disambiguates the meaning: at the florist, *egy rózsza* ‘one rose’ would be interpreted as a rose stem, while in a gardening store it would be interpreted as one rose bush.

- (1396) a. egy szál rózsza
 one thread rose
 ‘a rose stem’
- b. egy tő rózsza
 one stem rose
 ‘a rose bush’

Similar contrasts can also be observed between (1397a) and (1397a’), on the one hand, and between (1397b) and (1397b’), on the other. (1397a) means ‘one potato’ while (1397a’) means ‘one potato plant’, while (1397b) means ‘one tangerine’ and (1397b’) means ‘one tangerine segment’. Note that using tangerine without a classifier leads to a strong preference for the ‘one tangerine’ interpretation. The ‘one tangerine segment’ interpretation is possible only with a strong contextual support, where only tangerine segments are present but there are no whole tangerines.

- (1397) a. egy szem krumpli
 one eye potato
 ‘one potato’
- a’. egy bokor krumpli
 one bush potato
 ‘a potato plant’

- b. egy (szem) mandarin
 one eye tangerine
 'one tangerine'
- b'. egy (gerezd) mandarin
 one segment tangerine
 'one tangerine segment'

The classifier *fő* 'head' is used exclusively for humans, especially in a regimented situation (1398). Note, however, that it is not compatible with all human denoting nouns even in regimented situations.

- (1398) három fő legénység / személyzet / őrség / *csapat
 three head crew / staff / ward / team
 'a crew / staff / ward / team comprising five members'

2.6.3.3. Compound formation

Some classifiers can form compounds with the some nouns that they co-occur with. *Szál* 'thread' can form a compound with *virág* 'flower' and *cigaretta* 'cigarette' (1399a), but not with *szalámi* 'salami' or *répa* 'carrot' (1399a'). Similarly, *szem* 'eye' can form a compound with *homok* 'sand' and *gyöngy* 'pearl' (1399b), but not with *dió* 'walnut' or *paradicsom* 'tomato' (1399b'). *Vekni* 'loaf', on the other hand, does not form compounds with the nouns it can classify (1399c). Compound formation with nouns is thus not a productive mechanism that characterizes numeral classifiers.

- (1399) a. virág-szál, cigaretta-szál
 flower-thread cigarette-thread
 '(cut) flower, cigarette'
- a.' *szalámi-szál, répa-szál
 salami-thread carrot-thread
- b. homok-szem, gyöngy-szem
 sand-eye pearl-eye
 'grain of sand, pearl'
- b.' *dió-szem, *paradicsom-szem
 walnut-eye tomato-eye
- c. *kenyér-vekni
 bread-loaf

2.6.3.4. Adjectivalized classifiers

Some classifiers can be adjectivalized by the *-Vs* '-ed' suffix. That the classifiers in (1400a) through (1400d) have been adjectivalized is shown by two facts. Firstly, the 'classifier' no longer needs a numeral or demonstrative licenser in the noun phrase. Secondly, if the noun is a count noun (as in the case of *kukorica* 'sweet corn' and *bors* 'pepper'), the 'classifier' can be immediately preceded by the general classifier *darab* (1400d). This is not possible for genuine classifiers (1400e).

- (1400) a. csöv-es kukorica
tube-ed sweetcorn
'corn on the cob (as opposed to corn shredded from its cob)'
- b. szem-es bors, szem-es takarmány
eye-ed pepper eye-ed fodder
'pepper grains (as opposed to ground pepper), fodder comprising seeds and grains'
- c. szál-as takarmány
thread-ed fodder
'fodder comprising crop residues'
- d. egy darab csöv-es kukorica, egy darab szem-es bors
one piece tube-ed sweetcorn one piece eye-ed pepper
'a corncob, a pepper grain'
- e. *egy darab cső kukorica, *egy darab szem bors
one piece tube sweetcorn one piece eye pepper
Intended meaning: 'one ear of corn, one pepper grain'

Adjectivalized classifiers can only be used with a very limited set of nouns; the range of examples given above is near-exhaustive. *Szál* 'thread', for instance, can co-occur with *rózsa* 'rose' and *cigaretta* 'cigarette' as a classifier, but not as an adjectivalized classifier (1401).

- (1401) *szál-as rózsza / cigaretta
thread-ed rose / cigarette

The classifier *fő* 'head' is exceptional because it can take the *-Vs* adjectivalizing suffix but even in this adjectivalized form it has to be licensed by a numeral (1402).

- (1402) *(három) fő-s legénység
three head-ed crew
'a crew comprising three members'

Note that in the adjectivalized form, *fő* 'head' can also modify nouns that it cannot co-occur with in its non-adjectivalized use (1403).

- (1403) a. *öt fő csapat
five head team
Intended meaning: 'a team comprising five members'
- a'. öt fő-s csapat
five head-ed team
'a team comprising five members'
- b. *öt fő teríték
five head place.setting
Intended meaning: 'five place settings'
- b'. öt fő-s teríték
five head-ed place.setting
'place setting for five people'

It is not the case, however, that *fős* can modify all kinds of nouns. (1404), for instance, is ungrammatical.

- (1404) *öt fő-s autó
 five head-ed car
 Intended meaning: 'car for five people'

Remark 36. The classifier *fő* 'head' is exceptional in another respect, too: it is the only sortal classifier that can combine with the suffix *-nyi* '-ful' (i).

- (i) a. öt fő-nyi legénység
 five head-nyi crew
 'a crew comprising five members'
 b. *öt fej-nyi káposzta, *egy szem-nyi alma
 five head-nyi cabbage one eye-nyi apple
 Intended meaning: 'five headful of cabbage, one itemful of apple'

2.6.3.5. *Position with respect to adjectives*

Numeral classifiers follow numerals or quantifiers and precede the noun. Their position with respect to adjectives, however, cannot be characterized in such simple terms: the ordering depends on both the type of classifier and the type of adjective involved (Dékány 2011, Csirmaz and Dékány 2014). Scott (2002) observes that different types of adjectives are ordered with respect to each other as in (1405) (see also subsection 2.2.1.1.1.1 and A4.1).

- (1405) ordinal > cardinal > size > length > height > speed > width > weight >
 temperature > wetness > age > shape > color > origin > material

The general classifier *darab* 'item / piece' immediately follows the numeral or quantifier and precedes all types of adjectives. (1406) features a high size adjective and a low color adjective.

- (1406) egy (*nagy) darab nagy alma, öt (*fehér) darab fehér káposzta
 one big piece big apple five white piece white cabbage
 'one big apple, five white heads of cabbage'

Specific classifiers, on the other hand, appear in the middle of the adjective sequence in (1407): their most neutral position is between weight and temperature adjectives.

- (1407) a. egy nehéz fej (*nehéz) káposzta
 one heavy head heavy cabbage
 'a heavy head of cabbage'
 b. egy szem sárga gyöngy, egy sárga gyöngy-szem
 one eye yellow pearl one yellow pearl-eye
 both: 'a yellow pearl'
 b'. %egy szem sárga gyöngy-szem
 one eye yellow pearl-eye
 'a yellow pearl'

If high adjectives follow a specific classifier, then we obtain a type reading. That is, in (1408a) it is the apple token at hand that is big, while in (1408b) the apple is of a big type, but the apple token at hand may be small.

- (1408) a. egy nagy szem alma
 one big eye apple
 'a big apple'
- b. egy szem nagy alma
 one eye big apple
 'an apple of the big type'

A high adjective may both precede and follow a specific classifier, with the pre-classifier adjective yielding a token reading, while the post-classifier adjective yielding a type reading. Given the token vs. type contrast, the inclusion of opposite adjectives in (1409) does not lead to semantic anomaly.

- (1409) egy nagy szem kis alma
 one big eye small apple
 'a big apple of the small type'

Low adjectives cannot both precede and follow a specific classifier, leading to a type vs. token reading (1410). These adjectives must follow the specific classifier. A type vs. token contrast can be expressed by placing both adjectives after the classifier, with stress on the first (token expressing) adjective.

- (1410) a. egy szem 'sárga zöld alma
 one eye yellow green apple
 'a yellow apple of the type green apple'
- b. *egysárga szem zöld alma
 one yellow eye green apple
 Intended meaning: 'a yellow apple of the type green apple'

As already pointed out above, the general classifier cannot be immediately followed by a specific classifier (1411b). However, if a high adjective intervenes between the two classifiers, then the example is ameliorated (Dékány 2011). The inclusion of a low adjective (after the classifier) does not have the ameliorating effect (1411c), thus the increased acceptability of (1411a) must be attributed to breaking the surface adjacency between the two classifiers.

- (1411) a. ^(?)egy darab nagy szem krumpli
 one piece big eye potato
 'one big potato'
- b. *egy darab szem krumpli
 one piece eye potato
- c. *egy darab szem lila krumpli
 one piece eye purple potato

2.6.3.6. *Classifiers in the absence of an overt noun*

If the noun is elided, the classifier can, but does not have to be elided with it (1412).

- (1412) a. három szem alma
 three eye apple
 'three apples'
- b. három szem
 three eye
 'three ones'
- c. három
 three
 'three'

If the classifier is not elided and it is the rightmost overt element in the noun phrase, then the stranded suffixes of the elided noun receive phonological support from the classifier, as in (1413) (see volume C).

- (1413) a. három szem eper-nek
 three eye strawberry-Dat
 'to three strawberries'
- b. három szem-nek
 three eye-Dat
 'to three ones'

As discussed above, low adjectives follow the classifier and precede the noun. In the case of noun (phrase) ellipsis, we expect the order of the classifier and the low adjective to be preserved. This is indeed possible, however, in case the noun is not overt, the low adjective may also precede the classifier, as in (1414) (see also Dékány 2011).

- (1414) a. Félreteszek egy szem piros-at és egy szem zöld-et.
 put.aside.1Sg one eye red-Acc and one eye green-Acc
 'I put aside a red one and a green one.'
- b. Félreteszek egy zöld szem-et.
 put.aside.1Sg one green eye-Acc
 'I put aside a green one.'

In (1414b) the classifier is in a position that is normally occupied by nouns. Curiously, in this position the classifier does not need a 'licensor' (a numeral, quantifier, or demonstrative pronoun) any longer; it can occur in a noun phrase that features a definite article but no classifier 'licensor' (1415).

- (1415) A zöld szem-et megettem.
 the green eye-Acc perf.eat.Past.1Sg
 'I ate the green one.'

The fact that no licensor is needed in (1415) cannot simply be attributed to noun (phrase) ellipsis. Compare (1416a), a noun phrase in which the head noun has been elided with (1416b), a noun phrase with an overt, non-elided head but without a

classifier licensor. These examples are equally ungrammatical. The crucial difference between the ellipsis examples in (1415) and (1416) is the order of the classifier and the low adjective. As long as the classifier precedes the low adjective, a classifier licensor must be present in the structure.

- (1416) a. *A szem zöld-et megettem.
 the eye green-Acc perf.eat.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I ate the green one.’
- b. *A szem epr-et megettem.
 the eye strawberry-Acc perf.eat.Past.1Sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I ate the strawberry.’

Structures in which there is no overt head noun and the classifier follows the low adjective also behave exceptionally when it comes to plural marking. We have seen above that classifiers do not co-occur with the plural marker. Compare (1417a), a noun phrase without ellipsis and (1417b), a noun phrase in which the head noun has been elided and in which the classifier precedes the low adjective. The restriction on the appearance of the plural marker is in effect in both cases.

- (1417) a. *Az-ok a szem zöld epr-ek éretlen-ek.
 that-Pl the eye green strawberry-Pl unripe-Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Those green strawberries are not ripe.’
- b. *Az-ok a szem zöld-ek éretlen-ek.
 those-Pl the eye green-Pl unripe-Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘Those green ones are not ripe.’

However, the plural marker may appear if the noun or noun phrase is elided and the classifier follows the low adjective (1418).

- (1418) Az-ok a zöld szem-ek éretlen-ek.
 those-Pl the green eye-Pl unripe-Pl
 ‘Those green ones are not ripe.’

2.6.3.7. *Exceptional uses of szem ‘eye’ and szál ‘thread’*

As discussed above, classifiers co-occur with a limited set of nouns. *Fej* ‘head’ classifies (some) big round objects, *szem* ‘eye’ classifies (some) small round objects, *szál* ‘thread’ classifies (some) long thin objects, etc. However, in case the numeral can be considered to be contextually very low or minimal, the classifiers *szem* ‘eye’ and *szál* ‘thread’ can combine with any noun. (1419a) shows that *szem* ‘eye’ is normally incompatible with the noun ‘child’, and (1419b) shows that when the number is contextually low, this combination becomes possible.

- (1419) a. *húsz szem gyerek
 twenty eye child
 Intended meaning: ‘twenty children’
- b. Egy szem gyerekük van.
 one eye child.Poss.3Pl be.3Sg
 ‘They have only one child.’

Similarly, *szál* ‘thread’ is normally incompatible with the noun *ember* ‘person’ (1420a), but just in case the number can be considered to be contextually very low, the combination is fine. Note that (1420b) also shows that the numeral can be other than *egy* ‘one’ in case the used number is a low number in the context.

- (1420) a. *száz szál ember
 hundred thread man
 Intended meaning: ‘a hundred men’
- b. Három szál ember lézeng a téren.
 three thread man idle.3Sg the square.Sup
 ‘Merely three people are idling on the square.’

Further frequently used phrases involving the exceptional use of *szál* ‘thread’ are shown in (1421).

- (1421) a. egy szál gitárral, egy szál harisnyában / ingben / semmiben
 one thread guitar.Ins one thread stocking.Ine / shirt.Ine / nothing.Ine
 ‘with a single guitar, wearing [just stockings] / [just a shirt] / nothing’
- b. Gond egy szál se!
 problem one thread neither
 ‘No problem!’

The fact that it is precisely with *szem* ‘eye’ and *szál* ‘thread’ that the selectional restrictions between the classifier and the noun can be suspended in the context of a low numeral is quite possibly related to the meanings of these classifiers. Both *szem* ‘eye’ and *szál* ‘thread’ express that a dimension of the object they categorize can be considered to be small: with *szem* ‘eye’ this is the diameter, while with *szál* ‘thread’ this is the width of the object. It is therefore expected that if any classifiers have a distinguished role in expressions of minimal or contextually very low quantity, then it will be these two classifiers.

2.7. Bibliographical notes (*Gábor Alberti, Anikó Csirmaz, Éva Dékány, Judit Farkas, Judit Kleiber, Veronika Szabó, Bernadett Szőke, Bálint Tóth and Anita Viszket*)

As we have followed the method of permanently inserting references in the main text of the subsections of the chapter, our only task here is to highlight the main points.

Of the questions of complementation, discussed in section 2.1, the topic (of the mere status) of postnominal complement zone of nouns is a highly contentious issue in the Hungarian generative literature (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992, É. Kiss 2000, Alberti and Medve 2002/2005). Our discussion of the topic is essentially based on Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015). As for the topic of distinguishing arguments from adjuncts, Komlósy’s (1992, 1994) classification has served as a point of departure (in particular, in the case of the concept of *optional* arguments), together with Laczkó’s (2000a) and Rákosi’s (2009) argumentations on *conceptual arguments*, *quasi-arguments* or *thematic adjuncts*. In practice, we have essentially adapted the

test types proposed in the corresponding section of *SoD-NP* (2.2) and proposed two further tests, which are based on the inclination of arguments of nouns for taking internal and/or external scope (see Farkas, Szabó and Alberti 2015: subsection 4.2). On further potential tests to distinguish arguments from adjuncts and/or to measure degree of argumenthood, see Rákosi (2014b: 27–28, 48, 149, 180).

In section 2.2 on modification, Szabolcsi (1992, 1994), Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992), Bartos (2000b) and É. Kiss (2002) serve as a basis for the discussion of the two prenominal possessor positions, while attributivized oblique-case-marked satellites and the order of attributives are described on the basis of Laczkó (1995, 2000a) and Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi (1998), respectively. Also the existence of a pre-D non-possessor zone is argued for (see also Farkas and Alberti 2016), on the basis of similar proposals by Giusti (1996) and Roehrs (2013) towards the universal existence of a noun-phrase-internal pre-D operator layer. In connection with possessive constructions, such hot topics of the Hungarian generative literature are demonstrated as the relationship between (in)alienability and different allomorphs of the possessedness suffix *-(j)A* (Kiefer 1985, 2000b, Elekfi 2000, Den Dikken 2015, Alberti and Farkas 2015), and between possession and determination (Fokos 1960, 1963, É. Kiss 1999, Bartos 2000b).

In section 2.3 the differences between close and loose appositive constructions were introduced on the basis of the international literature (Burton-Roberts 1975, Molitor 1979, Lasersohn 1986, Acuña-Fariña 1996, 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Keizer 2005, Potts 2005, Lekakou and Szendrői 2007) because the traditional Hungarian grammars (Tompá 1962, Rácz 1968, A. Jászó 1991, Keszler 2000, Keszler and Lengyel 2002) do not differentiate these constructions. Seven subtypes of the close appositive construction were distinguished following and completing the subtypes of Keizer (2005). The subtypes of loose apposition are based on Szőke (2015a, b) following Heringa (2012). The agreement between the predicate and the loose appositive construction (occurring as subject or object) was introduced by observations of Szőke (2015b).

The international literature on classifiers (see section 2.4) is rather extensive, and there have been a number of attempts at creating different systems of categorization (Aikhenvald (2003), Borer (2005), Beckwith (2007), Zhang (2013), to name a few). However, in the Hungarian literature classifiers have received relatively little attention. The most exhaustive discussion of classifiers is Dékány (2011) and Dékány and Csirmaz (2014). Schvarcz (2014) deals with the semantic description of classifier construction, her findings are presented in subsection 2.4.3.3. Discussion on partitive constructions (subsection 2.4.5) can be found in Chisarik (2002).

In section 2.5, the universal features of articles regarding their core meaning, definiteness, specificity and distributivity were introduced on the basis of the international literature (Barwise and Cooper 1981, Heim 1982, and Alexiadou *et al.* 2007). The most detailed examination of Hungarian-specific issues about the syntax and semantics of determiners and vocative constructions can be found in Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992). The main concept of genericity was discussed on the basis of Carlson and Pelletier (1995), and Alexiadou *et al.* (2007); the notion of “kind” was introduced based on Chierchia (1998); and finally, Hungarian generics were

examined using Farkas and de Swart (2009). Hungarian bare nouns are mentioned on numerous occasions in the literature, but mostly as the clear example of a non-specific noun phrase. An overview specifically about bare nouns can be found in Kiefer (1990-91). Kiefer argues that bare nouns are lexically determined in the majority of cases, and incorporate into the verb, forming a complex predicate, but nonetheless gives the first thorough survey of the phenomenon. Kiefer's line of reasoning is also taken up by Bende-Farkas (2001), according to whom bare nouns can neither be modified by attributive adjectives, nor adverbials. Maleczki (1992, 1995) discusses bare nouns from a semantic perspective. Egedi (2014) gives an overview of Hungarian articles and demonstratives from a language-historical point of view. About the deictic uses of demonstratives see Levinson (2004).

In section 2.6 we discussed numerals and quantifiers. Most of the previous work on quantification has been carried out in formal semantics. Bach *et al.* (1995), for instance, presents a large number of studies on quantification in various languages. Since the 1980s much of the research on quantification has been carried out within the theory of generalized quantifiers, as developed by Barwise and Cooper (1981). For a general introduction, see, for instance, Partee *et al.* (1990: ch. 14). The distinction between weak and strong determiners was first made by Milsark (1974, 1977) in a number of studies on the English existential construction and the definiteness effect. For more extensive discussions of the expletive construction and the definiteness effect in English and Dutch see Reuland (1983), Bennis (1986) and the papers collected in Reuland & Ter Meulen (1989). Other relevant discussions can be found in Diesing (1992); De Hoop (1995), who deals with the weak-strong indefinites. A recent, comprehensive review of the literature on the English expletive construction and the definiteness effect can be found in Hartmann (2008). The syntactic position of numerals and quantifiers within the Hungarian DP, the restriction on the co-occurrence of numerals/quantifiers and the plural marker, as well as the verbal agreement elicited by quantified expressions has been investigated in Bartos (1999: ch. 2.1). Hungarian quantifiers have recently been examined in detail from a descriptive point of view in Csirmaz and Szabolcsi (2012). The relevant theoretical literature on Hungarian quantifiers is very extensive, and it mostly focuses on issues about quantifier position in the clause and scope. Some of the works that serve as an overview and introduction include Hunyadi (1986), Szabolcsi (1997, 2010, 2015), É. Kiss (2006b), and Csirmaz (2009). Hunyadi (1986) and Szabolcsi (1997) study the effect of surface order and intonation on quantifier scope. Szabolcsi (2010) summarizes work on quantification since the 1970s, and examines cross-linguistic data to probe into theoretical issues of quantification, while Szabolcsi (2015) investigates the compositional semantics of quantifier words. É. Kiss (2006b) focuses on the interpretation of numeral+noun sequences as well as the question of why certain quantifiers have to, while others cannot appear in the focus position of the sentence. Csirmaz (2009) is a detailed study of A-quantification. Further influential theoretical work on quantification includes Brody and Szabolcsi (2003), Surányi (2006a), Olsvay (2006), Bende-Farkas (2009), and É. Kiss (2010).

Chapter 3

Nouns: external syntax (*Veronika Szabó and Bálint Tóth*)

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Introduction

This chapter will discuss the distribution of noun phrases within the clause, and the differences between the types of noun phrases with respect to their distributional properties. Section 3.1 deals with the syntactic functions of noun phrases, while section 3.2 discusses the syntactic positions of noun phrases. We have organized the discussion on the basis of two factors: the category of the matrix element that subcategorizes for the noun, and the function of the given noun phrase: whether it is an argument or an adjunct. This chapter will be relatively short, given that some of the issues discussed here are discussed in more detail elsewhere (see volumes M, V, A, F, P and E).

3.1. Syntactic functions of noun phrases

This brief section mainly focuses on the syntactic functions of noun phrases. In section 3.1.1, we begin with a discussion of the different functions noun phrases can fulfill as arguments. This is followed by a discussion of noun phrases as adjuncts (in 3.1.2) and as predicates (in 3.1.3). This section largely consists of reiterating the most crucial points of section 1.1.3. Our strategy is to recapitulate the major points with the help of a few examples, then to refer the reader to the appropriate chapter for more detailed discussion.

3.1.1. Arguments

Noun phrases can occur in all argument functions. They may fulfill the role of subject or object and may host any case marker, satisfying the verb's selectional restrictions. Needless to say, the type of argument(s) the verb may take is determined by the particular type of verb. For instance, unergative intransitive verbs can never have objects, while unaccusative intransitives can never have agentive surface subjects, although they both subcategorize for a single, nominative case-marked argument.

Some typical examples are given in (1422). In example (1422a), we can see a subject as an agent: *a fiú* 'the boy', in (1422b), an accusative case-marked object as a patient: *a betörőt* 'the burglar.Acc', and in (1422c), an oblique-marked noun: *érzéseidben* 'in your feelings'.

- (1422) • Noun phrases as arguments of a verb
- a. *A fiú minden este elmegy futni.*
the boy every evening go.3Sg run.Inf
 'The boy goes running every evening.'
 - b. *Elfogták a betörőt.*
catch.Past.DefObj.3Pl the burglar.Acc
 'The burglar was caught.'
 - c. *Bízol az érzéseidben?*
trust.2Sg the feeling.Pl.Poss.2Sg.Ine
 'Do you trust your feelings?'

As we have previously stated in 1.1.3, a noun phrase can also be the argument of an infinitive (1423a), a converb (1423a') or an adjectival participle (1423a''). In

addition to these categories of verbal origin, a post- or a preposition (1423b-b'), an adverb (1423c), an adjective (1423d), or a noun (1423e) can also take a noun phrase as an argument. For a precise description of the syntactic position of DP-internal arguments see 1.1.3.

(1423) ● Other categories of predicates taking noun phrases as their arguments (127)

- a. Szeretném [_{InfP} *megcsókol-ni* [_{DP} Marit]].
 like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg kiss-Inf Mari.Acc
 'I would like to kiss Mari.'
- a'. [_{ConvP} *Megcsókol-va* [_{DP} Marit]] felvidultam.
kiss-Conv Mari.Acc cheer_up.Past.1Sg
 'Having kissed Mari, I cheered up.'
- a''. A [_{PartP} [_{DP} Marit] *megcsókol-ó*] fiú felvidult.
 the Mari.Acc *kiss-Part* boy cheer_up.Past.1Sg
 'The boy *kissing* Mari cheered up.'
- b. [_{PP} [_{DP} Mari] *alatt*] összetört a szék.
 Mari *under* crash.Past.3Sg the chair
 'The chair broke *under* Mari.'
- b'. Péterrel [_{PP} *mint* [_{NP} tanszékvezetővel]] elégedettek vagyunk.
 Péter.Ins *as* head_of_department.Ins satisfied.Pl be.1Pl
 'We are satisfied with Péter *as* head of department.'
- c. [_{AdvP} *Mámorosan* [_{DP} a bortól]] megcsókoltam Ilit.
drunk.Adv the wine.Abl kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc
 'Drunk from wine, I kissed Ili.'
- d. Találkoztam egy [_{AP} [_{DP} Marira] *büszke*] tanárral.
 meet.Past.1Sg a Mari.Sub *proud* teacher.Ins
 'I met a teacher *proud* of Mari.'
- e. Fülembre jutott [_{DP} egy *pletyka* [_{DP} Mariról]].
 ear.Ill get.Past.3Sg a *rumor* Mari.Del
 'I was told a *rumor* about Mari.'

Let us recall our previous discussion of thematic roles. As pointed out in 1.1.3.1, the NP part of the noun phrase provides the descriptive information needed to identify the set of entities being discussed, and the DP part determines the referential or quantificational properties of the noun phrase as a whole. These sets of entities function as participants in the state of affairs denoted by the predicate. As we have thoroughly discussed in 1.1.3.1, noun phrases are assigned the thematic roles of Agents, Themes, Goals, etc. by a (de-)verbal predicate, which can be regarded as the prototypical case. Some examples are given in (1424). As a reminder, we repeat the relevant set of examples below. For the detailed analysis of this set of examples see 1.1.3.1.

(1424) ● Some cases and thematic roles of noun phrases (131)

- a. [Ili]_{Agent} épített [egy ház-at]_{Theme}.
 Ili build.Past.3Sg a house-Acc
 'Ili built a house.'

- a'. [Ili]_{Agent} keményen dolgozik.
Ili hard.Adv work.3Sg
'Ili works hard.'
- a''. Épült [egy új ház]_{Theme} a szomszédban.
build.Past.3Sg a new house the neighborhood.Ine
'A new house has been built in our neighborhood.'
- b. [Ili]_{Agent} kent [egy kis vaj-at]_{Theme} [a kenyér-re]_{Goal}.
Ili spread.Past.3Sg a little butter-Acc the bread-Sub
'Ili put some butter on the bread.'
- b'. [Ili]_{Agent} megkente [egy kis vaj-jal]_{Theme} [a kenyér-et]_{Goal}.
Ili spread.Past.DefObj.3Sg a little butter-Ins the bread-Acc
'Ili put some butter on the bread.'
- c. [Péter]_{Agent} ügyesen bánik [a kés-sel]_{Instrument}.
Péter skilfully handle.3Sg the knife-Ins
'Péter handles knives skillfully.'
- d. [Péter]_{Experiencer} kedveli [Mari-t]_{Theme}.
Péter like.DefObj.3Sg Mari-Acc
'Péter likes Mari.'
- d'. [Mari]_{Theme} tetszik [Péter-nek]_{Experiencer}.
Mari please.3Sg Péter-Dat
'Mari appeals to Péter.'
- e. [A boszorkány]_{Agent} [béká-vá]_{Goal} változtatja [a herceg-et]_{Theme}.
the witch frog-TrE transform.DefObj.3Sg the prince-Acc
'The witch will turn the prince into a frog.'

3.1.2. Noun phrases as adjuncts

Noun phrases also function as adjuncts. A noun phrase used as an adjunct typically denotes the time or the place of the event or state of affairs expressed by the predicate that it belongs to and by the argument(s) of that predicate. Once again, we refer to subsection 1.1.3.2 which discusses this topic exhaustively. At this point, we merely recapitulate what categories may have nominal adjuncts, with the help of a set of examples. A noun phrase as an adjunct can be related to the following categories: verbs (1425a), non-finite phrases (infinitives (1425b), converbs (1425b'), adjectival participles (1425b'')), postpositions (1425c), adverbs (1425d), adjectives (1425e), and nouns (1425f). As is clearly visible from the examples, these are mostly temporal and spatial in meaning.

(1425) • Categories of predicates which noun phrases belong to as adjuncts (133)

- a. Soha nem [_{VP} *tanulok* meg vezetni [_{DP} Budapest-en]].
never not learn.1Sg perf drive.Inf Budapest-Sup
'I will never *learn* how to drive in Budapest.'
That is, 'Budapest is not suitable for me to learn how to drive.'

- b. Soha nem tanulok meg [_{InfP} *vezet-ni* [_{DP} Budapest-en]].
 never not learn.1Sg perf *drive-Inf* Budapest-Sup
 ‘I will never learn how to *drive* in Budapest.’
 That is, ‘It is difficult to drive in Budapest; I will never learn that.’
- b’. [_{ConvP} *Megpillant-va* [_{DP} az udvar-on] Marit] felvidultam.
catch_sight_of-Conv the courtyard-Sup Mari.Acc cheer_up.Past.1Sg
 ‘Having caught sight of Mari in the courtyard, I cheered up.’
- b’’. A [_{PartP} Marit [_{DP} az udvar-on] *megcsókol-ó*] fiú felvidult.
 the Mari.Acc the courtyard-Sup *kiss-Part* boy cheer_up.Past.1Sg
 ‘The boy *kissing* Mari in the courtyard cheered up.’
- c. Találkozunk [_{PP} Bö és Ölbő között [_{NP} félút-on]].
 meet.1Pl Bö and Ölbő *between* halfway-Sup
 ‘We will meet halfway *between* Bö and Ölbő.’
- d. Péter [_{AdvP} a két fiára [_{NP} jog-gal] *büszkén*] ült a páholyban.
 Péter the two son.Poss.3Sg.Sub law-Sup *proudly* sit.Past.3Sg the box.Ine
 ‘Péter was sitting in the theater box rightly proud of his two sons.’
- e. A [_{AP} két fiára [_{NP} jog-gal] *büszke*] barátom el fog válni.
 the two son.Poss.3Sg.Sub law-Ins *proud* friend.Poss.1Sg away will.3Sg divorce.Inf
 ‘My friend, rightly *proud* of his two sons, is going to get a divorce.’
- f. Nagyon tetszik [_{DP} az a Szabolcsi-cikk [_{DP} a kötet-ben]].
 very.much please.3Sg that the Szabolcsi-paper the volume-Ine
 ‘I very much like that *paper* by Szabolcsi in the volume.’

3.1.3. Predicative use of noun phrases

Noun phrases can also function as predicates, in which case the noun phrase is not used to refer to an entity or a set of entities but to predicate a property of some other noun phrase.

Nominal complements can be divided into two types in Hungarian. In the first type, the nominal predicate and its logical subject are in a set/subset relation: the latter is argued to be part of the set denoted by the former. In the copular constructions in example (1426), the noun phrase variants *a fia(i)m* ‘son.(Pl.)Poss.1Sg’ are the referentially used logical subjects of the predicatively used noun phrase variants, with *tanár* ‘teacher’ as their common head. The predicative relationship between the two noun phrases in every example is syntactically reflected by the fact that they must agree in number (137).

(1426) • Noun phrases as primary predicates

- a. A fiam ([?]*egy*) *tanár* (volt).
 the son.Poss.1Sg *a teacher* be.Past.3Sg
 ‘My son is/was a *teacher*.’
- a’. A fiaim *tanár-ok* (volt-ak).
 the son.Pl.Poss.1Sg *teacher-Pl* be.Past-3Pl
 ‘My sons are/were *teachers*.’

- a''. Tegnap meglátogattak a *tanár*(*-ok) fi-a-i-m.
 yesterday visit.Past.3Pl the *teacher-Pl* son-Poss-Pl-1Sg
 'Yesterday I was visited by my *teacher* sons.'
- b. A fiam ^(?)(egy) *rendkívül népszerű matektanár* (volt).
 the son.Poss.1Sg a very popular maths_teacher be.Past.3Sg
 'My son is/was a very popular maths teacher.'
- b'. A fiaim *rendkívül népszerű matektanár-ok* (volt-ak).
 the son.Pl.Poss.1Sg very popular maths_teacher-Pl be.Past-3Pl
 'My sons are/were very popular maths teachers.'
- c. A fiam *a legnépszerűbb tanár* (volt) *a szomszédos iskolában*.
 the son.Poss.1Sg the most_popular teacher be.Past.3Sg the neighbor.Adj school.Ine
 'My son is/was the most popular teacher in the neighboring school.'
- c'. A fiaim *a legnépszerűbb tanár-ok* (volt-ak) *a szomszédos iskolában*.
 the son.Pl.Poss.1Sg the most_popular teacher-Pl be.Past-3Pl the neighbor.Adj school.Ine
 'My sons are/were the most popular teachers in the neighboring school.'

We have to add that, apart from bare NPs (1426a-b), in Hungarian colloquial speech, indefinite constructions containing *egy* 'a' are fairly frequent as predicative noun phrases as well (1426a-b). Generally, there is no detectable semantic difference between article-less structures and the ones containing *egy* 'a' (1427a-a'). In the case of certain profession names, however, the bare noun variety, and the structure with *egy* 'a' differ in that, whereas the bare noun variant denotes an actual profession, the indefinite construction denotes a property. While in example (1427b) *bohóc* 'clown' is Péter's actual profession, (1427b') simply means that Péter likes to fool around.

(1427) • Bare noun phrases and indefinite noun phrases in predicative constructions

- a. Péter nyugdíjas.
 Péter pensioner
 'Péter is a pensioner.'
- a'. [?]Péter egy nyugdíjas.
 Péter a pensioner
 'Péter is a pensioner.'
- b. Péter bohóc / színész.
 Péter clown / actor
 'Péter is a clown/actor.'
- b'. Péter egy bohóc / színész.
 Péter a clown / actor
 'Péter is a bit of a clown/an actor. [He likes fooling around/acting out.]'

In section 1.1.3.3, we showed in detail that a predicative structure can function as either an adjunct or an argument of a verb and that in Hungarian, predicatively used bare nominal phrases can not only be used as subjects and objects, but can take any case-marking. We do not wish to reiterate this here, instead, we only complement our discussion with yet another structure: one that from a certain point of view is similar to the structure of predicative sentences, but contains a fully fledged DP instead of a bare NP. In these cases the nominal predicate and its subject are

identified: the latter is claimed to be identical to the former. In this case the predicate is preceded by the definite article *a(z)* ‘the’.

(1428) • Identificational construction

- a. (Ebben az osztályban) Juli osztályfőnök (volt).
 (this.Ine the class) Juli form-mistress (be.Past.3Sg)
 ‘In this class, Juli is (was) a form-mistress.’
- a’. (Ebben az osztályban) Juli (volt) az osztályfőnök.
 (this.Ine the class) Juli (be.Past.3Sg) the form-mistress
 ‘In this class, Juli is (was) the form-mistress.’
- b. *Osztályfőnök 'Juli, és nem Mari.
 form-mistress Juli and not Mari
- b’. Az osztályfőnök 'Juli (volt), és nem Mari.
 the form-mistress Juli (be.Past.3Sg) and not Mari
 ‘Juli was the form-mistress and not Mari.’
- c. (Ebben az osztályban) Juli az 'osztályfőnök (és nem a helyettes).
 (this.Ine the class) Juli the form-mistress (and not the deputy-head)
 ‘In this class, Juli is the form-mistress (and not the deputy-head).’

Identificational constructions are similar to predicative structures, in that in the third person singular, present tense, declarative, there is no overt copula in the sentence (compare (1428a and a’). However, if the verb is spelled out, its syntactic position is not the same. In predicative constructions the predicatively used NP precedes the verb (1428a), in identificational constructions the DP follows the verb (1428a’). Structurally, identificational constructions also consist of two nominal phrases, but both nominal phrases are obligatorily DPs, the more referential of which will be interpreted as the subject of the sentence. It is not always entirely clear which of the DPs is the subject, and which of them is the predicate.

Very interesting is the fact that, while in a predicative sentence not containing an overt copula the subject DP is a topic, in identificational constructions the same subject is focused, but without expressing a contrast (compare (1428a) and (1428a’)). If the predicate itself stands in a contrastive topic position (here: *az osztályfőnök*), the subject (here: *Juli*) of an identificational constructions can be focused (1428b’), but this is impossible in predicative sentences (1428b). In identificational constructions the predicate itself can also be focused, but in this case, it can only be interpreted contrastively: in example (1428c) we focus on the fact that Juli was not a deputy-head, she was the headteacher herself (see Kálmán 2001).

According to Peredy (2010), in embedded questions, predicative and identificational constructions behave differently. While in the predicative variant the question particle (Q) *-e* circa ‘whether’ occurs after the predicatively used NP (1429a-a’), in the identificational construction the particle occurs after the subject of the sentence (1429b-b’). However, if the subject of the identificational sentence is focused, the particle appears after the predicatively used DP (1429c).

(1429) • Predicative and identificational constructions in embedded questions

- a. Nem tudom, Juli osztályfőnök-e.
 not know.DefObj.1Sg Juli headteacher-Q
 'I don't know if Juli is a headteacher.'
- a'. *Nem tudom, Juli-e osztályfőnök.
 not know.DefObj.1Sg Juli-Q headteacher
- b. Nem tudom, Juli-e az osztályfőnök.
 not know.DefObj.1Sg Juli-Q the headteacher
 'I don't know if Juli is the headteacher.'
- b'. #Nem tudom, Juli az osztályfőnök-e.
 not know.DefObj.1Sg Juli the headteacher-Q
 Indented meaning: 'I don't know if Juli is the headteacher.'
- c. Nem tudom, Juli az osztályfőnök-e vagy a helyettes.
 Not know.DefObj.1Sg Juli the headteacher-Q or the deputy
 'I don't know if Juli is the headteacher or the deputy-head.'

To summarize our findings, identificational constructions differ in at least three respects from predicative sentences. With identificational constructions: the subject and the predicate itself are always DPs; the subject of the sentence stands in a focus position; the question particle *-e* is adjoined to the subject and not to the predicate.

This section provided an overview of the syntactic functions of noun phrases. It must be noted that besides their general use as arguments, adjuncts, and predicates, nouns can also be used idiomatically. Examples can be found in subsection 1.1.3.4.

3.2. Syntactic positions of noun phrases

This section is concerned with the syntactic position of nouns. Following the structure of the previous section, we will examine in what positions a noun can appear within the sentence when it is an argument or adjunct of an arbitrary category (verb, noun, adjective, an adjectival participle, an infinitive, a converb or postposition). Since the central topic of this volume is the noun phrase, we will discuss nominal arguments and adjuncts of noun phrases most extensively, specifically the positions they can appear in. We believe this to be the best course of action, since a separate chapter is available on the internal syntax of noun phrases. (2.1). On the positions of nominal arguments of non-finite structures, see volume F. The AP volume gives a thorough overview of adjectival arguments (see A3.1). Similarly, a separate volume deals with PPs (see P2).

The syntactic positions of nouns are not only influenced by the roles they take and the category heading the structure. As we have already noted in 1.1.1.3.4 and 2.5.1, the degree of the referentiality of a noun phrase determines where the noun phrase can appear in the information structure of the sentence. Since a thorough discussion is given in 1.1.1.3.4, here we only note that, in Hungarian, non-referential NPs are systematically barred from occurring postverbally in neutral sentences: declarative sentences not containing focused material or quantification. For instance, in example (1430a), the non-referential *fát* 'wood.Acc' cannot stand postverbally in a neutral sentence, and obligatorily has to occur in the VMod (verbal

modifier) position. Referential noun phrases, on the other hand, are perfectly capable of standing postverbally (1430a'), postnominally (1430b), or after infinitives (1430c). Note that no matter how referential a noun phrase is, it can never follow adjectives or adjectival participles if they are attributive, as in Hungarian, nothing can ever occur after attributive heads. In example (1430d) the noun phrase *fákat* 'tree.Pl.Acc' obligatorily appears before the head of the adjectival participle it is the argument of. The same holds for postpositions in general. Most postpositions cannot be followed by any nouns, regardless of their degree of referentiality (1430e'), except for postpositions which obligatorily take an oblique case-marked nominal argument (1430e) (for more discussion, see P2).

(1430) ● Referential and non-referential noun phrases in sentences

- a. Péter fát vág. / #Péter vág fát.
 Péter wood.Acc cut.3Sg/ Péter cut.3Sg wood.Acc
 'Péter is chopping wood.'
- a'. Péter vágja a fát.
 Péter cut.DefObj.1Sg the wood.Acc
 'Péter is chopping the wood.'
- b. Olvastam egy könyvet a sünökről.
 read.Past.1Sg a book.Acc the hedgehog.Pl.Del
 'I read a book about hedgehogs.'
- c. Szeretnék elmenni a partira.
 love.Cond.1Sg go.Inf the party.Sub
 'I would like to go to the party.'
- d. Elvonult a fákat kicsavaró nagy vihar. /
 pass.Past.3Sg the tree.Pl.Acc rip.Part big storm /
 *Elvonult kifacsaró a fákat nagy vihar.
 pass.Past.3Sg rip.Part the tree.Pl.Acc big storm
 'The storm ripping trees out of the ground has passed.'
- e. [A folyón túl] / [túl a folyón] láttalak.
 the river.Sup over/ over the river see.Past.2Obj.1Sg
 'I saw you over the river.'
- e'. Találtam egy gombát a fa mögött./
 find.Past.1Sg a mushroom.Acc the tree behind /
 *Találtam egy gombát mögött a fa.
 find.Past.1Sg a mushroom.Acc behind the tree
 'I found a mushroom behind the tree.'

3.2.1. *Syntactic positions of nominal arguments and adjuncts of verbs*

In this subsection, we will discuss nominal arguments of verbs. Since the internal structure of the verb phrase is dealt with in a separate volume (M9), the reader can only find a short summary of the most important statements here.

3.2.1.1. *Nominal arguments of verbs*

One possible position for referential nominal arguments of the verb is the complement zone of the verb. In the postverbal zone, the linear order of nominal arguments is essentially free, illustrated by the examples in (1431). However, there are many factors that may influence the order of arguments, such as the phonological weight of the nominal structures (see Remark 19 in 2.1.1.1). The longer a structure is, the more likely it is to appear at the end of the sentence (compare (1431a) with (1431a'-a'') and (1431b) with (1431b'-b'')), and see also the chapter about complementation Table 47). Note that on the issue of freedom of Hungarian word order, there is no absolute consensus among researchers, therefore we refer the reader to the volume on the structure of main clauses for more discussion (M9).

(1431) • The order of the nominal arguments in the postverbal domain

- a. Péter eladott *egy könyvet a lánynak.* /
 Péter sell.Past.3Sg *a book.Acc the girl.Dat* /
 Péter eladott *a lánynak egy könyvet.*
 Péter sell.Past.3Sg *the girl.Dat a book.Acc*
 'Péter sold *a book to the girl.*'
- a'. Péter eladott *a lánynak egy könyvet, amit Maritól kapott.*
 Péter sell.Past.3Sg *the girl.Dat a book which.Acc Mari.Abl receive.Past.3Sg*
 'Péter sold *the girl a book he had received from Mari.*'
- a'*. [?]Péter eladott *egy könyvet, amit Maritól kapott a lánynak.*
 Péter sell.Past.3Sg *a book which.Acc Mari.Abl receive.Past.3Sg the girl.Dat*
 'Péter sold *a book he had received from Mari to the girl.*'
- b. Lujza hozzávágta *a tányért Péterhez.* /
 Lujza throw.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the plate.Acc Péter.All* /
 Lujza hozzávágta *Péterhez a tányért.*
 Lujza throw.Past.DefObj.3Sg *Péter.All the plate.Acc*
 'Lujza threw *the plate at Péter.*'
- b'. ^(?)Lujza hozzávágta [*azt a nagyon drága, tulipános tányért*] *Péterhez.*
 Lujza throw.Past.DefObj.3Sg *that.Acc the very expensive tulip.Adj plate.Acc Péter.All*
 'Lujza threw *that extremely expensive plate with tulips at Péter.*'
- b''. Lujza hozzávágta *Péterhez [azt a nagyon drága, tulipános tányért].*
 Lujza throw.Past.DefObj.3Sg *Péter.All that.Acc the very expensive tulip.Adj plate.Acc*
 'Lujza threw *at Péter that extremely expensive plate with tulips.*'

Nominal arguments in the postverbal field can also assume operator functions. In examples (1432a) and (1432b) we can see a postverbal quantifier, while example (1432c) illustrates a type of postverbal focus, usually called information focus in the literature (see É. Kiss 1999, Surányi 2011). For a thorough discussion of postverbal operators, see the volume on the structure of main clauses (M9).

- (1432) ● Nouns in operators in the postverbal domain
- Péter felolvasta *mindkét versét*.
 Péter up_read.Past.DefObj.3Sg both poem.Poss.3Sg.Acc
 ‘Péter read out both his poems.’
 - Péter felolvasta *a versét is*.
 Péter up_read.Past.DefObj.3Sg the poem.Poss.3Sg.Acc too.
 ‘Péter read out his poem too.’
 - Mit olvasott fel Péter? Péter felolvasta *a Hamupipőké*.
 What read.Past.3Sg up Péter Péter up_read.Past.DefObj.3Sg the Cinderella.Acc
 ‘What did Péter read out? Péter read out Cinderella.’

As we discussed in 1.1.3.4, non-referential NPs must obligatorily leave the postverbal zone (Alberti 1997). In neutral sentences, both predicative and non-predicative bare NP arguments appear preverbally, in the verbal modifier position (see also 2.5.1). In example (1433a) the elements *fát* ‘wood.Acc’ and *könyvet* ‘book.Acc’ are bare NPs serving as arguments of the verb. In examples (1433b,c) we can see a predicative NP (*szénné* ‘coal.TrE’, *katona* ‘soldier’).

- (1433) ● Bare noun phrases in the VMod position
- Laci [*fát vág*] / [*könyvet olvas*].
 Laci wood.Acc chop.3Sg / book.Acc read.3Sg
 ‘Laci is [chopping wood]/[reading a book.]’
 - Juliska *szénné* égette *a boszorkányt*.
 Juliska coal.TrE burn.Past.DefObj.3Sg the witch.Acc
 ‘Juliska charred the witch.’
 - János *katona* volt.
 János soldier be.Past.3Sg
 ‘János was a soldier.’

However, referential noun phrases can also appear in VMod, and this ability is also independent from the case-endings. This phenomenon was discussed in 1.1.1.3.4. Here, we reiterate the relevant examples (1434), which are identical to the examples in (15).

- (1434) ● Various kinds of noun phrases in verbal modifier position
- 'Bécs [*°egy / Ø 'pezsgő 'város*]_{VMod} °volt *a 'huszadik 'században*.
 Vienna *a / Ø vivid town* be.Past.3Sg the 20th century.Ine
 ‘Vienna was a vivid town in the 20th century.’
 - a'. 'Bécs [*°a 'legszebb 'város*]_{VMod} °volt *'Ausztriában °a 'huszadik 'században*.
 Vienna *the most_beautiful town* be.Past.3Sg Austria.Ine the 20th century.Ine
 ‘Vienna was the most beautiful town in Austria in the 20th century.’
 - b. 'Péter [*°egy / Ø 'autó-t*]_{VMod} °szerelt *'egész 'délután*.
 Péter *a / Ø car-Acc* repair.Past.3Sg whole afternoon
 ‘Péter spent the whole afternoon repairing [a car] / [one or more cars].’
 - b'. 'Péter [*°az 'autó-t*]_{VMod} °szerelte *'egész 'délután*.
 Péter *the car-Acc* repair.Past.DefObj.3Sg whole afternoon
 ‘Péter spent the whole afternoon repairing the car.’

- c. 'Mari [*a / °egy / Ø*'*kisváros-ba*]_{VMod} °költözött a 'barátjával.
 Mari the / a / Ø *small_town-ill* move.Past.3Sg the friend.Poss.3Sg.Ins
 'Mari has moved to *the / a / Ø small town* with her friend.'

It is important to note that the VMod cannot host right-branching structures (also see 2.1). Any complement of the noun cannot remain in the postnominal field if the NP is in the VMod position: in example (1435a) *szultánról* 'about the sultan' cannot stand in the complement position of the story-picture noun *könyv* 'book' if the NP is located in the VMod position as a bare-NP. Example (1435b) illustrates the same phenomenon, whereby the argument (*a törökökkel* 'with the Turks') of the game-fight noun, *csata* 'battle' cannot stand after the nominal head when the NP is located in the VMod position. Of course, the sentences marked with an asterisk are only ill-formed if we try to construe the nominal head and the noun located in its complement position as one constituent.

(1435) • VMod cannot host right-branching structures

- a. Juli könyvet olvas a szultánról./*Juli [*könyvet a szultánról*] olvas.
 Juli book.Acc read.3Sg the sultan.Del / Juli *book.Acc the sultan.Del* read.3Sg
 'Juli is reading a book about the sultan.'
- b. A magyarok csatát vívtak a törökökkel.
 the Hungarian.Pl battle.Acc wage.Past.3Pl the Turk.Pl.Ins
 *A magyarok [*csatát a törökökkel*] vívtak.
 the Hungarian.Pl *battle.Acc the turk.Pl.Ins* wage.Past.3Pl
 'Hungarians fought a battle with Turks.'

Nominal arguments can also appear in the preverbal operator field. We will neither discuss the possible operator positions within this field, nor deal with the combination of pre- and postverbal operators and different types of preverbal operators. For detailed discussion, we refer the reader to the volume on the structure of main clauses (M2, M3 and M4). We will, however, discuss the rules that regulate the occurrence of different groups of nouns within the sentence.

As will be noted in the volume on the structure of main clauses (M2, M3 and M4), the preverbal zone can be divided into three separate fields: the focus position occurs closest to the verb, followed by iterable quantifier positions and the also iterable topic positions at the leftmost periphery of the sentence. Following Surányi (2009), these fields can also be demarcated by using adverbial expressions as our diagnostic. High and middle adverbials can occur sandwiched between quantifiers and the topic, while low adverbials can only appear between the lowest quantifier in the sentence and the focus, see M4. Nominal arguments of the verb can appear in all three operator positions: *az almát* 'the apple.Acc' is interpreted as an aboutness topic in example (1436a), *minden almát* 'all apples.Acc' as a quantifier in (1436b), and (*csak*) *az almát* 'the apple only' as structural focus in (1436c). The focus position can also host non-referential expressions (1436c), while the topic position can only be occupied by referential expressions (1436a). Operator-particles, such as the quantifier particle *is* 'also' (1436b) and the focus particle *csak* 'only' may also be adjoined to the noun, leaning on it for phonological support.

- (1436) ● Noun phrases in the left periphery of the sentence: topic, quantifier, focus
- a. János [*az almát*] /**almát* megette.
János the apple.Acc / apple.Acc eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 ‘János ate *the apple*.’
 - b. János [*minden almát*] megevett. / János [*almát is*] / [*almát sem*] evett.
János every apple.Acc eat.Past.3Sg / János apple.Acc also / apple.Acc nor eat.Past.3Sg
 ‘János ate *all of the apples*. / János ate *some apples, too*. / János didn’t eat *any apples, either*.’
 - c. János [(*csak*)’*az almát*] ette meg. / János [(*csak*)’*almát*] evett.
János only the apple.Acc eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf / János only apple.Acc eat.Past.3Sg
 ‘János ate *only the apple*. / János ate *only apples*.’

Arguments of a subordinate verb can appear not only in the operator zone of the subordinate sentence, but they can find their way into the left periphery of the matrix verb. Long distance dependencies such as this are dealt with in E5, therefore we only briefly demonstrate the phenomenon with a few examples here (1437).

- (1437) ● Nominal arguments of subordinate verbs in the matrix clause
- a. [*Az almát*] tudom, hogy megette János.
the apple.Acc know.DefObj.1Sg that eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg János
 ‘As for *the apple*, I know that János ate it.’
 - b. ^(?)[*Az almát is*] tudom, hogy megette János.
the apple also know.DefObj.1Sg that eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg János
 ‘As for *the the apple*, I know that János also ate it.’
 - c. [?][(*Csak*)’*az almát*] tudom, hogy János megette.
only the apple.Acc know.DefObj.1Sg that János eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 ‘As for *the apple*, I know that (only) it was eaten by János.’

3.2.1.2. Nominal adjuncts of verbs

Nominal adjuncts of the verb may express a diverse range of semantic relations: among others, they typically denote time (1438a-c), place (1438d), instrument (1438e), or mode (1438f). Formally, bare noun phrases denoting states of affairs of the event denoted by the verb are case-suffixed nouns, but functionally they cannot be considered entirely nominal: they can be replaced by adverbs (see the examples in 1438f and f’).

Generally, multiple adjuncts of the same semantic type cannot appear within a single verb phrase (1438b), unless they occur within a coordinate structure (1438b’) or, in the case of adjuncts expressing time and place, express a part-whole relationship (1438c-d). Adjuncts possessing a thematic role cannot be iterated (1438e); they, however can appear in adpositions (1438e’).

- (1438) ● Some thematic roles of nominal adjuncts of verbs
- a. *A héten* elmegyek fogorvoshoz.
the week.Sup go.1Sg dentist.All
 ‘I’m going to the dentist’s *this week*’

- b. **A hónapban a héten* elmegyek fogorvoshoz.
the month.Ine the week.Sup go.1Sg dentist.All
- b'. *Csütörtökön és pénteken* megyek fogorvoshoz.
Thursday.Sup and Friday.Sup go.1Sg dentist.All
 'I'm going to the dentist's *on Thursday and Friday.*'
- c. *A héten pénteken* elmegyek fogorvoshoz.
the week.Sup Friday.Sup go.1Sg dentist.All
 'I'm going to the dentist's *this Friday.*'
- d. *Az egyetemen a könyvtárban* szeretek tanulni.
the university.Sup the library.Ine like.1Sg study.Inf
 'At the university, I like to study *in the library.*'
- e. *Teri *járművel biciklivel* ment dolgozni.
Teri vehicle.Ins bicycle.Ins go.Past.3Sg work.Inf
- e'. Teri *a kedvenc játékával, egy mackóval* játszik.
Teri the favorite toy.Poss.3Sg.Ins a teddy_bear.Ins play.3Sg
 'Teri is playing with her favourite toy, with a teddy bear.'
- f. *Örömmel* olvastam a tegnapi híreket.
happiness.Ins read.Past.DefObj.1Sg the yesterday.Attr news.Acc
 'I was *glad* to read yesterday's news.'
- f'. *Szomorúan* olvastam a tegnapi híreket.
sadly read.Past.DefObj.1Sg the yesterday.Attr news.Acc
 'I was *sad* to read yesterday's news.'

Only adjuncts with an identical semantic type can be coordinated (compare (1439a) with (1439b)). Adjuncts, however, can never be coordinated with arguments, although it is entirely possible for an argument and an adjunct hosting the same case suffix to co-occur in the same sentence (compare (1438c) and (1438d), see Gábor and Héja (2006)).

(1439) • Coordination of nominal adjuncts of verbs

- a. Teri *Lalival és Imivel* ment a buliba.
Teri Lali.Ins and Imi.Ins go.Past.3Sg the party.Ill
 'It was *Lali and Imi* with whom Teri went to the party.'
- b. *Teri *Lalival és biciklivel* ment a buliba.
Teri Lali.Ins and bicycle.Ins go.Past.3Sg the party.Ill
- c. *Teri *májusban és az apjában* bízott.
Teri May.Ine and the father.Poss.3Sg.Ine trust.Past.3Sg
- d. Teri *májusban még bízott az apjában.*
Teri May.Ine still trust.Past.3Sg *the father.Poss.3Sg.Ine*
 'In May, Teri still trusted *her father.*'

The canonical position of nominal adjuncts is the left periphery of the sentence (1440a) but they may also occur postverbally (1440b) or even as operators, both pre- (1440c) and postverbally (1440d).

(1440) • Positions of nominal adjuncts in simple sentences

- a. *Nyáron* a családunk elutazott Ausztriába.
summer.Sup the family.Poss.3Pl away.travel.Past.3Sg Austria.Ill
 ‘Our family took a trip to Austria *in summer*.’
- a’. A családunk *nyáron* elutazott Ausztriába.
 the family.Poss.3Pl *summer.Sup* away.travel.Past.3Sg Austria.Ill
 ‘Our family took a trip to Austria *in summer*.’
- b. Laci olvas *a szobában*.
 Laci read.3Sg *the room.Ine*
 ‘Laci is reading *in the room*.’
- c. Teri *csak a hét elején* tud jönni.
 Teri *only the week beginning.Poss.3Sg.Sup* can.3Sg come.Inf
 ‘Teri only can come at the beginning of the week.’
- d. Juli elolvas egy könyvet *minden héten*.
 Juli read.3Sg a book.Acc *every week.Sup*
 ‘Juli reads a book *every week*.’

The VMod also readily hosts nominal adjuncts, although it has to be noted that the reference of predicative nominal adjuncts may be ambiguous (Komlósy 1992). In example (1441a), for instance, *röptében* ‘mid flight’ may refer to a pigeon, but in principle, in an alternative world, or under very specific circumstances, it would be conceivable that it was Péter who was flying, when he shot the pigeon. Similarly, in example (1441b) the predicative noun phrase *tanárként* may refer to either Péter or Mari (either Péter or Mari was a teacher when they got acquainted). Note that example (1441a’) cannot be ambiguous, the only one who is afraid of something is Péter, and never the pigeon.

(1441) • Nominal adjuncts in VMod

- a. Péter *röptében* lőtte le a galambot.
 Péter *flight.Poss.3Sg.Ine* shoot.Past.DefObj.3Sg down the pigeon.Acc
 ‘Péter shot down the pigeon *mid-flight*.’
- a’. Péter *ijedtében* lőtte le a galambot.
 Péter *fright.Poss.3Sg.Ine* shot.Past.DefObj.3Sg down the pigeon.Acc
 ‘Péter shot down the pigeon *in fright*.’
- b. Péter *tanárként* ismerte meg Marit.
 Péter *teacher.For* get_to_know.Past.3Sg perf Mari.Acc
 ‘Péter got to know Mari *as a teacher*.’

Adjuncts of a subordinate verb can also appear in the left periphery of the matrix verb; however, it results in slightly ill-formed sentences. For more details, see E5.2.

(1442) • Nominal adjuncts of subordinate verbs in the matrix clause

- a. ^{??}*A héten* miért gondolsz, hogy elmentem moziba?
the week.Sup why think.DefObj.2Sg that go.Past.1Sg cinema.Ill
 ‘What makes you think that I went to the cinema *this week*?’

- b. ^{??}A *szobában* tudom, hogy Mari szokott olvasni.
the room.Ine know.DefObj.1Sg that Mari tend_to.Past.1Sg read.Inf
 'I know that Mari tends to read *in the room*.'

3.2.2. *Syntactic positions of nominal arguments and adjuncts of nouns*

In 2.1 we provided examples that may serve as evidence for the hypothesis that Hungarian nouns can have a (phonetically non-empty) postnominal complement zone which provides syntactic positions for nominal arguments and adjuncts. In this subsection, we will discuss in what positions they can appear in simple sentences, therefore extraction from subordinate clauses will only be briefly mentioned in a few examples. Both extraction and long distance dependencies are thoroughly discussed in the volume on finite embedding (E5), and the volume on the structure of main clauses (M2, M3 and M4).

3.2.2.1. *Syntactic positions of nominal arguments of nouns*

As mentioned in 2.1, it is worth dividing nominal arguments into possessors and non-possessor dependents.

A. *Possessors*

Generally speaking, a noun can have a possessor, be it an ordinary, story-picture, relational or deverbal noun. As we have already noted, of the two types of possessors which exist in Hungarian, only the unmarked variant has a fixed position. It can only appear within the noun phrase, and under no circumstances can it appear outside the noun phrase. Its position is after the article and before attributive adjectives and quantifiers (107).

- (1443) ● The post-D zone of the determining domain (107)
 [... **D** [... NP ...]_∅ ∇ DetP_{Dem} NumP [NP-domain] ...]

NAK possessors, on the other hand, can appear both in the pre-D domain and postnominally. We do not discuss this further at this point, since the chapter on complementation discusses it extensively (2.1). What is important here is the case when the NAK possessor leaves the noun phrase. Since it bears an overt case marker, it is allowed to leave the DP-shell.

First of all, we examine whether they can appear in the postverbal domain, outside the DP (1444).

- (1444) ● Extraction of NAK possessors into the postverbal domain
- a. ^{??}Tíz órát vett igénybe *Ilinek* tegnap a megoperálás-a.
 ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill *Ili.Dat* yesterday the operate.ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 'Operating [*on Ili*] took ten hours yesterday.'
- b. ^{??}Tíz órát vett igénybe [*Dr. Nagynak*] tegnap az operáció-ja.
 ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill *Dr. Nagy.Dat* yesterday the operation-Poss.3Sg
 '[*DR. NAGY'S*] operation took ten hours yesterday.'

- c. Megégett [*a fiadnak*] ^{?Agent / ^{??}Theme / ^{??}Owner} tegnap egy gyönyörű kép-e.
burn.Past.3Sg *the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat* yesterday a beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
'A beautiful picture [created by your son] / [about your son] / [owned by your son] got burned yesterday.'
- c'. ^{??}Megégett a [*szőke modellnek*] _{Theme} tegnap néhány gyönyörű fotó-ja.
burn.Past.3Sg *the blond model.Dat* yesterday a_few beautiful photo-Poss.3Sg
'A few beautiful photos [ABOUT THE BLOND MODEL] got burned yesterday.'
- d. ^{??}Megnéztem [*Federernek*] tegnap a meccs-é-t.
watch.Past.1Sg *Federer.Dat* yesterday the match-Poss.3Sg-Acc
'Yesterday I watched [FEDERER'S] match.'
- e. ^{??}Találkoztam [*Ilinek*] tegnap az unoká-já-val.
meet.Past.1Sg *Ili.Dat* yesterday the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
'I met [ILI'S] grandchild yesterday.'
- f. ^{??}Megégett [*a fiadnak*] tegnap az egyik póló-ja.
burn.Past.3Sg *the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat* yesterday the one_of T_shirt-Poss.3Sg
'One of the T-shirts [OF YOUR SON] got burned yesterday.'

As can be seen above, such sentences are more or less marginal. However, É. Kiss (2014) argues that the grammaticality judgment also depends on the affectedness of the possessor. She claims: "if the theme argument of the verb undergoes a change that also affects its possessor, the possessor can be realized as a clause level affected constituent, assigned a theta role by the verb, or licensed as a VP-adjunct" (É. Kiss 2014: 58). Her examples are the following (1445).

(1445) • Affected external possessors

- a. Megoperálták *Jánosnak* tegnap *a fülét*.
operate.DefObj.3Pl *János.Dat* yesterday *the ear.Poss.3Sg.Acc*
'John's ear was operated on yesterday.'
- a'. Kihúzták a *fiúknak* tegnap [*a fogát*] / [^{??}*a fogukat*].
out.pull.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the boy.Pl.Dat* yesterday *the tooth.Poss.3Sg.Acc* / *the tooth.Poss.3Pl.Acc*
'The boys' teeth were pulled out/the boys had their teeth pulled out yesterday.'
- b. ^{??}Átvilágították *a vendégeknek* a bejáratnál *a csomagjaikat*.
x-ray.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the guest.Pl.Dat* the entrance.Ade *the luggage.Poss.3Pl*
'They X-rayed the guests' bags at the entrance.'

In examples (1445a-a'), the extracted possessor can be interpreted as the affected argument of the verb. In (1445a'), native speakers tend to choose a non-agreeing version of the possessum (*fogát* 'his teeth.Acc' does not agree with the possessor in number). This also confirms the fact that it is interpreted as an argument of the verb. Example (1445b) shows that inalienability also plays a crucial role in judgments: bags are alienable possessums, therefore the sentence is not entirely well-formed.

Concerning the possessum itself, it has to be a theme argument of the matrix verb (an object (1446a) or an unaccusative subject (1446b); "the possessor of the subject of a transitive verb cannot be realized as an external possessor of this type" see (1446c) (É. Kiss 2014: 57).

(1446) ● Affected external possessors of different arguments of verbs

- a. [?]Megműtötték Péternek tegnap a lábát.
operate.Past.DefObj.3Pl Péter.Dat yesterday the leg.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'Péter's leg was operated on yesterday.'
- b. [?]Letörött a bögrének tegnap a füle.
down.break.Past.3Sg the mug.Dat yesterday the ear.Poss.3Sg
'The handle of the mug was broken off yesterday.'
- c. *Kihívta a fiúknak a rendőrséget a szomszédjuk.
call.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boys.Pl.Dat the police.Acc the neighbor.Poss.3Pl

É. Kiss (2014) makes the generalization that most external possessors are interpreted as affected arguments or adjuncts with a [+HUMAN] feature. She mentions, however, some counterexamples such as *kilyukad* 'get punctured', *elromlik* 'go wrong', *letörik* 'break off', *leszakad* 'tear off'. In these cases the possessor is inanimate (1447).

(1447) ● Affected external possessors can be inanimate

- a. [?]Leszakadt a táskának tegnap a füle.
off.tear.Past.3Sg the bag.Dat yesterday the ear.Poss.3Sg
'The handles of the bag came off yesterday.'
- b. Tönkrement a számítógépnek tegnap a merevlemeze.
break.Past.3Sg the computer.Dat yesterday the hard_drive.Poss.3Sg
'The hard disk of the computer got damaged yesterday.'

As we claimed in 2.1.2.5, the possessors of all types of nouns can appear in the left periphery of the sentence; however, they do not occur in the VMod position. They can appear as topics (1448), quantifiers (1450), and foci (1451), and they must satisfy the conditions concerning these information structural functions. Let us start with topicalization (1448).

(1448) ● Topicalization of possessors

- a. [*Ilinek*] tíz órát vett igénybe a meg-operál-ás-a.
Ili.Dat ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill the perf-operate-ás-Poss.3Sg
'Operating [on Ili] took ten hours.'
- b. ⁽²⁾[*Dr.Bárdossynak*]_{Agent} tíz órát vett igénybe az operáció-ja.
Dr. Bárdossy.Dat ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill the operation-Poss.3Sg
'[Dr. Bárdossy's] operation took ten hours.'
- c. [*A fiadnak*]_{Agent / [?]Theme / [?]Owner} megégett egy gyönyörű kép-e.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat burn.Past.3Sg a beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
'A beautiful picture [created by your son] / [of your son] / [owned by your son] got burned.'
- c'. [*A szőke modellnek*]_{Theme} megégett néhány gyönyörű fotó-ja.
the blonde model.Dat burn.Past.3Sg a_few beautiful photo-Poss.3Sg
'A few beautiful photos [of the blond model] got burned.'
- d. [*Federernek*] megnéztem a meccs-ét.
Federer.Dat watch.Past.1Sg the match-Poss.3Sg-Acc
'I watched [Federer's] match.'

- e. [*Ilinek*] találkoztam az unoká-já-val.
Ili.Dat meet.Past.1Sg the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘I met [*Ili*’s] grandchild.’
- f. [*A fiadnak*] megégett az egyik póló-ja.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat burn.Past.3Sg the one_of T_shirt-Poss.3Sg
 ‘One of the T-shirts [*of your son*] got burned.’

As can be seen in the examples in (1448), all types of possessors can be topicalized. É. Kiss (2014: 59) observes that “topicalization is only acceptable if it creates a meaningful predication relation between the possessor and the rest of the sentence.” Therefore, examples in (1449) are ill-formed.

- (1449) ● Violation of the rules of topicalization
- a. ^{*?}*A bicskának* megszereltem a zárat a hegyével.
the pocket_knife.Dat fix.Past.1Sg the lock.Acc the point.Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘The pocket knife, I fixed the lock with the point of it.’
- b. ^{??}*A süteménynek* lefagyasztottam egy részt a tésztaájából.
the cake.Dat down.freeze.Past.1Sg a part.Acc the pastry.Poss.3Sg.Ela
 ‘I froze a part of the cake.’

Possessors can also appear in a quantifier position (1450), and the possessor may take scope over the matrix verb. As can be seen in example (1450a’-a’), possessors can also occur in non-preverbal operator positions (after the nominal head) resulting in a wide-scope reading.

- (1450) ● Possessors in quantifier positions
- a. [*Ilinek is*] tíz órát vett igénybe a meg-operál-ás-a.
Ili.Dat also ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill the perf-operate-ás-Poss.3Sg
 ‘Operating [*on Ili*] also took ten hours.’
- a’. Tíz órát vett igénybe a meg-operál-ás-a *Ilinek is*.
ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill the perf-operate-ás-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat also
 ‘Operating [*on Ili*] also took ten hours.’
- a’’. Tíz órát vett igénybe a meg-operál-ás-a mindkét betegnek.
ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill the perf-operate-ás-Poss.3Sg both patient.Dat
 ‘Operating [*on both patients*] took ten hours.’
- b. ^(?)[*Dr. Bárdossynak is*]/[*mindkét orvosnak*] tíz órát vett igénybe
Dr. Bárdossy.Dat also/ both doctor.Dat ten hour.Acc take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill
az operáció-ja.
the operation-Poss.3Sg
 ‘[*Dr. Bárdossy*’s] operation also took ten hours./ ‘The operations of [*both doctors*] took ten hours’
- c. [*A fiadnak is*] / [*mindkét fiúnak*]_{Agent / ^{??}Theme / [✓]Owner} megégett
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also / both boy.Dat burn.Past.3Sg
a gyönyörű kép-e.
the beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
 ‘The beautiful picture [*created by your son*] / [*of your son*] / [*owned by your son*] also got burned.’ / ‘The beautiful picture [*by both boys*] / [*of the two boys*] / [*owned by the two boys*] got burned.’

- c'. [A *szőke modellnek is*] / [mindkét *modellnek*]_{Theme} megégett
the blond model.Dat also / both model.Dat burn.Past.3Sg
a gyönyörű fotó-ja.
the beautiful photo-Poss.3Sg
 'The beautiful photo [of the blond model] also got burned.' / 'The beautiful photos [of both models] got burned.'
- d. [Federernek *is*] / [mindkét *csapatnak*] megnéztem *a meccs-ét.*
Federer.Dat also / both team.Dat watch.Past.DefObj.1Sg the match-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 'I also watched [Federer's] match. / I watched the matches of [both of the teams].'
- e. [Ilinek *is*] / [mindkét *néninek*] találkoztam *az unoká-já-val.*
Ili.Dat also / both aunty.Dat meet.Past.1Sg the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 'I also met [Ili's] grandchild. / I met the grandchildren of both of the aunts.'
- f. [A *fiadnak is*] / [mindkét *fiúnak*] megégett *a póló-ja.*
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat also / both boy.Dat burn.Past.3Sg the T-shirt-Poss.3Sg
 'The T-shirt [of your son] also got burned. / Both boys got their T-shirts burned.'

As regards focusing, we remind the reader of the examples in (825). We applied focusing as a test used to distinguish arguments of nouns from nominal adjuncts, based on the fact that nominal arguments can be extracted from the noun phrase, in contrast to adjuncts. The examples in (1451) show that focusing is possible in the case of all possessor types, as well as wh-movement (1451a') and negation (1451a'').

(1451) • Focused possessors (825)

- a. [(Csak) *Ilinek*] vett igénybe tíz órát *a meg-operál-ás-a.*
only Ili.Dat take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill ten hour.Acc the perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 'Operating [on Ili] (only) took ten hours.'
- a'. [Melyik *betegnek*] vett igénybe tíz órát *a meg-operál-ás-a?*
which patient.Dat take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill ten hour.Acc the perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 'Operating [ON WHICH PATIENT] took ten hours?'
- a''). [Nem *Ilinek*] vett igénybe tíz órát *a meg-operál-ás-a.*
no Ili.Dat take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill ten hour.Acc the perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
 'It was not Ili, whose operation took ten hours.'
- b. ⁽²⁾[Dr. *Bárdossynak*]_{Agent} vett igénybe tíz órát *az operáció-ja.*
Dr. Bárdossy.Dat take.Past.3Sg claim.Ill ten hour.Acc the operation-Poss.3Sg
 '[DR. BÁRDOSSY'S] operation took ten hours.'
- c. [A *fiadnak*]_{(c)Agent / ?Theme / Owner} égett meg egy gyönyörű kép-e.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat burn.Past.3Sg perf a beautiful picture-Poss.3Sg
 'A beautiful picture [created by your son] / [of your son] / [owned by your son] got burned.'
- c'. [A *szőke modellnek*]_{Theme} égett meg néhány gyönyörű fotó-ja.
the blond model.Dat burn.Past.3Sg perf a few beautiful photo-Poss.3Sg
 'A few beautiful photos [OF THE BLOND MODEL] got burned.'
- d. [Federernek] néztem meg tegnáp *a meccs-ét.*
Federer.Dat watch.Past.DefObj.1Sg perf yesterday the match-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 'Yesterday I watched [FEDERER'S] match.'

- e. [*Ilinek*] találkoztam tegnap az unoká-já-val.
Ili.Dat meet.Past.1Sg yesterday the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘I met [*ILI’S*] grandchild yesterday.’
- f. [*A fiadnak*] égett meg az egyik póló-ja.
the son.Poss.2Sg.Dat burn.Past.3Sg perf the one_of T_shirt-Poss.3Sg
 ‘One of the T-SHIRTS [OF YOUR SON] got burned.’

If the matrix noun is not an argument of a verb, but an argument of an infinitive phrase, the possessor can also be extracted. Examples in which the possessor remains within the infinitive phrase are marginal (1452a), but it can appear in the operator zone of the infinitive construction (1452b) or in the left periphery of the sentence itself (1452c). If the infinitive construction is embedded in a subordinate clause, the possessor can also be extracted to the operator zone of the matrix verb (1452d), and it is also possible that the extracted possessor appears within the infinitive phrase while the remnant of the matrix noun phrase appears in the left periphery of the matrix verb (1452d’) (see also subsection 3.2.3).

(1452) ● Possessors of nouns which are arguments of infinitive phrases

- a. ^{??}Szeretnék találkozni *Ilinek* holnap az unoká-já-val.
 like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf *Ili.Dat* tomorrow the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘I would like to meet [*ILI’S*] grandchild tomorrow.’
- b. Szeretnék [*Ilinek is*] találkozni az unoká-já-val.
 like.Cond.1Sg *Ili.Dat* also meet.Inf the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘I would also like to meet [*ILI’S*] grandchild tomorrow.’
- b’. Szeretnék találkozni az unoká-já-val [*Ilinek is*].
 like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins *Ili.Dat* also
 ‘I would like to meet [*ILI’S*] grandchild tomorrow.’
- c. [*Ilinek is*] szeretnék találkozni az unoká-já-val.
Ili.Dat also like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘I would like to meet [*ILI’S*] grandchild tomorrow.’
- d. [*Ilinek is*] mondtad, hogy szeretnél találkozni az unoká-já-val.
Ili.Dat also say.Past.DefObj.2Sg that like.Cond.2Sg meet.Inf the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘You said that you would also like to meet [*ILI’S*] grandchild.’
- d.’ [?][Az unokájával] mondtad, hogy szeretnél találkozni *Ilinek*.
 the grandchild-Poss.3Sg-Ins say.Past.DefObj.2Sg that like.Cond.2Sg meet.Inf *Ili.Dat*
 ‘As for [*ILI’S*] grandchild, you said you would like to meet her/him.’

In certain cases, converbs are predicative complements of verbs (typically of the verb *hagy* ‘leave’ or *talál* ‘find’: ‘leave/find something/somebody in a state brought about by V’; (see Bartos 2009). Since these types of converbs stand in a VMod-position or in focus and VMod does not tolerate right-branching (1453b), nominal arguments cannot follow the converbial head within the phrase. In these special types of examples the possessor argument cannot leave its canonical position, it cannot appear either in the operator zone of the converb or in the operator zone of the verb (1453c-d).

- (1453) ● Possessors of nouns which are arguments of converbial arguments
- a. A rendőrség [*az apjának* a szobájába zárkózva]
 the police *the father.Poss.3Sg.Dat* the room.Poss.3Sg.Ill lock_up-Conv
 találta (meg) a fiatalembert.
 find.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the young_man.Acc
 ‘The police found the young man locked up in *his father’s* room.’
- b. *A rendőrség [zárkóz-va *az apjának* a szobájába]
 the police lock_up-Conv *the father.Poss.3Sg.Dat* the room.Poss.3Sg.Ill
 találta (meg) a fiatalembert.
 find.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the young_man.Acc
- c. *A rendőrség [a szobájába *az apjának* zárkóz-va]
 the police the room.Poss.3Sg.Ill *the father.Poss.3Sg.Dat* lock_up-Conv
 találta (meg) a fiatalembert.
 find.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the young_man.Acc
- d. **Az apjának* a rendőrség a szobájába zárkóz-va
the father.Poss.3Sg.Dat the police the room.Poss.3Sg.Ill lock_up-Conv
 találta (meg) a fiatalembert.
 find.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the young_man.Acc

Converbs are typically adjuncts. Nominal arguments of such converbs cannot leave the converbial construction (1454c). It is preferred for them to occur in the canonical position within the noun phrase (compare (1454a) and (1454a’)) and in the operator zone of the converb itself (compare (1454b) and (1454b’)).

- (1454) ● Possessors of nouns which are arguments of converbs
- a. [Elolvas-va *Péternek* a cikkét], felháborodtam.
 read-Conv *Péter.Dat* the paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc is_outraged.Past.1Sg
 ‘After reading *Péter’s* article, I was outraged.’
- a’. [^{??}Elolvasva *Péternek* tegnap a cikkét], felháborodtam.
 read-Conv *Péter.Dat* yesterday the paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc is_outraged.Past.1Sg
 ‘After reading *Péter’s* article yesterday, I was outraged.’
- b. [^(?)*Mindkét szerzőnek* elolvasva a cikkét], felháborodtam.
both author.Dat read-Conv the paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc is_outraged.Past.1Sg
 ‘After reading the articles by *both of the authors*, I was outraged.’
- b’. [[?]Elolvasva a cikkét *mindkét szerzőnek*], felháborodtam.
 read-Conv the paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc *both author.Dat* is_outraged.Past.1Sg
 ‘After reading the articles *by both of the authors*, I was outraged.’
- c. **Péternek* is felháborodtam elolvasva a cikkét.
Péter.Dat also is_outraged.Past.1Sg read-Conv the paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc

Arguments of attributively used adjectival participles have fewer possibilities for movement. They can only appear in their canonical pre-D position (compare (1455a) with (1455b-d)).

(1455) ● Possessors of nouns which are arguments of adjectival participle

- a. [?]Elfogták
 catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 [a *miniszternek* a lányát megerőszakoló] férfit.
the minister.Dat the girl.Poss.3Sg.Acc rape-Part man.Acc
 ‘The man who raped the daughter of *the minister* was caught.’
- b. *Elfogták
 catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 [a lányát a *miniszternek* megerőszakoló] férfit.
the girl.Poss.3Sg.Acc the minister.Dat rape-Part man.Acc
- c. ^{??}Elfogták
 catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 [a *miniszternek is* a lányát megerőszakoló] férfit.
the minister.Dat also the girl.Poss.3Sg.Acc rape-Part man.Acc
 ‘The man who also raped the daughter of *the minister* was caught.’
- d. *A *miniszternek is* elfogták a lányát megerőszakoló férfit.
the minister.Dat also catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg the girl.Poss.3Sg.Acc rape-Part man.Acc

Possessors belonging to nominal arguments of adjectives appear either within the DP (1456a) or in a preverbal operator (1456c); constructions with a possessor in the postadjectival domain are ill-formed (1456b).

(1456) ● Possessors of nouns which are arguments of adjectives

- a. Büszke *Péternek* a főnöke az új munkatársra.
 proud *Péter.Dat* the boss.Poss.3Sg the new colleague.Sub
 ‘*Péter’s* boss is proud of the new colleague.’
- b. *Büszke *Péternek* az új munkatársra a főnöke.
 proud *Péter.Dat* the new colleague.Sub the boss.Poss.3Sg
- c. [?]*Péternek* büszke a főnöke az új munkatársra.
Péter.Dat proud the boss.Poss.3Sg the new colleague.Sub
 ‘*Péter’s* boss is proud of the new colleague.’

B. Non-possessor arguments

Non-possessor arguments of nouns can also be extracted, and occur in the postverbal domain (1457). Note that the noun phrase *a fiatalabb korosztálynak* ‘for the younger age group’ in (1457b) can be interpreted as the argument of the verb *felolvas* ‘read’, and in this case the construction is perfectly well-formed. However, the interpretation of this constituent as a Beneficiary argument of the story-picture noun *cikk* ‘paper’ is difficult to accept.

(1457) ● Non-possessor arguments in the postverbal domain

- a. ^(?)Letettem *mondattanból* tegnap a vizsgát.
 pass.Past.DefObj.1Sg *syntax.Ela* yesterday *the exam.Acc*
 ‘I passed *the exam* [in *syntax*] yesterday.’

- b. Felolvastam[?] [attól a külpolitikai szakértőtől_{Agent}] / [a győztesről_{Theme}] /
 read.Past.1Sg that.Abl the foreign_policy.Adj expert.Abl / the winner.Del /
 ?? [a fiatalabb korosztálynak_{Beneficiary}] tegnap a cikket.
 the younger age_group.Dat yesterday the paper.Acc
 ‘Yesterday I read the paper [written by that expert in foreign policy] / [about the winner] / [for the younger age group].’

Although non-possessor arguments of nouns can be non-referential, as the examples in (1458) demonstrate, they cannot appear in the VMod-position, extracted from their nominal head. However, (1458a) is well-formed under a contrastive topic interpretation.

(1458) ● Non-possessor arguments in the VMod

- a. *Adjunktussá ellenzem a kinevezésedet.
 senior_lecturer.TrE object.DefObj.1Sg the promotion.Poss.2Sg.Acc
 ‘I object to your being promoted to senior lecturer.’
- b. *A banyának is szénné ellenzem az égetését.
 the witch.Dat also coal.TrE object.DefObj.1Sg the burning.Poss.3Sg.Acc

As was mentioned in 2.1.2, non-possessor arguments of nouns are unequivocally more difficult to extract than possessor arguments, presumably due to the absence of a reliable indicator of such as agreement. The extraction of non-possessor arguments also depends on other factors (for instance on the predicate itself), these phenomena call for further research. Therefore, we do not repeat the examples from subsection 2.1.2 here, but only show some examples for topicalization (1459a-b), focusing (1459a’-b’) and for non-possessor arguments in a quantifier position (1459a’’-b’’).

(1459) ● Non-possessor arguments in preverbal operators

- a. [Mondattanból] tegnap letettem a vizsgát.
 syntax.Ela yesterday pass.Past.1Sg the exam.Acc
 ‘I passes the exam [in syntax] yesterday.’
- a’. [Mondattanból] tettem le tegnap a vizsgát.
 syntax.Ela pass.Past.1Sg down yesterday the exam.Acc
 ‘It is the syntax exam that I passed yesterday.’
- a’’. [Mondattanból is] letettem tegnap a vizsgát.
 syntax.Ela also pass.Past.3Sg yesterday the exam.Acc
 ‘I also passed the syntax exam yesterday.’
- b. [Attól a külpolitikai szakértőtől_{Agent}] / [a győztesről_{Theme}] /
 that.Abl the foreign_policy.Adj expert.Abl / the winner.Del /
 [a fiatalabb korosztálynak_{Beneficiary}] elolvastam a cikket.
 the younger age_group.Dat read.Past.1Sg the paper.Acc
 ‘I read the paper [written by that expert in foreign policy] / [about the winner] / [for the younger age group].’

- b'. [Attól a külpolitikai szakértőtől_{Agent}] / [a győztesről_{Theme}] /
 that.Abl the foreign_policy.Adj expert.Abl / the winner.Del /
 [a fiatalabb korosztálynak_{Beneficiary}] olvastam el a cikket.
 the younger age_group.Dat read.Past.DefObj.1Sg away the paper.Acc
 'I read the paper [written by that expert in foreign policy] / [about the winner] / [for the younger age group].'
- b''. [Attól a külpolitikai szakértőtől is_{Agent}] / [a győztesről is_{Theme}] /
 that.Abl the foreign_policy.Adj expert.Abl also / the winner.Del also /
 [a fiatalabb korosztálynak is_{Beneficiary}] elolvastam a cikket.
 the younger age_group.Dat also read.Past.1Sg the paper.Acc
 'I read the paper [written by that expert in foreign policy] / [about the winner] / [for the younger age group].'

Non-possessor arguments are also able to leave the subordinate clause and appear in the preverbal domain of the matrix verb; however, the interpretation and the grammaticality of these sentences also depend on the matrix verb. The verb *mondta* 'say.Past.2Sg' may have a relative and a dative case-marked facultative argument, therefore examples in (1460b) are typical garden-path sentences; the extracted non-possessors are first interpreted as verbal arguments of the matrix verb.

(1460) • Non-possessor arguments: long distance movement

- a. ⁽²⁾*Mondattanból* mondtad, hogy letetted tegnap a vizsgát.
syntax.Ela say.Past.DefObj.2Sg that pass.Past.DefObj.2Sg yesterday the exam.Acc
 'It is [in *syntax*] that you said you passed the exam yesterday.'
- b. [?][Attól a külpolitikai szakértőtől_{Agent}] / [?][a győztesről_{Theme}] /
 that.Abl the foreign_policy.Adj expert.Abl / the winner.Del /
^{??}[a fiatalabb korosztálynak_{Beneficiary}] mondtad,
 the younger age_group.Dat say.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 hogy elolvastad a cikket.
 that read.Past.DefObj.2Sg the paper.Acc
 'You said that you read the paper [written by that expert in foreign policy] / [about the two finalists] / [for the younger age group].'

3.2.2.2. Syntactic positions of nominal adjuncts of nouns

Adjuncts categorically reject undergoing extraction, see the series of examples in (732), repeated here as (1461). The only exception is the relative case-marked satellite in (1461c), which shows some inclination for extraction. This indicates, in harmony with similar observations in the subsection on external-scope taking (2.2.1.4), that the satellite in question is somewhat more argument-like than the other satellites presented in this series of examples.

(1461) • Extraction in the case of nominal adjuncts of nouns

- a. *[Az első fényképen] vészett el tegnap a szőke lány.
 the first photo.Sup disappear.Past.3Sg away yesterday the blond girl
 Intended meaning: 'The blond girl [IN THE FIRST PHOTO] disappeared yesterday.'

- b. **[A fura csíkos pulóverben]* csalódott bennünk *a széke lány.*
the strange striped pullover.Ine be_disappointed.Past.1Sg Ine.1Pl the blond girl
 Intended meaning: 'The blond girl [IN THE STRANGE STRIPED PULLOVER] was disappointed at us.'
- c. ??*[A PVSZK-ból]* csókolt meg tegnap egy *csinos széke lány.*
the PVSZK-Ela kiss.Past.3Sg perf yesterday a pretty blond girl
 'A pretty blond girl [from PVSZK] kissed me yesterday.'
- d. *?*[Színaranyból]* vezett el tegnap egy óra.
fine_gold.Ela disappear.Past.3Sg away yesterday a watch
 'A watch [OF FINE GOLD] disappeared yesterday.'
- e. **[Kedden]* volt két hétig beszédtema *Ili meg-látogat-ás-a.*
Tuesday.Sup be.Past.3Sg two week.Ter topic Ili perf-visit-As-Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Visiting Ili [ON TUESDAY] served as a hot topic for two weeks.'
- e'. **[Kedden]* volt két hétig beszédtema *dr. Bárdossy egyik látogatása.*
Tuesday.Sup be.Past.3Sg two week.Ter topic Dr. Bárdossy one_of visit.Poss.3Sg
 Intended meaning: 'Dr. Bárdossy's visit [ON TUESDAY] served as a hot topic for two weeks.'

3.2.3. Syntactic positions of nominal arguments and adjuncts of non-finite constructions

This subsection discusses nominal arguments and adjuncts of non-finite constructions: infinitives (part A), converbs (part B) and adjectival participles (part C). Since a whole volume deals with non-finite construction (see volume F), we only summarize the main observations here.

A. Nominal arguments and adjuncts of infinitives

Apart from nominative case-marked subjects, all other types of arguments are possible in infinitival phrases. The subject of an infinitival head is identical with the subject (1462a) or with the accusative or dative object of the main clause (see 1462b), and it does not appear anywhere in the construction; if the subject argument of the infinitive is overt, it hosts the dative suffix *-nAk* (1462d-e).

(1462) • Subjects of infinitives

- a. Péter megpróbál javítani az eredményén.
Péter attempt.3Sg improve.Inf the result.Poss.3Sg
 'Péter tries to improve his results.'
- b. Láttam Pétert megérkezni.
See.Past.1Sg Péter.Acc arrive.Inf
 'I saw Péter arriving.'
- c. Engedtem Gizinek vezetni a kocsimat.
allow.Past.1Sg Gizi.Dat drive.Inf the car.Poss.1Sg.Acc
 'I allowed Gizi to drive my car.'
- d. Péternek nehéz letennie a nyelvvizsgát.
Péter.Dat hard pass.Inf.3Sg the language_exam.Acc
 'It is hard for Péter to pass the language exam.'

- e. Julinak korán kell kelnie.
 Juli.Dat early must rise.Inf.3Sg
 ‘Juli has to get up early.’

Other arguments may appear in the complement zone of the infinitival head (1463a). Note that free scrambling of arguments/adjuncts is also allowed in the case of infinitives, just like in the case of verbs, and is discussed in detail in volume F. Whether the relevant elements actually remain in a post-head position, or they are extracted to the postverbal zone of the matrix verb is a question requiring further research, and we take no stance regarding the issue here. Nominal arguments can also stand directly before the infinitival head (a position which corresponds to the VMod position in an infinitival phrase, see (1463a’); in a preverbal operator position of the verb (1463c) or in that of the matrix verb in the case of subordination (1463d).

Given the fact that infinitives are verbal in the sense that they can have an operator zone, nominal arguments of infinitives can also appear in operator positions within the infinitival construction (1463b-b’’). They can stand in a topic position (1463b); however, the contrastive topic interpretation (and the *na például* ‘well for instance’ context) is impossible. Without any restriction, nominal arguments may stand in focus (1463b’) or in a *mind-* or *is-*quantifier within the infinitival construction (1463b’’-b’’’). In focus, the verbal modifier can precede or follow the infinitival head (1463b’).

(1463) • Nominal arguments of infinitives

- a. Szeretném [megnéz-ni a meccset].
 like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg watch-Inf the match.Acc
 ‘I would like to watch *the match*.’
- a’. Szeretnék [meccset néz-ni].
 like.Cond.1Sg match.Acc watch-Inf
 ‘I like to watch *matches*.’
- b. Szeretném [(*)na például] a meccset megnéz-ni].
 like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg well_for_instance the match.Acc watch-Inf
 ‘I would like to watch *the match*.’
- b’. Szeretném [a ‘meccset megnéz-ni / [néz-ni meg]].
 like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg the match.Acc watch-Inf / watch-Inf perf
 ‘What I would like to watch is *the match*.’
- b’’. Szeretném [[a meccset is] / [mindkét meccset] megnéz-ni].
 like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg the match.Acc also / both match.Acc watch-Inf
 ‘I would like to watch [*the match as well*] / [*both matches*].’
- b’’’. Szeretném [megnéz-ni [a meccset is] / [mindkét meccset]].
 like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg watch-Inf the match.Acc also / both match.Acc
 ‘I would like to watch [*the match as well*] / [*both matches*].’
- c. A meccset (is) szeretném megnéz-ni.
 the match-Acc also like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg watch-Inf
 ‘I would like to watch *the match as well*.’

- d. *A meccset* mondtam, hogy szeretném megnéz-ni.
the match-Acc say.Past.DefObj.1Sg that like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg watch-Inf
 'I said that I would like to watch *the match*.'

As for nominal adjuncts of infinitives, they can also appear in the positions listed above, see (1464).

(1464) ● Nominal adjuncts of infinitives

- a. Szeretek [tanul-ni *a könyvtárban*].
 like.Cond.1Sg learn-Inf *the library.Ine*
 'I like to learn *in the library*.'
- b. Szeretek [(**na például*) *a könyvtárban* tanulni].
 like.Cond.1Sg well_for instance *the library.Ine* learn-Inf
 'I like to learn *in the library*.'
- b'. Szeretem [*a 'könyvtárban* megír-ni/ [ír-ni meg] a házit].
 like.Cond.1Sg *the library.Ine* write-Inf / write-Inf perf the homework.Acc
 'I like to write the homework *in the library*.'
- b''. Szeretem [*a könyvtárban is* átolvas-ni a házit].
 like.Cond.1Sg *the library.Ine* also across_read-Inf the homework.Acc
 'I like to thoroughly read the homework *in the library also*.'
- c. *A könyvtárban (is)* szeretek tanul-ni.
the library.Ine also like.Cond.1Sg learn-Inf
 'I like to learn *in the library also*.'
- d. *A könyvtárban* mondtam, hogy szeretek tanul-ni.
the library.Ine say.Past.DefObj.1Sg that like.Cond.1Sg learn-Inf
 'I said I like to learn *in the library*.'

As mentioned in the explanation of the examples in (133), an adjunct belonging to an infinitival head instead of the matrix verb can lead to semantic differences. In (1465a), the locative adjunct *Budapesten* 'in Budapest' belongs to the matrix verb *tanulok* 'I learn'. In (1465b), however, the same locative adjunct is understood to belong to the infinitival head *vezetni* 'to drive'.

(1465) ● Nominal adjuncts of infinitives and of verbs

- a. Soha nem [_{VP} *tanulok meg vezet-ni* [_{DP} Budapest-en]].
 never not *learn.1Sg* perf drive-Inf Budapest-Sup
 'I will never *learn* how to drive in Budapest.'
 That is, 'Budapest is not suitable for me to learn how to drive.'
- b. Soha nem tanulok meg [_{InfP} *vezet-ni* [_{DP} Budapest-en]].
 never not learn.1Sg perf *drive-Inf* Budapest-Sup
 'I will never learn how *to drive* in Budapest.'
 That is, 'It is difficult to drive in Budapest; I will never learn that.'

B. Nominal arguments and adjuncts of converbs

There are two types of converbs in Hungarian: *-vÁn* converbs are rare, stylistically marked and, for many native speakers, almost archaic; in modern Hungarian the *-vA* type is the more common form (see volume F). As mentioned above in 3.1,

converbs can also have nominal arguments, but their ability to take a subject also depends on their form. In the case of *-vA* converbs expressing manner, the subject is identical with the subject of the verb (1466a-a'). However, in the case of *-vÁN* converbs the subject of the converb can be different from the subject of the verb. In the example (1466b) the converb of a natural phenomenon is considered subjectless, the subject of the sentence is the noun phrase *a turisták* 'the tourists'. In (1466b') Géza is falling over himself, and János is smiling (Sárik 1998). In other cases, when the subject is phonologically empty, the subject of a *-vÁN* converb corresponds to the subject of the matrix verb (1466a).

If the converb expresses state, the *-vÁN* type is excluded, and the subject is not obligatorily identical with the subject of the verb, it can also be identified with the object. Example (1466c) has two meanings: either Juli or Józsi was standing at the door.

(1466) ● The subject of converbs

- a. [A szobába belép-ve / belép-vén] Julcsi megdöbönt.
 the room.Ill step_in-Conv / step_in-Conv Julcsi is_surprised.Past.3Sg
 'Juli was surprised when she entered the room.'
- a'. *[János a szobába belép-ve] Julcsi megdöbönt.
 János the room.Ill step_in-Conv Julcsi is_surprised.Past.3Sg
- b. [Beesteled-vén /*beesteled-ve] a turisták hazamentek.
 evening_fall-Conv / evening-fall-Conv the tourist.Pl go_home.Past.3Pl
 'The tourists went home when evening fell.'
- b'. [Géza elbotol-ván /*elbotol-va] Jóska elmosolyodott.
 Géza stumble-Conv / fall_over-Conv Jóska smile.Past.3Sg
 'Jóska broke into a smile when Géza stumbled over something.'
- c. Juli [az ajtóban áll-va] pillantotta meg Józsit.
 Juli the door stand-Conv catch_sight_of.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Józsi.Acc
 'Juli caught sight of Józsi standing in the door.'

If the converb takes part in a so-called passive-like construction (in which the lexical verb is the converb, and the inflectional categories are marked on the copula, see Alberti (1998a)), a case-marked nominal argument can leave the construction, and occur after the converbial head (1467a), even if it is an operator (1467b), or in a preverbal operator of the verb (1467c). If the converb is in an embedded subordinate clause, extraction of the case-marked element leads to a barely acceptable result (1467d).

(1467) ● Positions of nominal arguments of converbs in passive constructions

- a. Az idős hölgy ki volt merül-ve a sétától.
 the old lady out be.Past.3Sg get_tired-Conv the walk.Abl
 'The old lady got tired of the walk.'
- b. Az idős hölgy ki volt merül-ve a sétától is.
 the old lady out be.Past.3Sg get_tired-Conv the walk.Abl also
 'The old lady also got tired of the walk.'

- c. Az idős hölgy *a sétától is* ki volt merül-ve.
 the old lady *the walk.Abl also* out be.Past.3Sg get_tired_-Conv
 ‘The old lady *also* got tired *of the walk*.’
- d. *[?]A *sétától is* hallottam, hogy ki volt merül-ve
the walk.Abl also hear.Past.DefObj.1Sg that out be.Past.3Sg get_tired-Conv
 az idős hölgy.
 the old lady
 ‘I heard that the old lady *also* got tired *of the walk*.’

As mentioned in connection with the examples in (1453), converbs may be predicative complements of the verbs *hagy* ‘leave’ and *talál* ‘find’: Since these types of converbs stand in a VMod-position or in focus, nominal arguments cannot follow the converbial head within the phrase, see (1468b). Just like possessors, case-marked nominal arguments cannot leave converbs in these cases (1468c).

(1468) • Nominal arguments of converbs in predicative function

- a. A férfit [*az ágyhoz köt-ve*] találták (meg).
 the man.Acc *the bed.All fasten-Conv* find.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
 ‘They found the man *fastened to the bed*.’
- b. *A férfit [*odaköt-ve az ágyhoz*] találták (meg).
 the man.Acc fasten-Conv *the bed.All* find.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
- c. **Az ágyhoz* a férfit *odaköt-ve* találták.
the bed.All the man fasten-Conv find.Past.DefObj.3Pl

Converbs are typically adjuncts. Nominal arguments of such converbs cannot leave the converbial construction (1469d). They can appear after the adverbial head, directly before the head (1469b) and in the operator zone of the converb itself (1469c-c’). Contrastive topics cannot occur within a converb, a quantifier (1469c’’) and a focus is possible (1469c’). In the case of a focus (1469c’), the verb modifier can precede or follow the infinitival head; however, for many native speakers the latter solution is never well-formed, since sentential focus requires head-finality (É. Kiss 2002: 223). At the same time, Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi (1998: 170) claim that if a focused element occurs within the converbial construction, “it is only acceptable if the clause can itself be focused”. This phenomenon calls for further research, since native speaker judgments are not unequivocal in this question.

(1469) • Nominal arguments of converbs

- a. [*Elovas-va harminc könyvet*] Péter megkapná a jelest.
 read-Conv *thirty book.Acc* Péter get.Cond.DefObj.3Sg the best_grade.Acc
 ‘Péter would get the best grade if he read *thirty books*.’
- b. Péter [*könyvet olvas-va*] fekszik az ágyon.
 Péter *book.Acc* read-Conv lie.3Sg the bed.Sup
 ‘Péter is lying on the bed, reading *a book*.’
- c. [*Harminc könyvet elolvas-va*], Péter megkapná a jelest.
thirty book.Acc read-Conv Péter get.Cond.DefObj.3Sg the best_grade.Acc
 ‘Péter would get the best grade if he read *thirty books*.’

- c'. Péter [*csak harminc könyvet* elolvas-va / [°olvas-va el]]
 Péter only thirty book.Acc read-Conv / read-Conv away
 [kapná meg] / °megkapná a jelest.
 get.Cond.DefObj.3Sg perf / get.Cond.DefObj.3Sg the best_grade.Acc
 'Péter would get the best grade, *only* if he read *thirty books*.'
- c''. [*Esterházy regényét is* / *Esterházy mindkét regényét* elolvas-va]
Esterházy novel.Poss.3Sg.Acc also / Esterházy both novel.Poss.3Sg.Acc read-Conv
 Péter megkapná a jelest.
 Péter get.Cond.DefObj.3Sg the best_grade.Acc
 'Péter would get the best grade, if he also read the novel by Esterházy/ both novels by Esterházy'.
- d. * [Elolvas-va] Péter megkapná *harminc könyvet* a jelest.
 read-Conv Péter get.Cond.DefObj.3Sg *thirty book.Acc* the best_grade.Acc

As far as nominal adjuncts of converbs are concerned, they cannot leave the converbial phrase (1470d). Within a converb, they can stand after or before the converbial head (1470a-b) or in the operator zone of the converb (1470c-c').

(1470) • Nominal adjuncts of converbs

- a. [Átolvas-va *a könyvtárban* a jegyzeteit], Péter elindult órára.
 read-Conv *the library.Ine* the note.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc Péter leave_for.Past.3Sg class.Sub
 'Having read through his notes *in the library*, Péter set off for class.'
- b. [*A könyvtárban* átolvas-va a jegyzeteit], Péter elindult órára.
the library.Ine read-Conv the note.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc Péter leave_for.Past.3Sg class.Sub
 'Having read through his notes *in the library*, Péter set off for class.'
- c. [*A könyvtárban is* átolvas-va a jegyzeteit], Péter elindult órára.
the library.Ine also read-Conv the note.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc Péter leave_for.Past.3Sg class.Sub
 'Having read through his notes *in the library also*, Péter set off for class.'
- c'. [*Csak a könyvtárban* olvas-va át a jegyzeteit],
only the library.Ine read-Conv through the note.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc
 Péter elindult órára.
 Péter leave_for.Past.3Sg class.Sub
 'Having read through his notes *only in the library*, Péter set off for class.'
- d. *Péter *a könyvtárban* indult el átolvas-va a jegyzeteit.
 Péter *the library.Ine* leave_for.Past.3Sg away read-Conv the note.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc

C. Nominal arguments and adjuncts of adjectival participles

In Hungarian, there are three types of adjectival participles: -Ó, -(V)(t)t and -AndÓ participles (see volume F). The subject of adjectival participles is never realized in the phrase itself, it must be identified with an external element. Since adjectival participles are used as attributive constituents, their subject corresponds to the nominal head they modify (Laczkó 2000d: 409).

In this subsection, we do not deal with the peculiar type of -(t)t participles in which the subject can appear besides the attributively used adjectival participle (see example (1471b')). In this rare construction, a special agreement marker appears

after the *-(t)t* suffix, which has been analyzed in radically different ways in the literature. For the debates and the detailed analysis, see volume F.

(1471) • Types of adjectival participles

- a. [[A feladatot elsőként *megold-ó*] diák] jelest kapott.
 the task.Acc first solve-Part student best_grade.Acc get.Past.3Sg
 ‘The student who could *solve* the task first got the best grade.’
- b. [A *megold-ott* feladat] nehéz volt.
 the solve-Part task difficult be.Past.3Sg
 ‘The *solved* task was difficult.’
- b’. Nagyon tetszik [[a mérnök *épít-ett-e*] ház].
 very.much please.3Sg the engineer build-Part-3Sg house
 ‘I very much like the house *built* by the engineer.’
- c. [A következő *megold-andó* feladat is] nehéz volt.
 the next solve-Part task also difficult be.Past.3Sg
 ‘The next task *to solve* was also difficult.’

All of the adjectival participles retain the argument structure of their base verb, excluding the phonetically empty subject. The input verbs of *-Ó* participles is not restricted to a certain type of verb, while *-(t)t* participles are formed from transitive or unaccusative verbs, *-Andó* participles are formed from transitive verbs.

Nominal arguments of attributive adjectival participles have the fewest possibilities of movement. They can only appear before the participial head, in the position corresponding to the VMod position (1472a-c), or in an operator (1473).

(1472) • Nominal arguments of adjectival participles

- a. [_{DP}Egy, [_{PartP} a piacon *almát* árul-ó] néivel] készítettem interjút.
 a the market.Sup apple.Acc sell-Part aunty.Ins do.Past.DefObj.1Sg interview.Acc
 ‘I did an interview with a lady who sold *apples* in the market.’
- b. [_{DP}Egy [_{PartP} *darabokra* tör-t] tányért] találtam a konyhában.
 a piece.Pl.Sub break-Part plate find.Past.DefObj.1Sg the kitchen.Ine
 ‘In the kitchen, I found a plate broken *to pieces*.’
- c. ?[[_{DP}A [_{PartP} *tömegoktatássá* változtat-andó] felsőoktatás] gondolata]
 the mass_education.TrE change-Part upper_education thought.Poss.3Sg
 nem tetszhet mindenkinek.
 no please.Mod.3Sg everyone.Dat
 ‘Higher education to be turned into *mass education* will not please everyone.’

Within an adjectival participle, all operator types are permissible, except contrastive topics: topics (1473a,b,c), quantifiers (1473a’,b’,c’) and foci (1473a”,b”,c”).

(1473) • Nominal arguments of adjectival participles

- a. [_{DP}[_{PartP} A *feladatot* kiválóan *megold-ó*] diák] jutalmat kap.
 the exercise.Acc outstandingly solve-Part student prize.Acc get.3Sg
 ‘The student having solved *the task* outstandingly, will receive a prize.’

- a'. [DP_[PartP] [A *legnehezebb feladatot is*] / [A *mindkét nehéz feladatot*] megold-ó] diák]
 the most_difficult task.Acc also / the both difficult task.Acc solve-Part student
 jutalmat kap.
 prize.Acc get.3Sg
 'The student having also solved *the most difficult task/both difficult tasks*, will receive a prize.'
- a''. [DP_A [PartP *csak az első feladatot*] megold-ó diák] nem kap jutalmat.
 the only the first task.Acc solve-Part student no get.3Sg prize.Acc
 'The student who *only* solved *the first task* will not receive a prize.'
- b. [DP_A [PartP *Marinak*] bemutat-ott vendégeket] te is ismered.
 the *Mari.Dat* introduce-Part guest.Pl.Acc you also know.DefObj.2Sg
 'You know the guest well who were introduced *to Mari*.'
- b'. [DP_A [PartP [*Marinak is*] / [*mindkét házigazdának*]] bemutat-ott vendégeket]
 the *Mari.Dat* also / both *host.Dat* introduce-Part guest.Pl.Acc
 te is ismered.
 you also know.DefObj.2Sg
 'You also know the guests introduced *to Mari/to both hosts*.'
- b''. [DP_A [PartP *csak Marinak*] bemutat-ott vendégeket]
 the *only Mari.Dat* introduce-Part guest.Pl.Acc
 luxushotelben szállásolták el.
 luxury_hotel.Ine accommodate.Past.3Pl away.
 'The guests who were *only* introduced *to Mari* were accommodated in a luxury hotel.'
- c. [[DP_{Egy} [PartP *Marinak*] bemutat-andó] vendég] sem érkezett meg.
 one *Mari.Dat* introduce-Part guest nor arrive.Past.3Sg perf
 'None of the guest to be introduced *to Mari* arrived.'
- c'. [[DP_A [PartP [*Marinak is*] / [*mindkét házigazdának*]] bemutat-andó] vendégek]
 the *Mari.Dat* also / both *host.Dat* introduce-Part guest.Pl
 nem érkeztek meg.
 not arrive.Past.3Pl perf
 'The guest to be also introduced *to Mari/both hosts* did not arrive.'
- c'''. ?[[DP_A [PartP *csak Marinak*] bemutat-andó vendégeket]
 the *only Mari.Dat* introduce-Part guest.Pl.Acc
 luxushotelben szállásolják el.
 luxury_hotel.Ine accommodate.DefObj.3Pl away.
 'The guests to be introduced *only to Mari* will be accommodated in a luxury hotel.'

Nominal adjuncts behave like nominal arguments in adjectival participles; they can stand in a topic, but not in a contrastive topic (see examples (1474a,b,c)), in a quantifier (1474a',b',c'), and in a focus position (1474a'',b'',c'').

(1474) • Nominal adjuncts of adjectival participles

- a. [DP_A [PartP *9.A osztályban*] tanít-ó] kolléga] megbetegedett.
 the *9.A class.Ine* teach-Part colleague get_ill.Past.3Sg
 'The colleague who is teaching *in class 9A* got ill.'

- a'. [DP_A [PartP [9.A *osztályban is*] [*mindkét 9. osztályban*] tanít-ó] kolléga]
 the 9.A class.Ine also / both 9th class.Ine teach-Part colleague
 megbetegedett.
 get_ill.Past.3Sg
 'The colleague [who is *also* teaching in class 9A][who is teaching in *both 9th classes*] got ill.'
- a''. [DP_A [PartP *csak a 9.A osztályban* tanít-ó] kolléga] betegedett meg.
 the only the 9.A class.Ine teach-Part colleague get_ill.Past.3Sg perf
 'The colleague who is *only* teaching in class 9A got ill.'
- b. [DP_{Az} [PartP *általános iskolában* tanít-ott] nyelvtani témakörök]
 the elementary school.Ine teach-Part grammar.Attr topic.Pl
 gimnáziumban is megjelennek.
 secondary_school.Ine also appear.3Pl
 'Grammar topics which are taught in *elementary schools* also appear in secondary schools.'
- b'. [DP_{Az} [PartP *általános iskolában is* tanít-ott nyelvtani témakörök]
 the elementary school.Ine also teach-Part grammar.Attr topic.Pl.Acc
 könnyebb tanítani a középiskolában.
 easier teach.Inf the secondary_school.Ine
 'Grammar topics which are *also* taught in *elementary schools* can be easier to teach in secondary schools.'
- b''. [DP_A [PartP *csak a gimnáziumban* tanít-ott nyelvtani témakörök]
 the only the secondary school.Ine teach-Part grammar.Attr topic.Pl
 nehezen érthetőek.
 difficult understandable.Pl
 'Grammar topics which are *only* taught in *secondary schools* are hard to understand.'
- c. [[DP_{Az} [PartP *általános iskolában* tanít-andó nyelvtani témakörök]
 the elementary school.Ine teach-Part grammar.Attr topic.Pl.Acc
 nem szeretem.
 no like.DefObj.1Sg
 'I do not like grammar topics which have to be taught in *elementary schools*.'
- c'. [[DP_{Az} [*általános iskolában is* tanít-andó nyelvtani témakörök száma]
 the elementary school.Ine also teach-Part grammar.Attr topic.Pl number.Poss.3Sg
 túl magas.
 too high.
 'The number of grammar topics which have *also* to be taught in *elementary schools* is too high.'
- c.''' [DP_A [*csak a gimnáziumban* tanít-andó nyelvtani témakörök] érdekesek.
 the only the secondary school.Ine teach-Part grammar.Attr topic.Pl interesting.Pl
 'Grammar topics which have *only* to be taught in *secondary schools* are interesting.'

3.2.4. Syntactic positions of nominal arguments and adjuncts of adjectives

This section discusses nominal arguments and adjuncts of adjectives. As is well known, an adjectival phrase can function either as an adjunct (1475a), or a predicate (1475b) within the sentence. As the ability of nominal arguments and adjuncts to extract out of an adjectival phrase is influenced heavily by whether the adjectival phrase itself is an adjunct or an argument, we will always explicitly indicate which use a given example is meant to illustrate (see A4.1 and A4.2).

- (1475) ● Attributive and predicative use of adjectives
- a. A fiára büszke apa mindenkinek dicsekszik.
 the son.Poss.3Sg.Sub proud father everyone.Dat boast.3Sg
 ‘The father proud of his son is boasting to everyone.’
 - b. Az apa büszke a fiára.
 the father proud the son.Poss.3Sg.Sub
 ‘The father is proud of his son.’

3.2.4.1. Nominal arguments of adjectives

In Hungarian, the vast majority of adjectives take no arguments, and those that do subcategorize for an argument marked with a specific oblique case suffix. It is important to note that most arguments of adjectives are optional, and may, as a consequence, be omitted from the sentence (1476a). There are certain adjectives, however, in the case of which omitting the argument either produces ungrammaticality (1476d), or triggers an entirely different reading. In (1476c) for instance, *Péter rossz* ‘Péter is naughty’ is a well-formed sentence, describing Péter’s lack of discipline. A *Péter rossz matekból* ‘Péter is bad at math’ (1476c), on the other hand, makes a statement about Péter’s lack of proficiency at math. In the next examples, we illustrate most oblique-marked arguments adjectives may take. Note that no adjective subcategorizes for an accusative case-marked argument.

- (1476) ● Case-marked arguments of adjectives
- a. Péter büszke/mérges/dühös/ féltékeny (Marira).
 Péter proud /angry /furious /jealous Mari.Sub
 ‘Péter is proud of/angry at/ furious at/jealous of Mari.’
 - b. Péter tehetséges (a fociban).
 Péter talented the football.Ine
 ‘Péter is talented (at football).’
 - c. Péter rossz / jó #(matekból).
 Péter bad / good math.Ela
 ‘Péter is bad/good # (at math).’
 - d. Ez az ügy kapcsolatos *(Jani hűtlenségével).
 This a case concern Jani infidelity
 ‘This case is concerned with Jani’s infidelity.’
 - e. Péter hálás (Marinak) (a segítségért).
 Péter grateful Mari.Dat the help.Cau
 ‘Péter is grateful (to Mari) (for her help).’
 - f. Péter hasonló *(az apjához).
 Péter similar the father.Poss.3Sg.All
 ‘Péter is similar to his father.’
 - g. Péter független (a szüleitől).
 Péter independent the parents.Poss.3Sg.Abl
 ‘Péter is independent (of his parents).’
 - h. Péter híres (a becsületességéről).
 Péter famous the righteousness.Poss.3Sg.Del
 ‘Péter is famous (for his honesty).’

In the examples above, the adjective functions as a predicate, but the same arguments may appear when the adjective functions as a modifier. The optional status of arguments is also retained: in the examples in (1477a) the argument is optional, in the example (1477b), the argument is obligatory.

(1477) • Arguments of attributive adjectives

- a. A (Marira) mérges/dühös /féltékeny Péter tegnap összetörte
 The Mari.Sub angry /furious /jealous Péter yesterday break.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 a közös képüket.
 the common picture.Poss.3Pl.Acc
 'Péter, angry at/furious at/jealous of Mari, smashed their picture yesterday.'
- b. A (fociban) tehetséges fiút kitüntették.
 the (football.Ine) talented boy.Acc award.Past.DefObj.3Pl
 'The boy talented at football was granted an award.'
- c. A #(matekból) rossz fiút korrepetálni kell.
 the math.Ela bad boy.Acc coach.Inf must
 'The boy bad at math needs to be given private lessons.'
- f. A *(Jani hűtlenségével) kapcsolatos pletyka válságot okozott.
 the Jani infidelity.Ins concerning rumor crisis.Acc cause.Past.3Sg
 'The rumor about Jani's infidelity has caused a crisis.'
- h. A (becsületességéről) híres Pétert mindenki tiszteli.
 the righteousness.Del famous Péter.Acc everyone respect.DefObj.3Sg
 'Péter, famous for his righteousness, is respected by everyone.'

In the case of predicative adjectives, the adjective is immediately adjacent to its argument in declarative neutral sentences if the subject is third person singular. (1478a) In every other case, the copula is inserted between the two expressions. (1478b-c).

(1478) • Nominal arguments of predicative adjectives

- a. Péter büszke (Marira).
 Péter proud Mari.Sub
 'Péter is proud (of Mari).'
- b. Péter büszke volt Marira.
 Péter proud be.Past.3Sg Mari.Sub
 'Péter was proud (of Mari).'
- c. Büszke vagyok Marira.
 proud be.1Sg Mari.Sub
 'I am proud (of Mari).'

If the adjective has two arguments, their order is not strict (1479a-a'). In non-declarative neutral sentences, with a third person subject, both arguments obligatorily stand after the copula (1479b).

(1479) • Adjectives which have more than one nominal argument

- a. Péter hálás *Marinak a segítségért*.
 Péter grateful *Mari.Dat the help.Cau*
 'Péter is grateful to Mari for her help.'

- a'. Péter hálás *a segítségért* Marinak.
 Péter grateful *the help.Cau* Mari.Dat
 'Péter is grateful to Mari for her help.'
- b. Hálás vagyok Marinak *a segítségért*.
 grateful be.1Sg Mari.Dat *the help.Cau*
 'I am grateful to Mari for her help.'

The arguments of predicative adjectives can also occur in operator positions, both as postadjectival operators (1480a) or, in the left periphery of the verb, as focus (1480b), quantifier (1480c) or topic.

(1480) • Nominal arguments of adjectives in sentential operators

- a. Péter alkalmas *mindenféle* munkára.
 Péter capable *every_kind_of* job.Sub
 'Péter is suitable for all kinds of jobs.'
- b. Péter *csak* Marinak volt hálás.
 Péter *only* Mari.Dat be.Past.3Sg grateful
 'Péter was only grateful to MARI.'
- c. Péter *minden sportban* jó volt.
 Péter *every sport.Ine* good be.Past.3Sg
 'Péter was good at every sport.'
- d. *A munkára* Péter volt alkalmas.
the job.Sub Péter be.Past.3Sg suitable
 'It is Péter who was suitable for the job.'

Nominal arguments of adjectives may also be extracted from a subordinate clause and assume a position within the left periphery of the matrix verb (1481).

(1481) • Long distance movement in the case of nominal arguments of adjectives

- a. *Erre a munkára* tudom, hogy Péter lett volna alkalmas.
this.Sub the job.Sub know.DefObj.1Sg that Péter become.Past.3Sg be.Cond suitable
 'As regards this job, I know that Péter would have been capable of it.'
- b. *Erre a munkára is* tudom, hogy Péter lett volna alkalmas.
this.Sub the job.Sub also know.DefObj.1Sg that Péter become.Past.3Sg be.Cond suitable
 'About this job too (among others), I know that Péter would have been capable of it.'
- c. *Csak erre a munkára* szeretném, hogy Péter alkalmas legyen.
only this.Sub the job.Sub like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg that Péter suitable be.Subj.3Sg
 'It is only this job which I would like Péter to be capable of.'

In the case of attributive adjectives, arguments are obligatorily removed from the postadjectival zone (1482a). Apart from this constraint, however, they may occur within any operator position within the AP itself (focus (1482b), quantifier (1482c), topic (1482d)). At the same time, these arguments are prohibited from leaving the AP. As a natural consequence, they may not appear within the left periphery of the matrix verb (1482e) and may not be extracted from subordinate clauses (1482f).

(1482) • Arguments of attributive adjectives

- a. *Az irigy *Mari* Péter tegnap összetörte a közös képüket.
the jealous *Mari*.Sub Péter yesterday break.Past.3Sg the common picture.Poss.3Pl.Acc
intended: 'Péter, jealous of *Mari*, smashed their picture yesterday.'
- b. [A [*csak a fociban* tehetséges] fiút] felvették a Fradihoz.
the *only the football*.Ine talented boy.Acc admit.Past.DefObj.3Pl the Fradi.All
'The boy, *only talented at football* gained admission to Fradi (Hungarian football club).'
- c. [A [*minden sportágban* tehetséges] fiút] kitüntették.
the *every sport*.Ine talented boy.Acc honor.Past.DefObj.3Pl
'The boy talented at *every sport* received a laureate.'
- d. [A [*fociban* mindenki szerint tehetséges] fiút] kitüntették.
the *football*.Ine everyone according_to talented boy.Acc honor.Past.DefObj.3Pl
'The boy talented at *football* according to everyone received a laureate.'
- e. **Csak a fociban* dicsérték meg a tehetséges fiút.
only the football.Ine compliment.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf the talented boy.Acc
intended: 'It is *only football*, in which the talented boy received a laureate.'
- f. **Csak a fociban* tudom, hogy megdicsérték a tehetséges fiút.
only the football.Ine know.DefObj.1Sg that compliment.Past.DefObj.3Pl
the talented boy.Acc
intended: '*Only football* is such that I know that the boy talented at it was given a compliment.'

3.2.4.2. *Nominal adjuncts of adjectives*

Adjectives may also possess nominal adjuncts of their own. Similarly to verbs, these are mostly adverbs denoting time (1483a-a'), place (1483b-b') and mode of action (1483c-c'). These may occur with either predicative or attributive adjectives (see the primed and primeless examples, respectively). Note that in the case of predicative adjectives, it is unclear whether the adjunct in question is a modifier of the adjectival head itself, or the entire sentence.

(1483) • Nominal adjuncts of adjectives

- a. Az apa büszke a fiára ezen a héten.
the father proud the son.Poss.3Sg.Sub *this*.Sup the week.Sup
'The father is proud of his son *this week*.'
- a'. [A [fiára a múlt héten még büszke] apa]
the son.Poss.3Sg.Sub the last week.Sup still proud father
ma nagyot csalódott a gyerekében.
today big.Acc is_disappointed.Past.3g the child.Poss.3Sg.Ine
'The father still proud of his son *last week* (has) got badly disappointed in his child today.'
- b. A gyerek rendetlen az iskolában.
the child disorderly the school.Ine
'The child misbehaves *in school*.'
- b'. [[Az iskolában rendetlen] gyerek] otthon egy jóttündér.
the school.Ine disorderly child home a good_fairy
'The child misbehaving *at school* is a little angel at home.'

- c. Mari csinos *ebben a kék szoknyában*.
 Mari pretty *this.Ine the blue skirt.Ine*
 ‘Mari looks pretty in *this blue skirt*.’
- c’. [[A *szoknyában* csinos] Marinak] nem áll jól a nadrág.
the skirt.Ine pretty Mari.Dat not stand.3Sg well the trousers
 ‘Always pretty in *skirts*, trousers do not suit Mari.’

Similarly to arguments, nominal adjuncts can also be extracted to the verbal operator zone if the adjective is predicative, and stay in the operator zone of the AP whenever the adjective functions attributively (1484).

- (1484) ● Nominal adjuncts of adjectives in operators
- a. Mari csinos *minden szoknyában*.
 Mari pretty *every skirt.Ine*
 ‘Mari looks pretty in *every skirt*.’
- b. Mari *csak ebben a szoknyában* csinos.
 Mari *only this.Ine the skirt.Ine* pretty
 ‘Mari only looks pretty in *this skirt*.’
- b’. A *csak ebben a szoknyában* csinos Marit
the only this.Ine the skirt.Ine pretty Mari.Acc
 választották szépségkirálynőnek.
 choose.Past.DefObj.3Pl beauty_queen.Dat
 ‘Mari, who *only* looks pretty in *this skirt*, was elected beauty queen.’
- c. Mari *minden szoknyában* csinos.
 Mari *every skirt.Ine* pretty
 ‘Mari looks pretty in *every skirt*.’
- c’. A *minden szoknyában* csinos Marit választották szépségkirálynőnek.
the every skirt.Ine pretty Mari.Acc choose.Past.3Pl beauty_queen.Dat
 ‘Mari, who is pretty in *every skirt*, was elected beauty queen.’
- d. *Ebben a szoknyában* Mari csinos.
this.Ine the skirt.Ine Mari pretty
 ‘Mari looks pretty in *this skirt*.’
- d’. Az *ebben a szoknyában* mindenki szerint csinos Marit
the this.Ine the skirt.Ine everyone according_to pretty Mari.Acc
 ünnepelték.
 celebrate.Past.DefObj.3Pl
 ‘They celebrated Mari, who looks pretty in *this skirt* according to everyone.’
- d’’. *Az *ebben a szoknyában* Marit ünnepelték csinos.
the this.Ine the skirt.Ine Mari.Acc celebrate.Past.DefObj.3Pl pretty

Nominal adjuncts of predicative adjectives can also be extracted from subordinate clauses, and may assume operator positions within the main clause (1485a – topic, 1485b – focus, 1485c – quantifier).

- (1485) ● Long distance movement of nominal adjuncts of adjectives
- Ebben a szoknyában látom, hogy Mari csinos.*
this.Ine the skirt.Ine see.DefObj.1Sg that Mari pretty
 ‘This skirt, I can see that Mari looks pretty in it.’
 - [?]*Csak ebben a szoknyában látom, hogy Mari csinos.*
only this.Ine the skirt.Ine see.DefObj.1.Sg that Mari pretty
 ‘It is *only this skirt*, that I see Mari looks pretty in.’
 - ^{*?}*[Minden szoknyában] / ^{*?}[a szoknyában is] látom, hogy Mari csinos.*
every skirt.Ine / the skirt.Ine also see.DefObj.1Sg that Mari pretty
 ‘Every skirt, I see that Mari looks pretty in./ This skirt, I see that Mari also looks pretty in.’

3.2.5. Syntactic positions of nominal arguments of PP-s

Two basic types of postpositions exist in Hungarian. Case-like postpositions take an unmarked noun as their complement, which can only surface before the postposition ((1486), cf. Dékány and Hegedűs (2015)).

- (1486) ● Unmarked nouns in the complement zone of case-like PPs
- A ház mellett / mögött / előtt van a kiskert.
the house next_to / behind / in_front_of be.3Sg the backyard
 ‘The vegetable garden is next to/behind/in front of the house.’
 - [#]A ház van a kiskert [mellett / mögött / előtt].
the house be.3Sg the backyard next_to / behind / in_front_of.
 Intended meaning: ‘The backyard is next to/behind/in front of the house.’

Arguments of postpositions that subcategorize for an argument marked with a specific oblique case (*át* ‘through’, *közel* ‘near’, *szemben* ‘opposite to’, *túl* ‘beyond’ and others, see P2) however, can either surface before the postposition, or be extracted from the PP. Since ample discussion of this issue is provided in the chapter on PPs, we only illustrate the phenomenon of extracted postpositional complements with a couple of examples (1487). While in (1487a) the nominal argument stands in a wh-phrasé, and in (1487b) it occurs in a focus position, in (1487c) the postpositional head itself precedes its argument.

- (1487) ● Syntactic positions of oblique-marked arguments of postpositions
- Melyik kerítésen másztak át a gyerekek?
which fence.Sup climb.Past.3Pl over the child.Pl
 ‘Which fence did the kids climb over?’
 - Ahhoz a házhoz van közel az iskola.
that.All the house.All be.3Sg close the school
 ‘That’s the house the school is close to.’
 - Az iskola közel van ahhoz a házhoz.
the school close be.3Sg that.All the house.All
 ‘The school is close to that house.’

It must be noted that in the Hungarian literature (see, e.g., É. Kiss 2009) adverbs with the suffixes *-(A)n* and *-Ul* are analyzed as PPs. Such elements, similarly to their base adjectives, may have nominal arguments, see the examples in (1488a-a’).

These nominal arguments occur within the PP, also in operator positions (1488b-d), however, they cannot be extracted from this phrase (1488e).

- (1488) ● Nominal arguments of derived adverbs
- a. [Mámorosan [_{DP} *a bortól*]] megcsókoltam Ilit.
 drunk.Adv *the wine.Abl* kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc
 ‘Drunk from wine, I kissed Ili.’
 - a’. [Függetlenül [_{DP} *a körülményektől*]] bízom benned.
 independent.Adv *the circumstance.Pl.Abl* trust.1Sg Ine.2Sg
 ‘Independently of the circumstances I trust in you.’
 - b. [[_{DP}A *bortól mámorosan*]] megcsókoltam Ilit.
 the wine.Abl drunk.Adv kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc
 ‘Being drunk from wine, I kissed Ili.’
 - c. [[_{DP}A *bortól is mámorosan*]] megcsókoltam Ilit.
 the wine.Abl also drunk.Adv kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc
 ‘Being drunk also from wine, I kissed Ili.’
 - d. [[_{DP} *Csak a bortól mámorosan*]] megcsókoltam Ilit.
 only the wine.Abl drunk.Adv kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc
 ‘Being drunk only from wine, I kissed Ili.’
 - e. *Mámorosan megcsókoltam Ilit *a bortól*.
 drunk.Adv kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc *the wine.Abl*
 Intended meaning: ‘Being drunk from wine, I kissed Ili.’

3.2.6. Syntactic positions of nominal adjuncts of PP-s

PPs may also contain nominal adjuncts. Let us begin our discussion with dressed Ps. In the case of dressed Ps, adjuncts may either stand after the P head (1489a) or before the nominal argument (1489b). They, however, cannot surface sandwiched between the nominal argument and the P-head. The adjunct and the head can also be split, but this does not result in a perfectly acceptable structure (1489d-e). Should an adjunct of P surface in the operator zone of the matrix verb, it can only assume a focus position (cf. (1489f-f’)).

- (1489) ● Syntactic positions of adjuncts of postpositions
- a. [8 óra után 3 perccel] elkezdődött az előadás.
 8 hour after 3 minute.Ins begin.Past.3Sg the lecture
 ‘At three past eight, the lecture started.’
 - b. [3 perccel 8 óra után] elkezdődött az előadás.
 3 minute.Ins 8 hour after begin.Past.3Sg the lecture
 ‘At three past eight the lecture started.’
 - c. *[8 óra 3 perccel után] elkezdődött az előadás.
 8 hour 3 minute.Ins after begin.Past.3Sg the lecture
 - d. ?8 óra után kezdődött el az előadás 3 perccel.
 8 hour after begin.Past.3Sg away the lecture 3 minute.Ins
 ‘It was at three minutes after EIGHT that the lecture started (and not three minutes after nine).’

- e. [?]3 perccel kezdődött el az előadás 8 óra után.
 3 minute.Ins begin.Past.3Sg away the lecture 8 hour after.
 ‘It was THREE minutes after eight that the lecture started (and not four minutes after eight).’
- f. *3 perccel elkezdődött az előadás 8 óra után.
 3 minute.Ins begin.Past.3Sg the lecture 8 hour after
- f’. *3 perccel is elkezdődött az előadás 8 óra után.
 3 minute.Ins also begin.Past.3Sg the lecture 8 hour after
- f’’. [?]Legalább 3 perccel kezdődött el az előadás 8 óra után.
 At_least 3 minute.Ins begin.Past.3Sg away the lecture 8 hour after
 ‘It was at least 3 minutes after eight that the lecture started.’

If a P head in a naked PP has a case-marked nominal argument, it is not typical that it has another case-marked element (nominal adjunct). One of the few examples can be found in (1490).

(1490) • Syntactic positions of adjuncts of naked postpositions

- a. [?]3 méterrel a folyón túl építettek egy házat.
 3 meter.Ins the river.Sup over build.Past.3Pl a house.Acc
 ‘Three meters over the river, they built a house.’
- b. ^{??}A folyón túl 3 méterrel építettek egy házat.
 the river.Sup over 3 meter.Ins build.Past.3Pl a house.Acc
 ‘Three meters over the river, they built a house.’

3.3. Bibliographical notes

The literature on noun phrases as verbal arguments is extremely large. However, we only presented here the most important phenomena. Scrambling, topicalization, focusing and Q-raising are discussed in more detail in M2, M3 and M4, and we refer the reader to this volume for the relevant literature. The possible syntactic positions of arguments of nouns is an entirely uncharted territory, the literature only deals with the extraction of possessor arguments (see É. Kiss 2014). There are not many studies on the nominal arguments and adjuncts of non-finite phrases; our discussion is mainly based on general observations (Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi 1998, É. Kiss 2002). For more details and for the literature, see volume F. Arguments and adjuncts of adjectives and PPs are discussed in a detailed fashion in É. Kiss (2009) and in Dékány and Hegedűs (2015).

Chapter 4

Pronouns (György Rákosi)

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4.1. Introduction to the world of pronouns

This chapter discusses the grammar of Hungarian pronominal elements that have a nominal syntax. We use the term *pronoun* to refer to any such expression. The licensing and the interpretation of pronouns is governed by a complex web of grammatical and discourse factors, and the rich morphology of Hungarian pronoun paradigms renders this corner of Hungarian grammar an especially intriguing area for study. Our primary aim is to provide an overview of this diversity and to paint a picture of the pronominal landscape at a level of detail that allows the readers to understand the most important characteristics of this system, familiarizing them with the core pronominal constructions of Hungarian. Many aspects of the grammar of pronouns are discussed in other volumes of this series (see volumes E and M) and in the previous chapters of the current volume (see 1.1.1.3.5, 2.5.2 and 2.6). Wherever appropriate, we refer the reader to these discussions that elaborate on the description that we provide here. This description focuses on the pronominal paradigms and constructions as such, and the overall picture that includes the details of how pronouns contribute to the building of clause structure and to the coding of referential dependencies is largely addressed elsewhere in the relevant chapters of this series.

In subsections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 below, we first make some introductory remarks on the category *pronoun*. In subsection 4.1.3, we introduce the pronoun taxonomy that we assume here. The subsequent sections of this chapter detail the grammar of personal pronouns and anaphors.

4.1.1. The syntactic category of pronouns

Pronouns act as noun phrases in the syntactic structure of the clause: they are single-word expressions that have the distribution of a noun phrase. In the two examples in (1491), the object of the first sentence is a noun phrase headed by the accusative noun *lányt* ‘girl’, and the same object function is borne by the accusative personal pronoun *őt* ‘her/him’ in the second sentence.

(1491) • Pronouns as noun phrases

- a. Látom *a lányt*. Látom *őt*.
 see.1Sg *the girl-Acc.* see.1Sg *s(he)-Acc*
 ‘I see *the girl*. I see *her*.’
- b. Látom *a magas, szőke lányt*. Látom *őt*.
 see.1Sg *the tall blonde girl-Acc.* see.1Sg *s(he)-Acc*
 ‘I see *the tall blonde girl*. I see *her*.’

The object expressions *a lányt* ‘the girl’ and *a magas, szőke lányt* ‘the tall blonde girl’ are noun phrases par excellence. The object pronoun *őt* ‘her/him’ does not only abbreviate, as it were, these descriptions but it can generally substitute the target lexical noun phrases in syntactic contexts in which these noun phrases are licit. It follows that the pronouns in (1491) are also noun phrases themselves.

The ability to occur in positions that are typically reserved for noun phrases is an important property of every item that we consider a nominal pronoun. This is

why pronouns cannot be modified productively even if such modification would make perfect sense, as in the case of (1492).

(1492) • Pronouns cannot be modified

- a. Nézd, ott vannak. Ő meg ő.
 look.Subj.2Sg there be.3Pl (s)he and (s)he
 ‘Look, there they are. (S)he and (s)he.’
- b. Melyik? *A magas ő?
 which the tall (s)he
 ‘Which one? *The tall her/him?’

As a response to (1492a), the second question in (1492b) aims to provide a meaning that fits in well in this minidiscourse and has the potential of contributing just the missing piece of information, namely, the issue of whether it is the tall individual that is meant. Still, the noun phrase **a magas ő* ‘*the tall (s)he’ is ungrammatical and it is ungrammatical for syntactic reasons: no structure building is allowed around the pronoun since it itself functions as a complete noun phrase. Some apparent counterexamples to this can occasionally be found when a pronoun takes a modifier, but it is exactly in those cases that the pronominal element starts behaving more like a noun and less like a true pronoun. One such illustrative example is discussed in 4.3.2.

Remark 37. We tacitly assume here that Hungarian pronouns are DPs. The personal pronouns discussed above in (1491) and (1492) certainly are: they are referential and they have the distribution of a definite noun phrase. In the tradition introduced by Abney (1987), we can analyze them as D-heads with a DP built around them.

- (i) [DP [D ő]
 (s)he

To the extent that Hungarian pronouns are unlike Romance-type clitics or other weak pronouns in their syntax and semantics, it is indeed motivated to consider them more than mere syntactic heads.

It is not obvious nevertheless whether every pronoun can project a DP. Object agreement data have figured prominently in discussions of this issue. In particular, Bartos (1999) argues that definite conjugation is only triggered on the finite verb in the presence of DP objects, and the default indefinite conjugation obtains in the absence of an object or in the presence of an object that is categorially smaller than a DP (see also É. Kiss (2002) and 1.1.2.2). Third person pronouns, reflexives and demonstratives, for example, trigger the definite conjugation (ii). Some other pronoun types, like quantificational pronouns, as well as first or second person pronoun objects, co-occur with verbs in the indefinite conjugation (iii).

- (ii) János lát-ja ő-t / magá-t / ez-t.
 János see-DefObj.3Sg he-Acc / himself-Acc / this-Acc.
 ‘János sees him / himself / this.’
- (iii) János lát engem / valaki-t / mindenki-t.
 János see.3Sg I.Acc / somebody-Acc / everybody-Acc.
 ‘János sees me / somebody / everybody.’

In the approach of Bartos (1999), pronouns that trigger definite conjugation must be DPs (ii), whereas pronouns that do not are smaller than a DP (iii). There is, however, no general consensus in the pertaining literature on whether the choice between the definite and the indefinite conjugation indeed strictly correlates with the categorial type of the object. In fact, recent proposals argue against such a strict correlation and seek to explain object

agreement data with reference to other factors (see, especially, É. Kiss 2005 and Coppock and Wechsler 2012).

For the purposes of this chapter, it is immaterial which position we take in the debate on the proper treatment of object agreement in Hungarian. We assume that pronouns are D-type elements with a DP projection built around them, but nothing crucial hinges on this decision. We assume furthermore that *pro*-dropped pronouns are also DPs (see 1.1.1.3.5 and 4.2 for more on *pro*-drop phenomena in Hungarian).

It needs to be noted nevertheless that the distribution of referential noun phrases and the distribution of pronouns do not fully overlap. First and second person personal pronouns, for example, trigger agreement in a range of contexts to be overviewed in 4.2, and referential DPs fail in these contexts (see also Kenesei (2000) for this point). (1493) illustrates this with subject agreement data: the verb bears 1Sg agreement morphology and the subject needs to have matching features. Hence, only the 1Sg pronoun *én* ‘I’ is licensed, and the referential DP *a lány* ‘the girl’ is ungrammatical here.

(1493) • Pronouns in positions construed with agreement

Én / *[*A lány*] itt él-ek.
 I / the girl here live-1Sg
 ‘I live here.’

The apparent complementarity between first or second persons pronouns and referential DPs disappears in constructions which are not construed with agreement. There is, for example, no object agreement between the verb and its object in the non-finite domain. Consequently, an infinitive can take any noun phrase as its object, including referential noun phrases as well as pronouns:

(1494) • Pronouns in positions not construed with agreement

János igyekszik megismer-ni *engem* / [*a lány-t*].
 János strive.3Sg get.to.know-Inf I.Acc / the girl-Acc
 ‘János strives to get to know *me* / [*the girl*].’

This reinforces the point that nominal pronouns are noun phrases.

4.1.2. *Pronominal meanings*

The interpretation of a pronoun is conditioned by pronoun type as well as the syntactic and the discourse context in which it occurs. In their most referential uses, pronouns directly pick their referents from the non-linguistic context, often through an accompanying pointing gesture. (1495) illustrates this **deictic** function of the personal pronoun *te* ‘you’ and the demonstrative *az* ‘that’.

(1495) • Pronouns accompanied by a pointing gesture

Te ott! Az mi?
 you there that what
 ‘You there. What is that?’

Personal pronouns and demonstratives can generally be used deictically, whereas other types of pronouns typically do not have the potential to establish direct reference to discourse entities not mentioned in the text.

Quantificational pronouns are referential in a sense weaker than deixis proper. Their interpretation requires a domain of quantification, and that domain is typically determined within the discourse context of the utterance.

(1496) • Quantificational pronouns in context

- a. Mindenki itt van.
 everybody here be.3Sg
 'Everybody is here.'
- b. Senki nincs itt.
 nobody not.be.3Sg here
 'Nobody is here.'

The universal pronoun *mindenki* 'everybody' in (1496) refers to all members of a group that is relevant in the given context, and one likely reading of the negative pronoun *senki* 'nobody' in the selfsame context is that no members of that group are present. Some of the quantificational pronouns may in fact function as address-terms in such circumstances:

(1497) • Quantificational pronouns as address terms

- Hé, mindenki / valaki / akárki!
 Hey everybody / somebody / anybody
 'Hey everybody / somebody / anybody.'

What (1497) shows us is that the domain of quantification can be established deictically, inasmuch as the call is most likely to be addressed to a particular group of people and we access that group through the act of the utterance itself. But the pronoun does not directly pick a specific referent, as is most clear in the case of *valaki* 'somebody'. Thus while (1496) or (1497) do not primarily instantiate deixis, they illustrate the propensity of quantificational pronouns to rely on properties of the discourse context that need not be coded linguistically.

Pronouns can also enter a referential dependency with another linguistic object in the text. Such a dependency contains an **antecedent** at one end and the pronoun on the other, dominantly in this order. Consider (1498) as an illustration of such a dependency. It has a reading in which the subject pronoun *ő* '(s)he' in the subordinate clause takes the matrix subject *Péter* as its antecedent. The relation between the pronoun and the antecedent is **anaphora**, and the pronoun *ő* '(s)he' is used **anaphorically** in this construal.

(1498) • Pronominal anaphora

- Péter* az-t hiszi, hogy *ő* a legszebb.
Péter that-Acc think.DefObj.3Sg that (s)he the most.beautiful
 'Péter thinks that *he* is the most beautiful.'

(1498) appears at first to be ambiguous between an anaphoric reading and a non-anaphoric reading, depending on whether the pronoun is co-construed with the matrix subject or not. On closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that the anaphoric reading itself may be the result of two entirely distinct mechanisms of grammar. We first briefly describe these mechanisms and then revisit a slightly modified version of (1498) to elaborate on the two different types of anaphoric interpretations.

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns need a local antecedent and they need to be **bound** to this antecedent (but see 4.3.4 for a discussion of some contexts where this is not the case). Therefore the reflexive *magát* ‘himself’ in (1499a) can only be co-construed with the subject *János* and it cannot refer to anybody else. Or, to be more precise, the reflexive cannot refer at all in (1499a), since it does not refer directly to the person called *János*, but it is interpreted as a variable necessarily bound to the subject. It is the subject noun phrase that has the power to refer to an individual in the world. In fact, we may view the reflexive as an element that changes the nature of the verbal event: seeing is normally a relation between two distinct entities (a seer and a seen thing), but with the addition of the reflexive this default denotation is rewritten into a single-participant self-seeing event. To see why we need to distinguish **bound variable readings** from referential uses of the pronouns, consider also (1499b).

(1499) • Bound variable readings

- a. *János látja magá-t a tükör-ben.*
János see.DefObj.3Sg *himself-Acc* the mirror-Ine.
 ‘*János* sees *himself* in the mirror.’
- b. *Mindenki az-t hiszi, hogy ő a legszebb.*
Everybody that-Acc think.DefObj.3Sg that (s)he the most.beautiful
 ‘*Everybody* thinks that (s)he is the most beautiful.’

The pronoun *ő* ‘(s)he’ in (1499b) can refer to a third participant not covered by the antecedent quantificational pronoun *mindenki* ‘everybody’. We disregard this reading now and consider the anaphoric interpretation, in which *ő* ‘(s)he’ is about the members of the group that *mindenki* ‘everybody’ identifies. Unlike in, for example, (1491) or (1492), the personal pronoun in (1499) does not directly refer to a designated individual in the discourse context. Instead, it identifies every member of the antecedent set individually, one after the other, and it states in each case that that particular individual is the most beautiful person in his or her own model of the world. The result is that the sentence assigns a self-belief to every individual in the antecedent set. This is what we call the bound variable reading of the pronoun.

We can now return to (1498), which is slightly modified in (1500) to bring out the ambiguity that we pursue. The personal pronoun *ő* ‘(s)he’ has a bound variable reading here: this is when Péter has a belief about the self. What the sentence states then is that Péter is the only individual who believes that his own self is the most beautiful person. This description is true if no other individual has a similar self-belief, i.e., if no other individual thinks that they are the most beautiful.

(1500) • Pronominal anaphora: coreference and bound readings

- Csak Péter hiszi az-t, hogy ő a legszebb.*
only Péter think.DefObj.3Sg that-Acc that (s)he the most.beautiful
 ‘Only *Péter* thinks that *he* is the most beautiful.’

But (1500) has an entirely different reading, too. As we have seen, personal pronouns can not only be bound, but they are also free to establish reference in their own right. It is an option for *ő* ‘(s)he’ to refer to an individual accessible in the discourse. That individual may be someone other than Péter, but, accidentally, as it

were, the pronoun may also refer to the same individual that the name *Péter* identifies. There is thus an anaphoric reading for (1500) in which both the antecedent and the anaphoric pronoun refer to an individual but that individual happens to be the same for both expressions. Péter then has a belief about someone and that someone happens to be him. If this is the case, then the sentence is true if no other individual has the same belief about Péter, or, in other words, if no other individual believes that Péter is the most beautiful person. This interpretation is known as **coreference**, and it needs to be distinguished from bound variable readings since the two can be truth-conditionally distinct in certain contexts. We refer the reader to Reinhart (2006) for an in-depth discussion of this issue.

Even this brief overview instructs us that pronouns in principle may receive a range of substantially different interpretations. It is the lexical specification of the pronoun that primarily determines whether it is more or less referential in nature, and it is evident that pronouns are not uniform in what they contribute to sentence meaning and how exactly they do it. The most that can be concluded is that pronouns, unlike nouns, do not identify types of entities in the world, rather, they are used in direct or indirect reference to entities or sets of them. The class of pronouns thus contains a varied group of elements that may significantly differ from each other in their grammar and interpretation. In this sense, the term *pronoun* is a cover term for several classes of functional words that need to be dealt with individually.

4.1.3. Our pronoun taxonomy

We assume a relatively traditional taxonomy of pronouns that complies best with our essentially descriptive purposes. The classes and the major subclasses (where relevant) are summarized in Table 87 together with an illustrative Hungarian example.

Table 87: The taxonomy of pronouns

PRONOUN CLASSES	SUBCLASS	EXAMPLE
personal pronouns		<i>én</i> ‘I’
anaphors	reflexive complex reflexive reciprocal	<i>magam</i> ‘myself’ <i>önmagam</i> ‘myself’ <i>egymás</i> ‘each other’
demonstrative pronouns		<i>az</i> ‘that’
interrogative pronouns		<i>ki</i> ‘who’
relative pronouns		<i>aki</i> ‘who’
quantificational pronouns	universal existential free choice negative	<i>mindenki</i> ‘everybody’ <i>valaki</i> ‘somebody’ <i>akárki/bárki</i> ‘anybody’ <i>senki</i> ‘nobody’

The forthcoming sections describe the grammar of personal pronouns and anaphors. The other types of pronouns are discussed elsewhere in this volume (see subsection 2.5.2 and section 2.6) or in other volumes of this series.

4.2. Personal pronouns

That the morphology of Hungarian is indeed rich manifests itself best nowhere else than in the case of personal pronouns and our primary aim in this section is to describe this complexity. The feature specification of personal pronouns and the role of this feature content in the licensing of referential and agreement dependencies is discussed in detail in 1.1.1.3. We focus here on the description of constructions in which personal pronouns figure prominently.

4.2.1. Personal pronouns as nominative subjects and possessors

4.2.1.1. Overt nominative personal pronouns

The nominative paradigm of personal pronouns is given in Table 88.

Table 88: Nominative personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	<i>én</i>	<i>mi</i> (^s <i>mink</i>)
2 ND	<i>te</i>	<i>ti</i> (^s <i>tik</i>)
3 RD	<i>ő</i>	<i>ők</i>

Though Hungarian is an agglutinating language, the values of the person feature are not coded in a manner that is synchronically transparent for native speakers. In first and second persons, plural pronouns also do not bear transparent plural morphology. This fact may be interpreted as the lack of transparent plural semantics in the sense that *mi* ‘we’ is not the plural of *én* ‘I’ (i.e., it is not a plurality of speakers) and *ti* ‘you’ is at least not always the multiplication of *te* ‘you’ (i.e., the plural *you* is not necessary a plurality of addressees). See Bartos (2000b: 708–709) for more on this point.

Thus the nominative forms are monomorphemic in the synchronic system, with the sole exception of *ők* ‘they’. This pronoun consists of the singular stem *ő* ‘(s)he’ plus the regular plural marker *-k*. Notice that in the third person, the meaning of the plural pronoun can be interpreted as the true plural of the singular form in a relatively straightforward manner and therefore the transparency of the plural form is expected. We also note here that the first and second person plural pronouns have alternative variants which bear more transparent plural morphology: *mink* ‘we’ and *tik* ‘you’. These forms are felt to be archaic. *Tik* is in fact heavily stigmatized as an item with characteristic (or characteristically overdone) rural overtones, while *mink* may be an existing item of the spoken vernacular in some regional dialects.

The morphological transparency of *ők* ‘they’ is the driving force behind the phenomenon that is known as pronominal **anti-agreement** (see den Dikken (1999) and Bartos (1999), as well as Dékány (2011) for an alternative approach). The subject agreement pattern attested in finite constructions is regular inasmuch as the 3Sg personal pronoun triggers 3Sg agreement on the verb (1501a), and the 3Pl personal pronoun co-occurs with a 3Pl verb (1501b).

- (1501) ● Third person pronominal subjects of finite verbs
- a. Ő fut.
(s)he run.3Sg
'She/He is running.'
 - b. Ők fut-nak.
They run-3Pl
'They are running.'

Nominative personal pronouns can also function as unmarked possessors (see 2.2.1.2 for the details). In the nominative possessor construction, pronominal possessors agree with the head of the possessive phrase, the possessum. But when the 3Pl possessor is pronominal, it is the singular form of the pronoun that is spelled out and the agreement morphology is 3Pl (1502b).

- (1502) ● Third person pronominal possessors
- a. az ő futás-a
the (s)he running-Poss.3Sg
'his/her running'
 - b. az ő / *ők futás-uk
the (s)he / they running-Poss.3Pl
'their running'

The anti-agreement phenomenon illustrated in (1502b) can be viewed as an instance of economy in language: the plural marker *-k* is only spelled out once within a single agreement dependency. This understanding of (1502) presupposes that the plural morphology of *ők* 'they' is grammatically active. Anti-agreement is also attested in certain 3Pl oblique forms of personal pronouns, too (see 4.2.4).

4.2.1.2. Null subject constructions

The *pro*-drop nature of Hungarian has been amply demonstrated in 1.1.1. Subject pronouns and nominative possessors are normally not pronounced unless they carry a discourse function. In both examples in (1503), the pronoun is only spelled out in the second sentence, where it is focused.

- (1503) ● Pro-dropping subjects and possessors
- a. Dolgoz-ok. Sőt, csak "én dolgoz-ok.
work-1Sg in_fact only I work-1Sg
'I'm working. In fact, it's only "me who is working.'
 - b. Ez a macská-m. Pontosabban az "én macská-m.
this the cat-Poss.1Sg more_precisely the I cat-Poss.1Sg
'This is my cat. More precisely, it is "my cat.'

In this subsection, we discuss two special null subject constructions in Hungarian in which an overt pronoun is not licensed.

A subset of verbs denoting natural phenomena (**weather-verbs**) always appear in 3Sg and without an accompanying pronominal subject. Two of these verbs are presented in (1504).

(1504) ● Weather-verbs

- a. Havaz-ik.
snow-3Sg
'It is snowing.'
- b. Villáml-ott.
lightning-Past.3Sg
'Lightning flashed.'

English weather-verbs require the presence of an empty pronominal expletive subject, as in the English translation of (1504a). The Hungarian construction appears to be subjectless at first sight (cf. 1.3.1.1) and indeed, most weather-verbs do not license an overt subject, be it a pronoun or a lexical noun phrase. Tóth (2000), however, argues that Hungarian weather verbs still have a quasi-argumental null subject. Her major argument comes from constructions containing an inflected infinitive.

(1505) ● Weather-verbs and inflected infinitives

- Márciusban nem kellene havaz-ni*(-a).
March-Ine not should snow-Inf(-3Sg)
'It shouldn't snow in March.'

Inflected infinitives are licensed in Hungarian mostly as complements of **impersonal predicates**, like the modal verb *kellene* 'should' in (1505). The agreement morphology appears on the infinitive in these contexts if the infinitive has a lexical or pronominal subject (see Rákosi (2006) for an overview). Since the agreement morphology is mandatory in (1505), it follows that the embedded weather-infinitive has a covert pronominal subject. In contrast with English, this null subject is never pronounced in Hungarian.

Another, non-referential type of null subject is licensed in the presence of finite 3PI agreement morphology (see Tóth (2011b) for a detailed discussion of this construction). Hungarian does not have a productive finite passive, but it does have other means of demoting agentive subjects and this construction is one of those. Consider the examples in (1506) and in (1507).

(1506) ● Non-referential null subjects in episodic contexts

- a. Kopog-t-ak.
knock-Past-3PI
'There was a knock at the door.'
- b. Ég a villany. Vannak otthon.
burn.3Sg the light be.3PI home
'The light is on. Someone is at home/There are people at home.'

(1507) ● Non-referential null subjects in generic contexts

- a. Régen sokkal több krumpli-t ettek.
long_ago many more potato-Acc eat.Past.3PI
'Long ago, people ate far more potatoes.'

- b. Itt nem szeret-ik az idegen-ek-et.
 here not like-3Pl the stranger-Pl-Acc
 'Here they don't like strangers.'

One curious feature of this construction is that the 3Pl morphology licenses a single-participant reading in episodic contexts. In other words, (1506a) is a well-formed description of a knocking event even if the speaker assumes that it is only one person who is knocking at the door (which is a likely reading), and (1506b) can likewise be true if the speaker has reasons to believe that there is only one individual inside the house. In generic contexts (1507), the subject reference set is naturally large. Various factors play a role in licensing these readings, but the presence of an adverbial that identifies a salient temporal or spatial parameter of the eventuality under description is generally required, or else these parameters are inferable from the context. The understood null subject always has to be a human in this construction.

If we insert an overt 3Pl pronoun in these sentences, then the non-referential reading is lost. The overt pronoun *ők* 'they' has to be interpreted in Hungarian as referring to a specific group of people. Therefore (1508a) is only true if the speaker knows who were knocking, and (1508b) is a description of the past habit of an identifiable group, perhaps a family that the speaker is acquainted with.

- (1508) ● Overt pronouns are referential
- a. Ők kopog-t-ak.
 the knock-Past-3Pl
 'They knocked at the door.'
- b. Régen ők sokkal több krumpli-t ettek.
 long_ago they many more potato-Acc eat.Past.3Pl
 'They used to eat far more potatoes.'

Thus in this case the insertion of an overt pronouns subject has a pronounced effect on the truth-conditions of the sentence.

4.2.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are arguably part of the paradigm of personal pronouns in Hungarian, and it is for this reason that we discuss them here. Their largely transparent morphology and certain aspects of their syntax suggest that they are in fact elliptical possessive phrases (cf. Bartos 1999, Kenesei 2000 and Dékány 2011). In this respect, it is somewhat of a misnomer to call them possessive pronouns, but we do so nevertheless partly for expository reasons, and partly in recognition of the fact that they show idiosyncratic lexical properties that do not automatically follow from an analysis that treats them as syntactically active possessive phrases.

Table 89 is a summary of the paradigm of possessive pronouns. The plurality of the possessum is coded on the pronoun in a manner similar to regular possessive constructions, and the columns are duplicated to include these plural forms. The slash sign is used when two alternative forms are available in the standard colloquial variety of Hungarian. Whether one uses the phonologically more transparent form (e.g.: *miénk* 'our one/ours') or the one that does not directly follow

the productive morphophonological pattern (e.g.: *mienk* ‘our one/ours’), is largely a matter of individual preferences. The forms in brackets are not standard, and *övéje* ‘his one’ is distinctively archaic.

Table 89: *Possessive pronouns*

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	SG POSSESSUM	PL POSSESSUM	SG POSSESSUM	PL POSSESSUM
1 ST	<i>enyém</i>	<i>enyéim/enyémek</i>	<i>miénk/mienk</i>	<i>miéink/mieink</i>
2 ND	<i>tiéd/tied</i>	<i>tiéid/tieid</i>	<i>tiétek/tietek</i>	<i>tiéitek/tieitek</i>
3 RD	<i>övé</i> (^s <i>övéje</i>)	<i>övéi</i>	<i>övék</i> (^o <i>övéjük</i>)	<i>övéik</i>

Possessive constructions with lexical possessors provide a useful background to understand the complex morphology of possessive pronouns, so we start our investigation there.

When the possessum is ellipted, the special possessive morpheme *-é* is suffixed to the nominative possessor (see 1.1.1.1 and the subsequent discussion). The suffix *-i* marks the plurality of the possessum, and this plural marker, if present, follows the possessive *-é* suffix (1509b).

(1509) • Possessum ellipsis: lexical possessors

- a. Ez a fiú papagáj-a, nem a lány-é.
this the boy parrot-Poss.3Sg not the girl-Posr
‘This is the boy’s parrot, not the girl’s (one).’
- b. Ezek a fiú papagáj-a-i, nem a lány-é-i.
these the boy parrot-Poss.3Sg-Pl not the girl-Posr-Pl
‘These are the boy’s parrots, not the girl’s (ones).’

Thus the *-é* suffix stands, as it were, for the possessum stem.

If the possessor is pronominal, then this morphology is supplemented with the agreement morphology that regularly appears on the possessum with pronoun possessors.

(1510) • Possessum ellipsis: pronominal possessors

- a. Ez a mi papagáj-unk, vagyis a mi-é-nk.
this the we parrot-Poss.1Pl that is the we-Posr-1Pl
‘This is our parrot, that is, it is ours.’
- b. Ezek a mi papagáj-a-ink, vagyis a mi-é-i-nk.
these the we parrot-Poss-1Pl that is the we-Posr-Pl-1Pl
‘These are our parrots, that is, they are ours.’

The possessive pronoun variants that appear in (1510) represent the fully productive side of the paradigm: both forms are built around the 1Pl pronoun stem *mi* ‘we’ using productive morphology. Note, however, that several items in Table 89 deviate from this pattern. The pronominal stem can be an otherwise not used, bound form of the pronoun (*eny-* for *én* ‘I’ in *enyém* ‘mine’, or *öv-* for *ő* in *övé* ‘his/hers’ and *övék* ‘theirs’), or the regular form of the possessive suffix *-é* undergoes a qualitative change (compare *miénk* ‘ours’ with *mienk* ‘ours’). As Bartos (2000b: 694) notes, this

latter change may facilitate the reintroduction of the possessive *-é* suffix at the end of the possessive pronoun in some dialects, and thus we get %*mienké* for *miénk* ‘ours’, or %*enyimé* for *enyém* ‘mine’. These alternatives presumably developed as a response to the reduced transparency of the respective possessive pronouns.

The forms *enyémek* ‘my ones’, %*övéje* ‘his/her one’ and %*övéjük* ‘their one’ represent an even more radical deviation from the regular pattern. *Enyémek* includes plural morphology that otherwise only appears on non-possessed nouns (see *krémek* ‘creams (cream-Pl)’), and in the case of %*övéje* and %*övéjük*, too, the bound pronominal stem is essentially treated as a lexical noun (compare these forms to *körté-je* ‘his/her pear (pear-Poss.3Sg)’ and to *körté-jük* ‘their pear (pear-Poss.3Pl)’), respectively). Speakers who use two distinct variants of the same cell may distinguish the two by assigning different interpretations to them. Compare the two examples in (1511):

- (1511) ● Possessive pronouns: two alternatives with different interpretations
- a. Ezek az eny-ém-ek.
these the I-Poss.1Sg-Pl
‘These are mine.’
 - b. Ők az eny-é-i-m.
they are I-Posr-Pl-1Sg
‘They are my family/friends/colleagues/team.’

The productive form *enyéim* is used in this case to refer to the family or other salient associates of the speaker, whereas the morphophonologically non-productive form *enyémek* has the usual ‘my ones’ interpretation.

These cases all show that the paradigm of the possessive pronoun is characterized by a relatively large amount of idiosyncrasy. This is one reason why we cannot simply treat possessive pronouns as productive elliptical possessive noun phrases. Their syntactic behavior further strengthens this conclusion. The definite article is obligatory in possessive noun phrases if the possessor is a pronoun (1512a), but it tends to be optional in the colloquial in front of possessive pronouns (1512b), especially if the ellipted possessum is singular.

- (1512) ● The definite article and pronominal possessors
- a. Légy *(az) én barát-om.
be.Subj.2Sg the I friend-Poss.1Sg
‘Be my friend.’
 - b. Légy (az) eny-é-m.
be.Subj.2Sg the I-Posr-1Sg
‘Be mine.’

The optionality of the article in (1512b) is not expected if we simply treat the possessive pronoun construction as the elliptical variety of the possessive noun phrase in (1512a). If the possessive pronoun is to be treated as a possessive noun phrase, it needs to be acknowledged that it deviates from the expected productive pattern to a visible extent.

4.2.3. *Object personal pronouns*

The accusative forms of personal pronouns are given in Table 90.

Table 90: *Accusative personal pronouns*

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	<i>engem</i> (^o <i>engemet</i>)	<i>minket/bennünket</i>
2 ND	<i>téged</i> (^o <i>tégedet</i>)	<i>titeket/benneteket</i>
3 RD	<i>őt</i> (^s <i>őtet</i>)	<i>őket</i>

It is once again the third person forms that show full transparency. *Őt* ‘him/her’ is the concatenation of the singular form *ő* ‘(s)he’ and the accusative case marker *-t*; and plural marker *-k-* intervenes in the case of *őket* ‘them’ (see 4.2.1.). The 3Sg accusative form also has a variant in some dialects (considered to be archaic or low register) in which the accusative morphology is reduplicated. The existence of ^s*őtet* ‘him/her’ may imply that at least some speakers do not treat the standard *őt* ‘him/her’ variant as fully transparent.

The first and the second person accusative pronouns have a morphology of a possessive kind. Compare the respective first person examples in (1513) and (1514) for illustration.

(1513) • First person possessors and the drop of the accusative marker in the singular

- a. Kati látta az én szék-em(-et).
 Kati see.Past.DefObj.3Sg the I chair-Poss.1Sg(-Acc)
 ‘Kati saw my chair.’
- b. Kati látta a mi szék-ünk-et.
 Kati see.Past.DefObj.3Sg the we chair-Poss.1PI-Acc
 ‘Kati saw our chair.’

(1514) • First person accusative pronouns and the drop of the accusative marker in the singular

- a. Kati látott engem(-et).
 Kati see.Past.3Sg I.Acc(-Acc)
 ‘Kati saw me.’
- b. Kati látott minket.
 Kati see.Past.3Sg we.Acc
 ‘Kati saw us.’

When the possessor is 1Sg or 2Sg, the accusative marker *-t* is optional in standard colloquial Hungarian (1513a). The accusative marker is likewise dropped in the case of the singular non-third person accusative pronouns (1514a), and in fact, the longer variants *engemet* ‘me’ and *tégedet* ‘you’ are felt to be archaic by the younger generations of native speakers (which makes accusative pronouns less like true possessive noun phrases). The analogy with possessors is further strengthened by the internal makeup of the accusative pronouns. *Engem* ‘me’, for example, contains an allomorph of the nominative *én* ‘I’, the consonant *-g-*, which is perhaps a relic of a possessum that it used to be at earlier stages of Hungarian (see Benkő (1991) and den Dikken (2006) for more on this), plus the possessive agreement morphology -

em. Note nevertheless that beyond the option of dropping the accusative marker, accusative personal pronouns do not show a possessive syntax synchronically. The presumed *-g-* “possessum” is in fact absent in the plural forms *minket* ‘us’ and *titeket* ‘you’, where only the nominative pronoun and the agreement morphology are recognizable. As we will see in 4.3.1, reflexive pronouns still show some synchronic reflexes of their possessive origin and a possessive analysis is more motivated in their case.

There are two forms in Table 90 which we have not yet discussed. Besides *minket* ‘us’ and *titeket* ‘you’, which instantiate the morphological pattern we have just discussed in the paragraph above, the alternative forms *benniüket* ‘us’ and *benneteket* ‘you’ are also available. The internal kernel of both is in fact the respective inessive form of the personal pronoun, since *benniük* is ‘in us’ and *bennetek* is ‘in you’ (see 4.2.4.). These two forms take the accusative morphology in a highly exceptional manner, and the resulting items serve as alternatives to the more regular forms. For most speakers, the two 1Pl and 2Pl variants are respectively interchangeable and the difference between the two forms is stylistic at most. Den Dikken *et al.* (2001: 146) note nevertheless that in inclusive reference anaphora (when the subject referent is properly included in the object referent), some speakers prefer *benniüket* over *minket*.

(1515) • Inclusive reference: 1Sg subject and 1Pl object

Én *minket* / *benniüket* választom meg.
 I we.Acc elect.DefObj.1Sg perf
 ‘I elect us.’

We also share this intuition, which may be a consequence of the fact that *benniüket* ‘us’ has a more complex internal structure than the more regular variant *minket* ‘us’.

Object *pro*-drop and object agreement phenomena are discussed elsewhere in this volume (see especially 1.1.1.4 and 1.1.1.5), and we refer the reader to these subsections for further comments on the syntactic behavior of object personal pronouns.

4.2.4. Oblique pronouns

Hungarian has an elaborate system of postpositions and oblique case markers (see 1.1.1 of this volume for some comments and volume P for a detailed overview). Here we focus on those constructions in which the P-element takes a personal pronoun complement in a non-trivial manner.

One larger group of postpositions, the real postpositions of Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi (1998), take oblique complements.

(1516) • Real postpositions take oblique complements

Kati [*János-sal* / *vel-ünk* együtt] jött.
 Kati János-Ins / Ins-1Pl together come.Past.3Sg
 ‘Kati came with János / us.’

The postposition *együtt* ‘together’ governs instrumental case on its complement, which may either be a lexical noun phrase (*Jánossal* ‘with János’) or an oblique pronoun (*velünk* ‘with us’).

Case-like postpositions are word-level P-elements that either take a bare (non-case-marked) lexical noun phrase complement (1517a), or they take a pronoun and show agreement with it (1517b). The construction is one where *pro*-drop is possible: the pronoun is only spelled out if it carries a discourse function (1517c). We note nevertheless that in this construction the *pro*-dropped variety (1517b) is also grammatical in contexts in which the complement of the postposition is contrasted with another participant or a set of participants, so it can have the meaning ‘There is a chair beside me and not beside somebody else’. This interpretation is possible if the agreement-marked postposition *mellettem* ‘beside me’ receives focus stress (or contrastive topic intonation). The curious fact is that this interpretation does not require the spellout of the pronoun, which actually is the semantic focus of the sentence in the context we have just described. In other words, both (1517b) and (1517c) can be used to convey complement-focus (or contrastive topic) using the appropriate prosody.

(1517) • Case-like postpositions instantiate agreement with their pronoun complements

- a. [János mellett] van egy szék.
 János beside be.3Sg a chair
 ‘There is a chair beside János.’
- b. Mellett-em van egy szék.
 beside-1Sg be.3Sg a chair
 ‘There is a chair beside me.’
- c. Én-mellett-em van egy szék.
 I-beside-1Sg be.3Sg a chair
 ‘There is a chair beside ME (and not beside somebody else).’
 or ‘Beside ME, there IS a chair (unlike beside somebody else).’

The agreement morphology of case-like postpositions is analogous to possessive agreement morphology. Table 91 illustrates this paradigm.

Table 91: The pronominal paradigm of *mellett* ‘beside, near’

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	(<i>én</i> -)mellett-em	(<i>mi</i> -)mellett-ünk
2 ND	(<i>te</i> -)mellett-ed	(<i>ti</i> -)mellett-etek
3 RD	(<i>ő</i> -)mellett-e	(<i>ők</i> -)mellett-ük

We find another instance of anti-agreement in 3Pl (cf. 4.2.1.1). The agreement morphology is 3Pl (-*ük*), but it is the singular form of the pronoun that is spelled out (*ő* ‘(s)he’), resulting in *őmellettük* ‘beside them’. The agreeing form ^o*ők*mellettük ‘beside them (they-beside-3Pl)’ may also be attested in dialects.

Most of the case markers (with the exception of the translative/essive, the terminative and the formalis/essive cases) can take personal pronoun complements in a manner that resembles the dressed PP construction. Table 92 is a summary of the oblique case forms of the 1Sg personal pronoun (compare this table to the list of case suffixes in Table 3).

Table 92: The oblique case forms of the 1Sg pronoun

OBLIQUE CASES	CASE SUFFIXES	OBLIQUE PRONOUNS
DATIVE	-nak/-nek	(én-)nek-em ‘to me’
INSTRUMENTAL	-val/-vel	(én-)vel-em ‘with me’
CAUSALIS	-ért	(én-)ért-em ‘for me’
INESSIVE	-ban/-ben	(én-)benn-em ‘in me’
SUPERESSIVE	-n/-on/-en/-ön	(én-)rajt-am ‘on me’
ADESSIVE	-nál/-nél	(én-)nál-am ‘at me’
SUBLATIVE	-ra/-re	(én-)rá-m ‘onto me’
DELATIVE	-ról/-ről	(én-)ról-am ‘off me’
ILLATIVE	-ba/-be	(én-)belé-m ‘into me’
ELATIVE	-ból/-ből	(én-)belől-em ‘out of me’
ALLATIVE	-hoz/-hez/-höz	(én-)hozá-m ‘to me’
ABLATIVE	-tól/-től	(én-)től-em ‘from me’

The pronoun itself is in brackets indicating its optionality, and the same considerations apply to its spellout as what we discussed above with respect to (1517). The case marker is invariant across the paradigm and the spellout of the pronoun does not trigger vowel harmony. For example, the full adessive form of the 3Sg pronoun is *őnála* ‘at him’, and we can compare this to the adessive case-marked form of the noun *nő* ‘woman’, which is *nőnél* ‘at the woman’, showing frontness harmony. In sum, the pronoun does not behave as a head in this construction and for this and related reasons, much of the literature treats these constructions as PPs, with the case-marker acting as a head. For a thorough overview of the morphology of oblique pronouns in Hungarian and an in-depth discussion of the headedness issue, we refer the reader to Spencer and Stump (2013).

A careful comparison of the oblique case form of pronouns and the list of oblique case suffixes (Table 92) shows that some of the case markers that act as P-stems for pronouns have a special variety for this purpose. In particular, there is a change in the inessive (case suffix: *-ban/-ben*, P-stem: *benn-*), in the superessive (case suffix: *-on/-en/-ön*, P-stem: *rajt-*), in the sublative (case suffix: *-ra/-re*, P-stem: *rá-*), in the illative (case suffix: *-ba/-be*, P-stem: *bel-*), in the elative (case suffix: *-ból/-ből*, P-stem: *belől-*), and in the allative (case suffix: *-hoz/-hez/-höz*, P-stem: *hozá-*). We represent a full paradigm with the instrumental in Table 93, and the other oblique cases listed in Table 92 show a broadly similar pattern.

Table 93: The oblique paradigm of pronouns in instrumental case

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	(én-)vel-em	(mi-)vel-ünk
2 ND	(te-)vel-ed	(ti-)vel-etek
3 RD	(ő-)vel-e	(ők-)vel-ük

We can observe the usual anti-agreement pattern in 3PI (*ő-vel-ük*, (s)he-Ins-3PI), but we note that the agreeing version of oblique 3PI pronouns exists and is relatively frequent in some dialects of Hungarian (*ők-vel-ük*, they-Ins-3PI).

4.2.5. Some notes on the distribution of overt and covert pronouns

Hungarian cross-clausal anaphora is discussed in detail in 1.1.1.3. Here we make some comments on the distribution of overt and covert personal pronouns in constructions where a potential clause-mate antecedent is present.

It is well-known that stressed object pronouns can corefer with the subject in English in appropriately construed contexts (see Reinhart (2006) for an overview). We see a distribution of labor then between the reflexive anaphor and the personal pronoun: the former can be interpreted as a bound variable, and the latter is coreferential with the subject (see 4.1.2).

(1518) • Local referential dependencies in English

- a. Only *I* saw *me* in the mirror.
'Nobody else saw me in the mirror.' *coreference*
- b. Only *I* saw *myself* in the mirror.
'Nobody else saw herself/himself in the mirror.' *binding*

Hungarian native speakers generally reject locally coreferential object pronouns, and (1519) is therefore essentially ungrammatical.

(1519) • Locally coreferential object pronouns are ungrammatical

- *Csak *én* lát-t-am *engem* a tükör-ben.
only *I* see-Past-1Sg *I*Acc the mirror-in
'Only *I* saw *me* in the mirror.'

As we will see in (4.3.2), complex reflexive pronouns may license local coreference in Hungarian even in object or subject position in appropriate configurations.

There are, however, at least two constructions in which a pronoun can take a clause-mate antecedent in a coreference-based dependency. For at least some speakers, a local referential dependency can be established involving a first or second person subject and preferably a *pro*-dropped pronominal complement of a locative postposition (instead of the reflexive anaphor, which is used for this purpose in the standard, see Rákosi (2010)). Consider (1520) as an illustrative minimal pair.

(1520) • Locative PPs and referential dependencies

- a. Csak *én* lát-t-am valami-t *magam mellett*.
only *I* see-Past-1Sg something-Acc *myself* *beside*
'Only *I* saw something *beside myself*.'
 - (i) Nobody else saw anything beside themselves. *binding*
 - (ii) *Nobody else saw anything beside me. *coreference*

- b. %Csak én láttam valami-t mellett-em.
 only I see-Past-1Sg something-Acc beside-1Sg
 ‘Only I saw something beside me.’
- (i) ??Nobody else saw anything beside them. binding
 (ii) Nobody else saw anything beside me. coreference

The reflexive anaphor only licenses a bound variable reading (1520a). The pronominal variety of this construction (with the personal pronoun complement itself preferably *pro*-dropped), however, is best suited to express coreference and the bound variable reading is only marginally available (1520b).

A related contrast is observable in possessive constructions. The default coding of possessor anaphora is the *pro*-drop of the possessor in the presence of a clause-mate antecedent.

(1521) ● Anaphoric possessors

- a. Csak én lát-t-am a sors-om-at.
 only I see-Past-1Sg the fate-Poss.1Sg-Acc
 ‘Only I saw my fate.’
- (i) Nobody else saw their own fate. binding
 (ii) Nobody else saw my fate. coreference
- b. %Csak én láttam az én sors-om-at.
 only I see.Past.1Sg the I fate-Poss.1Sg-Acc
 ‘Only I saw my fate.’
- (i) *Nobody else saw their own fate. binding
 (ii) Nobody else saw my fate. coreference

The *pro*-dropped variant here has both the bound variable and the coreference reading (1521), whereas the spellout of the pronominal possessor is only compatible with coreference (1521). The emerging picture is that in Hungarian, just like in English, pronominal constructions can license local coreference, but this option is restricted to cases of non-coargument anaphora in Hungarian.

4.2.6. Polite pronouns

Hungarian has two *vous*-pronouns that are used as polite alternatives to second person personal pronouns in addressing speech participants. Both *ön* ‘you’ and *maga* ‘you’ have singular and plural variants, and in both cases they trigger third person agreement (1522). Unlike personal pronouns, they inflect for case morphology like lexical noun phrases (1523).

(1522) ● Polite pronouns and agreement

- a. Mi-t csinál itt ön/maga?
 what-Acc do.3Sg here you?
 ‘What are you (singular) doing here?’
- b. Mi-t csinál-nak itt ön-ök/mag-uk?
 what-Acc do-3Pl here you-Pl
 ‘What are you (plural) doing here?’

- (1523) ● Polite pronouns and case
- a. Nem lát-om ön-t/magá-t.
not see-1Sg you-Acc
'I don't see you.'
 - b. Nem megy-ek ön-nel/magá-val.
not go-1Sg you-Ins
'I'm not going with you.'

Maga 'you' is surface-identical with the third person reflexive pronoun, and it in fact derives from a composite address term that contained the reflexive. *Ön* is a 19th century invention, a derivative of the prefixal reflexivizer *ön-* 'self'.

The choice between the two is subject to a complex web of social constraints. In general, *ön* is experienced as more formal and more polite by many speakers, and it tends to be used in contexts in which the speech participants treat each other as equals or when one intends to address his or her interlocutor in a distinctively polite manner. *Maga* is often used when there is an air of absence of equality, as in contexts involving non-symmetric, hierarchical relations between the speech participants, or in the presence of an age gap or a gender difference. *Maga* was often used within the family, but this use has been strongly on the decline. Wherever possible, most native speakers prefer these days not to use either of these pronouns, and to stay on more informal terms by using personal pronouns to address speech participants.

4.3. Anaphors

4.3.1. *The primary reflexive*

The default argument reflexive of Hungarian, *maga* 'himself', is a body-part reflexive in historical terms. It derives from an expression that used to be a possessive phrase ('my body'), and though it lost its transparency long time ago, it still has some possessive reflexes in the synchronic system (see Rákosi 2011). The reflexive paradigm, to start with, includes agreement morphology of a possessive sort, as summarized in Table 94.

Table 94: *The nominative paradigm of the reflexive anaphor*

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	<i>magam</i>	<i>magunk</i>
2 ND	<i>magad</i>	<i>magatok</i>
3 RD	<i>maga</i>	<i>maguk</i>

Each member of the reflexive paradigm takes inflectional morphology like a (possessive) noun phrase and they all trigger 3Sg agreement as possessors.

- (1524) ● Reflexive morphology
- a. Ad-ok magam-nak egy esély-t.
give-1Sg myself-Dat a chance-Acc
'I give myself a chance.'

- b. Törőd-j a magad dolg-á-val.
 mind-Subj.2Sg the yourself thing-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘Mind your own business.’

Though obviously not active syntactically as possessive expressions any more (they cannot, for example, combine with the definite article), reflexives may take two types of modifiers characteristic of possessive constructions, albeit in an idiosyncratic and grammaticalized manner. One complex form of the reflexive, for example, contains the possessive adjective *saját* ‘own.’

- (1525) ● The reflexive modified by *saját* ‘own’
- a. Ad-ok [saját magam-nak] egy esély-t.
 give-1Sg own myself-Dat a chance-Acc
 ‘I give myself a chance.’
- b. Ad-ok [a saját báty-ám-nak is] egy esély-t.
 give-1Sg the own brother-Poss.1Sg-Dat too a chance-Acc
 ‘I give my own brother, too, a chance.’

Second, the “possessor” of the reflexive may be spelled out in a somewhat archaic register for reasons of emphasis. Compare (1526a) and (1526b).

- (1526) ● Spelling out the possessor
- a. %Szeres-d te(n)magad(-at).
 love-Subj.2Sg you-yourself(-Acc)
 ‘Love thyself.’
- b. Szeres-d a te barát-od(-at).
 love-Subj.2Sg the you friend-Poss.2Sg(-Acc)
 ‘Love your friend.’

This example also calls our attention to the fact that the accusative case marker may be absent on 1Sg and 2Sg reflexives, just like it can be dropped in the case of possessive heads bearing 1Sg or 2Sg agreement morphology.

4.3.2. Complex reflexives

The primary Hungarian reflexive *maga* ‘himself/herself’ also has more complex variants. The grammar of these complex reflexives differs in important ways from the grammar of the primary reflexive (see Rákosi 2011). *Önmaga* is an item which is used in contexts that require an increased level of referentiality. *Saját maga*, which we mentioned in the previous subsection, is very similar in its grammar to *önmaga*, and we will use the latter for illustration. *Jómaga* is a lexicalised **logophoric reflexive**, which has recently been gaining popularity in the standard colloquial dialect within a subset of the speakers. What these complex forms have in common is the relative syntactic freedom that arises as a consequence of the structure built around the primary reflexive core.

Önmaga ‘himself/herself’ is the complex of the prefix *ön-* ‘self-’ and the primary reflexive *maga* ‘himself/herself’. Its paradigm is similar in every other respect to the paradigm of the primary reflexive (Table 94). The two reflexives are often interchangeable *salva veritate*, but there are certain contexts where they are

not. We discuss some of these in 4.3.4, and we present here two constructions that manifest the increased degree of referentiality that is characteristic of *önmaga*.

(1527) • Differences in the distribution of *önmaga* and *maga* ‘himself, herself’

a. *a korábbi önmagam / *magam*

the former myself

‘my former self’

b. *János újra önмага / *maga.*

János again himself

‘János is *himself* again.’

In (1527a), we see that the complex reflexive can combine with adjectival modifiers and then a full-fledged noun phrase is built around the reflexive head, which acts more like a noun in this construction. The immediate point is that the primary reflexive is incompatible with such structure building. In (1527b), the complex and only the complex reflexive serves as the predicate of an identity statement in a situation which implies a comparison of two diverging aspects of the selfsame individual.

Jómaga ‘himself/herself’ is the compound of the primary reflexive and the adjective *jó* ‘good’. It is the 1Sg form *jómagam* ‘myself’ that dominantly occurs in corpora and it is almost always used as a subject that agrees with the verb.

(1528) • *Jómagam* ‘myself’ as an agreeing subject

Jómagam nem lát-t-am semmi-t.

I not see-Past-1Sg nothing-Acc

‘I didn’t see anything.’

It may appear to be an alternative to the personal pronoun, but that it is not is shown by at least two facts. First, it may be licensed as an object in sentences with a coreferring subject (at least for a subset of speakers). Personal pronouns are ungrammatical in this case (see 1519).

(1529) • *Jómagam* ‘myself’ with a local antecedent

%Én sem ért-em jómagam-at.

I neither understand-DefObj.1Sg myself-Acc

‘Even I don’t understand myself.’

Second, *jómaga* requires an antecedent that is prominent in the discourse and whose mental model is described by the clause which contains *jómaga*.

(1530) • The logophoricity of *jómaga* ‘himself’

a. *Péter az-t mondt-a nek-em, hogy jómaga nem látott semmi-t.*

Péter that-Acc told-DefObj.Past.3Sg Dat-1Sg that himself not saw.Past.3Sg nothing-Acc

‘Péter told me *he* didn’t see anything.’

b. **Az-t mondt-am Péter-nek, hogy jómaga nem látott semmi-t.*

that-Acc told.Past-DefObj.1Sg Péter-Dat that himself not saw.Past.3Sg nothing-Acc

‘I told Péter that *he* (=Péter) didn’t see anything.’

There is a pronounced contrast in grammaticality between the two sentences in (1530). In (1530a), the reflexive in the subordinate clause can take the matrix

subject *Péter* as its long-distance antecedent, given that the sentence can be construed as depicting the mental model of Péter. In (1530a), it is the speaker that could serve as such a discourse-level antecedent, and the 3Sg reflexive fails in the subordinate clause for lack of a matching antecedent. Pronominals that require a discourse antecedent are known as logophors in the literature, and *jómaga* is representative of this class. It is not by accident that the most frequent member of the paradigm is the 1Sg *jómagam* ‘myself’, since the speaker is easily accessible as a discourse antecedent.

4.3.3. The reciprocal pronoun

The Hungarian reciprocal anaphor is *egymás* ‘each other’. This anaphor is a complex of *egy* ‘one’ and *más* ‘other’, which, like similar elements in many other languages, developed into a reciprocal anaphor that native speakers do not identify as a transparent compound. Nevertheless one can still see the motivation behind this idiomatic composition if a reciprocal statement is paraphrased with the pair *egyik* ‘one (of them)’ and *másik* ‘the other (of them)’ (see 2.5.3 for a description of the unique identification suffix *-ik*).

(1531) • Two reciprocal constructions

- a. Egy-ik feljelent-ett-e a más-ik-at a rendőrség-en.
 one-1K report-Past-3Sg the other-1K-Acc the police-Sup
 ‘One reported the other to the police.’
- b. A két szomszéd feljelentette egymás-t a rendőrség-en.
 the two neighbour report.Past.3Sg each.other-Acc the police-Sup
 ‘The two neighbours reported each other to the police.’

(1531a) has a reading which is roughly equivalent to the meaning of (1531b), and it is when both people report the other to the police. As regards the reciprocal anaphor, we note three facts here. First, it inflects like a lexical noun, in which it is similar to reflexives. Second, its form is constant with first, second and third person antecedents. Third, as (1531b) shows, the antecedent does not need to have plural morphology. It is sufficient if the antecedent has a plural reference set and it can be interpreted distributively.

4.3.4. Some notes on the distribution of reflexives and reciprocals

Hungarian binding phenomena have been discussed in the pertinent literature mostly as evidence for or against particular proposals concerning the structure of the Hungarian clause. We cannot discuss this literature here but refer the reader instead to Alberti (1998b) and É. Kiss (2002) for two different accounts of how argument structure may have a direct effect on licensing local anaphoric dependencies in Hungarian, and to the volume on the structure of main clauses (M8) for the syntactic factors that play a role in licensing local anaphora (also see Surányi 2006b). Here we focus on some prominent differences in the distribution and the interpretation of the anaphoric pronouns of Hungarian which reinforce the description we have provided in the subsections above.

We already noted in 4.3.2 that the complex reflexive *jómaga* ‘himself, herself’ dominantly occurs in subject position. The primary reflexive or the reciprocal

anaphor are ungrammatical as syntactic subjects in any context, but the complex reflexive *önmaga* ‘himself/herself’ can function as a subject. This happens mostly in psych constructions where the subject argument is less prominent than the non-subject argument and where a “representation of the self” reading is available (see Rákosi 2015).

(1532) • Subject anaphors

Mink-et megijeszt *önmagunk* / **magunk* / **egymás*.
we-Acc frighten.3Sg *ourselves* / *ourselves* / *each other*
 ‘Our own selves frighten us.’

Notice that the verb has to bear 3Sg agreement morphology. This follows if we assume that reflexives have a possessive structure, which requires 3Sg agreement (see the discussion in 4.3.1). The reason why the primary reflexive *maga* fails as a subject is that it cannot license the sort of referential shifts that contexts like (1532) require. *Önmaga*, which shows signs of a degree of referentiality not usually attested among reflexives, survives in these contexts.

Interestingly, each of the anaphors can serve as nominative possessors anaphoric to a clause-mate antecedent and each triggers 3Sg agreement on the possessum.

(1533) • Anaphoric possessors

- a. *A lány-ok* felfedez-t-ék **(a) maguk* határ-a-i-t.
the girl-Pl discover-Past-DefObj.3Pl *the themselves* limit-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc
 ‘The girls discovered *their own* limits.’
- b. *A lány-ok* felfedez-t-ék *(??az) önmaguk* határ-a-i-t.
the girl-Pl discover-Past-DefObj.3Pl *the themselves* limit-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc
 ‘The girls discovered *their own* limits.’
- c. *A lány-ok* felfedez-t-ék **(a) jómaguk* határ-a-i-t.
the girl-Pl discover-Past-DefObj.3Pl *the themselves* limit-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc
 ‘The girls discovered *their own* limits.’
- d. *A lány-ok* felfedez-t-ék *(??az) egymás* határ-a-i-t.
the girl-Pl discover-Past-DefObj.3Pl *the each_other* limit-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc
 ‘The girls discovered *each other’s* limits.’

As (1533) shows, the primary reflexive obligatory co-occurs with the definite article in the possessive construction, whereas the other anaphors are either totally incompatible with the definite article or at least the presence of the article significantly decreases the acceptability of the construction.

We note finally that anaphors also differ in terms of how they can contribute to the building of referential dependencies. Consider the examples in (1534).

(1534) • The distribution of bound variable and coreference readings

- a. *Csak én* lát-t-am *magam-at* a tükör-ben.
only I see-Past-1Sg *myself-Acc* the mirror-Ine
 ‘Only *I* saw *myself* in the mirror.’
- (i) Nobody else saw himself/herself in the mirror. binding
- (ii) *^{??}Nobody else saw me in the mirror. coreference

- b. Csak *én lát-t-am önmagam-at* a tükör-ben.
 only I see-Past-1Sg myself-Acc the mirror-Ine
 ‘Only I saw myself in the mirror.’
 (i) Nobody else saw himself/herself in the mirror. binding
 (ii) Nobody else saw me in the mirror. coreference
- c. Csak *én lát-t-am jómagam-at* a tükör-ben.
 only I see-Past-1Sg myself-Acc the mirror-Ine
 ‘Only I saw myself in the mirror.’
 (i) *Nobody else saw himself/herself in the mirror. binding
 (ii) Nobody else saw me in the mirror. coreference

The primary reflexive can be construed primarily only as a bound variable, and it does not license coreference in the presence of a local antecedent (1534a). *Jómaga* can only be interpreted as coreferential with the subject, but it cannot act as a bound variable (1534c). *Önmaga* has both readings (1534b).

4.3.5. The primary reflexive as an intensifier

The primary reflexive also functions as an **intensifier** in the sense of König and Gast (2006). Its three major uses are illustrated in (1535).

- (1535) ● The primary reflexive as an intensifier
- a. *Maga a város* nem volt túl érdekes.
itself the city not be.Past.3Sg too interesting
 ‘The city itself wasn’t too interesting.’
- b. Holnap (*én*) *magam* megy-ek oda.
 tomorrow I myself go-1Sg there
 ‘I go there myself tomorrow.’
- c. *János* gondolkoz-ott ez-en *maga* is.
János think-Past.3Sg this-on himself too
 ‘János thought about it himself.’

In what König and Gast (2006) call the adnominal use of the intensifier, the reflexive is either left- or right-adjoined to the noun phrase it modifies. (1535a) illustrates the former case. In this use, the intensifier relates the referent of the noun phrase to a contextually salient alternative – for example, the countryside around the city. (1535b) illustrates the ‘al[so] p[er]s[on]ally; with[out] help’ reading of the intensifier, and (1535c) shows its inclusive use, when it is accompanied by the particle *is* ‘too’. In these two cases, the associate noun phrase of the intensifier can be *pro*-dropped if the usual requirements are satisfied (1535b), and the reflexive may also float away from its associate, as in (1535c).

4.4. Bibliographical notes

The role that argument structure and syntactic structure plays in the licensing of Hungarian personal pronouns and anaphors has been discussed intensively in the literature. We refer the reader to Alberti (1998b) and É. Kiss (1992, 2002) for succinct overviews. The morphosyntax of Hungarian pronouns is discussed at length in Bartos (1999, 2000b) and Dékány (2011), and see also Rákosi (2011) on complex reflexives. Kenesei (2000) and Kálmán and Molnár (2007) make detailed comments on the notion *pronoun* and on problems of classification.

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