COMPREHENSIVE GRAMMAR RESOURCES

Series editors: Henk van Riemsdijk, István Kenesei and Hans Broekhuis

Syntax of *Hungarian*

Nouns and Noun Phrases

VOLUME I

Edited by
Gábor Alberti
and Tibor Laczkó

Amsterdam
University
Press

Syntax of Hungarian
Nouns and Noun Phrases
Volume I

Comprehensive Grammar Resources

With the rapid development of linguistic theory, the art of grammar writing has changed. Modern research on grammatical structures has tended to uncover many constructions, many in depth properties, many insights that are generally not found in the type of grammar books that are used in schools and in fields related to linguistics. The new factual and analytical body of knowledge that is being built up for many languages is, unfortunately, often buried in articles and books that concentrate on theoretical issues and are, therefore, not available in a systematized way.

The *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* (CGR) series intends to make up for this lacuna by publishing extensive grammars that are solidly based on recent theoretical and empirical advances. They intend to present the facts as completely as possible and in a way that will "speak" to modern linguists but will also and increasingly become a new type of grammatical resource for the semi- and non-specialist. Such grammar works are, of necessity, quite voluminous. And compiling them is a huge task. Furthermore, no grammar can ever be complete. Instead new subdomains can always come under scientific scrutiny and lead to additional volumes. We therefore intend to build up these grammars incrementally, volume by volume.

In view of the encyclopaedic nature of grammars, and in view of the size of the works, adequate search facilities must be provided in the form of good indices and extensive cross-referencing. Furthermore, frequent updating of such resources is imperative. The best way to achieve these goals is by making the grammar resources available in electronic format on a dedicated platform. Following current trends, the works will therefore appear in dual mode: as open access objects freely perusable by anyone interested, and as hard copy volumes to cater to those who cherish holding a real book in their hands. The scientific quality of these grammar resources will be jointly guaranteed by the series editors Henk van Riemsdijk, István Kenesei and Hans Broekhuis and the publishing house Amsterdam University Press.

Series editors:
Henk van Riemsdijk
István Kenesei
Hans Broekhuis

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The research leading toward the publication of this and the following volumes of *Comprehensine Grammar Resources*: *Hungarian* was supported by Grant No. 100804 from OTKA, the Hungarian National Research Fund. The publication of the two volumes on *Nouns and Noun Phrases* was sponsored by a special grant from the Open Access Fund of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

This book is published in print and online through the online OAPEN library (www.oapen.org)

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Cover design: Studio Jan de Boer, Amsterdam
Layout: Hans Broekhuis

ISBN 978 94 6298 270 3
E-ISBN 978 90 4853 274 2
DOI 10.5117/9789462982703
NUR 616 | 624

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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	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	Ine	Inessive
2Obj	Object in 2nd person	Ins	Instrumental
Abl	Ablative	Mod	Modality (‘is permitted’ / ‘may’ *-hAt*)
Acc	Accusative		
Ade	Adessive	Mult	Multiplicative suffix
Adv	Adverbial suffix	Nmn	Nominalizer
All	Allative	Nom	Nominative
Apl	Associative plural suffix (*-ék*)	Ord	Ordinalizer
Attr	Attributivizer	Part	Participle
Cau	Causalis	Past	Past Tense (*-t*)
Caus	Causative derivational suffix	perf	perfectivizing preverb *meg*
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 *-ik*)
Del	Delative	Q	Question particle (*-e*)
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 (*-kor*)
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 *or* 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*, acceptable with index *j*
$XX_{i/*j}$	Unacceptable with index *j*, acceptable with index *i*
$[_{XP}$ ...]	Constituent brackets of a constituent XP

The Syntax of Hungarian

General Introduction

István Kenesei

1. The series

This is the first volume of the second series of books in what we hope will become a monumental international project, which began sometime in 1992 as a modest attempt at launching *The Syntax of Dutch* at Tilburg University under the sponsorship of Henk van Riemsdijk. Originally, the plan was only meant to include Dutch, but as that project, after a long period of gestation, finally lifted off the ground, Henk van Riemsdijk approached István Kenesei early 2008 with a proposal that was to include a number of other languages. The enterprise was named *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* and a detailed plan was submitted by the two co-editors to Mouton de Gruyter, where Ursula Kleinheinz adopted and supported the series.

Its objectives were outlined in our conspectus in 2009 as follows. "With the rapid development of linguistic theory, the art of grammar writing has changed. Modern research on grammatical structures has tended to uncover many constructions, many in depth properties, many insights that are generally not found in the type of grammar books that are used in schools and in fields related to linguistics. The new factual and analytical body of knowledge that is being built up for many languages is, unfortunately, often buried in articles and books that concentrate on theoretical issues and are, therefore, not available in a systematized way. The *CGR* series intends to make up for this lacuna by publishing extensive grammars that are solidly based on recent theoretical and empirical advances. They intend to present the facts as completely as possible and in a way that will 'speak' to modern linguists but will also, and increasingly, become a new type of grammatical resource for the semi- and non-specialist."

The fate of the series hung by a thread when Ursula Kleinheinz unexpectedly fell ill and to our great sorrow subsequently passed away. After intensive negotiations with Mouton de Gruyter the editors approached Amsterdam University Press, which not only welcomed the plan but offered an advantageous online publication scheme, deemed necessary from its inception for such gigantic work. The final agreement was signed in 2011, just in time for the first installments of *The Syntax of Dutch* to come out with AUP in 2012.

With the Dutch project now nearing its conclusion after having produced seven sizable volumes, each around 600 pages, and all available also online, we are ready to launch the next series of books, *The Syntax of Hungarian.*

2. Previous research into the grammar of Hungarian

Research into Hungarian in a generative framework started in the 1960's after a number of linguists had returned to Hungary from study trips in the USA. Modern linguistics began to be taught first in Budapest then at other universities in the country, early results were soon published (Telegdi 1969), and by the mid-1970's there arose a community whose systematic work has been continuous ever since. By the end of the next decade the tangled issues of Hungarian word order were given a fresh start (É. Kiss 1978) and concurrently a research team was set up at the Research Institute for Linguistics (RIL) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences with the aim of producing extensive studies of the grammar within a generative framework. In the 1980's Hungarian had become the topic of international publications (É. Kiss 1981, 1987, Horvath 1986), the only international linguistics journal in Hungary, *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, started to publish more and more articles in modern frameworks, a new series of collections of papers in English on Hungarian, *Approaches to Hungarian*, was started at the University of Szeged (subsequently moved to Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, and currently published by John Benjamins, Amsterdam), individual conferences were organized with particular attention to Hungarian in the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria (cf., e.g., Abraham and de Meij 1986), and a biennial conference series on "The Structure of Hungarian" was conceived, following the first of its kind at Indiana University, Bloomington, in 1992, now regularly held at alternate venues in Hungary and abroad.

The first concerted effort of the 'middle generation' of generative linguists resulted in a voluminous book on the syntax of Hungarian (Kiefer 1992), soon to be published in a modified and somewhat abridged English version (Kiefer and É. Kiss 1994). By the 1990's, issues, analyses and properties of the Hungarian language in general had become household items in linguistics journals, and the language had appeared as one of the best described and analyzed non-Indo-European languages, often making a substantial presence in arguments and illustrations even in textbooks in syntax or linguistics at large (e.g., Haegeman and Guéron 1999). In the meantime a number of students graduated in Hungary and abroad, due to grants primarily in the Netherlands and the USA, and have either come back or remained in close contact with the linguistic scene in Hungary.

The 'hot' topics in Hungarian that have long attracted the attention of linguists at large include some of the basic features of this language. Early on, as was mentioned above, problems of the word order were of paramount significance, since it was extremely difficult to render in a rigid NP – Aux – VP framework. É. Kiss's work from the late 1970's on threw new light on the configurationality issue, and while she offered a 'flat' VP, a controversial issue ever since, her assumptions relating to the left periphery have radically changed our thinking of the constituency, order, and functions of the syntactic material below and above the Complementizer, inducing work opening new perspectives, such as Brody (1990) or Rizzi (1997).

Another highly popular and frequently cited chapter of the grammar has been the DP, and in particular possessive constructions. Since Szabolcsi (1981, 1987) laid down the foundations of the analysis on the pattern of the clause and drew the

analogy that, among other things, contributed to introducing the Spec-Head division in the X-bar system and adding more structure to the Comp layer, it has challenged many an acute mind offering various solutions to problems like the 'nominative–dative alternation' on the possessor DP, the movement of the possessor out of the possessive DP, and discovered new traits in the constructions, such as antiagreement phenomena, or the problem of genitive case (Den Dikken 1999, É. Kiss 2002, Dékány 2015).

The order and relative scopes of quantifiers and operators in the left periphery as well as postverbally have also been of central importance. Ever since Anna Szabolcsi, and following her, Ed Williams, quipped that "Hungarian wore its Logical Form on its sleeve", it has been in the foreground. Hungarian is a language exhibiting well-defined properties of contrastive topics (Szabolcsi 1983, Molnár 1998, Gyuris 2009), interesting ambiguous properties of *only* (É. Kiss 1998) the interaction of focus, quantifiers, and negation (Puskás 2006), or in general, the properties of the left periphery (Kenesei and Lipták 2009).The study of adverbs and adverbial adjuncts in Hungarian has also produced a collection of papers (É. Kiss 2009).

Another result of the concerted efforts of generative grammarians has been the research into the historical syntax of Hungarian, owing to projects devised and managed, roughly concurrently and with a partially overlapping personnel with this project, by Katalin É. Kiss (2014a, 2014b). The large number of conference presentations, articles in journals, and the two collections of research papers serve as evidence that this non-Indo-European language has quite a few surprises in store in tracking down syntactic changes.

Let us conclude at this point that the linguistic community studying the properties of Hungarian in and outside Hungary is particularly well motivated to embark on a project producing a generative-based, but in effect theory-neutral descriptive survey of the language.

Incidentally, although traditional descriptive grammars have been in currency in Hungary, the latest of which is a 583-page (text)book, their approaches have been unprincipled, nonexhaustive, and on the whole unsystematic (cf. Tompa 1961, Bencédy *et al.* 1968, Keszler 2000). Of the two English-language grammars in print, Rounds (2001) is intended for the language-learner, while Kenesei *et al.* (1998) was written on the pattern of the so-called "Lingua questionnaire", which had a pre-defined structure so that all languages would be described in an identical fashion. As a result of this, and because of scope limitations, they could not address a number of issues at all or in sufficient depth. On the other hand, the promise of generative grammars to provide exhaustive surveys, descriptions, and analyses has never been fulfilled, primarily because the discovery of problems and exploring the principles have always taken precedence over exhaustive descriptions. This promise can now be realized, that is, at least in the field of syntax, or in other words, in 'grammar proper', an extensive treatise of the results available can be summed up. It was with this objective in mind that the team behind this project set to work.

3. The project

When the grant proposal was ultimately approved in 2011 and the project was ready to start early 2012, it had 38 participants with senior and junior staff members roughly in equal numbers. They formed eight teams in view of the main themes of the volumes to be compiled.

Although we were aware of the structure of our Dutch forerunner, based on the distinction between the internal and external syntax of the four major lexical categories (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adpositions, i.e., N, V, A, P) and their phrases (NP, VP, AP, PP), we followed a somewhat different pattern owing mainly to the nature of the problems discussed in the literature on Hungarian. The Dutch project included the complementation and modification of each lexical category in the respective chapters, then proceeded to discuss the functional categories associated with the lexical category under review, and concluded with the broader syntactic environment of the phrase in question.

The Hungarian project also covers the four major lexical categories noun, verb, adjective and adposition in separate volumes, discussing their characteristics, complementation, and modification much like the *Syntax of Dutch*, but retains a more traditional division of labor by devoting individual volumes to clausal phenomena. The structure of the project, that is, the eight areas in which the teams were organized, and titles (as well as the currently foreseeable order) of publications are as follows: Nouns and Noun Phrases (Vols. 1 and 2), Postpositions and Postpositional Phrases, Sentence Structure, Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases, Adjectival Phrases, Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases, Finite Embedding, Coordination and Ellipsis.

The four volumes that deal with lexical categories and their phrases (NP, VP, PP, AP) need no special justification. Let us, however, argue now for the four remaining topics. It is well-known that perhaps the most distinctive feature of the syntax of Hungarian is the order of the constituents arranged not with respect to grammatical functions but according to their logical or communicative properties. Rather than extending the number of volumes discussing the VP, we have decided to devote a separate volume to the constituent order and related problems, such as negation, questions, or modality. It is also in this volume that the characteristics of the intonational patterns are presented. Since finite embedded clauses, whether *that*-clauses complementing nouns, verbs, or adjectives, or relative clauses adjoined to APs, NPs, or PPs, show a remarkable similarity, it was also reasonable to compile a volume specifically for them. There are several subtypes of nonfinite clauses in this language, and although some of them could have easily been treated as complements to or modifiers of major lexical categories, due to properties overarching several of them it was again more economical to put them in a single volume. Finally, the description of and the problems relating to ellipsis and coordination are again difficult to envision as belonging to any one of the lexical categories, so they again are assembled in a separate volume. While all of these four sets of topics could have been divided and thus added to the volumes on the NP, the AP, the PP, and the VP, this solution would have resulted in more repetitions, as well as a more imbalanced structure regarding the sizes and contents of the

individual volumes. Let us hope that the trial of our pudding is in the eating and our prospective readership will not turn away from the dish served to them.

Again, in distinction to the Dutch project, we had decided on a different structure of the team producing the grammar. First of all, since we were intent on funding the project with grant money and grants, as a rule, last for four years, with a possible one-year extension (but without extra funding), it was clear that the 'small team' approach was not viable: no panel of three to five people could have put aside the time on top of their usual chores to write the grammar or work on the project full time by giving up their main occupations as professors or researchers. Moreover, in the unlikely case of their being financed full time by the grant, it would still have been dubious whether the project could come to conclusion in four (or five) years.

The alternative was to set up a relatively large group comprised of eight teams led by senior researchers, each having considerable expertise in the subjects of the volumes to be written. This option has had several advantages. First of all, it called on all syntacticians who were capable and ready to contribute, thus forming a nationwide enterprise unparalleled before. Moreover, it offered salaried positions to unemployed young linguists so they could write up chapters that had not been covered by independent research before. And the teams could work according to their own schedules. Among the difficulties of this type of organization are the inevitable differences in approaching similar issues. Although we had planned regular meetings of, and consultations with, the team leaders as well as two all-project conferences each year, the end result will show some divergence in particular analyses, mostly due to the convictions of team leaders regarding lesser issues, which we hope will not hinder the general intelligibility or decrease the value of the work.

The research personnel encompassed three generations of researchers, from internationally acknowledged professors to the middle generation to post-docs or promising graduate (PhD/MA) students. The team leaders, who have all 'grown' into becoming volume editors, were of course from the first two age groups and their responsibilities are listed as follows.

Nouns and Noun Phrases – Gábor Alberti and Tibor Laczkó
Postpositions and Postpositional Phrases – Katalin É. Kiss
Sentence Structure – Balázs Surányi
Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases – Károly Bibok
Adjectival Phrases – Huba Bartos
Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases – Tibor Laczkó and Gábor Alberti
Finite Embedding – Zsuzsa Gécseg
Coordination and Ellipsis – Zoltán Bánréti

Collaborators came from the Universities of Debrecen, Pécs, and Szeged, Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Piliscsaba), that is, from all major universities in Hungary with linguistics curricula, as well as from the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Academy. Altogether exactly 50 researchers worked for some time for the project, with almost exclusively junior

team members entering and leaving midterm, due to their changing job situations, maternity leaves, or, exceptionally, for reasons of quality of the work they submitted. All told, 17 of them were employed by the project for at least a period of six months. Apart from these junior researchers, all senior and junior staff worked unpaid, compensated for their contribution only by receiving occasional international travel grants to conferences as part of the project.

The project had an international aspect as well, and not only because the principal collaborator of the Dutch project, Dr. Hans Broekhuis, provided help in the first year by coming to our all-project conference to give an overview of their work and offering, as it were, advice online throughout, for which we express our thanks to him, but, more significantly, by inviting Hungarian syntacticians working outside Hungary, notably in France, Germany, The Netherlands, Norway, Romania (Transylvania), and the USA, which underscores the lively contacts between the local and the 'expat' communities and their active collaboration.

4. The language

The choice of Hungarian as the subject of the second series of books in the project *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* followed not only from the fact that the junior series editor is a Hungarian, but also from this language having been elevated in the past 40-odd years to the rank of one of the most thoroughly investigated non-Indo-European languages in the generative framework (together with perhaps Basque, Chinese, and Japanese, to list a few others), as was mentioned above. So the time was ripe to embark on an enterprise that would bring all the knowledge previously published in various monographs, dissertations, articles, etc., into a single set of books accessible to the linguistic community at large.

Hungarian belongs to the Ugric branch of Finno-Ugric languages within the Uralic family. Its closest relatives are Mansi and Khanti, with c. 30,000 and 10,000 speakers respectively, while Hungarian has c. 13-14 million speakers, of which somewhat less than 10 million are in Hungary; most of the rest are in the neighboring countries of Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, and Ukraine (in decreasing numbers from 1.5 million to 140,000) and a few tens of thousands in Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria, living mostly in the areas along their borders with Hungary, except for the Székelys and Csángós in Transylvania and beyond. In addition, several hundred thousand Hungarian speakers are themselves recent immigrants or descendants of earlier waves in (Western) Europe, the Americas, Israel, Australia and New Zealand.

The first charters written in part in Hungarian came down from the mid-11th century, while the first text, the *Funeral Sermon and Prayer* dates from c. 1195. Grammars were written as early as the 17th century, and following the foundation of the Academy of Sciences in 1828 historical and later descriptive studies of the language were published in large numbers. It was the Hungarian astronomer Johannis Sajnovics who discovered the relationship between Finno-Ugric languages in 1770, well before Sir William Jones' famous lecture on Sanskrit in 1786. Antal Reguly, Bernát Munkácsy, and Joseph Budenz carried out research into the historical origins of the language, while Sámuel Brassai, János Fogarasi, József Szinnyei and Zsigmond Simonyi published extensive grammars and studies of the

nature of the grammatical system of Hungarian during the second half of the 19th century.

Hungarian is a remarkably uniform language as far as its dialects are concerned: with the exception of the Eastern dialect of the Csángós, there are practically no dialects that are not mutually intelligible to any of the others, although there are differences mostly in phonology, morphology and vocabulary. The standard language exists in regional varieties, and since this project has a membership drawn from various regions, these varieties are not excluded from the sources. The main dialects are shown in the map below.

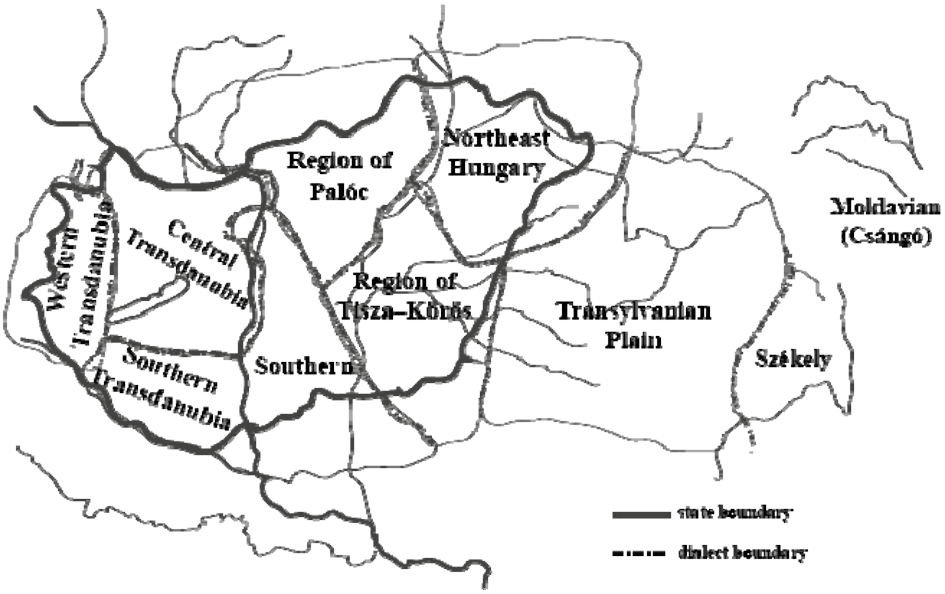

Figure 1: Main Hungarian dialects

The most conspicuous differences are in pronunciation and vocabulary. For example, speakers in the Palóc region have an unrounded short /a/ instead of the majority dialects' round /ɔ/, as in *alma* 'apple'. Common Hungarian *egres* 'gooseberry' has regional varieties like *piszke, büszke, köszméte*. Morphological distinctions between dialects are also frequent; one set has come to signal and/or serve social differentiation between educated or standard *versus* non-standard or 'low' varieties as corroborated by 'purists' and due to indoctrination at schools. One characteristic example is that of the use of subjunctive for indicative conjugation in some verb-forms like dialectal *ért-sük* [e:rčyk] 'understand-Ind/Subj.1Pl' as against *ért-jük* [e:rcyk] 'understand-Ind.1Pl', both meaning 'we understand (it)' in the case in question, but only the latter is acceptable as the indicative form in educated speech, whereas the former is strongly stigmatized. Since in case of other verbs the subjunctive and indicative verb-forms coincide on the one hand, and on the other the [c] → [č] change in inflections is a natural phenomenon in the phonology of Hungarian, the distinction is, from a descriptive point of view, quite unfounded.

Syntactic differences are harder to put one's finger on except if they are used to indicate social distinctions. The position of the question clitic *-e* illustrates the point. In educated Hungarian it attaches to the finite verb, as in (1a,c). In dialectal varieties it can land on any other head as well, including any preverb, e.g., *el* 'away' (1b) or the negative word *nem* 'not' (1d).

(1) a. Anna le szaladt-e? [Standard]
Anna down ran Q
'Did Anna run down?'

b. Anna le-e szaladt? [Dialectal]
'idem.'

c. Anna nem szaladt-e le? [Standard]
Anna not ran Q down
'Didn't Anna run down?

d. Anna nem-e szaladt le? [Dialectal]
'idem.'

Other syntactic variations are not accompanied by value judgments, i.e. stigmatization, like the occurrence of the complementizer *hogy* 'that' adjacent to a number of initial sentence adverbials, cf. (2a-b) as contrasted with standard versions without the complementizer in parentheses.

(2) a. Valószínű-leg (hogy) Anna le- szaladt
probable-ADV that Anna down ran
'Probably Anna ran down.'

b. Természetes-en (hogy) Anna le- szaladt
natural-ADV that Anna down-ran
'Naturally Anna ran down.'

While this phenomenon was first noticed by purists, and then analyzed both by sociolinguists and generative/descriptive grammarians as was reviewed by Nemesi (2000), curiously it has not been adopted as a 'shibboleth' for social stigmatization, unlike the examples above. Moreover, it has never been studied as to its geographical distribution either.

Colloquial Hungarian, much like some South German dialects, tolerates the use of definite articles with proper names when referring to people, except in the North-Eastern dialect as was discussed by Szabolcsi (1994: 200f). She demonstrated that in that dialect the definite article can only occur if it is part of the possessive construction, cf. (3a-b).

(3) a. az Anna kalap-ja
the Anna hat-Poss
'Anna's hat'

b. (*Az) Anna isz-ik.
the Anna drink-3Sg
'Anna drinks.'

In the clause in (3b) the proper name can only be used without the definite article in this dialect, while in the colloquial idiom in other dialects the use of the article is quite frequent. However, in these dialects the possessive construction is acceptable also without the definite article.

There are also distinctions that have passed below the radar range of purists or sociolinguists, as for example the use of multiple negation with negative quantifiers, cf. (4), in which the negation word can be omitted in some dialects while it is obligatory in others, cf. Surányi (2007), Kenesei (2009, 2012).

(4) Nem a déli vonattal (nem) érkezett senki.
not the noon train.Ins not arrived nobody
'It is not the noon train that nobody arrived by.'

Unlike the phonological, morphological or lexical differences illustrated, these or similar syntactic properties have not been charted onto territorial dialects or sociolects as yet, but the *Syntax of Hungarian* makes an effort to register them as far as possible.

Since there has not been any systematic survey of syntactic variation in the dialects and/or sociolects of Hungarian, notwithstanding the reliable statistics of predominantly morphological variation in Kontra (2003), we do not venture to identify the variations presented in these volumes in terms of geographical or social coordinates. We will apply a fairly loose definition of Standard Hungarian, which includes all major regional varieties, especially since several of our authors come from or are located in dialectal areas. These observations are represented also in the grammaticality judgments, a moot issue in all works of generative intent. Members of the project have decided to rely on the individual team's decision as to marking the forms by means of the intricate system of notation.

Since the grammars in this series steer clear of technicalities, there are no principles, conditions, filters, barriers, phases, etc., listed or discussed, let alone introduced, no tree diagrams, no movement operations and/or constraints on them illustrated, although their consequences are demonstrated in simple language.

As was argued in the Preface to the *Syntax of Dutch*, we are concerned with how words are put together to form larger units, and how clauses and ultimately sentences are constructed out of these larger units. We do not discuss the structure of words, i.e., (derivational) morphology, except when it is relevant to the discussion of argument structure, nor do we pay attention to phonological processes, such as vowel harmony or assimilation. However, for our purposes inflectional morphology is part and parcel of syntax, especially since Hungarian is an agglutinative language.

We are intent on representing the native Hungarian speaker's knowledge of the grammar of the language as understood in this more restricted sense, but with a 'descriptive twist' as it were, that is concentrating on the results of several decades of generative research that can be summarized by giving systematic overviews of the phenomena to any practitioner of the field notwithstanding their allegiances to grammatical theories (or the lack thereof).

5. Acknowledgments

As was mentioned in the description of the project, except for a few junior members, all collaborators worked *gratis*. As general editor of *Comprehensive Grammar Resources: Hungarian* I am particularly grateful to the two volume editors, Gábor Alberti, Chair and Professor of Linguistics, University of Pécs, and Tibor Laczkó, Chair and Associate Professor, University of Debrecen, without whose dedication the end product would have been much different. But of course the work of all the others is also highly appreciated. Their names and affliliations are listed as follows: Anikó Csirmaz (Utah), Éva Dékány (RIL), Judit Farkas (RIL, Pécs), Judit Kleiber (Pécs), György Rákosi (Debrecen), Veronika Szabó (Pécs), Bernadett Szőke (Szeged, RIL), Bálint Tóth (Pécs, RIL), Anita Viszket (Pécs).

The management of the project as well as issues concerning the template were in the hands of Veronika Hegedűs (RIL), who was available almost day and night if problems arose.

Since practically almost the entire community of Hungarian syntacticians has been involved in the project, it was particularly difficult to find internal reviewers who would read and comment on the inevitable inconsistencies, deficiencies, and of course typos. We are very fortunate that there are a few dedicated linguists, both in and outside Hungary, who have volunteered to devote their time and expertise to this mission. We will thank them individually in case of each volume as we proceed with their publication, and this time we express our gratitude to Prof. Péter Siptár, a phonologist of high esteem, whose interests encompass almost all aspects of language and is an exceptionally experienced and meticulous reader as well. Without his contribution these two volumes on the Noun Phrase would surely have been more error-ridden than they hopefully are in their current form.

No book in linguistics written in English by nonnative speakers can be perfect without an expert copy-editor who understands the subject but does not tolerate nonidiomatic English. In our case this important, though not quite rewarding, job was performed by Dr. Mark Newson.

Finally, we are grateful to OTKA, the Hungarian National Research Fund, for awarding the grant, and to its successor, the National Research, Development and Innovation Office, for managing it since 2015, and having given us a complementary grant to finance the Open Access publication of the following volumes of *CGR Hungarian.* This two-volume publication has been supported by the Open Access Fund of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

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Introduction to *Nouns and Noun Phrases,* Volumes I and II

Gábor Alberti and Tibor Laczkó

This book deals with nouns and their projections (noun phrases). It is aimed to be similar to its Dutch counterpart *Nouns and noun phrases* (edited by Hans Broekhuis *et al.*) as part of the *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* series (edited by the Dutch Henk van Riemsdijk and the Hungarian István Kenesei) but there are some differences.

The book consists of four chapters. The first chapter deals with the "innermost circle" (see Figure 2), that is, the N head itself. It provides a survey of the most distinctive syntactic, semantic and morphological characteristics of noun phrases, it provides a semantic classification of nouns, and it also thoroughly discusses the derivation of nouns.

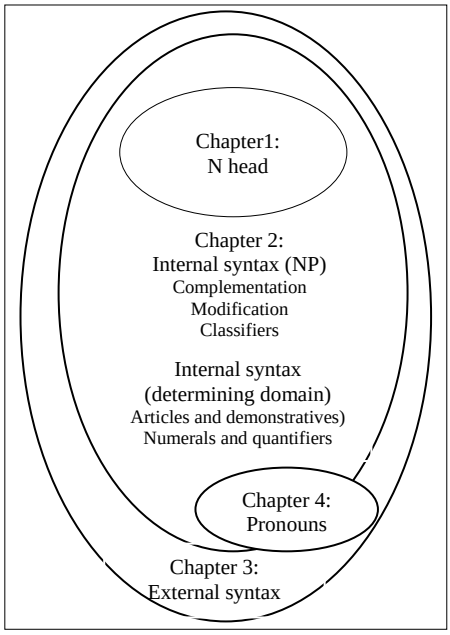

Figure 2: The onion-layer model of the four chapters

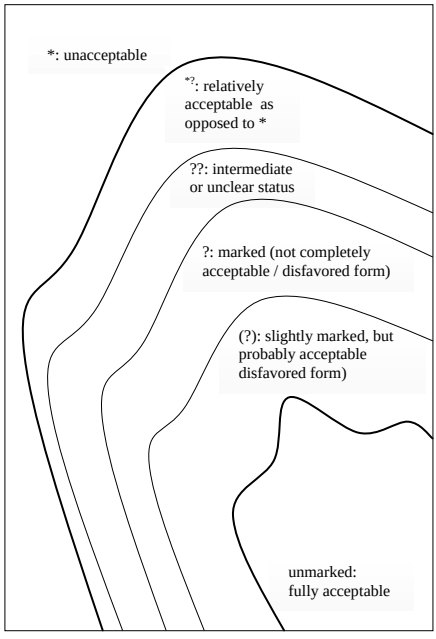

Figure 3: The "frontiers" of a language

The topic of Chapter 2 is the internal syntax of noun phrases. Roughly speaking, the noun phrase consists of two subdomains: the lexical and the functional domain. The lexical subdomain consists of the head noun and its arguments and modifiers, which determine the denotation of the noun phrase; this domain will be called the NP-

domain. The functional subdomain consists of the determiner and numerals/quantifiers, which determine the reference and/or the quantificational properties of the noun phrase; this domain will be called the determining domain. We will use the term 'noun phrase' when we need not make a distinction between the NP- and the determining domain. Even this simple structure expresses definite commitment to a recent approach in which determiners, quantifiers and numerals are generally assumed to be external to the NP-domain and are taken to function as the heads of projections containing the NP-domain. This implies that elements such as a determiner or quantifier are assumed to be the head of the full noun phrase, and it is these elements that determine the referential and/or the quantificational properties of the noun phrase. The organization of this book reflects this structural articulation within the noun phrase: first we discuss the internal syntax of the NP-domain (see the sections on complementation, modification and classifier constructions) then we continue with the internal syntax of the determining domain (see the section on articles and demonstratives, and the section on numerals and quantifiers).

Chapter 3 focuses on the syntactic uses and the distribution of the noun phrase.

Chapter 4, the final chapter, discusses the world of pronouns, most of which are substitutes for noun phrases.

We invite the reader to explore the miraculous realm of possible Hungarian noun phrases, with particular attention to its frontiers, that is, the fine-grained contours of the acceptability of various constructions drawn on the basis of varied and subtle judgments about the grammaticality of potential sentences (Figure 3).

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Introduction

This chapter will largely be concerned with the most distinctive semantic, morphological and syntactic properties of nouns. Section 1.1 gives a brief characterization of the category of nouns and noun phrases by describing some of their more conspicuous properties. This will help readers to identify nouns and noun phrases in Hungarian on the basis of their form, function and position in the sentence. Section 1.2 presents a semantic classification of nouns and will describe the way in which the semantic differences are formally expressed.

Like verbs and adjectives, nouns form an open class and, as such, cannot be exhaustively listed. New nominal elements are introduced into the language every day through derivation, compounding and loaning. Sections 1.3 and 1.4 contain a thorough discussion of derivation and a sketchy discussion of compounding. The derived types of nouns will also be discussed in several subsections, given the fact that their "inherited" arguments can potentially occur in several zones of the noun phrase. For a comprehensive overview of Hungarian morphology, the reader is referred to Kiefer (2000a) and Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi (1998).

The chapter concludes with a short overview of the main bibliographical data (1.5).

1.1. Characterization *(Judit Farkas and Gábor Alberti)*

This section will give a brief and general characterization of Hungarian nouns and noun phrases through some of their more conspicuous properties. This list of properties is not exhaustive and the discussion is necessarily sketchy and incomplete. Nevertheless, the information provided will help the reader to identify Hungarian noun phrases and to gain some basic insight into their structure and their syntactic behavior. Subsection 1.1.1 is devoted to morphology. This is followed in Subsection 1.1.2 by a discussion of the internal organization of the noun phrase, and the semantic contribution of its various subparts. Subsection 1.1.3 concludes by giving a brief overview of the syntactic uses and the semantic functions of the noun phrase in the clause.

1.1.1. The rich morphology of Hungarian (and morphological features as "genes" of grammar)

Hungarian is an agglutinative language. This subsection discusses its extremely rich morphology and the role of morphological features in Hungarian syntax. Subsection 1.1.1.1 is a brief introduction to Hungarian morphology. Subsection 1.1.1.2 provides some morphophonological information necessary for understanding certain details of the annotations assigned to the Hungarian examples in the book. Subsection 1.1.1.3 demonstrates the nominal features (number, person, case, definiteness (and other degrees of referentiality) and animacy), while 1.1.1.4 discusses their cooperation in agreement relations. As a summary, subsection 1.1.1.5 demonstrates all possible internal structures of Hungarian nouns.

1.1.1.1. Introduction to the rich internal structure of the Hungarian noun

The series of examples in (1) illustrates the kinds of morphemes that can be attached to a noun stem: plural suffixes (1b), agreement and case suffixes (1c), and a special possessor suffix *-é* (1d). The examples in (1e-f) show that it is possible (at least "in principle") to iterate this possessor suffix (preferably in combination with the plural suffix *-i*, presumably for straightforward phonological reasons). This iteration, however, is subject to severe restrictions due to memory limitations: the double use in (1f) practically manifests the upper limit for many speakers.

(1) ● The rich morphology of Hungarian nouns

a. Péter *barát*, és nem ellenség.
Péter *friend* and not enemy
'Péter is *a friend* and not an enemy.'

b. Péter és Mari *barát-ok* / *[a barát-a-i-m]*.
Péter and Mari *friend-Pl* / *the friend-Poss-Pl-1Sg*
'Péter and Mari are *friends* / *[my friends]*.'

c. *A barát-om* bemutatja *Mari barát-já-t* *a barát-od-nak.*
the friend-Poss.1Sg introduce.DefObj.3Sg *Mari friend-Poss.3Sg-Acc the friend-Poss.2Sg-Dat*
'*My friend* introduces *Mari's friend to your friend*.'

d. A labda *Péter-é*, a könyv pedig *a barát-om-é*.
the ball *Péter-Posr* the book by_contrast the *friend-Poss.1Sg-Posr*
'The ball is *Péter's* and the book is *my friend's*.'

e. Először a rokonaim szokásairól beszélek,
first the relative.Poss.Pl.1Sg habit.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Del speak.1Sg,
majd *a barát-a-i-m-é-i-ról.*
then *the friend-Poss-Pl-1Sg-Posr-Pl-Del*
'First I will speak about my relatives' habits, then *about those of my friends*.'

f. Először Mari rokonainak a szokásairól beszélek,
first Mari relative.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Dat the habit.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Del speak.1Sg,
majd *a barát-a-i-m-é-i-é-i-ról.*
then *the friend-Poss-Pl-1Sg-Posr-Pl-Posr-Pl-Del*
'First I will speak about Mari's relatives' habits, then *about those of those of my friends*.'

In glossing case suffixes we basically follow the conventions of the series *Approaches to Hungarian* (e.g., É. Kiss, Surányi and Dékány 2015). The "empty" Nominative case, for instance, will not be glossed, similar to such further "empty" grammatical categories as the present tense and the singular number. The also (typically) "empty" third singular possessive suffix, however, will be glossed (see (2b-c), for instance), in order to handle uniformly the third person, which is marked by a non-empty suffix in certain cases (e.g., *men-j-en* 'go-Subj-3Sg'). The many types of annotations that have to do with possession also require some further explanation. 'Poss', which occurs in (1b,c,e,f) above, refers to the possessed status of a noun. This morpheme has five allomorphs, including the empty form, illustrated in (2a) below.

(2) ● The five phonetic forms of the suffix that refers to possessed status

a. párt-ja-i-m / barát-a-i-m / kert-je-i-m / kép-e-i-m / hajó-∅-i-m
party-Poss-Pl-1Sg/ friend-Poss-Pl-1Sg / garden-Poss-Pl-1Sg/ picture-Poss-Pl-1Sg/ ship-Poss-Pl-1Sg
'my parties / friends / gardens / pictures / ships'

b. párt-om-at / hajó-i-ról
party-Poss.1Sg-Acc / ship-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Del
'[my party] / [from his/her ships]'

c. pártomat / hajóiról
party.Poss.1Sg.Acc / ship.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Del
'[my party] / [from his/her ships]'

Sentences (1b-f) contain examples of possessive agreement morphemes. 'Poss.2Sg' in (1c), for instance, indicates a possessive agreement morpheme which shows that the possessor is 'you$_{Sg}$'. In what follows, in the morphological segmentation of Hungarian examples no empty phonetic forms (∅) will be used because we do not intend to commit ourselves to any morphological theory. Examples (2b-c) illustrate the two kinds of convention that will be followed. If the internal structure of the word is considered to be relevant, the word will be segmented as in (2b). Otherwise we will use the simpler method of representing the word with no segmentation (2c). In both cases, however, each piece of morphological information that is available to native speakers (on the basis of either overt phonetic material or the knowledge of the relevant paradigm) are given in the glosses (2b-c).

'Posr' (1d-f) refers to the "other side" of the possessive relation: the possessor. The corresponding morpheme *-é*, which has only this single phonetic form, is used when the word that contains it refers to something/someone possessed by what the relative stem denotes. Sentence (1e), for instance, does not refer to the group of my friends, but to their habits.

1.1.1.2. Annotations and allomorphs

This subsection offers the reader further morphophonological information for understanding the annotations and glosses associated with the examples below. Most of the Hungarian suffixes have more than one form. The choice between them is primarily determined by certain features of vowels in the stem (vowel harmony). As can be observed in (2) above, however, there are further decisive factors: in addition to vowel harmony (Törkenczy 2011, Rebrus and Törkenczy 2015), the final consonant(s) of the stem and historical factors also have an impact on the choice of the proper suffix form.

The examples in (3) below demonstrate the basic workings of vowel harmony. If the stem contains back vowel(s), suffixes that contain back vowels will appear; if there is no back vowel in the stem, the attached suffixes normally contain front vowels (frontness vowel harmony). In a smaller group of suffixes, those containing front mid vowels, labial (roundness) vowel harmony also plays a decisive role (3b). If the last vowel in the stem is a front rounded vowel, the suffix will contain the rounded front vowel *ö*; if the last vowel is front unrounded (and the stem is front-harmonic), the suffix will contain the unrounded front vowel *e*. If the stem is back-harmonic, however, rounding harmony plays no role as there is no unrounded mid back vowel in Hungarian. Thus the suffix will contain *o*, the only short back mid vowel.

(3) ● Hungarian vowel harmony

a. ház-ban *vs*. kert-ben
house-Ine garden-Ine
'[in the house] / [in the garden]'

b. keserű-höz *vs*. (Ili) néni-hez *vs*. magyar-hoz
bitter-All Ili aunt-All Hungarian-All
'[to something bitter] / [to aunt (Ili)] / [to Hungarian]'

Stems may also have more than one form. The choice between them is determined by the following suffix. Table 1 shows the main types of Hungarian noun stems (Hegedűs 2005: 56). Non-alternating stems and lengthening stems contain large open classes; all other stem classes are small and closed; some of them are extremely marginal. If a stem has two forms, then most suffixes select the form given in the column under Inessive.

Table 1: Main types of Hungarian noun stems

<table>
<tr><th></th><th colspan="2"></th><th>NOM
-∅</th><th>INE
-ban/-ben</th><th>POSS
-(j)a/-(j)e</th></tr>
<tr><td>NON-ALTERNATING STEM</td><td colspan="2"></td><td>kávé

bor</td><td>kávé 'coffee'
kávé-ban

bor 'wine'
bor-ban</td><td>kávé-ja

bor-a</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">ALTERNATING STEM</td><td rowspan="5">with a final vowel</td><td>lengthening stem</td><td>kutya 'dog'</td><td>kutyá-ban</td><td>kutyá-ja</td></tr>
<tr><td>final-vowel deleting stem</td><td>borjú 'calf'</td><td>borjú-ban</td><td>borj-a</td></tr>
<tr><td>unrounding stem</td><td>ajtó 'door'</td><td>ajtó-ban</td><td>ajta-ja</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">v-stem</td><td>mű 'work'</td><td>mű-ben</td><td>műv-e</td></tr>
<tr><td>ló 'horse'</td><td>ló-ban</td><td>lov-a</td></tr>
<tr><td>hó 'snow'</td><td>hó-ban</td><td>hav-a</td></tr>
<tr><td>falu 'village'</td><td>falu-ban</td><td>falv-a</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">with a final consonant</td><td>vowel-shortening stem</td><td>víz 'water'</td><td>víz-ben</td><td>viz-e</td></tr>
<tr><td>V ~ ∅ alternation in stem</td><td>bokor 'bush'</td><td>bokor-ban</td><td>bokr-a</td></tr>
<tr><td>metathetic stem</td><td>kehely 'chalice'</td><td>kehely-ben</td><td>kelyh-e</td></tr>
</table>

1.1.1.3. Nominal features (number, person, case, definiteness and animacy)

This subsection briefly discusses the nominal features number, person, case, definiteness and animacy (similar to other Uralic languages, there is no gender distinction in Hungarian).

As will be elaborated in the corresponding parts of this subsection, these features play an important role in the encoding of agreement relations. Number (1.1.1.3.1) and person (1.1.1.3.2) are relevant for subject-verb and possessor-possessee agreement. Number and case (1.1.1.3.3) are relevant for agreement between the noun and the demonstrative pronoun that belongs to it. Number is also relevant for agreement between the subject and the nominal predicate. Animacy (1.1.1.3.5) is relevant for the choice between personal and demonstrative pronouns when filling certain grammatical and information structural functions. The definiteness/specificity/referentiality (1.1.1.3.4) of the noun phrase (Alberti 1997) determines where it can appear in the sentence (e.g., whether it can be a topic or a focus, or whether it can follow the verb in a sentence without a focus). The feature of definiteness is especially relevant regarding the object: the verb shows agreement with the object in definiteness, in addition to person. These nominal features are also relevant in the characterization of the pronouns in Hungarian (see Chapter 4).

1.1.1.3.1. Number

Noun phrases are normally specified for number. Although some noun phrases are always singular (e.g., noun phrases headed by a substance noun like *víz* 'water' (but see 1.2.2.2.2 for exceptions)) or plural (cf. *pluralia tantum* like *a trópusok* 'the tropics'), the vast majority of nouns can have both a singular and a plural form. Morphologically speaking, pluralization is generally signaled by adding one of the following two suffixes: the suffix *-(V)k* or the suffix *-i*. The general multiplicative plural suffix is *-(V)k*, and its vowel is determined by (frontness and roundness) vowel harmony and historical factors (the old words shown in rows (3,4') in Table 2 are assumed to have lowering stems (Siptár and Törkenczy 2000: 75–82).

Table 2: Plural formation (with the suffix -(V)k*)*

SUFFIX	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. *-k*	*kutya* 'dog'	*kutyák* 'dogs'
2. *-ok*	*pár* 'couple'	*párok* 'couples'
3. *-ak*	*vár* 'castle'	*várak* 'castles'
4. *-ek* 4'. *-ek*	*szék* 'chair' *tűz* 'fire'	*székek* 'chairs' *tüzek* 'fires'
5. *-ök*	*bűz* 'bad smell'	*bűzök* 'bad smells'

The suffix *-i* marks the plural of the possessee. It is not possible to add both suffixes (*-i* and *-(V)k*) to a word stem at the same time. The series of examples in (4) below demonstrates the word-internal position of *-i*: this suffix immediately follows the morpheme that marks the possessive relation ('Poss') and immediately precedes the (possessive) agreement suffix ('1/2/3+Sg/Pl'). This example shows the phonetically empty allomorphs of the two suffixes mentioned above in order to make the structure of the Hungarian noun transparent (Melcsuk 1965, Bartos 2000b). In what

follows, however, (the segmentation of) the Hungarian examples will present no empty elements because we intend to commit ourselves to no particular morphological theory.

(4) ● The word-internal position of the plural suffix *-i*

a. az én kalap-ja-i-m / hajó-∅-i-m
the I hat-Poss-Pl-1Sg / ship-Poss-Pl-1Sg
'my hats / ships'

b. a te kalap-ja-i-d / hajó-∅-i-d
the you hat-Poss-Pl-2Sg / ship-Poss-Pl-2Sg
'your$_{Sg}$ hats / ships'

c. az ő kalap-ja-i-∅ / hajó-∅-i-∅
the (s)he hat-Poss-Pl-3Sg / ship-Poss-Pl-3Sg
'her/his hats / ships'

d. a mi kalap-ja-i-nk / hajó-∅-i-nk
the we hat-Poss-Pl-1Pl / ship-Poss-Pl-1Pl
'our hats / ships'

e. a ti kalap-ja-i-tok / hajó-∅-i-tok
the you$_{Pl}$ hat-Poss-Pl-2Pl / ship-Poss-Pl-2Pl
'your$_{Pl}$ hats / ships'

f. az ő kalap-ja-i-k / hajó-∅-i-k
the (s)he hat-Poss-Pl-3Pl / ship-Poss-Pl-3Pl
'their hats / ships'

The above-discussed attachment of the two plural suffixes *-(V)k* and *-i* is so regular in the agglutinative system of Hungarian that even Latin words undergo this rule. The plural form of *denotátum* 'denotatum', for instance, is *denotátumok*, instead of a form like **denotáta*. We only know of a single exceptional case: the case of *médium* and *média* (Nádasdy 2004). *Médium* is a Latin loan-word in Hungarian, and its plural form *média* was borrowed with it. This plural formation is not compatible with the Hungarian agglutinative system; therefore, the following forms have evolved: *médiumok*, *médiák*. These forms have begun to differ in meaning: nowadays *médium* refers to a person who can communicate with ghosts (with *médiumok* as its plural form), while *média* refers to (mass) media (with *médiák* as its plural form). Nádasdy's examples in (5) unambiguously show that the word *média* takes part in subject-verb agreement (5a) and compound-word formation (5b) as a singular word (NB: plural forms cannot serve as non-final components of compounds). If this process comes to an end, these forms will not be exceptions anymore. At present, however, the pluralization of *média* is often simply avoided.

(5) ● The use of the word *média* 'media' in Hungarian

a. A média lecsapott / *lecsaptak a hírre.
the media down.strike.Past.3Sg / down.strike.Past.3Pl the news.Sub
'The story received a great deal of attention in the media.'

b. médiakuratórium / médiaszakértő *vs.* játék(*-ok)-bolt / nő(*-k)-faló
media_advisory_board / media_expert toy-Pl-shop / woman-Pl-devourer
'[media advisory board] / [media expert]' vs. '[toy shop] / [devourer of women]'

Hungarian has a further plural suffix: the familiar plural suffix *-ék* (Bartos 2000b: 694–699). It differs from the above discussed two plural suffixes in its meaning, because those "multiply" the denotatum of the nominal stem, while *-ék* can be characterized by a special additive/associative meaning factor (hence, its annotation is 'Apl'). *Péterék* in example (6a), for instance, means 'Péter and the others', and not 'many Péters'. This suffix can only be used with nouns that denote persons (cf. (6a,c,e) and (6b)). Furthermore, it cannot be used after suffixes that contain the plural element *-k*, either as a complete suffix (6d) or as a historical component of a suffix (e.g., *-unk* in (6d')). This constraint is formal in the sense that it only pertains to *-k*, while *-i* is not excluded, as is illustrated in (6e-e'). The latter example (6e') shows that even the immediate adjacency of the two plural suffixes *-i* and *-ék* is not excluded. As for the historical appearance of *-k* (and other affixes) as proper parts of synchronic suffixes, the interested reader is referred to Remark 4 in subsection 1.1.1.5.

(6) ● The use of *-ék* I: Basic observations

a. Péter-ék
Péter-Apl
'Péter and the others (belonging to him)'

b. *a kutyá-m-ék
the dog-Poss.1Sg-Apl
Intended meaning: 'my dog and the others'

c. a barát*(-om)-ék
the friend-Poss.1Sg-Apl
'my friend and the others'

d. *a barát-o**k**-ék
the friend-**Pl**-Apl
Intended meaning: 'the friends and the others'

d'. *a barát-un**k**-ék
the friend-Poss.1**Pl**-Apl
Intended meaning: 'our friend and the others'

e. a szüle-i-m-ék
the parents-Poss.Pl-1Sg-Apl
'my parents and the others'

e'. Lajos szüle-i-ék
Lajos parents-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Apl
'Lajos's parents and the others'

As (6c) above illustrates, in the case of common nouns (as opposed to names) there must be a possessive suffix preceding *-ék*. This phenomenon has to do with a certain specificity constraint to be discussed in the next paragraphs.

The series of examples below (cf. Bartos 2000b: 694–698) is intended to show that *-ék* selects a special kind of definite noun phrase. Thus, neither non-referential nor referential but indefinite noun phrases are selected (7a-b'). The examples in (7c), however, demonstrate that even the criterion of definiteness alone is not sufficient. One might think that the more specific the description, the more acceptable the sentence (7c-d). The examples in (7e-f), however, suggest that what

really counts is not specificity but a kind of "proper-nameness", that is, rigidity of denotation.

An example by Bartos (2000b: 696/(66)) shows an opposite type of use of *-ék* (7g). The pejorative and/or humorous character seems to license the combination of *-ék* with bare plural noun phrases.

(7) ● The use of *-ék* II: Various degrees of referentiality

a. *Fiú-ék látogattak meg.
boy-Apl visit.Past.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: 'I was visited by ONE OR MORE BOYS AND THE OTHERS.'

b. *Egy / *Öt fiú-ék látogattak meg.
one / five boy-Apl visit.Past.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: 'I was visited by [A BOY] / [FIVE BOYS] AND THE OTHERS.'

b'. *Minden fiú-ék meglátogattak.
every boy-Apl visit.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: 'I was visited by every boy and the others.'

c. [A szomszéd fiú-ék] / $^{(?)}$[A dékán-ék] / $^{*?}$[A fiú-ék] látogattak meg.
the next_door boy-Apl / the dean-Apl / the boy-Apl visit.Past.3Pl perf
'I was visited by [the boy next door] / [the dean] / [the boy] and the others.'

d. [A dékán úr-ék] / [Kovács Péter-ék] látogattak meg.
the dean mister-Apl / Kovács Péter-Apl visit.Past.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: 'I was visited by [the dean] / [Kovács Péter] and the others.'

e. *Az(-ék) a fiú-ék látogattak meg.
that-Apl the boy-Apl visit.Past.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: 'I was visited by THAT BOY AND THE OTHERS.'

f. $^{*?}$A januárban megismert indiai generatív nyelvész-ék látogattak meg.
the January.Ine get_to-know Indian generative linguist-Apl visit.Past.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: 'I was visited by the Indian generative linguist that we got to know in January and his/her fellows.'

g. Nocsak, diák-ék-nál ez így szokás?
well student-Apl-Ade this this_way habit
'So that's how you students do it!'

We conclude this topic by pointing out the fact that in Hungarian (like in other Uralic languages) the plural suffixes *-(V)k* and *-i* cannot appear on a nominal head modified by a plural numeral (e.g., *két* 'two' in examples (8a-b) below).

(8) ● The number of nouns modified by plural numerals

a. Voltam a két fiú(*-k)-nál.
be.Past.1Sg the two boy-Pl-Ade
'I have been to the two boys' house.'

b. Voltam a két fia(*-i)-m-nál.
be.Past.1Sg the two son-Pl-Poss.1Sg-Ade
'I have been to my two sons' house.'

c. Ezek a játékok nem a lány-om-é$^{??}$(-i),
this.Pl the toy.Pl not the daughter-Poss.1Sg-Posr-Pl
hanem a két fia-m-é-$^{??}$(i).
but the two son-Poss.1Sg-Posr-Pl
'These toys are not my daughters' but my two sons'.'

d. Voltam a két fia-m-ék-nál.
be.Past.1Sg the two son-Poss.1Sg-Apl-Ade
'I have been to my two sons and the others' house(s).'

If the plural suffix *-i*, preceded by the possessor suffix *-é*, refers to the plurality of the implicit possessed entity, it is easily compatible with the plural numeral that belongs to the nominal head denoting the overt possessor (8c). The exact reason for this is that the numeral and the plural *-i* in question pertain to two different entities.

In contrast to the multiplicative plural suffix *-(V)k*, the associative plural suffix *-ék* is compatible with plural numerals which determine its nominal stem (8d). This is because the plural numeral *két* 'two' does not express the cardinality of the entire group that the complete noun phrase refers to but that of the number of sons in question. Thus, analogously to (8c) above, the associative plural suffix *-ék* and the plural numeral *két* 'two' refer to two different sets.

Further characterization of the feature of number will be offered in a subsection devoted to agreement relations (1.1.1.4).

1.1.1.3.2. Person

Person features are only relevant for pronouns in the sense that lexical noun phrases like *a könyv* 'the book' and *az ember* 'the man' are always third person. Person features can be best described by appealing to notions of discourse, as in (9). FIRST PERSON refers to a set of entities including the speaker (the speaker may of course be the only member of the set). SECOND PERSON refers to a set of entities including the addressee but excluding the speaker: when the speaker is included, the first person is used. THIRD PERSON refers to a set of entities excluding both the speaker and the addressee.

(9) ● The reference of personal features
a. First person: [+SPEAKER] [±ADDRESSEE]
b. Second person: [–SPEAKER] [+ADDRESSEE]
c. Third person: [–SPEAKER] [–ADDRESSEE]

Three sorts of agreement in person are discussed in 1.1.1.4.

1.1.1.3.3. Case

As was mentioned before, Hungarian is a language with extremely rich morphology. In the series *Approaches to Hungarian* seventeen cases are listed; the system is illustrated in Table 3 below. Other linguists' systems (e.g., Kiefer 2000c: 580) include one or two more cases. Most case suffixes have several surface alternants. The choice, for instance, between *-ban* and *-ben,* or between *-hoz*, *-hez* and *-höz* is determined by vowel harmony. Another phonological process takes place if the suffix begins with *-v* (see the Instrumental and the Translative/Essive cases): this consonant assimilates to the consonant it follows.

Table 3: Hungarian case suffixes

NOMINATIVE	-∅	Péter [Hungarian proper name]
ACCUSATIVE	-t/-at/-et/-ot/-öt	Péter-t
DATIVE	-nak/-nek	Péter-nek ‘to Péter’
INSTRUMENTAL	-val/-vel	Péter-rel ‘with Péter’
CAUSALIS	-ért	Péter-ért ‘for Péter’
TRANSLATIVE/ESSIVE	-vá/-vé	Péter-ré ‘(turn) into Péter’
INESSIVE	-ban/-ben	Péter-ben ‘in Péter’
SUPERESSIVE	-n/-on/-en/-ön	Péter-en ‘on Péter’
ADESSIVE	-nál/-nél	Péter-nél ‘at Péter’
SUBLATIVE	-ra/-re	Péter-re ‘onto Péter’
DELATIVE	-ról/-ről	Péter-ről ‘off Péter’
ILLATIVE	-ba/-be	Péter-be ‘into Péter’
ELATIVE	-ból/-ből	Péter-ből ‘out of Péter’
ALLATIVE	-hoz/-hez/-höz	Péter-hez ‘to Péter’
ABLATIVE	-tól/-től	Péter-től ‘from Péter’
TERMINATIVE	-ig	Péter-ig ‘up to Péter’
FORMALIS/ESSIVE	-ként	Péter-ként ‘like Péter’

Agreement in case is less common in Hungarian than in Slavic languages, for instance. The only unquestionable type will be discussed in subsection 1.1.1.4.3.

1.1.1.3.4. Definiteness and other degrees of referentiality

The degree of the referentiality of a noun phrase determines where the noun phrase can appear in (the information structure of) the sentence.

Only referential noun phrases can be non-contrastive topics (10) and can occur in the zone following the verb in a (non-existential) sentence without a focus (11). As is shown by examples (b-c) in contrast to example (a), differences in grammatical function play no role in this “referentiality constraint”. This constraint has to do with the “anchoring” task of the pieces of information that a topic or a complement of the verb (or another head) is to perform, in contrast to the task of other components of information structure that are primarily responsible for providing “the new assertion” of the sentence (Alberti 1997).

(10) ● Positions only available to referential noun phrases I: Topic position

a. [*A* /*Egy* /*∅ *kisfiú*]$_{\text{Topic}}$ meglátogatta Marit.
the / *a* / ∅ *kid* visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc
‘*[The kid] / [A kid] /*Kid* visited Mari.’

b. [*A* *kisfiú-t*]$_{\text{Topic}}$ meglátogatta Mari.
the *kid-Acc* visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg Mari
‘*The kid* was visited by Mari.’

b’. [*Egy* / *∅ *kisfiú-t*]$_{\text{Topic}}$ meglátogatott Mari.
a / ∅ *kid-Acc* visit.Past.3Sg Mari
‘*[A kid] /*Kid* was visited by Mari.’

c. [*Az / Egy / *∅ énekes-ben*]$_{\text{Topic}}$ keservesen csalódtam.
the / a / ∅ singer-Ine painfully be_diappointed_Past.1Sg
'I was greatly disappointed *with the / a / *∅ singer*.'

É. Kiss (1999: 23) mentions an even stricter constraint than referentiality on (non-contrastive) topics (10a-c): they should be specific expressions; this roughly means according to Enç (1991) that 'an N' (*a kid*, for instance) in a specific position means 'one of the known Ns' (*one of the kids*) (see M2).

(11) ● Positions only available to referential noun phrases II: postverbal position
a. Pétert megzavarta *a / egy / *∅ kiáltás*.
Péter.Acc disturb.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the/ a / ∅ scream*
'Péter was disturbed by *the / a / *∅ scream*.'
b. Péter észrevette *a lány-t*.
Péter notice.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the girl-Acc*
'Péter noticed *the girl*.'
b'. Péter észrevett *egy / *∅ lány-t*.
Péter notice.Past.3Sg *a / ∅ girl-Acc*
'Péter noticed *a girl / *girl*.'
c. Péter csalódott *a / egy / *∅ lány-ban*.
Péter be_disappointed.Past.3Sg *the / a / ∅ girl-Ine*
'Péter was disappointed *with [the girl] / [a girl] / *girl*.'

Note in passing that in the examples above (and in many further similar examples) where the object is considered, two different types of conjugation are triggered on the verb determined by the (in)definiteness of this object (see subsection 1.1.1.4.1). The (b)- and (b')-examples in (10-11) above have been included in order to highlight this difference.

Let us now turn to the components of the information structure which are responsible for the new assertion in the sentence. A non-referential noun phrase can serve as such a component: it can be a contrastive topic, a quantifier, a focus, or it can serve as a verbal modifier (in the stressed position typically occupied by the preverb in neutral sentences right before the verb stem, which is unstressed in this situation).

These components of information structure, thus, are permitted to appear as bare noun phrases, since they provide information which belongs to the "new assertion" of the sentence. It is not excluded, nevertheless, that the anaphoric, cataphoric, deictic and quantitative information provided by the definiteness or the indefinitness of a noun phrase combines with these elements of information structure. The bare noun phrase, however, remains neutral with respect to number (and has no anaphoric, cataphoric or deictic power, of course). This makes it possible in Hungarian to speak about countable things as if they were materials. Their quantity is specified as 'one or more than one', as can be seen in the corresponding annotations.

The series of examples in (12) below illustrates that, as for the degree of referentiality, all kinds of noun phrases can serve as contrastive topics, independent of grammatical function.

(12) ● Various kinds of noun phrases in contrastive topic position

a. [*A* / *Egy* / ∅ *kisfiú*]$_{\text{CTopic}}$ Marit látogatta meg itt a kórházban.
the / *a* / ∅ *kid* Mari.Acc visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf here the hospital.Ine
'*As for [the kid] / [a kid]*, he visited MARI here in the hospital. /
As for kids, one or more of them visited MARI here in the hospital.'

b. [*A kisfiú-t*]$_{\text{CTopic}}$ Mari látogatta meg itt a kórházban.
the kid-Acc Mari visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf here the hospital.Ine
'*As for the kid*, he was visited by MARI here in the hospital.'

b'. [*Egy* / ∅ *kisfiú-t*]$_{\text{CTopic}}$ Mari látogatott meg itt a kórházban.
a / ∅ *kid* Mari visit.Past.3Sg perf here the hospital.Ine
'*As for a kid*, he was visited by MARI here in the hospital. /
As for kids, one or more of them were visited by MARI here in the hospital.'

c. [*Az* / *Egy* / ∅ *énekes-ben*]$_{\text{CTopic}}$ én csalódtam keservesen.
the / *a* / ∅ *singer-Ine* I be_disappointed.Past.1Sg painfully
'As for *[the singer] / [a singer] / singers*, I was disappointed with him/them deeply.'

The examples in (13) illustrate quantifiers with varying degrees of referentiality. All types are compatible with *is*-quantifiers (where *is* means 'also'). Other kinds of quantifiers (e.g., *minden fiú* 'every boy', *legalább hét fiú* 'at least seven boys') will not be investigated here (but see section 2.6) because the combination of their internal determiners with *a(z)* 'the', *egy* 'a(n)' and ∅ ('one or more' / underspecified with respect to number) is rather hard to interpret.

(13) ● Various kinds of noun phrases in quantifier position (*is* 'also')

a. [[*A* / *Egy* / ∅ *kisfiú*] is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ látogatja Marit.
the / *a* / ∅ *kid* also visit.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc
'*The / A kid* is also visiting Mari. / *One or more kids* are also visiting Mari.'

b. [[*A kisfiú-t*] is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ látogatja Mari.
the kid-Acc also visit.DefObj.3Sg Mari
'*The kid* is also being visited by Mari.'

b'. [[*Egy* / ∅ *kisfiú-t*] is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ látogat Mari.
a / ∅ *kid-Acc* also visit.3Sg Mari
'*A kid* is also being visited by Mari. /
One or more kids are also being visited by Mari.'

c. [[*Az* / *Egy* / ∅ *énekes-ben*] is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ csalódtam már keservesen.
the / *a* / ∅ *singer-Ine* also be_disappointed.Past.1Sg already painfully
'I have also been greatly disappointed *with [the singer] / [a singer] / [one or more singers]*.'

The series of examples in (14) provides a similar overview of possible foci. This position, too, can host any kind of noun phrase as regards its degree of referentiality.

(14) ● Various kinds of noun phrases in focus position

a. [*A* / *Egy* / ∅ *kisfiú*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ látogatta meg Marit tegnap.
the / *a* / ∅ *kid* visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Mari.Acc yesterday
'Yesterday Mari was visited by [*THE KID*] / [*A KID*] / [*ONE OR MORE KIDS*].'

b. [*A kisfiú-t*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ látogatta meg Mari tegnap.
the kid-Acc visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Mari yesterday
'Yesterday Mari visited *THE KID*.'

b'. [*Egy* / ∅ *kisfiú-t*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ látogatott meg Mari tegnap.
a / ∅ *kid-Acc* visit.Past.3Sg perf Mari yesterday
'Yesterday Mari visited [*A KID*] / [*ONE OR MORE KIDS*].'

c. [*Az* / *Egy* / ∅ *énekes-ben*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ csalódtam keservesen.
the / *a* / ∅ *singer-Ine* be_disappointed.Past.1Sg painfully
'I was greatly disappointed *WITH [THE SINGER] / [A SINGER] / [ONE OR MORE SINGERS]*.'

The series of examples in (15) below shows an attempt to place all possible types of noun phases in the immediately preverbal position, the filler of which will be referred to as the verbal modifier ('VMod'). The number of the possible types amounts to nine (three times three), due to the three referentiality degrees (THE / A(N) / ∅) and the three case types (Nominative / Accusative / Oblique). In order to demonstrate that the sentences contain no focus, stressed (') and unstressed (˚) words have been marked. In Hungarian, as can be seen, the focused constituent is followed by a longer sequence of words (typically lasting until the end of the clause) where stress is totally deleted, while a neutral sentence can be characterized by an even distribution of stress; here only the verb stem and the function words are unstressed. That is why É. Kiss (1992: 117) calls the combination of the stressed verbal modifier and the unstressed verb stem following it a "phonological word" (as in Hungarian each content word has a stress on its first syllable).

(15) ● Various kinds of noun phrases in verbal modifier position

a. 'Bécs [˚*egy* / ∅ '*pezsgő* '*város*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ ˚volt a 'huszadik 'században.
Vienna *a* / ∅ *vivid town* be.Past.3Sg the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century.Ine
'Vienna was *a vivid town* in the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century.'

a'. 'Bécs [˚*a* '*legszebb* '*város*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ ˚volt 'Ausztriában ˚a 'huszadik 'században.
Vienna *the most_beautiful town* be.Past.3Sg Austria.Ine the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century.Ine
'Vienna was *the most beautiful town* in Austria in the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century.'

b. 'Péter [˚*egy* / ∅ '*autó-t*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ ˚szerelt 'egész 'délután.
Péter *a* / ∅ *car-Acc* repair.Past.3Sg whole afternoon
'Péter spent the whole afternoon repairing [*a car*] / [*one or more cars*].'

b'. 'Péter [˚*az* '*autó-t*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ ˚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* / ∅ '*kisváros-ba*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ ˚költözött a 'barátjával.
Mari *the* / *a* / ∅ *small_town-Ill* move.Past.3Sg the friend.Poss.3Sg.Ins
'Mari has moved to *the* / *a* / ∅ *small town* with her friend.'

Due to the even distribution of stress, every sentence in (15) can be regarded as a neutral sentence, where the position immediately followed by the verb stem is not a focus but a VMod. Hence, it can be assumed that this position, too, is suitable for hosting any noun phrases with varying degrees of referentiality. Example (15a') is the only "suspicious" case, where a nominative case-marked (or, at least explicitly, unmarked) definite noun phrase occupies the VMod (see 3.2.1.1); semantically, the superlative form inherently implies the "identification by exclusion" meaning factor, which defines focus. This identifying sentence type in question, nevertheless, can be given the even stress pattern discussed above. A further argument for the neutral (non-focused) nature of the sentence type is the fact that there is no

alternative permutation of its constituents which would provide a ("more") neutral sentence.

It cannot be claimed generally, however, that VMod can always host all three kinds of noun phrases with different degrees of referentiality. It is just the verbal modifier position that has been observed to undergo the (Non-)Definiteness Effect (Barwise and Cooper 1981, De Jongh and Verkuyl 1984) in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1986, Kálmán 1995, É. Kiss 1995, Alberti 1997). This effect is practically a constraint that pertains to the Theme argument of verbs which have an existential meaning component. Verbs of this kind predicate that their Themes exist (16a), or come into being (16b), or are brought into being (16c'). Such Themes cannot be definite, because a definite noun phrase presupposes the existence of something as a part of the "anchoring" information content of the sentence (discussed above). It makes no sense to simultaneously predicate and presuppose the existence of the same thing. Language seems to avoid such tautologies. Note in passing that in the translations that belong to the bare nouns given in (16b,c') the "one or more" part is a theoretical possibility which is practically (highly preferably) restricted to "one" on the basis of our world knowledge.

As a consequence, the verbs discussed above are such that the VMod position preceding them should only be filled by bare and (non-specific) indefinite noun phrases. The noun phrases involved are typically nominative or accusative case-marked (in harmony with their Theme role):

(16) ● Degrees of referentiality of Themes of existential verbs in VMod position (Non-Definiteness Effect)

a. Tegnap [**a / ˇegy / ˇ∅ légy*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ volt a levesemben.
yesterday *the / a / fly* be.Past.3Sg the soup.Poss.1Sg.Ine
'Yesterday there was *a fly* / [*a fly or more flies*] in my soup.'

b. Tegnap [**a / ˇegy / ˇ∅ kisfiú*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ született a szomszédban.
yesterday *the / a / ∅ baby_boy* be_born.Past.3Sg the neighborhood.Ine
'Yesterday *a baby boy* was born in the neighborhood. /
Yesterday *one or more baby boys* were born in the neighborhood.'

c. *Tegnap [*a nyomdá-t*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ alapították a szomszédban.
yesterday *the print_shop-Acc* found.Past.DefObj.3Pl the neighborhood.Ine

c'. Tegnap [*egy / ∅ nyomdá-t*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ alapítottak a szomszédban.
yesterday *a / ∅ print_shop-Acc* found.Past.3Pl the neighborhood.Ine
'Yesterday *a print shop* was founded in the neighborhood. /
Yesterday *one or more print shops* were founded in the neighborhood.'

Note in passing that the above-mentioned Non-Definiteness Effect also concerns the corresponding postverbal argument position in the case of "existential verbs" because of their semantic basis. Consequently, if the Theme in question is expressed postverbally, it meets a double constraint (Alberti 1997): to satisfy simultaneously the lower limit of being "referential at least" (11), that is, non-bare, and the upper limit of being "indefinite at most" (non-specific, more precisely):

(17) ● Degrees of referentiality of Themes of existential verbs in a postverbal position (Non-Definiteness Effect + Referentiality Effect)

a. 'Tegnap 'sajnos 'volt [**a* / ✓*egy* / #∅ '*légy*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ a 'levesemben.
yesterday unfortunately be.Past.3Sg *the* / *a* / *fly* the soup.Poss.1Sg.Ine
'Yesterday, unfortunately, there was *a fly* in my soup.'

b. 'Tegnap 'született [**a* / ✓*egy* / *∅ '*kisfiú*] a 'szomszédban.
yesterday be_born.Past.3Sg *the* / *a* / ∅ *baby_boy* the neighborhood.Ine
'Yesterday, *a baby boy* was born in the neighborhood.'

c. *'Tegnap 'sajnos 'alapították [*a* '*nyomdá-t*] a 'szomszédban.
yesterday unfortunately found.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the print_shop-Acc* the neighborhood.Ine

c'. 'Tegnap 'sajnos 'alapítottak [*egy* / *∅ '*nyomdá-t*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ a 'szomszédban.
yesterday unfor'-ly found.Past.3Pl *a* / ∅ *print_shop-Acc* the neighborhood.Ine
'Unfortunately, yesterday there was *a* / *∅ *print shop* founded in the neighborhood.'

The reason why it is again necessary to provide the sentences above with stress marks (cf. (15)) is because they are essential for the unambiguous determination of the intended meaning, that is, not the existential but the concrete meaning. Here, the existential meaning would convey such forced contents as 'yesterday it happened once or several times that a fly was found in my soup / a baby was born in the neighborhood / a print shop was founded in the neighborhood.'

Nonetheless, there are sentences where the Theme of an existential verb is expressed by a definite noun phrase. The Non-Definiteness Effect, thus, may be neutralized (Szabolcsi 1986, Kálmán 1995, É. Kiss 1995, Alberti 1997). This can also be explained by the (afore-mentioned) division of the information provided by the words in the sentence, i.e., by the idea that this information is divided into "anchoring" pieces (which practically make up the presupposition belonging to the content of the sentence) and asserting pieces (which contribute the new assertion in the sentence). In our primary set of data shown in (16-17) above, the information provided by the Theme belongs to the new assertion. What is predicated is that this Theme turns out to exist, or comes into being, or is brought into being. In (18) below, however, the meaning contribution of the Theme makes its way into the presupposed part of the sentence since the meaning contribution of another constituent is part of the new assertion as a result of its focused status.

(18) ● Neutralization of Non-Definiteness Effect I. Focused non-Theme constituent

a. [Tegnap]$_{\text{Focus}}$ volt *a légy* a levesemben.
yesterday be.Past.3Sg *the fly* the soup.Poss.1Sg.Ine
'*The fly* was in my soup YESTERDAY.'

b. [Tegnap]$_{\text{Focus}}$ született *a kisfiú* a szomszédban.
yesterday be_born.Past.3Sg *the baby_boy* the neighborhood.Ine
'*The baby boy* was born in the neighborhood YESTERDAY.'

c. [Tegnap]$_{\text{Focus}}$ alapították *a nyomdá-t* a szomszédban.
yesterday found.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the print_shop-Acc* the neighborhood.Ine
'*The print shop* was founded in the neighborhood YESTERDAY.'

Nonetheless, as is shown below, a definite existential Theme is not excluded from the focus position.

(19) ● Neutralization of Non-Definiteness Effect II. Focused Theme

a. [*A légy*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ volt a levesemben (nem a szúnyog).
the fly be.Past.3Sg the soup.Poss.1Sg.Ine not the mosquito
'*THE FLY* was in my soup (not the mosquito).'

b. [*A kisfiú*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ született a szomszédban (nem a kislány).
the baby_boy be_born.Past.3Sg the neighborhood.Ine not the baby_girl
'*THE BABY BOY* was born in the neighborhood (not the baby girl).'

c. [*A nyomdá-t*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ alapították a szomszédban (nem a pékséget).
the print_shop-Acc found.Past.DefObj.3Pl the neighborhood.Ine not the bakery.Acc
'*THE PRINT SHOP* was founded in the neighborhood (not the bakery).'

How is this possible? This strange phenomenon can be attributed to the corrective nature of the sentences in (19). It is already presupposed that something is known to exist (19a), to have come into being (19b), or to have been brought into being (19c). This makes it possible for the Theme argument to be expressed by a definite noun phrase. What is asserted has to do with the corrective function: it is the quality of the Theme that is asserted instead of its (coming into) existence.

Progressive sentences have also been reported to accept a definite existential Theme (Kálmán 1995). A potential explanation rests upon the assumption that here progressivity is the new assertion. Consider the examples in (20). It is already known that a boy would be born / a print shop would be founded. The new information is that the event is just happening.

(20) ● Neutralization of Non-Definiteness Effect III. Progressive Aspect

a. (?)Éppen született [a *kisfiú*]$_{\text{postverbal}}$ a szomszédban,
just be_born.Past.3Sg *the baby_boy* the neighborhood.Ine
amikor beléptünk.
when enter.Past.1Pl
'*The baby boy* was just being given birth to when we entered.'

b. (?)Éppen alapították [*a nyomdá-t*]$_{\text{postverbal}}$ a szomszédban,
just found.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the print_shop-Acc* the neighborhood.Ine
amikor beléptünk.
when enter.Past.1Pl
'*The print shop* was just being founded when we entered.'

As can be noticed from many examples in the present subsection, definiteness also plays a crucial role in Hungarian. The corresponding agreement relations are discussed in subsection 1.1.1.4.

1.1.1.3.5. Animacy

Instead of the usual tertiary system of gender, a binary system based on animacy plays a defining role in the taxonomy of Hungarian pronouns. As a result of pro-drop, however, this system is completed with a third option: the empty phonetic form.

This subsection is devoted to the elucidation of the role that the animacy feature plays in back-referencing to different kinds of antecedents. Here, instead of the full system of pronouns, this particular feature is discussed (the system of pronouns will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter 4).

The introductory subsection (1.1.1.3.5.1) presents the [+HUMAN] personal pronoun *ő* '(s)he' and the two [–HUMAN] demonstrative pronouns *ez* 'this' and *az* 'that', which seem to be in complementary distribution in back-referencing to different kinds of entities. Their division of labor, which seems to be straightforward at first glance, will be shown to be somewhat complicated in 1.1.1.3.5.2, and then an intricate picture will be sketched in 1.1.1.3.5.3. These two subsections are devoted to the systematic testing of further factors that, based on the literature (e.g., in subordination, topic change), can be considered relevant for the selection of the appropriate pronoun. As is summarized in 1.1.1.3.5.4, the resulting system is extremely complex. What makes this investigation relevant, nevertheless, is that the additional decisive factors are exactly those that play crucial roles in other areas of the syntax of Hungarian, as well: grammatical function, information-structural position and degree of referentiality. These factors often obscure the basic requirement for presenting the [+HUMAN] feature; and it is exactly this that is the source for the above-mentioned complexity. After a survey of the ways in which the different participants of sentences can be referred back to, 1.1.1.3.5.5 concludes the subsection with a similar overview of back-referencing to situations expressed by entire sentences.

1.1.1.3.5.1. Elementary observations about the animacy feature ([±HUMAN])

Let us start the discussion of the role of the animacy feature in Hungarian by considering the fundamental division of labor between the three anaphoric pronouns *ő* '(s)he', *az* 'that/it' and *ez* 'this', which provide the basis for the characterization of the feature in question.

Example (21) below shows a conversation among four interlocutors (A, B, C and D). The conversation serves the purpose of illustrating the prototypical use of these pronouns: the 3rd singular personal pronoun *ő* '(s)he' refers to an antecedent who is a person, i.e., an entity with a [+HUMAN] feature; the distal demonstrative pronoun *az* 'that' refers to an antecedent which is a [–HUMAN] entity; and the proximal demonstrative pronoun *ez* 'this' performs the remaining task of referring to members of a special subset of [–HUMAN] entities, abstract entities typically expressed by clauses (21d). Here *ez* 'this' refers to the content of the subordinate clause performed by person C in (21c).

(21) ● The [±HUMAN] features of *ő* '(s)he', *az* 'that/it' and *ez* 'this'

a. A: Látta már *a kollégád* *a Taj Mahal-t*?
see.Past.DefObj.3Sg already *the colleague.Poss.2Sg* *the Taj Mahal-Acc*
'Has *your colleague* seen *the Taj Mahal* yet?'

b. B: Igen, *ő* is ott volt a tavalyi indiai konferencián.
yes *(s)he* also there be.Past.3Sg the last_year.Adj Indian conference.Sup
'Yes, *(s)he* was there at the conference in India last year, too.'

c. C: Úgy tudom, *az* a kedvenc épülete.
so know.DefObj.1Sg *that* the favorite building.Poss.3Sg
'As far as I know, *THAT* is his/her favorite building.'

d. D: *Ez* tévedés! A Notre Dame a kedvenc épülete.
this mistake the Notre Dame the favorite building.Poss.3Sg
'*That*'s wrong. THE NOTRE DAME is his/her favorite building.'

What is the real range of the animacy feature so far characterized as [+HUMAN]? The grammaticality judgments about the questions below are uncertain and vary from speaker to speaker, depending on their relation to domestic animals. There seems to be a "gray zone" where none of the pronouns proves to be perfect. This zone seems to consist of beings which are not human but to some extent "animate" in that they have their own free will, they act on their own, and they can be cherished. The range of the [+HUMAN] feature thus cannot be delimited precisely by a sharp line of demarcation: the reference to 'human' should be regarded as an approximation rather than a clear-cut definition.

(22) ● The range of the [–HUMAN] / [+HUMAN] feature

a. ?*Az* / ??*Ő* ette meg a magokat? A pöttyös tyúk?
that / *(s)he* eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the seed.Pl.Acc the spotted hen
'Has *THAT ONE* / *SHE* eaten the seeds? THE SPOTTED HEN?'

a'. (?)*Az-t* / ??*Ő-t* láttad a konyhában? A pöttyös tyúk-ot?
that-Acc /*(s)he-Acc* see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the kitchen.Ine the spotted hen-Acc
'Have you seen *THAT ONE* / *HER* in the kitchen? THE SPOTTED HEN?'

a''. (?)*Ar-ról* / *?*Ő-ról-a* / ??*Ról-a* beszélgettek? A pöttyös tyúk-ról?
that-Del / *(s)he-Del-3Sg*/ *Del-3Sg* talk.2Pl the spotted hen-Del
'Are you talking about *THAT ONE* / *HER*? About THE SPOTTED HEN?'

b. ??*Ki* / ??*Mi* ette meg a magokat? A pöttyös tyúk?
who / *what* eat.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf the seed.Pl.Acc the spotted hen
'*WHO* /*WHAT* has eaten the seeds? Was it THE SPOTTED HEN?'

b'. ??*Ki-t* / ?*Mi-t* láttál a konyhában? A pöttyös tyúk-ot?
who-Acc / *what-Acc* see.Past.2Sg the kitchen.Ine the spotted hen-Acc
'*WHO*/*WHAT* did you see in the kitchen? Was it THE SPOTTED HEN?'

b''. ??*Ki-ről* / ?*Mi-ről* beszélgettek? A pöttyös tyúk-ról?
who-Del / *what-Del* talk.2Pl the spotted hen-Del
'*WHO* / *WHAT* are you talking about? About THE SPOTTED HEN?'

A further complication comes from the phenomenon illustrated in (23) below: a person can be referred to by a [–HUMAN] pronoun.

(23) ● The pejorative use of the [–HUMAN] feature

a. *Az* meg kicsoda?
that and who
'Who the hell is *that*?'

b. *Az-t* meg honnan szalajtották?
that-Acc and where_from force_to_run.Past.DefObj.3Pl
'Where the hell did *that one* come from?'

c. *Ar-ra* meg ki a franc szavazott?
that-Sub and who the hell vote.Past.3Sg
'Who the hell voted for *that one*?'

This kind of pejorative use is not surprising at all since depriving a person of his/her [+HUMAN] feature is obviously a suitable means to degrade him/her.

It has been observed (Pléh 1982), however, that referring to a human being by the [–HUMAN] distal pronoun does not necessarily imply any pejorative

connotation in certain contexts. An often-quoted example is topic change, illustrated in (24b) below.

(24) ● Back-referencing to a [+HUMAN] antecedent by a [–HUMAN] pronoun in topic change

a. Péter imádja Marit, de nem bízik benne.
Péter admire.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc but not trust.3Sg Ine.3Sg
'Péter admires Mari, but *he* does not trust her.'

b. Péter imádja Marit, de *az* nem bízik (ő-)benne.
Péter admire.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc but *that* not trust.3Sg (s)he-Ine.3Sg
'Péter admires Mari, but *she* does not trust him.'

Example (24a) serves as the basis for comparison: the topic of the first clause (*Péter*) is understood to be the topic of the second clause as well; this is to be attributed to the lack of any explicit expression of a topic there. Thus, the phonetically null expression of the reference to the participant that served as a topic in the first clause, can be regarded as the default manner of continuing the discourse: retaining the topic. What is to be explicitly marked is topic change; and this is exactly the purpose that the [–HUMAN] pronoun (24b) serves by referring back to a [+HUMAN] antecedent.

An opposite phenomenon is demonstrated in (25) below (Kenesei 1992: 648, 1994: 329), where a [+HUMAN] pronominal head (together with the clause that belongs to it) is used to refer to a propositional, that is [–HUMAN], entity (in the pragmatico-semantic construction of the world outside).

(25) ● When the "weak" version of a [+HUMAN] pronoun belongs to a [–HUMAN] propositional entity

a. Elegem van *ab-ból*/ **belől-e*/ **ő-belől-e* is, hogy sértegetsz.
enough.Poss.1Sg be.3Sg *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg* also that keep_insulting.2Sg
'I am also fed up with the fact that you are insulting me.'

a'. Elegem van (?)*ab-ból* / ✓*belől-e*/ **ő-belől-e*, hogy sértegetsz.
enough.Poss.1Sg be.3Sg *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg* that keep_insulting.2Sg
'I am fed up with you insulting me.'

b. Számíthattok *ar-ra* / **rá* / **ő-rá* is, hogy segíteni fogok.
count_on.Mod.2Pl *that-Sub* / *Sub.3Sg* / *(s)he-Sub.3Sg* also that help.Inf will.1Sg
'You can also count on me helping you.'

b'. Számíthattok (?)*ar-ra* / ✓*rá* / **ő-rá*, hogy segíteni fogok.
count_on.Mod.2Pl *that-Sub* / *Sub.3Sg* / *(s)he-Sub.3Sg* that help.Inf will.1Sg
'You can count on me helping you.'

c. Csodálkoztam *az-on* / **rajt-a* / **ő-rajt-a* is, hogy eljöttél.
surprise.Past.1Sg *that-Sup* / *Sup-3Sg* / *(s)he-Sup-3Sg* also that come.Past.2Sg
'I was surprised also that you came along.'

c'. Csodálkoztam (?)*az-on* / ✓*rajt-a* / **ő-rajt-a*, hogy eljöttél.
surprise.Past.1Sg *that-Sup* / *Sup-3Sg* / *(s)he-Sup-3Sg* that come.Past.2Sg
'I was surprised that you came along.'

The primeless examples in (25) serve as the basis for comparison; they contain (in a postverbal 'also'-position) the appropriately inflected forms of the [–HUMAN]

distal pronoun *az* 'that' belonging to a propositional entity. The primed examples show the interesting cases, where, instead of the inflected [–HUMAN] pronoun, the best choice (at least in more colloquial speech contexts) is a pronoun which can be derived from the complete form of an inflected personal pronoun (e.g., *ő-belől-e* '(s)he-Ela-3Sg'; cf. *ti-belől-etek* 'you$_{Pl}$-Ela-2Pl', *én-belől-em* 'I-Ela-1Sg') by omitting the personal pronoun itself from the beginning of the input three-morpheme word (*belől-e* 'Ela-3Sg'; cf. *belől-etek* 'Ela-2Pl', *belől-em* 'Ela-1Sg'). This form, thus, can be regarded as a weak version of an inflected [+HUMAN] pronoun, which, in "normal" contexts, does refer to a person. Note in passing that the entire form of the inflected personal pronoun itself cannot belong to the [–HUMAN] abstract entity in question.

To sum up, the [+HUMAN] pronoun sometimes refers (back) to a [–HUMAN] entity, and *vice versa*. As the animacy feature belongs to the noun phrase, the following subsections will be devoted to scrutinizing the factors that determine this surprising distribution of the pronouns in question. At first glance, the distribution will seem to be rather intricate. A systematic review, however, will show that what really counts here, as in many other areas of Hungarian syntax, is grammatical functions, information-structural positions and degrees of referentiality.

In exploring the animacy feature, we develop a descriptively adequate generalization based on Kenesei's observation (1.1.1.3.5.2), and in the next three subsections we make generalizations relying on Pléh's observation on topic change (1.1.1.3.5.3-1.1.1.3.5.5). The latter subsections will provide a systematic overview of the interaction between the complex properties of two clauses.

1.1.1.3.5.2. The [±HUMAN] feature in subordination

As was observed in (25) above, certain constructions display a phenomenon where a (weak) [+HUMAN] pronoun is associated with a [–HUMAN] propositional entity. This subsection explores the limits of this phenomenon.

In order to reveal these limits, we test the distribution of the differently case-marked versions (oblique (26), postposition (27), Nominative (28), Accusative (29)) of the pronouns under consideration in various information-structural positions (topic in (a)-examples, 'also'-quantifier in (b)-examples, focus in (c)-examples, postverbal operator in (d)-examples, and postverbal non-operator in (e-e')-examples), respectively. Since the given pronouns can only occupy the verbal modifier position in the presence of a special group of verbs which typically do not accept the postverbal occurrence of these pronouns, their potential placement in VMod has to be tested on a new series of examples (30).

First let us consider which pronoun version should be used if it is oblique case-marked. This construction is tested in sentences where the pronoun may stand in various information-structural positions in the matrix clause.

(26) ● When [±HUMAN] pronouns belong to a [–HUMAN] propositional entity in subordination: I. Oblique case

a. [*At-tól /*Től-e/ *Ő-től-e*]$_{Topic}$ én is tartok, hogy megsértettelek.
that-Abl/ Abl-3Sg/ (s)he-Abl-3Sg I also be_afraid.1Sg that hurt.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'I, too, am afraid that I hurt you.'

b. [*At-tól / *Től-e / *Ő-től-e* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ tartok, hogy megsértettelek.
that-Abl / Abl-3Sg / (s)he-Abl-3Sg also be_afraid.1Sg that hurt.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'I am afraid also of the fact that I hurt you.'

c. [Csak *at-tól / *től-e / *ő-től-e*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ tartok, hogy megsértettelek.
only *that-Abl / Abl-3Sg / (s)he-Abl-3Sg* be_afraid.1Sg that hurt.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'I am only afraid that I hurt you.'

d. Tartok [*at-tól/ *től-e / *ő-től-e* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$, hogy megsértettelek.
be_afraid.1Sg *that-Abl/ Abl-3Sg / (s)he-Abl-3Sg* also that hurt.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'I am afraid also of the fact that I hurt you.'

e. 'Tartok $^{?\circ}$*at-tól* /$^{?}$'*at-tól* / ˇ'*től-e* / **ő-től-e*, hogy 'megsértettelek.
be_afraid.1Sg *that-Abl / that-Abl / Abl-3Sg/ (s)he-Abl-3Sg* that hurt.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'I am afraid that I hurt you.'

e'. 'Nagyon tartok $^{(?)\circ}$*at-tól*/ ˇ'*at-tól*/ $^{(?)\circ}$*től-e*/*'*től-e*, hogy 'megsértettelek.
very .much be_afraid.1Sg *that-Abl / that-Abl / Abl-3Sg / Abl-3Sg* that hurt.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'I am so very much afraid that I hurt you.'

The first three examples (26a-c) unambiguously show that in a preverbal operator position only (the appropriately inflected variant of) the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' can appear, in total harmony with the abstract, that is, obviously [–HUMAN], nature of the propositional denotatum. In these positions, both the full-form of the [+HUMAN] personal pronoun and its reduced variant, termed a weak form in 1.1.1.3.5.1 above, are absolutely unacceptable.

The same holds for (26d) and the primeless examples in (25) above, where the pronoun versions under investigation are tested in an operator position placed postverbally. All in all, it can be concluded that the decisive factor for the choice of the pronoun version is the operator function assigned to it, rather than its postverbal occurrence.

In this systematized series of examples, sentence (26e) demonstrates the non-trivial manner of reference illustrated in the three primed examples in (25) above, where the weak form of the [+HUMAN] personal pronoun (*tőle* 'Ela.3Sg') can be used to refer to the [–HUMAN] propositional denotatum expressed by a subordinate clause. As for the alternative pronoun versions, the full-form of the personal pronoun (*őtőle* '(s)he.Abl.3Sg') is also undoubtedly excluded from this postverbal non-operator position (cf. (26a-c)) while the use of the [–HUMAN] pronoun in the context illustrated in (26e) is still fairly acceptable. Its acceptability depends on the speaker, the register, as well as on such intonation properties of the sentence as stress and rhythm. While the weak personal pronoun is only acceptable if unstressed, (26a-d) suggest that the stressed version is the preferred form of the [–HUMAN] pronoun. This can serve as an explanation for the fact that the operator positions, because of their stressed status, can host only the [–HUMAN] pronoun and uniformly refuse the weak personal pronoun (in this type of reference to a propositional semantic entity). The unstressed postverbal use of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, nevertheless, also seems to work perfectly, presumably due to some kind of postverbal stress reduction (Hunyadi 2002: 90). Out of the two unstressed forms, however, we consider the weak personal pronoun definitely better than the unstressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun; the question mark in (26e) indicates this grammaticality judgment. As for the stressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, we attribute its questionable grammaticality to

the very short distance between the stressed syllables indicated above by the symbol ‘'’; there is only one unstressed syllable between the stressed first syllable of the verb and the stressed first syllable of the pronoun in question.

The example in (26e’) above creates an environment where there is a longer unstressed zone before the pronoun in question. The differences are undoubtedly slight and hard to judge, but it seems to us that, out of the competing potential pronoun variants, there are three essentially acceptable ones. The stressed variant of the weak personal pronoun is still undoubtedly ill-formed (just like the full-form variant of the personal pronoun, which can never belong to a [–HUMAN] entity (26e)). The stressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, thus, is well-formed in the postverbal non-operator position in question, due to the more even distribution of stress. Moreover, this variant seems the best in the syntactic environment created in (26e’), that is, better than the two unstressed pronoun variants. The unstressed weak personal pronoun is somewhat less perfect in (26e’) than in (26e), presumably also because of the modified stress distribution: the slight worsening can obviously be attributed to the two long unstressed units.

The above discussion was an attempt to assist with a better understanding of part of the complexity of the phenomena involved in the characterization of the animacy feature. According to this, a [+HUMAN] pronoun can belong to a [–HUMAN] entity under certain circumstances (see also the three pairs of examples in (25) in 1.1.1.3.5.1), the syntactic circumstances specified above. Of course, several details are left for future research, due to such complex questions as the rhythm and stress distribution of the sentences, the study of which require more sophisticated methods of testing grammaticality judgments. What is undoubtedly common to all cases where an oblique case-marked pronoun belongs to a subordinate clause, independently of the choice of the particular oblique case, is that the appropriately inflected form of the [–HUMAN] distal pronoun (*az* ‘that’) always yields a perfectly or at least a quite readily acceptable choice in them, while the weak [+HUMAN] pronoun can only reach perfect acceptability in an unstressed postverbal (non-operator) position. Both variants of the [+HUMAN] pronoun are totally unacceptable otherwise.

After reviewing the issue of oblique cases, let us now turn to the question of postpositions. As postpositions are closely related to oblique cases in several respects, the question is raised whether the same distribution of [±HUMAN] pronoun variants holds for postpositions.

The picture is essentially the same, with slight differences (presumably partly because of the fact that the suitable verbs for the required test are rather long, and partly because of the lower frequency of postpositional phrases as arguments, which makes the appearance of their corresponding forms quite unusual). What is the same, as is demonstrated in (27) below, is that (the postpositional form of) the [–HUMAN] pronoun can always be assigned to the [–HUMAN] propositional entity expressed by a subordinate clause with a perfect (27a-d,e’) or at least quite good (27e) level of acceptability, while the full form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun and the stressed variant of its weak form are totally unacceptable in every case.

(27) ● When [±HUMAN] pronouns belong to a [–HUMAN] propositional entity in subordination: II. Postposition

a. [*Az-iránt* / **Iránt-a* / **Ő-iránt-a*]$_{\text{Topic}}$ ők is érdeklődtek,
that-towards / *towards-3Sg* / *(s)he-towards-3Sg* they also be_interested.Past.3Pl
hogy hol jártál.
that where go.Past.2Sg
'They, too, were interested in where you had been.'

b. [*Az-iránt* / **Iránt-a* / **Ő-iránt-a* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ érdeklődtek,
that-towards / *towards-3Sg* / *(s)he-towards-3Sg* also be_interested.Past.3Pl
hogy hol jártál.
that where go.Past.2Sg
'They were also interested in where you had been.'

c. [Csak *az-iránt* / **iránt-a* / **ő-iránt-a*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ érdeklődtek,
only *that-towards* / *towards-3Sg* / *(s)he-towards-3Sg* be_interested.Past.3Pl
hogy hol jártál.
that where go.Past.2Sg
'They were only interested in where you had been.'

d. Felettébb érdeklődtek [*az-iránt* / **iránt-a* / **ő-iránt-a* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$,
rather be_interested.Past.3Pl *that-towards* / *towards-3Sg* / *(s)he-towards-3Sg* also
hogy hol jártál.
that where go.Past.2Sg
'They were more than interested also in where you had been.'

e. 'Érdeklődtek ??°*az-iránt* / (?)'*az-iránt* / ?*iránt-a* / **ő-iránt-a*,
be_interested.Past.3Pl *that-towards* / *that-towards* / *towards-3Sg* / *(s)he-towards-3Sg*
hogy hol jártál.
that where go.Past.2Sg
'They were interested in where you had been.'

e'. 'Nagyon érdeklődtek ??°*az-iránt* / ✓'*az-iránt* / ??°*iránt-a* / *'*iránt-a*,
very .much be_interested.Past.3Pl *that-towards* / *that-towards* / *towards-3Sg* / *towards-3Sg*
hogy hol jártál.
that where go.Past.2Sg
'They were very interested in where you had been.'

As for the weak form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, it is quite acceptable in an unstressed postverbal non-operator position (27e-e'), though nowhere else is this the case. Even this level of acceptability, however, is far from the highest level, probably because of the very long intonational unit with one stress (from the first syllable of the sentence to the subordinate conjunction; cf. the seven/nine-syllable-long unit *['(na-gyon) ér-dek-lőd-tek i-rán-ta]* in (27e-e') and the four-syllable long *['tar-tok tő-le]* in (26e)). The postpositional form of the weak [+HUMAN] pronoun sounds odd unless the sentence is uttered in a way that the above-mentioned intonational unit appears as a real unit with no secondary stresses and no pauses between the unit-internal words. A potential explanation might be that even the slightest secondary stress on the postpositional [+HUMAN] pronoun immediately triggers a [+HUMAN] interpretation, that is, reference to a person instead of the abstract content of the subordinate clause.

The rather long intonational pattern of the verb implies that the stressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, even though it is not necessarily perfect, is a better

choice than the unstressed weak [+HUMAN] pronoun, even in postverbal non-operator position (27e-e'). There is a slight difference between example (27e) and the analogous example (26e). The comparison between (27e) and (26e) shows the (slight) superiority of the unstressed weak [+HUMAN] pronoun over the unstressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun. Examples (27e') and (26e') are also analogous in the following respect: the very long intonational units with one stress, mentioned in the previous paragraph, mean that the unstressed forms of both kinds of pronouns show a rather weak level of acceptability, resulting in the unquestionable preference for the stressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun.

An analogous test for the Nominative case requires a decision as to what corresponds to what has been called a weak variant of the [+HUMAN] pronoun above. As the difference between ***ő**-től-e* '**(s)he**-Abl-3Sg' and *től-e* 'Abl-3Sg'is the omitted personal pronoun itself, the weak version of the Nominative form *ő* '(s)he', on the basis of this analogy, can be nothing else but an empty phonetic form, which is marked by '∅' in (28) below (on potential questions concerning empty phonetic forms, see Remark 1 in subsection I.B). As is shown in (28e-e'), this null form is indeed available, due to the rich verbal morphology of the language, which makes pro-drop a characteristic feature of Hungarian grammar.

(28) ● When [±HUMAN] pronouns belong to a [–HUMAN] propositional entity in subordination: III. Nominative

a. [*Az* / *∅ / *Ő*]$_{\text{Topic}}$ engem is bánt, hogy megsértettelek.
that / ∅ / *(s)he* me also hurt.3Sg that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'It hurts me, too, that I insulted you.'

b. [*Az* / *∅ / *Ő* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ bánt, hogy megsértettelek.
that / ∅ / *(s)he* also hurt.3Sg that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'That, too, hurts me that I insulted you.'

c. [Csak *az* / *∅ / *ő*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ bánt, hogy megsértettelek.
only *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* hurt.3Sg that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'Only the fact that I insulted you hurts me.'

d. Bánt [*az* / *∅ / *ő* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$, hogy megsértettelek.
hurt.3Sg *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* also that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'It hurts me, too, that I insulted you.'

e. 'Bánt $^{?\circ}$*az* /$^{??}$'az / $^{\checkmark}$∅ / *ő*, hogy megsértettelek.
hurt.3Sg *that* / *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'It hurts me that I insulted you.'

e'. 'Nagyon bánt $^{?\circ}$*az*/ $^{(?)}$'*az* / $^{\checkmark}$∅, hogy megsértettelek.
very.much hurt.3Sg *that* / *that* / ∅ that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'It hurts me very much that I insulted you.'

As the null form cannot be stressed, the (stressed) operator positions (28a-d) cannot host it. This yields a full analogy with the results of the test pertaining to the Nominative case in (28), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, with those of the two tests illustrated above in (26-27). Since the analogy can also be extended to the (e)- and (e')-examples, it can be claimed generally that the weak form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun is good in, and is only good in, postverbal non-operator positions.

The precise distribution of acceptability judgments in (28e-e') partly comes from the above-sketched observations about optimal and less optimal distributions of sentential stress, and partly from the fact that the postverbal position in Hungarian is not ideal for a(n) (explicit) subject (though its non-agentive role makes the subject's postverbal placement somewhat less infelicitous). Due to the latter factor, the use of the empty pronoun is the optimal solution in both examples in (28e-e'). The stressed [–HUMAN] pronoun seems to be another almost optimal solution in (28e'), where the first intonational unit consists of three syllables (*['nagyon bánt]*), but that requires additionally that the sentence should be uttered slowly in order to render this intonational unit long enough. As for the unstressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, stress reduction on this "genuinely" stressed element seems to yield non-optimal solutions with respect to acceptability, in spite of the more advantageous length of intonational units. Naturally, these sophisticated factors require much future research.

The weak variant of the [+HUMAN] pronoun *őt* '(s)he.Acc' is also an empty pronoun (∅). This is presumably in connection with the fact that in Hungarian, pro-drop is also possible in the grammatical function of the object, due to Hungarian verbal morphology which provides information on certain features of the object (1.1.1.4.2).

The triple application of the testing method provides the same results as in the case of the Nominative. The Accusative form of the [–HUMAN] distal pronoun (*azt* 'that.Acc') can always be assigned to the [–HUMAN] propositional entity expressed by a subordinate clause—with a perfect level of acceptability in the obligatorily stressed operator positions (29a-d), and with quite a good level of acceptability in a postverbal non-operator position (29e-e'), depending on intonational balances. The explicit form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, however, is totally unacceptable in every case.

(29) ● When [±HUMAN] pronouns belong to a [–HUMAN] propositional entity in subordination: IV. Accusative

a. [*Az-t* / *∅ / *Ő-t*]$_{\text{Topic}}$ én is bánom, hogy megsértettelek.
that-Acc/ ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* I also hurt.DefObj.1Sg that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'The fact that I insulted you hurts me too.'

b. [*Az-t* / *∅ / *Ő-t* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$ bánom, hogy megsértettelek.
that-Acc / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* also hurt.DefObj.1Sg that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'Also the fact that I insulted you hurts me.'

c. [Csak *az-t* / *∅ / **ő-t*]$_{\text{Focus}}$ bánom, hogy megsértettelek.
only *that-Acc*/ ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* hurt.DefObj.1Sg that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'The only fact that hurts me is that I insulted you.'

d. Már bánom [*az-t* / *∅/ **ő-t* is]$_{\text{Quantifier}}$, hogy megsértettelek.
already hurt.DefObj.1Sg *that-Acc* / ∅/ *(s)he-Acc* also that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'Now even the fact that I insulted you hurts me.'

e. 'Bánom ?°*az-t* / ??'*az-t* / ✓∅ / **ő-t*, hogy megsértettelek.
hurt.DefObj.1Sg *that-Acc* / *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'It hurts me that I insulted you.'

e'. 'Nagyon bánom ?°*az-t* / (?)'*az-t* /ˇ∅, hogy megsértettelek.
very.much hurt.DefObj.1Sg *that-Acc* / *that-Acc* / ∅ that insult.Past.2Obj.1Sg
'It hurts me very much that I insulted you.'

As a result of the fact that even the intonational circumstances are absolutely the same in (29e-e') and (28e-e'), the "competition" between the four potential pronouns in the postverbal position concludes with the same results in the two situations. The "strong" variant of the [+HUMAN] pronoun can never belong to an abstract propositional entity, the empty weak variant is the optimal one, and there are slight problems with both the stressed variant and the unstressed variant of the [–HUMAN] pronoun. A potential problem may come from the fact that the first intonational unit of the sentence is too short. Another potential problem is not applying pro-drop, which can be regarded as a violation of economy (the object does not add any further information to the information provided about the object by the verb's conjugation). The third problem seems to have to do with the infelicitous status of the application of stress reduction to the genuinely stressed [–HUMAN] pronoun. These factors, however, are obviously subject to speaker-dependent differences; which may modify the grammaticality judgments of the "competing" pronouns.

For the sake of completeness, this subsection should be concluded by an analysis of the verbal modifier position. In reviewing the four cases above, VMod could not be involved as, in a neutral sentence, a particular argument typically occupies either the VMod or a postverbal position. Nonetheless, VMod can host all four types of pronouns with respect to their case marking (including postpositional expressions).

As VMod is a stressed preverbal position, the only acceptable pronoun in this position is expected to be the single potentially stressed pronoun variant: that is, the (appropriately inflected) [–HUMAN] pronoun (since the stressed variants of the pronoun have proved to obligatorily refer to a [+HUMAN] antecedent). The series of examples below exhaustively verifies this prediction. The stress marks are intended to show that the sentences are neutral so the positions in question are no foci.

(30) ● When [±HUMAN] pronouns belong to a [–HUMAN] propositional entity in subordination: V. VMod

a. ['*Az*/ *∅ /*'*ő*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ °okozta a 'problémát a 'fűtéssel, hogy...
that / ∅ /*(s)he* cause.Past.DefObj.Sg3 the problem.Acc the heating.Ins that
'The problem with the heating was caused by the fact that…'

b. ['*Az-t* / *∅ / *'*ő-t*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ °mondta 'valaki a 'társaságból, hogy...
that-Acc / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* tell.DefObj.3Sg somebody the company.Ela that
'Somebody from the company said that…'

c. ['*Ar-ra* / *'*rá* / *'*ő-rá*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ °célzott 'valaki a 'társaságból, hogy...
that-Sub/ *Sub.3Sg* /*(s)he-Sub.3Sg* hint.Past.3Sg somebody the company.Ela that
'Somebody from the company was hinting at the fact that…'

d. ['*A-mellett*/*'*mellett-e*/*'*ő-mellett-e*]$_{\text{VMod}}$ °érvelt 'valaki a 'társaságból, hogy...
that-next_to / *next_to-3Sg* / *(s)he-next_to-3Sg* argue.Past.3Sg somebody the company.Ela that
'Somebody from the company argued for the fact that...'

Thus the limits of the observation (first illustrated by (25) in 1.1.1.3.5.1) that a [+HUMAN] pronoun (that belongs to a subordinate clause) can sometimes refer to a

[–HUMAN] propositional semantic entity (Kenesei 1992: 648, 1994: 329) can be summarized as follows: the [+HUMAN] pronoun in question should be the unstressed weak variant of the (singular) third-person personal pronoun, which can only occupy a postverbal (non-operator) position. This observation holds for all kinds of case marking (including postpositions, to a certain extent). Otherwise, not surprisingly, the [–HUMAN] pronoun (predominantly its stressed variant) refers to the given [–HUMAN] propositional semantic entity.

A potential system of relations among the competing pronoun variants rests upon (and accounts for) such features as [±HUMAN], [±STRONG] and [±STRESSED]; and the conclusion of this subsection may be interpreted as follows: a [–HUMAN] pronoun can primarily belong to the given kind of [–HUMAN] propositional entity, but this possibility is extended to a [+HUMAN, –STRONG, –STRESSED] pronoun as well.

1.1.1.3.5.3. Sentence-internal back-reference to a [±HUMAN] participant

This subsection is devoted to the systematic overview of a phenomenon which is a counterpart of the phenomenon discussed in the previous subsection—in the sense that here the starting point is the fact that, under certain circumstances, the [–HUMAN] distal pronoun in the second clause of a complex sentence can refer back to a [+HUMAN] antecedent in the first clause (24b), an observation attributed to Pléh (1982).

In what follows, these particular circumstances will be explored. Given that the above-mentioned observation pertains to topic change, it is crucial to take into account both the "input" sentences that contain the antecedent in a topic position or in a postverbal position and—paired up with those—the "output" sentences that contain the coreferring pronoun also in these two positions. It may be suspected, however, that focus should be involved even in a minimally sufficient investigation because its function, which is to provide a new assertion is exactly the opposite of the function of topic, which is responsible for providing some anchoring information (1.1.1.3.4). It will turn out that the distributions of the animacy features of the potential pronouns in the output sentence indeed show radical differences depending on these pronouns' topic or focus functions. It is worth taking a quick look at Table 10 in 1.1.1.3.5.4 in advance; it provides a visual overview of the differences between the animacy properties. The meaning of the shades between black and white will be explained in 1.1.1.3.5.4; what is crucial now is to convince the reader of the relevance of this complex investigation.

At least three times three cases should be studied, and these will be illustrated and discussed in nine subsections from I.A to III.C. Their order was established in a way that the visual representation in Table 10 can present the gradience which is shaped by the background tendencies of the language. The human or non-human character of the antecedent will also be taken into account in each subsection, as well as the grammatical function of both the antecedent and the pronoun. The grammatical function of the antecedent will prove to be practically irrelevant. It will turn out, however, that the antecedent's various degrees of referentiality yield significant differences in the distribution of the animacy features of the potential pronouns.

There are three further aspects which could be—but will not be—considered here. Their investigation, according to our first tentative results, would only yield slight differences but at the same time would require an immense number of cases to be reviewed as they seem to show no direct correlation with the [±HUMAN] feature.

One such aspect concerns different kinds of quantifiers. Their behavior seems to be essentially the same as that of foci, presumably because both kinds of operators belong to the assertive part of the information structure. The construction of the appropriate sets of test sentences (on the basis of our sentences with focus), however, would undoubtedly be far from trivial.

A second potential aspect would be the investigation of plural pronouns. The use of the empty variants of plural pronouns is more restricted than that of their singular counterparts, resulting in slight, indirect and rather theory-dependent differences in the animacy character (see Remark 2 in subsection I.C below).

The third aspect would be a scrutiny of various degrees of the referentiality of inanimate antecedents. As a rule, since such an antecedent can never be referred back to by the strong form of a [+HUMAN] pronoun, the potential differences in animacy character are much less radical than in the case of animate antecedents.

Although, the testing of these aspects will be sidestepped here, it is worth investigating in the future, taking into consideration the ways in which our methods of ascertaining the grammaticality of a sentence could be improved.

I. Back-reference to an antecedent in Focus

Subsection I discusses the three cases where the antecedent in focus position is referred back to by a [+HUMAN] or [–HUMAN] pronoun. The three cases pertain to the output sentence which contains the pronoun in question in a focus position (I.A), or in a topic position (I.B), or postverbally (I.C).

I. A. Pronoun in Focus

Let us start with the case where the antecedent denotes a person ([+HUMAN]) in the input clause (represented by a proper name), and both this and the coreferring pronoun in the output clause serve as the foci of their corresponding clauses.

The question arises whether the [+HUMAN] antecedent can only be referred to by a [+HUMAN] pronoun (*ő* '(s)he'), or a [–HUMAN] pronoun (*az* 'that') as well, as has been observed in the case of topic change. In order to help the reader, italics are used in the examples below to show which expressions form pairs of antecedent and coreferring pronoun. There will also be given percentages in the series of examples from now on in the relevant subsections, which are intended to capture the animacy character which can be observed globally in the test situations investigated in a way explicated below (including tables illustrating how to calculate the particular percentages).

(31) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, Focus ← Focus: *ő* >> ∅ (8%)

a. Csak *Péter* kedveli Marit,
only *Péter* like.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc
mégis éppen **az* / *∅ /ˇ*ő* hagyta cserben.
still just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* leave.Past.DefObj.3Sg tannin.Ine
'Only *PÉTER* likes Mari, still, *HE* let her down.' (0%)

b. Csak *Péter-t* érdekli a nyelvészet,
only *Péter-Acc* interest.DefObj.3Sg the linguistics
mégis éppen **az-t* / *∅ /ˇ*ő-t* buktatták meg.
still just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* fail.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
'Only *PÉTER* is interested in linguistics, still, *HE* failed.' (0%)

c. Eleinte csak *Péter-ben* bíztunk meg,
at_first only *Péter-Ine* trust.Past.1Pl perf
végül mégis éppen **ab-ban*/ˇ*benn-e* /ˇ*ő-benn-e* csalódtunk.
in_the_end still just *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* /*(s)he-Ine-3Sg* be_disappointed.Past.1Pl
'At first we only trusted in *PÉTER*,
but finally it was *HIM* that we were disappointed with.' (25%)

c'. Eleinte *Péter-re* számítottunk leginkább,
at_first *Péter-Abl* rely_on.Past.1Pl most
de végül pont **ab-ból*/ˇ*belől-e*/ˇ*ő-belől-e* lett nagyon elegünk.
but in_the_end just *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg* become.Past.3Sg very.much enough.Poss.1Pl
'At first we counted on *PÉTER* the most,
but in the end it was *HIM* that we were so fed up with.'

d. Csak *Péter fölött* járt el az idő,
only *Péter above* go.Past.3Sg away the time
mégis pont **az-iránt* /ˇ*iránt-a* /ˇ*ő-iránt-a* érdeklődnek a nők.
still just *that-towards*/*towards-3Sg* /*(s)he-towards-3Sg* be_interested.3Pl the woman.Pl
'Only *PÉTER* has grown old, still, it is *HIM* that women are interested in.'

The series of examples in (31) seems to suggest a negative answer to the question above, at least at first glance: in these, only the [+HUMAN] pronouns prove to be acceptable, in total harmony with the [+HUMAN] character of the antecedent. There is, however, one further factor to consider here. If the pronoun is in the Nominative or Accusative case, its weak variant (as defined in 1.1.1.3.5.2) is unacceptable (31a-b), while otherwise both the strong and the weak variants are perfect (31c-d). The former observation can be explained very simply: the focus is a stressed position, and phonetically empty pronouns (∅) are not suitable for presenting the stressed status. The latter observation requires a more complex explanation. It was shown in 1.1.1.3.5.2 that the weak variant of the [+HUMAN] pronoun is suitable for belonging to a [–HUMAN] antecedent, in contrast to the strong variant; hence, the weak variant should be regarded as neutral rather than positive with respect to animacy. Moreover, there are speakers who definitely prefer the weak personal pronoun to the strong one in (31c-d), saying that the strong variant is mannerism and suggests pathos.

As the precise characterization of the distribution of animacy features involves considering even the above-discussed factor (i.e., the Nominative and the Accusative cases are special), the ultimate evaluation should be as follows: referring back to a focused [+HUMAN] proper noun by a focused pronoun requires this

pronoun to be of "an almost totally [+HUMAN] character". The word *almost* suggests that the strong variant of the pronoun in question, where the [+HUMAN] personal pronoun is itself overt, is not at all preferred to the weak variant of the personal pronoun, where the [+HUMAN] character is hidden. In other words, the [+HUMAN] feature must be overtly expressed only if the overt expression cannot be avoided (because of the empty phonetic form, which is incompatible with the focus position).

In order to make an informative comparison between the results, it would be useful to express numerically the degrees of animacy of the (competing) pronouns in this test and in the tests in 1.1.1.3.5.3. A numerical evaluation can be based upon assigning the given pronouns percentages which can express the degree of their [–HUMAN] character, as can be seen first in (31) above. The distal demonstrative pronoun *az* 'that' is assigned 100%, the strong variant of the personal pronoun is assigned 0%, and the in-between status of the weak variant of the personal pronoun can be expressed by assigning it 50%. The distribution of grammaticality judgments concerning the competing pronouns in a test sentence can be characterized by the weighted average of these percentages, where the weighting depends on the degrees of acceptability in a straightforward manner. As no theoretical theses are intended to be based upon the precise numbers to be calculated, the mathematical details of the calculation are not provided here in their entirety. Only an illustrative and transparent visual representation of differences in animacy character is based upon the numerical expression of cumulated grammaticality judgments, where percentages are indicated as different shades of black (see Table 10 in 1.1.1.3.5.4).

The 8% in (31) above is the mean of 0%, 0% and 25%; which are the numerical expressions of the following facts, respectively. (i) The nominative case-marked pronoun (in this test) can only be the strong [+HUMAN] pronoun (31a), (ii) the accusative case-marked pronoun behaves in the same way (31b), while (iii) oblique case-marked (31c-c') or postpositional forms (31d) of the pronoun can be selected by both the strong [+HUMAN] pronoun (0%) and the weak [+HUMAN] pronoun (50%). In the latter case the mean of 0% and 50% is considered since both variants are regarded as fully (and equally) acceptable forms. The variant marked with an asterisk is obviously given no weight because of the unacceptable status of the corresponding sentence variant.

The above-mentioned three cases (i-iii) are considered to be of equal importance (here and everywhere in this subsection) on the basis of the approximately equal importance and frequency of the Nominative case, the Accusative case and all other cases and postpositions. Though this is an arbitrary element in the calculation, it is harmless inasmuch as no far-reaching conclusions are based on it.

For the sake of transparency, the calculation is summarized here in the table below:

Table 4: Calculation of the weighted mean of grammaticality judgments in (31)

	az	WEAK FORM	*ő*	Weighted mean
Subject	*	*	✓: 0%	0%
Object	*	*	✓: 0%	0%
Oblique / PP	*	✓: $^1/_2$·50%	✓: $^1/_2$·0%	25%
Weighted mean				8%

Another methodological question should also be discussed in connection with (31) above. So far, we have restricted ourselves to cases where (the type of) the grammatical function of the pronoun coincided with that of the antecedent. This made it possible to filter out the potential effects caused by grammatical-function differences, and helped to concentrate on the information-structural functions of the participants.

The following four series of examples (32-35) illustrate that choosing the same or various (types of) (case) markers for the antecedent and for the pronoun has no impact on the distribution of the animacy feature. This renders the "effect" mentioned in the previous paragraph non-existent; so, there is no need to employ differently case-marked antecedents in the tests. We have thoroughly attested that it is only the information-structural function of the antecedent that counts— not only here but in each case throughout the testing from I.A to III.C.

Let us consider some illustrative examples. In (32a) a nominative case-marked antecedent is paired with differently (case-) marked pronouns (32b-d). It can be observed that the grammaticality judgments in (32b-d) coincide completely with those in the corresponding examples in (31b-d).

(32) • The irrelevance of grammatical function in back-reference to [+HUMAN] entities: Subject (Nominative)

a. Csak *Péter* kedveli Marit, ...
only *Péter* like.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc
'Only *PÉTER* likes Mari, ...'

b. ...mégis pont **az-t* / **∅* /✓*ő-t* kínozza a lány.
still just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* torture.DefObj.3Sg the girl
'... still, it is *HIM* that the girl tortures most.'

c. ...mégis pont **ab-ban* /✓*benn-e* /✓*ő-benn-e* csalódott a lány.
still just *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* be_disappointed.Past.3Sg the girl
'...still, it was *HIM* that the girl was disappointed with.'

d. ...mégis **az-iránt* /✓*iránt-a* /✓*ő-iránt-a* érzett haragot a lány.
still *that-toward* /*towards-3Sg* / *(s)he-towards-3Sg* feel.Past.3Sg anger.Acc the girl
'...still, it was *HIM* that the girl felt angry with.'

In (33a) an accusative case-marked antecedent is paired with differently (case-) marked pronouns (33b-d). It can be observed again that the grammaticality judgments in (33b,c,d) coincide completely with those in the corresponding examples in (31a,c,d).

(33) • The irrelevance of grammatical function in back-reference to [+HUMAN] entities: Object (Accusative)

a. Csak *Péter-t* érdekli a nyelvészet, ...
only *Péter-Acc* interest.DefObj.3Sg the linguistics
'Only *PÉTER* is interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...mégis pont **az / *∅ /ˇ ő* bukott meg a mondattan vizsgán.
still just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* fail.Past.3Sg perf the syntax exam.Sup
'...still, it was *HIM* who failed the syntax test.'

c. ...mégis pont **ab-ban / ˇbenn-e /ˇő-benn-e* csalódott a tanár.
still just *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* be_disappointed.Past.3Sg the teacher
'...still, it was *HIM* that the teacher was disappointed with.'

d. ...mégis pont **az-iránt /ˇiránt-a /ˇő-iránt-a* nem lelkesedik a tanár.
still just *that-toward/towards-3Sg*/ *(s)he-towards-3Sg* not burn.3Sg the teacher
'...still, it is *HIM* that the teacher shows no enthusiasm for.'

In (34a) an oblique case-marked antecedent is paired with differently (case-) marked pronouns (34b-d). Here, the grammaticality judgments in (34b,c,d) coincide with those in the corresponding examples in (31a,b,d).

(34) • The irrelevance of the grammatical function in back-reference to [+HUMAN] entities: Oblique

a. Eleinte csak *Péter-ben* bíztam meg, ...
at_first only *Péter-Ine* trust.Past.1Sg perf
'At first I only trusted *IN PÉTER*, ...'

b. ...mégis pont **az / *∅ /ˇő* hagyott cserben engem.
still just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* leave.Past.3Sg tan.Ine me
'... still, it was *HIM* that let me down.'

c. ...mégis pont **az-t / *∅ /ˇő-t* értem hazugságon.
still just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* catch.Past.1Sg lie.Sup
'...still, it was *HIM* whom I caught lying.'

d. ...de pont **az-iránt /ˇiránt-a /ˇő-iránt-a* nem lelkesedtek a többiek.
but just *that-toward /towards-3Sg* / *(s)he-towards-3Sg* not burn.Past.3Pl the other.Pl
'...but it was *HIM* that the others showed no enthusiasm for.'

In (35a) a postpositional antecedent is paired with case-marked pronouns (35b-d). Here the grammaticality judgments in (35b,c,d) coincide again with those in the corresponding examples in (31a,b,c).

(35) • The irrelevance of grammatical function in back-reference to [+HUMAN] entities: Postposition

a. Csak *Péter fölött* járt el az idő, ...
only *Péter above* go.Past.3Sg away the time
'Only *PÉTER* has grown old...'

b. ...mégis csak **az / *∅ /ˇő* mászta meg ezt a hegyet.
still just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* climb.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf this.Acc the mountain.Acc
'... still, it was *HIM* who climbed this mountain.'

c. ...mégis csak **az-t / *∅ /ˇő-t* látjuk naponta futni.
still just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* see.DefObj.1Pl day_by_day run.Inf
'...still, it is *HIM* that we see running every day.'

d. ...mégis pont **an-nak* /✓*nek-i* /✓*ő-nek-i* nem kell bot.
still just *that-Dat* /*Dat-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* not need.3Sg stick
'...still, it is *HIM* who doesn't need a walking stick.'

In (31-35) above, all possible combinations of the four grammatical-function (case-marking) types of the antecedent and those of the coreferring pronoun have been examined. To sum up, each of the four pronoun types defined above yields the same distribution of grammaticality judgments, independent of the associated antecedent type. The inverse of this observation does not hold, however. Obviously, there is a difference between the distribution of grammaticality judgments when a nominative or an accusative pronoun (see (31a-b) and the corresponding examples in (32-35)) are taken into account, and when an oblique or postpositional pronoun (see (31c-d) and the corresponding examples in (32-35)) are considered. One of the differences is, for instance, that the weak form of a nominative or accusative pronoun is empty, and it cannot occupy a stress-requiring focus position. A non-empty weak form of an oblique or postpositional pronoun, however, serves as an excellent focus.

As the emptiness of the weak form is the primarily decisive factor for the distribution of grammaticality judgments about competing pronoun variants, the same distribution works for oblique pronouns as for postpositional pronouns. Therefore, these two types will not be distinguished in the examples in subsections I.B-III.C. As for nominative and accusative pronouns, the distributions of grammaticality judgments about these two groups are also very similar, but there are some slight differences. These differences can be attributed to the very strong correlation between the given two grammatical functions (case markings) and information-structural functions in Hungarian. In contrast to an object, a (non-empty) subject, for instance, does not readily accept a postverbal position in place of the topic position.

In order to test the hypothesis for a possible simplification of "inputs", we again apply (in (36-37) below) our formerly used detailed method of testing how a focused pronoun can refer back to a focused antecedent (on the analogy of (31-35)). Here, the antecedent is chosen to be [–HUMAN].

It can be observed that any of the input clauses in (36) can be combined with any of the output clauses in (37), and the distribution of grammaticality judgments concerning the output clauses will be the same, independent of the choice of the input clause. Example (36) lists five sentences with a subject, an object, two different oblique arguments and a postpositional argument as potential antecedents (in italics).

(36) • The irrelevance of grammatical function in back-reference to [–HUMAN] entities; input clauses

a. Csak *a Raid* riasztja el ezeket a szúnyogokat, ...
only *the Raid* repel.DefObj.3Sg away this.Pl.Acc the mosquito.Pl.Acc
'Only *RAID* repels these mosquitoes, ...'

b. Csak *a Raid-et* tartják hatékonynak a szúnyogok ellen, ...
only *the Raid-Acc* hold.DefObj.3Pl effective.Dat the mosquito.Pl against
'Only *RAID* is considered to work against mosquitoes, ...'

c. Eleinte csak *a Raid-ben* bíztunk meg, ...
at_first only *the Raid-Ine* trust.Past.1Pl perf
'At first we only trusted *IN RAID*, ...'

c'. Eleinte csak *a Raid-nek* szavaztunk bizalmat, ...
at_first only *the Raid-Dat* vote.Past.1Pl trust.Acc
'At first we only trusted *IN RAID*, ...'

d. A szomszéd éppen *a Raid mellett* kardoskodott, ...
the neighbor just *the Raid next_to* argue_for.Past.3Sg
'It was precisely *RAID* that the neighbor argued for, ...'

Example (37) contains five (output) sentences with a subject, an object, two different oblique arguments and a postpositional argument, respectively, as pronouns (in italics) which can potentially refer back to the marked antecedents in (36).

(37) • The irrelevance of grammatical function in back-reference to [–HUMAN] entities; output clauses: *az* (100%)

a. ...viszont pont *az* / *∅ /*ő* vált ki allergiás rohamot nálam.
but just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* trigger.3Sg out allergic seizure.Acc Ade.1Sg
'...but it is just *THAT* that gives me an allergic reaction.'

b. ...viszont pont *az-t* / *∅ /*ő-t utálják a gyerekek leginkább.
but just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* hate.DefObj.3Pl the child.Pl most
'...but it is just *THAT* that children hate most.'

c. ...de pont *at-tól* / *től-e /*ő-től-e lettünk rosszul.
but just *that-Abl* / *Abl-3Sg* / *(s)he-Abl-3Sg* become.Past.1Pl bad
'...but it was just *THAT* that made us sick.'

c'. ...végül mégis éppen *ab-ban*/ *benn-e /*ő-benn-e* csalódtunk.
in_the_end still just *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* /*(s)he-Ine-3Sg* be_disappointed.Past.1Pl
'...but in the end, it was exactly *THAT* that we were disappointed with.'

d. ...de pont *az ellen* / *ellen-e* / *ő-ellen-e* érvelt egy barátom.
but just *that against* / *against-3Sg* / *(s)he-against-3Sg* argue.Past.3Sg a friend.Poss.1Sg
'...but it was just *THAT* that a friend of mine argued against.'

The evaluation of grammaticality judgments is very simple in this test (36-37). In each case, there is one, and only one, perfect solution: the [–HUMAN] distal pronoun *az* 'that' (100%), which is the only straightforward choice for the [–HUMAN] character of the antecedent. In harmony with the observations about the focused pronoun in 1.1.1.3.5.2, there appears no transition into the opposite animacy polarity here, either.

As has been decided above, in the following tests we will consider three different case-markings (nominative, accusative and oblique) of the pronouns (that fulfill various information-structural functions). The antecedents (fulfilling various information-structural functions), however, will no longer be considered separately by their case-marking types.

Although we agreed to ignore the case marking of the antecedent, there is one further characteristic feature of the Hungarian noun phrase that must be considered here: the degree of referentiality. This feature has proved to be relevant in several

cases above (see example (7) in 1.1.1.3.1 about the use of *-ék* 'Apl' and subsection 1.1.1.3.4 devoted to this topic in its entirety).

Two basic cases of referentiality will be tested here: definite but non-proper-name noun phrases, and indefinite noun phrases. Bare noun phrases will not be considered here since referring back to them is too problematic a question (due to them being underspecified for number) (the interested reader is referred to Kiefer (1990-91)). Example (38) below illustrates the first case, where the pronoun is a definite but not a "rigidly denoting" proper name.

(38) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, Focus ← Focus: *ő* > *az* (33%)

a. Csak *az új diák-ot* érdekli a nyelvészet, ...
only *the new student-Acc* interest.DefObj.3Sg the linguistics
'Only *THE NEW STUDENT* is interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...mégis éppen (?)*az* / *∅ /✓*ő* bukott meg.
still just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* fail.Past.3Sg perf
'...still, it was *HIM* who failed.' (33%)

c. ...mégis éppen (?)*az-t* / *∅ /✓*ő-t* buktatták meg.
still just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* fail.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
'...still, it was *HIM* who was failed.' (33%)

d. ...mégis pont ??*ab-ban*/✓*benn-e* /✓*ő-benn-e* csalódott a tanár.
still just *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* be_disappointed.Past.3Sg the teacher
'...still, it was *HIM* who the teacher was disappointed at.' (33%)

Due to the "almost acceptable" grammaticality judgment concerning the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' in examples (38b-c), a certain degree of transition into the opposite animacy polarity can be observed, in comparison to (31). However, the perfect acceptability of the non-empty [+HUMAN] pronouns (33%) still holds.

The table below makes it easy to follow the precise details of the calculation:

Table 5: Calculation of the weighted mean of grammaticality judgments in (38)

	az	WEAK FORM	*ő*	WEIGHTED MEAN
SUBJECT	(?): $^1/_3$·100%	*	✓: $^2/_3$·0%	33%
OBJECT	(?): $^1/_3$·100%	*	✓: $^2/_3$·0%	33%
OBLIQUE / PP	??: $^1/_9$·100%	✓: $^4/_9$·50%	✓: $^4/_9$·0%	33%
WEIGHTED MEAN				33%

In the first ("Subject") and the second ("Object") row of the table, a "first best" variant and a "second best" variant are competing. Hence, a weighted mean should be calculated, where the two variants are assigned weights 2:1, respectively (weight $^2/_3$ to *ő* '(s)he', and weight $^1/_3$ to *az* 'that'). In the third row ("Oblique/PP"), there are two equally best variants, which have been assigned weights 4:4, because there is also a very weak third "competitor", which is assigned weight 1 (compared to the above-mentioned weight 4, which is intended to express the major difference between them in grammaticality judgments).

Let us now consider the case of indefinite antecedents.

(39) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, Focus ← Focus: *az* > *ő* (67%)

a. Csak *egy diák-ot* érdekel a nyelvészet, ...
only *one student-Acc* interest.3Sg the linguistics
'Only *ONE STUDENT* is interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...mégis éppen *az* / *∅ /(?)*ő* bukott meg.
still just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* fail.Past.3Sg perf
'...still, it was *HIM* who failed.'(67%)

c. ...mégis éppen *az-t* / *∅ /(?)*ő-t* buktatták meg.
still just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* fail.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
'...still, it was *HIM* who was failed.' (67%)

d. ...mégis pont *ab-ban* / *(?)benn-e*/?ő-benn-e* csalódott a tanár.
still just *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* be_disappointed.Past.3Sg the teacher
'...still, it was *HIM* who the teacher was disappointed at.' (67%)

Compared to (31) and (38), example (39) shows an even stronger degree of transition into the [–HUMAN] animacy polarity. This is due to the fact that here the [–HUMAN] pronoun has become better than its non-empty [+HUMAN] rival, and, out of the two variants of the [+HUMAN] pronoun in (39d), the weak one seems to become somewhat more acceptable than its strong counterpart (66%).

Because of the new patterns that have emerged here, the details of this last calculation are also summarized in a table:

Table 6: Calculation of the weighted mean of grammaticality judgments in (39)

	az	WEAK FORM	*ő*	WEIGHTED MEAN
SUBJECT	✓: $^{2}/_{3}$ ·100%	*	(?): $^{1}/_{3}$·0%	67%
OBJECT	✓: $^{2}/_{3}$ ·100%	*	(?): $^{1}/_{3}$·0%	67%
OBLIQUE / PP	✓: $^{3}/_{6}$·100%	(?): $^{2}/_{6}$·50%	?: $^{1}/_{6}$·0%	67%
WEIGHTED MEAN				67%

The first and the second rows coincide again. The result of the competition between *az* 'that' and *ő* '(s)he', however, has been reversed: *az* 'that' is assigned twice the weight of *ő* '(s)he'. In the third row ("Oblique/PP"), there are three—not equally—acceptable results. As a conclusion, the first, the second and the third competitors are assigned weights 3:2:1, respectively.

To summarize subsection I.A, two observations should be highlighted again. Focus seems to present the [+HUMAN] or [–HUMAN] feature of the proper name, contrary to what was found in the case of topic change. If, however, the degree of the referentiality of a [+HUMAN] noun phrase is lower than that of a proper name, this seems to be expressed in Hungarian by a strengthening transition to the [–HUMAN] character depending on the "distance" between rigid denotation— characteristic of proper names—and the "predicative" manner of denotation—characteristic of other sorts of noun phrases.

I. B. Pronoun in Topic

Let us continue the complex analysis of the distribution of animacy features in sentence-internal back-reference with the case where the, still focused, antecedent

denotes a person ([+HUMAN]) in the input clause by a proper name, while the coreferring pronoun in the output clause serves as the topic of that clause.

Practically, the question is as follows. Which of the following three is to be used in back-reference to the [+HUMAN] antecedent: the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that', the strong form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun *ő* '(s)he', or the weak form of this latter pronoun (i.e., a phonetically empty pronoun in the Nominative and the Accusative, or otherwise a suffixed case marker or postposition)?

There arises a serious methodological question as well. Given that they can be thought of as hosted in the topic position, should empty pronouns be considered here or not? It is indeed theory-dependent whether an empty pronoun can be regarded as the topic of its clause—in a pragmatico-semantic (i.e., not syntactic) sense. We do not intend to make a decision on this question because there is no model-theoretic evidence at our disposal to decide whether, say, (40b) below simply means that 'Péter is not free on Friday' or it means that 'it is claimed about Péter that he is not free on Friday' ("topic reading"). In this sentence type, thus, there is a persistent ambiguity in this special pragmatico-semantic sense. In the relevant examples below, symbol '—' will denote the intended "topic readings", which we use in an attempt to remain neutral on the questions of what kinds of empty elements can be found in the corresponding syntactic analyses, and in which positions. Furthermore, we help the reader to obtain the intended reading by using example sentences where no (other) overt topics will be present.

In no way do we intend to commit ourselves to a syntactic analysis according to which the "reading with topic" variant means that a *pro* can be found in the topic position (as an alternative to *az* 'that'/ *ő* '(s)he'). A variant with '—' simply means that no pronoun is "audible" in the given sentence. We believe that it is not useful to refuse a possible (intuitively elegant) approach according to which topic retainment, for instance, is marked by using no overt phonetic pronominal form. In this approach "unmarkedness" would refer to (topic) "retainment" on a pragmatico-semantic level, which may make it superfluous to build a syntactic topic position (and to fill it with any kind of pronoun). Thus, a potential interpretation of '—' is that there is no syntactic topic constituent in the given sentence; so the empty pronoun variant is likely to occupy a postverbal argument position.

Remark 1. Vocative uses provide an analogous phenomenon. In (i) below the definite reference to a specific person requires the presence of a definite article. In the vocative construction in (ii), however, the presence of a definite article is not only non-obligatory, but specifically prohibited despite the given person being referred to in the same, obviously definite, way (Szabolcsi 1992, Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 227).

(i) Elment *(a) fiam.
go.Past.3Sg the son.Poss.1Sg
'My son went away.'

(ii) (*A) fiam, menj el!
the son.Poss.1Sg go.Subj.2Sg away
'My son, go away!

The analogy is based on the fact that if some pragmatic factor makes a grammatical factor unambiguous (here, the definiteness of the person in the speaker's immediate neighborhood), the grammatical factor in question may not receive its usual way of

expression. This is presumably due to some principle of economy, which obviously has to do with an attempt to avoid redundant information.

Let us return to the problem of empty pronouns in topic position and compare the clause in (iv) below, a fully acceptable continuation of the clause in (iii), to its less acceptable or unacceptable variants in (v) and (vi). Variant (iv) can be labeled as the "unmarked" variant as opposed to the "marked" variants (v-vi), where overt pronominal phonetic forms are present. We follow (the spirit of) Pléh and Radics (1976: 266–267) in considering it intuitive to say that unmarkedness is closely related to the retainment of the information-structural functions of both the subject and the object: the subject retains its topic function and the object retains its postverbal (non-operator) status. As was mentioned earlier, this assumption does not inevitably imply the criterion that topic retainment necessarily involves clause (iv) having a syntactic topic construction (cf. example (16) in Pléh and Radics (1976: 266)). By contrast, the optimal indication of topic retainment may be that no syntactic topic construction is built ("unmarked" variant); and if a topic construction *is* built and if it is filled with a non-empty pronominal form, as in (v), this can exactly mean that there is no topic retainment but topic change—specifically due to "markedness".

- Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper names, Topic ← Topic; postverbal ← postverbal

(iii) *Péter* kedveli **Mari-t**, ...
Péter like.3Sg **Mari-Acc**
'*Péter* likes **Mari**, ...'

(iv) ...de nem hívta meg.
but not invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf
'...but *he* has not invited **her**.'

(v) ...de **az* / **ő* nem hívta meg.
but *that* / *(s)he* not invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf
Intended meaning: '...but *he* has not invited **her**.'

(vi) ...de nem hívta meg *?*az-t* / *?ő-t.*
but not invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf *that-Acc* / *(s)he.Acc*
'...but *he* has not invited **her**.'

We conclude here with a comment on how to interpret the comparative indication of grammaticality judgments concerning alternative sentence variants. Example (40b) below, for instance, shows an abbreviation of what is elaborated on in detail in (vii-x) below.

- Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, Focus ← Topic

(vii) Csak *Péter-t* érdekli a mondattan, ...
only *Péter-Acc* interest.DefObj.3Sg the syntax
'Only *Péter* is interested in syntax, ...'

(viii) *?...de *az* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *that* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.'

(ix) ?...de sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.'

(x) ...de *ő* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *(s)he* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.'

The relevant difference is between (ix) and the corresponding variant of (40b) involving the symbol '—'. The latter representation seems to suggest that there is an empty linguistic element in a certain position (in the word order or in some background syntactic structure). The representation in (ix), however, suggests nothing like this: it simply shows a word order that includes no overt pronominal phonetic form. Examples like (40b) with the symbol '—', in spite of appearances, are intended to indicate the same as (ix); that is, a pronominal lacking overt form has no position (in our theory-independent discussion).

Note in passing that this argumentation does not pertain to similar readings with focus, because the above-mentioned "ambiguity in the special pragmatico-semantic sense" does not hold. Focus can be characterized by a clear-cut logical meaning contribution. A focused variant of, say, (40b) would mean that 'it is only Péter who is not free on Friday'.

We are supplying, thus, as much information as possible, and the reader is free either to accept or to ignore our grammaticality judgments concerning variants with '—'. Each test will be evaluated on the basis of both kinds of calculations. The resulting percentages will be given in parentheses / square brackets, respectively.

Let us compare the set of data below to the data in (24) in subsection 1.1.1.3.5.1, which served as the starting point for our complex investigation of the animacy character of pronouns which refer back to [+HUMAN] or [–HUMAN] antecedents. This starting point pertains to topic change, that is, the occupation of the topic position by the pronoun which refers to a postverbal antecedent. Subsection II.B will be devoted to this case, while (40) illustrates the case of the occupation of the topic position by the pronoun which refers to a focused antecedent. The former case of "topic change" could be characterized by the "advancement" of the [–HUMAN] pronoun in back-reference to a [+HUMAN] antecedent. The latter case, however, shows no such tendency; hence, the focus→topic change of information-structural functions does not qualify as a variant of topic change.

(40) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, Focus ← Topic: *ő* > ∅ (21%) [11%]

a. Csak *Péter-t* érdekli a mondattan, ...
only *Péter-Acc* interest.DefObj.3Sg the syntax
'Only *PÉTER* is interested in syntax, ...'

b. ...de $^{*?}$*az* /$^{?}$— /$^{\checkmark}$*ő* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (13%) [0%]

b'. ...de $^{*?}$*az-t* /$^{(?)}$— /$^{\checkmark}$*ő-t* sajnos nem hívtuk el az előadásra.
but *that-Acc* / — /*(s)he-Acc* unf'ly not invite.Past.DefObj.1Pl away the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we did not invite *him* to the lecture.' (17%) [0%]

b''. ...de $^{*?}$*at-tól* /$^{\checkmark}$*től-e* /$^{(?)}$*ő-től-e* ezt el is várjuk.
but *that-Abl* / *Abl-3Sg* / *(s)he-Abl-3Sg* this.Acc away also expect.DefObj.1Pl
'...but we also expect *him* to be so.' (33%) [33%]

In this case, the empty phonetic forms are also considered (i.e., the lack of a phonetically overt pronominal form), and the two forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun "compete" with each other. Our grammaticality judgments can be summarized as follows: strong forms are somewhat preferred to the empty form (which, instead, will prove to be a means of retaining certain information-structural functions), while non-empty weak forms are preferred to their strong variants (these sound fairly artificial, probably due to economy considerations). Having a new pattern of distribution of grammaticality judgments in the row "Subject", the table below shows the calculation of the animacy character. *Ő* '(s)he'and its weak (empty) variant are assigned weights in a proportion of 3:1 since the "second best" grammaticality judgment is not a '(?)' but a '?'. Grammaticality judgments '*?' are

not assigned any weight, because the corresponding sentences are practically unacceptable (despite the fact that a slight difference between sentences marked with an asterisk and those marked with the combination of an asterisk and a question mark can be observed).

Table 7: Calculation of the weighted mean of grammaticality judgments in (40)

	az	WEAK FORM	*ő*	WEIGHTED MEAN
SUBJECT	*?	?: $^{1}/_{4}$ ·50%	✓: $^{3}/_{4}$·0%	13%
OBJECT	*?	(?): $^{1}/_{3}$·50%	✓: $^{2}/_{3}$·0%	17%
OBLIQUE / PP	*?	✓: $^{2}/_{3}$·50%	(?): $^{1}/_{3}$·0%	33%
WEIGHTED MEAN				21%

Let us continue our testing protocol concerning the animacy character of pronoun distribution with the case where the manner of denoting the intended antecedent remains definite, but instead of being rigid as in (40), it is rather "predicative" (41). Based on the results in I.A, grammaticality judgments concerning *az* 'that' are expected to improve significantly. The best "candidate", nevertheless, remains the same everywhere, as in (40).

(41) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, Focus ← Topic: *ő* > ∅/*az* (44%) [34%]

a. Csak *az új diák-ot* érdekli a mondattan, ...
only *the new student-Acc* interest.DefObj.3Sg the syntax
'Only *THE NEW STUDENT* is interested in syntax, ...'

b. ...de $^{(?)}$*az* /$^{?}$—/$^{\checkmark}$*ő* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (33%) [33%]

b'. ...de $^{?}$*az-t* /$^{(?)}$—/$^{\checkmark}$*ő-t* sajnos nem hívtuk el az előadásra.
but *that-Acc* / — /*(s)he-Acc* unf'ly not invite.Past.DefObj.1Pl away the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we did not invite *him* to the lecture.' (56%) [25%]

b". ...de $^{?}$*at-tól* /$^{\checkmark}$*től-e* /$^{??}$*ő-től-e* ezt el is várjuk.
but *that-Abl* / *Abl-3Sg* / *(s)he-Abl-3Sg* this.Acc away also expect.DefOPbj.1Pl
'...but we also expect *him* to be so.' (44%) [44%]

Having a new pattern of distribution of grammaticality judgments in the row "Oblique/PP", the table below shows the calculation of the animacy character. It can be seen that of the three competing variants, value '(?)' is left out. This has led to distributing weights in a proportion of 6:2:1 (instead of the proportion 3:2:1, applied to the distribution of "Subject").

Table 8: Calculation of the weighted mean of grammaticality judgments in (41)

	az	WEAK FORM	*ő*	WEIGHTED MEAN
SUBJECT	(?): $^{2}/_{6}$·100%	?: $^{1}/_{6}$ ·50%	✓: $^{3}/_{6}$·0%	42%
OBJECT	?: $^{1}/_{6}$ ·100%	(?): $^{2}/_{6}$·50%	✓: $^{3}/_{6}$·0%	33%
OBLIQUE / PP	?: $^{2}/_{9}$ ·100%	✓: $^{6}/_{9}$·50%	??: $^{1}/_{9}$·0%	56%
WEIGHTED MEAN				44%

In the test shown in (42) below, the antecedent is denoted by an indefinite noun phrase. As can be expected on the basis of I.A, grammaticality judgments concerning *az* 'that' keep on improving, yielding the best "candidate" everywhere. Simultaneously, the empty form is becoming almost totally unacceptable. The empty pronoun, thus, seems to "insist on" the definiteness of its antecedent.

(42) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, Focus ← Topic: *az* > *ő* (67%) [67%]

a. Csak *egy diák-ot* érdekel a mondattan, ...
only *one student-Acc* interest.3Sg the syntax
'Only *ONE STUDENT* is interested in syntax, ...'

b. ...de *az* /$^{*?}$— /$^{(?)}$*ő* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *that* / —/ *(s)he* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *(s)he* is not free on Friday.' (67%) [67%]

b'. ...de *az-t* /$^{*?}$— /$^{(?)}$*ő-t* sajnos nem hívtuk el az előadásra.
but *that-Acc*/ —/ *(s)he-Acc* unf'ly not invite.Past.DefObj.1Pl away the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we did not invite *him/her* to the lecture.' (67%) [67%]

b". ...de $^{(?)}$*at-tól* /$^{?}$*től-e* /$^{??}$*ő-től-e* ezt el is várjuk.
but *that-Abl* / *Abl-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Abl-3Sg* this.Acc away also expect.DefObj.1Pl
'...but that is what we expect *him/her* to be.' (67%) [67%]

The row "Oblique/PP" now has a new pattern of grammaticality judgment distribution. The table below shows the calculation of the animacy character: at least to us, none of the three competing variants looks totally acceptable in (42b"). Nevertheless, this does not modify the usual 3:2:1 proportion in the distribution of weights among the three almost equal candidates, because a proportion depends on the order of candidates and not on the absolute value of the best candidate.

Table 9: Calculation of the weighted mean of grammaticality judgments in (42)

	az	WEAK FORM	*ő*	WEIGHTED MEAN
SUBJECT	✓:$^{2}/_{3}$·100%	*?	(?):$^{1}/_{3}$·0%	67%
OBJECT	✓:$^{2}/_{3}$ ·100%	*?	(?):$^{1}/_{3}$·0%	67%
OBLIQUE / PP	(?):$^{3}/_{6}$ ·100%	?: $^{2}/_{6}$·50%	??: $^{1}/_{6}$·0%	67%
WEIGHTED MEAN				67%

It is worth returning to the lack of a perfect variant in (42b"). It seems that, at least for those who share our grammaticality judgments, it is not easy to accept that an oblique case-marked [–HUMAN] pronoun should refer to a [+HUMAN] participant. The same [–HUMAN] pronoun can more readily be regarded as reference to a [+HUMAN] participant if its case marking is "distinguished" (Nominative or Accusative). As for the [+HUMAN] pronoun variants, they have not proved to be (very) suitable to refer to non-definite antecedents.

Note in passing, nevertheless, that factors like these are likely to be highly speaker-dependent. We consider the set of rules proposed here to be valid for each speaker of Hungarian. Speaker-dependent differences may presumably appear in the order of preference concerning the rules responsible for grammaticality judgments.

Our testing protocol requires the conclusion of this subsection by analyzing the case where the pronoun refers back to a [–HUMAN] antecedent. In harmony with the above observations, the strong form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun cannot refer to a [–HUMAN] participant. Compared to the test in (40), where a [+HUMAN] proper name serves as an antecedent, the same holds for the empty pronoun in (43): its non-preferred status can be attributed to its distinguished role in highlighting the retainment of certain information-structural functions.

(43) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], Focus ← Topic: *az* >> ∅ (78%) [100%]

a. Csak *a Raid* riasztja el ezeket a szúnyogokat, ...
only *the Raid* repel.DefObj.3Sg away this.Pl.Acc the mosquito.Pl.Acc
'Only *RAID* repels these mosquitoes, ...'

b. ...de *az* /$^{(?)}$— /**ő* sajnos most nem kapható.
but *that* / —/ *(s)he* unfortunately now not available
'...but unfortunately *it* is not available now.' (67%) [100%]

b'. ...de *az-t* /$^{(?)}$— /**ő-t* sajnos most nem kapni.
but *that-Acc* / —/ *(s)he-Acc* unfortunately now not get.Inf
'...but unfortunately *it* is not available now.' (67%) [100%]

b". ...de *ab-ból* /**belől-e* /**ő-belől-e* sajnos most hiány van.
but *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg* unfortunately now shortage be.3Sg
'...but unfortunately *it* is in short supply now.' (100%) [100%]

Thus, the [–HUMAN] pronoun remains the best candidate in total accordance with the [–HUMAN] character of the intended antecedents. Note in passing that in (43b") the topicalized weak [+HUMAN] pronoun is necessarily stressed, and, as was established in 1.1.1.3.5.2, a stressed [+HUMAN] pronoun cannot refer to a [–HUMAN] antecedent.

The calculation of the animacy character of the competing pronouns in test (43) is not provided in a table, as no new weighting patterns have emerged. In what follows, partial phases of calculations will be provided immediately after the English translations of the Hungarian test sentences.

I. C. Postverbal pronoun

In this subsection, pronouns in postverbal positions will be tested, with their antecedents still in focus. According to the testing protocol used in I.A-B, four types of antecedents will be reviewed, out of which the case of a [+HUMAN] proper name comes first.

Not surprisingly, the weak form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun is preferred in the postverbal zone. Inflected forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' are excluded; they only seem to be permitted to refer to a rigidly denoted participant, basically in the course of topic change.

(44) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, Focus ← postverbal: ∅ >> *ő* (41%)

a. Csak *Péter-nek* tetszik a mondattan, ...
only *Péter-Dat* please.3Sg the syntax
'Syntax pleases only *PÉTER*, ...'

b. ...de a pénteki előadásról mégis hiányzott **az /ˇ∅/ ?? ő.*
but the Friday.Adj lecture.Del even_so be_absent.Past.3Sg *that* / ∅ / *(s)he*
'...but even so, *he* was absent from the lecture on Friday.' ($^{8}/_{9}$·50%+$^{1}/_{9}$·0%)

b'. ...de a pénteki előadásra mégis hiába vártuk **az-t /ˇ∅/ (?) ő-t.*
but the Friday.Adj lecture.Sub even_so in_vain wait.Past.DefObj.1Pl *that-Acc*/ ∅ / *(s)he-Acc*
'...but even so, we were waiting for *him* in vain at the Friday lecture.' ($^{2}/_{3}$·50%+$^{1}/_{3}$·0%)

b''. ...de pénteken mégis hiába vártunk **ar-ra /ˇ rá /?? ő-rá.*
but Friday.Sup even_so in_vain wait.Past.1Pl *that-Sub* / *Sub.3Sg*/ *(s)he-Sub.3Sg*
'...but even so, we were waiting for *him* in vain on Friday.' ($^{8}/_{9}$·50%+$^{1}/_{9}$·0%)

As for the strong form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, two sorts of distributions of grammaticality judgments can be observed above, which, in our opinion, can be traced back to three different causes. The nominative version (44b) is infelicitous postverbally, as the primary place of a [+HUMAN] non-empty subject is the topic position, which it only readily gives up for the sake of another operator position (required by an additional semantic factor). The oblique version (44b'') is not felicitous, either. This is presumably due to the fact that out of two phonetically non-empty versions, Hungarian seems to favor the shorter one—in harmony with the principle of economy. The accusative version (44b'), however, is almost perfect, presumably due to the obvious compatibility of its postverbal occurrence with the object grammatical function.

Remark 2. The corresponding examples in the plural accusative (iii) show radical differences in comparison to the grammaticality judgments in example (44b'): the empty pronoun variant is absolutely unacceptable here (and generally in the accusative, for independent reasons), while the strong variant of the [+HUMAN] personal pronoun is fully acceptable.

- Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name in plural, Focus ← postverbal: ∅ / *ők* (30%)

(i) Csak *Péter-ék-nek* tetszik a mondattan, ...
only *Péter-Apl-Dat* please.3Sg the syntax
'Syntax pleases only *PÉTER AND THE OTHERS*, ...'

(ii) ...de a pénteki előadásról mégis hiányoztak **az-ok /ˇ∅ /?? ők.*
but the Friday.Adj lecture.Del even_so be_absent.Past.3Pl that-Pl / ∅ / they
'...but even so, *they* were absent from the lecture on Friday.' ($^{8}/_{9}$·50%+$^{1}/_{9}$·0%)

(iii) ...de az előadásra mégis hiába vártuk **az-ok-at /*∅/ˇ ők-et.*
but the lecture.Sub even_so in_vain wait.Past.DefObj.1Pl that-Pl-Acc /∅ / they-Acc
'...but even so, we were waiting for *them* in vain at the lecture.' (0%)

(iv) ...de pénteken mégis hiába vártunk **az-ok-ra /ˇ rá-juk /?? ő-rá-juk.*
but Friday.Sup even_so in_vain wait.Past.1Pl that-Pl-Sub /Sub-3Pl / (s)he-Sub-3Pl
'...but even so, we were waiting for *them* in vain on Friday.' ($^{8}/_{9}$·50%+$^{1}/_{9}$·0%)

This spectacular difference between singular and plural pronominal variants is noteworthy. As was mentioned in the introduction to subsection 1.1.1.3.5.3, however, it would go beyond the scope of the present syntactic work to provide a systematic overview of the morphological feature of animacy in all potential plural forms in I.A-III.C.

Let us now turn to the case where the antecedent is definite though not a proper name. As there is no topic change, there is no reason for the results of the [–HUMAN] pronoun to improve. The results of the strong form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, too, can be characterized like those of test (44) above. The changes expected on the

basis of our earlier findings (see example (42) in I.B, for instance) concern the evaluation of the empty pronoun, which most readily refers back to the antecedent's "most specific expression possible", that is, a proper name.

(45) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, Focus ← postverbal: ∅ >> *ő* (38%)

a. Csak *az új diák-nak* tetszik a mondattan, ...
only *the new student-Dat* please.3Sg the syntax
'Only *THE NEW STUDENT* likes syntax,…'

b. ...de a pénteki előadásról mégis hiányzott **az* /$^{(?)}$∅/$^{??}$*ő*.
but the Friday.Adj lecture.Del even_so be_absent.Past.3Sg *that* / ∅ / *(s)he*
'...but even so, *(s)he* was absent from the lecture on Friday.' ($^{3}/_{4}$·50%+$^{1}/_{4}$·0%)

b'. ...de a pénteki előadásra mégis hiába vártuk **az-t* /$^{(?)}$∅/$^{(?)}$*ő-t*.
but the Friday.Adj lecture.Sub even_so in_vain wait.Past.DefObj.1Pl *that-Acc*/ ∅ /*(s)he-Acc*
'...but even so, we were waiting for *him/her* in vain at the Friday lecture.' ($^{1}/_{2}$·50%+$^{1}/_{2}$·0%)

b''. ...de pénteken mégis hiába vártunk **ar-ra* /✓*rá* /$^{*?}$*ő-rá*.
but Friday.Sup even_so in_vain wait.Past.1Pl *that-Sub* / *Sub.3Sg*/ *(s)he-Sub.3Sg*
'...but even so, we were waiting for *him/her* in vain on Friday.' (50%)

Examples (45b-b') fulfill the above expectation with a slight worsening of the grammaticality judgments concerning the empty pronoun. For the same reasons, the grammaticality judgments concerning the empty pronoun radically worsen in (46b-b') below, where the antecedent is indefinite, yielding essentially unacceptable results.

(46) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, Focus ← postverbal: *ő* >> ∅ (17%)

a. Csak *egy diák-nak* tetszik a mondattan, ...
only *one student-Dat* please.3Sg the syntax
'Syntax pleases only *ONE STUDENT*, ...'

b. ...de a pénteki előadásról mégis hiányzott **az*/$^{*?}$∅ /$^{??}$*ő*.
but the Friday.Adj lecture.Del even_so be_absent.Past.3Sg *that* / ∅ / *(s)he*
'...but even so, *(s)he* was absent from the lecture on Friday.' (0%)

b'. ...de a pénteki előadásra mégis hiába vártuk $^{*?}$*az-t* /$^{*?}$∅/$^{(?)}$*ő-t*.
but the Friday.Adj lecture.Sub even_so in_vain wait.Past.DefObj.1Pl *that-Acc*/ ∅ / *(s)he-Acc*
'...but even so, we were waiting for *him/her* in vain at the Friday lecture.' (0%)

b''. ...de pénteken mégis hiába vártunk $^{*?}$*ar-ra* /$^{(?)}$*rá* /$^{*?}$*ő-rá*.
but Friday.Sup even_so in_vain wait.Past.1Pl *that-Sub* / *Sub.3Sg*/ *(s)he-Sub.3Sg*
'...but even so, we were waiting for *him/her* in vain on Friday.' (50%)

As no other factors have changed compared to (45), first, no unobjectionable candidates have remained, and second, non-empty [+HUMAN] pronouns have become the best, though not fully acceptable, choices. Nevertheless, out of the two non-empty variants of [+HUMAN] pronouns (46b''), the more economical variant, that is, the weak one, remains preferred.

In accordance with our testing protocol let us conclude this subsection with the case where the pronoun refers back to a [–HUMAN] antecedent. In harmony with the previous observations, in (43), for instance, the strong form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun cannot be used for this purpose. In contrast to (43), however, the [–HUMAN] pronoun is virtually unacceptable if it is non-oblique

case-marked. The reason for this may have to do with what was discussed in connection with (42b") in I.B: the nominative or accusative case-marked forms of *az* 'that' primarily serve the purpose of topic change, due to the distinguished status of these (non-oblique case-marked) forms.

(47) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], Focus ← postverbal: ∅ (52%)

a. Csak *a Raid-et* tartják hatékonynak a szúnyogok ellen, ...
only *the Raid-Acc* hold.DefObj.3Pl effective.Dat the mosquito.Pl against
'Only *RAID* is considered to be effective against mosquitoes, ...'

b. ...de Földváron most nem kapható *[?]*az* /*[(?)]*∅ /**ő*.
but Földvár.Sup now not available *that* / ∅ / *(s)he*
'...but in Földvár *it* is not available now.' (50%)

b'. ...de Földváron most nem kapni *[?]*az-t* /*[(?)]*∅ /**ő-t*.
but Földvár.Sup now not get.Inf *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc*
'...but in Földvár *it* is not available now.' (50%)

b". ...de Földváron most hiány van *[??]*ab-ból* / ✓*belől-e* /**ő-belől-e*.
but Földvár.Sup now shortage be.3Sg *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg*
'...but in Földvár *it* is in short supply now.' ($^{8}/_{9}$·50%+$^{1}/_{9}$·100%)

Thus, in the absence of any real rivals, the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun become the best candidates. Compared to (44b-b'), however, even these best candidates are not perfect; the empty pronoun seems to refer to an antecedent expressed by a proper name less readily if the denotatum is inanimate.

II. Back-reference to a postverbal antecedent

Subsections II.A-C are devoted to the discussion of cases of sentence-internal back-referencing where the antecedent is placed postverbally and does not have any operator function in the information structure. The pronoun that corefers with it will be scrutinized in three information-structural functions, according to our testing protocol: in focus (II.A), in topic (II.B), and in a postverbal non-operator position (II.C).

II. A. Pronoun in Focus

The observations made in the present subsection bear much resemblance to those made in subsection I.A. This is due to the fact that both testing situations concern the given pronoun in focus position. This determines two tendencies that prove to be essentially independent of the information-structural function of the antecedent.

One decisive tendency is that if the focused pronoun refers back to an antecedent expressed by a proper name, the best pronoun variant is either [+HUMAN] (cf. (48) below and (31) in I.A) or [–HUMAN] (cf. (49) below and (37) in I.A) depending on the animacy of the antecedent. So in (48) and in (49), the inflected forms of *ő* '(s)he' and those of *az* 'that' prove to be the best candidates, respectively.

(48) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, postverbal ← Focus: *ő* (12%)

a. Mari nagyon bírja *Péter-t*, ...
Mari very.much be_fond_of.DefObj.3Sg *Péter-Acc*
'Mari is very fond of *Péter*, ...'

b. ...de pont ??*az* /*∅/ˇ*ő* a legfurább alak a környéken.
but just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* the weirdest guy the neighborhood.Sup
'...but *HE* is the weirdest guy around.' ($^{1}/_{9}$·100%+$^{8}/_{9}$·0%)

b'. ...de pont *?*az-t* /*∅/ˇ*ő-t* tartják a legfurább alaknak a környéken.
but just *that-Acc*/ ∅ /*(s)he-Acc* hold.DefObj.3Pl the weirdest guy.Dat the neighborhood.Sup
'...but *HE* is considered to be the weirdest guy around.' (0%)

b''. ...de pont *?*at-tól* /ˇ*től-e* /ˇ*ő-től-e* tartanak a legtöbben.
but just *that-Abl* / *Abl-3Sg* / *(s)he-Abl-3Sg* be_afraid_of.3Pl the most.people
'...but it is *HIM* most people are afraid of.' (25%)

The empty variant is never acceptable in the stressed focus position. Also, while the [+HUMAN] pronoun has non-empty weak forms in oblique cases (48b''), the [–HUMAN] pronoun has no weak forms at all. This factor leads to a further difference: in (48b''), there are two, equally fully acceptable, solutions (moreover, to some speakers, the weak form is absolutely preferred, presumably for reasons of economy), while in (49b''), the solution with *az* 'that' has no alternative.

(49) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], postverbal ← Focus: *az* (100%)

a. Péter utálja *a Raid-et*, ...
Péter hate.DefObj.3Sg *the Raid-Acc*
'Péter hates *Raid*, ...'

b. ...pedig csak *az* /*∅ /**ő* vált be a szúnyogok ellen.
but only *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* prove_efficient.Past.3Sg in the mosquito.Pl against
'...but it is *THAT* that has proved efficient against mosquitoes.'

b'. ...de pont *az-t* /*∅ /**ő-t* ajánlotta a szomszéd.
but just *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* recommend.Past.DefObj.3Sg the neighbor
'...but *THAT* is not available now.'

b''. ...de pont *ar-ra* /**rá* /**ő-rá* esküszik a szomszéd.
but just *that-Sub* / *Sub.3Sg*/ *(s)he-Sub.3Sg* swear.3Sg the neighbor
'...but it is *THAT* that the neighbor swears by.'

The other decisive tendency indicated in the first paragraph of this subsection has to do with the decreasing degree of specificity relative to rigid denotation: the less specific the [+HUMAN] antecedent, the more acceptable the coreferring [–HUMAN] pronoun, and, parallel to this, the less acceptable the strong form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun.

Hence, if the antecedent is definite, but it is not a proper name (cf. (50) below and (38) in I.A), *az* 'that' becomes as acceptable as *ő* '(s)he', at least in the two "distinguished" cases, that is, in the Nominative and the Accusative (50a-b). Since the oblique case-marked [–HUMAN] pronoun can much less readily refer back to a [+HUMAN] antecedent (50b''), echoing our earlier findings, here the weak form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun becomes the best candidate (recall the decreasing acceptability of the strong forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun mentioned in the previous paragraph).

(50) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, postverbal ← Focus: *ő / az* (48%)

a. Mari nagyon bírja *a szomszéd srác-ot*, ...
Mari very.much be_fond_of.DefObj.3Sg *the next_door boy-Acc*
'Mari is very fond of *the boy next door*, ...'

b. ...de pont $^{(?)}$*az* /*∅/$^{(?)}$*ő* a legfurább alak a környéken.
but just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* the weirdest guy the neighborhood.Sup
'...but *HE* is the weirdest guy around.' (50%)

b'. ...de pont $^{(?)}$*az-t*/*∅/$^{(?)}$*ő-t* tartják a legfurább alaknak a környéken.
but just *that-Acc*/ ∅ /*(s)he-Acc* hold.DefObj.3Pl the weirdest guy.Dat the neighborhood.Sup
'...but *HE* is considered to be the weirdest guy around.' (50%)

b". ...de pont $^{??}$*at-tól* /$^{\checkmark}$*től-e* /$^{?}$*ő-től-e* tartanak a legtöbben.
but just *that-Abl* / *Abl-3Sg* / *(s)he-Abl-3Sg* be_afraid_of.3Pl the most.people
'...but most people are afraid of *HIM*.' ($^{1}/_{9}$·100%+$^{6}/_{9}$·50%+$^{2}/_{9}$·0%)

If the antecedent is indefinite (cf. (51) below and (39) in I.A), *az* 'that' becomes more acceptable than *ő* '(s)he', at least in the two "distinguished" cases, in the Nominative and the Accusative (51a-b). As the oblique case-marked [–HUMAN] pronoun can less readily refer back to a [+HUMAN] antecedent (51b"), just like in (50), here there remains no fully acceptable candidate (at least according to our judgments), since the decreasing degree of specificity has also worsened the forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun.

(51) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, postverbal ← Focus: *az* > *ő* (72%)

a. Mari nagyon bír *egy házbeli srác-ot*, ...
Mari very.much be_fond_of.3Sg *a house.internal boy-Acc*
'Mari is very fond of *a boy in the house*, ...'

b. ...de pont *az* /*∅/$^{?}$*ő* a legfurább alak a környéken.
but exactly *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* the weirdest guy the neighborhood.Sup
'...but *HE* is the weirdest guy around.' ($^{3}/_{4}$·100%+$^{1}/_{4}$·0%)

b'. ...de pont *az-t* /*∅/$^{?}$*ő-t* tartják a legfurább alaknak a környéken.
but exactly *that-Acc*/ ∅ /*(s)he-Acc* hold.DefObj.3Pl the weirdest guy.Dat the neighborhood.Sup
'...but *HE* is considered to be the weirdest guy around.' ($^{3}/_{4}$·100%+$^{1}/_{4}$·0%)

b". ...de pont $^{(?)}$*at-tól* /$^{?}$*től-e* /$^{??}$*ő-től-e* tartanak a legtöbben.
but exactly *that-Abl* / *Abl-3Sg* / *(s)he-Abl-3Sg* be_afraid_of.3Pl the most.people
'...but most people are afraid of *HIM*.' ($^{3}/_{6}$·100%+$^{2}/_{6}$·50%+$^{1}/_{6}$·0%)

In (51b"), thus, the appropriately inflected form of *az* 'that' is the optimal candidate, with that of the weak form of *ő* '(s)he' as the second best option (with a somewhat decreased level of acceptability) and with that of the strong form of *ő* '(s)he' as the third best candidate (this one with a highly decreased level of acceptability).

II. B. Pronoun in Topic

This subsection discusses topic change (Pléh and Radics 1976, Pléh 1982). This particular case of back-referencing served as the starting point for our complex investigation; see (24) in 1.1.1.3.5.1, repeated below as (52).

(52) • Back-reference to a [+HUMAN] antecedent by a [–HUMAN] pronoun in topic change

a. Péter imádja Marit, de nem bízik benne.
Péter adore.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc but not trust.3Sg Ine.3Sg
'Péter adores Mari, but *he* does not trust in her.'

b. Péter imádja Marit, de *az* nem bízik (ő-)benne.
Péter adore.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc but *that* not trust.3Sg (s)he-Ine.3Sg
'Péter adores Mari, but *she* does not trust in him.'

As this example contains two [+HUMAN] participants, in our testing protocol we need to evaluate other examples which contain only one [+HUMAN] participant; because a "competition" between two [+HUMAN] expressions exerts a disturbing influence upon the distribution of grammaticality judgments about the pronoun under investigation. The second part of the subsection, nevertheless, will return to the issue of topic change between two [+HUMAN] participants.

As usual, let us start with the case where the antecedent is a [+HUMAN] proper name. As expected, a major advancement of the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' can be observed, at least in the Nominative and Accusative (53b-b'). Nevertheless, the corresponding strong forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun *ő* '(s)he' seem to be equally acceptable. Their weak version (i.e., when they lack a phonetically overt pronominal form) is not acceptable; this can be attributed to the fact established in subsection I.B that an empty form serves as a means to retain certain information-structural functions and not to change them.

(53) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, postverbal ← Topic: *ő / az* (46%) [46%]

a. A kéthetes karibi útra meghívták *Péter-t*, ...
the two_week.Adj Caribbean journey.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *Péter-Acc*
'As for the two-week-long Caribbean journey, *Péter* has been invited, ...'

b. ...de *az* /[*?]—/[✓]*ő* sajnos csak a karrierjét hajtja.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunaltely only the career.Poss.3Sg.Acc chase.DefObj.3Sg
'...but unfortunately *he* is only chasing after his career.' (50%)

b'. ...de *az-t* /[*?]— / [✓]*ő-t* sajnos csak a karrierje érdekli.
but *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* unfor'-ly only the career.Poss.3Sg interest.DefObj.3Sg
'...but unfortunately *he* is only interested in his career.' (50%)

b". ...de [*?]*an-nál* /[✓]*nál-a* /[?]*ő-nál-a* sajnos nincs sikere az ilyen ötleteknek.
but *that-Ade* /*Ade-3Sg* /*(s)he-Ade-3Sg* unfor'-ly not_be.3Sg success.Poss.3Sg the such idea.Pl.Dat
'...but unfortunately such ideas prove unsuccessful with *him*.' ($^3/_4$·50%+$^1/_4$·0%)

As for the oblique case (53b"), our grammaticality judgments here conform to our earlier observations according to which an oblique case-marked form of the [–HUMAN] pronoun is not suitable for referring back to a [+HUMAN] antecedent expressed by a proper name—which is somewhat surprising in view of the radical improvement of *az* 'that' in the "distinguished" cases (Nominative and Accusative). As usual, the weak form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun becomes the best candidate, while its strong form turns out to be significantly less acceptable (presumably for economy reasons).

The decrease of specificity results in a further advancement of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, which yields that, at least in the Nominative and the Accusative, *az* 'that' becomes the unambiguously preferred candidate, as is shown in (54b-b') below.

(54) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, postverbal ← Topic: *az* > *ő* (61%) [61%]

a. A kéthetes karibi útra meghívták *a szomszéd srác-ot*, ...
the two_week.Adj Caribbean journey.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the next_door boy-Acc*
'As for the two week long Caribbean journey, *the boy next door* has been invited...'

b. ...de *az* /*?—/(?)*ő* sajnos csak a karrierjét hajtja.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunaltely only the career.Poss.3Sg.Acc chase.DefObj.3Sg
'...but unfortunately *he* is only chasing after his career.' ($^{2}/_{3}$·100%+$^{1}/_{3}$·0%)

b'. ...de *az-t* /*?— / (?)*ő-t* sajnos csak a karrierje érdekli.
but *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* unfor'-ly only the career.Poss.3Sg interest.DefObj.3Sg
'...but unfortunately *he* is only interested in his career.' ($^{2}/_{3}$·100%+$^{1}/_{3}$·0%)

b''. ...de(?)*an-nál* / (?)*nál-a*/?*ő-nál-a* sajnos nincs sikere az ilyen ötleteknek.
but *that-Ade*/*Ade-3Sg* /*(s)he-Ade-3Sg* unfor'-ly not_be.3Sg success.Poss.3Sg the such idea.Pl.Dat
'...but unfortunately such ideas prove unsuccessful with *him*.' ($^{1}/_{6}$·100%+$^{4}/_{6}$·50%+$^{1}/_{6}$·0%)

As for the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, the empty pronoun (i.e., the sentence variant with no overt pronominal phonetic material) is still unacceptable, while the non-empty oblique variant remains the best candidate (54b''). This is due, on the one hand, to the frequently mentioned unsuitability of the oblique forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun to refer back to [+HUMAN] antecedents and, on the other hand, to economy reasons which give preference to the shorter forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun.

A further decrease of specificity results in a further advancement of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, which, in the Nominative and the Accusative, results in *az* 'that' becoming such a preferred candidate that the strong forms of *ő* '(s)he' are scarcely acceptable, as is shown in (55b-b'). Even in the oblique case, the appropriate form of *az* 'that' is the best candidate, due to the parallel decrease in the acceptability of both forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun (55b'').

(55) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, postverbal ← Topic: *az* >> *ő* (78%) [78%]

a. A kéthetes karibi útra meghívtak *egy új kollégá-t*, ...
the two_week.Adj Caribbean journey.Sub invite.Past..3Pl *a new colleague-Acc*
'As for the two week long Caribbean journey, *a new colleague* has been invited...'

b. ...de *az* /*—/?*ő* sajnos csak a karrierjét hajtja.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunaltely only the career.Poss.3Sg.Acc chase.DefObj.3Sg
'...but unfortunately *he* is only chasing after his career.' ($^{3}/_{4}$·100%+$^{1}/_{4}$·0%)

b'. ...de *az-t* /*— /?*ő-t* sajnos csak a karrierje érdekli.
but *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* unfor'-ly only the career.Poss.3Sg interest.DefObj.3Sg
'...but unfortunately *he* is only interested in his career.' ($^{3}/_{4}$·100%+$^{1}/_{4}$·0%)

b''. ...de (?)*an-nál*/?*nál-a*/*?*ő-nál-a* sajnos nincs sikere az ilyen ötleteknek.
but *that-Ade*/*Ade-3Sg*/*(s)he-Ade-3Sg* unfor'-ly not_be.3Sg success.Poss.3Sg the such idea.Pl.Dat
'...but unfortunately such ideas prove unsuccessful with *him*.' ($^{2}/_{3}$·100%+$^{1}/_{3}$·50%)

It is worthwhile comparing the case of the [–HUMAN] proper name antecedent to that of the [+HUMAN] proper name antecedent, shown in (53). The decisive

difference is that none of the non-empty forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun is acceptable (since their stressed variants unambiguously refer to [+HUMAN] participants), see (56b").

(56) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], postverbal ← Topic: *az* >> ∅ (92%) [100%]

a. A fiam gyakran ócsárolja *a Raid-et*, ...
the son.Poss.1Sg often scold.DefObj.3Sg *the Raid-Acc*
'My son often criticizes *Raid*, ...'

b. ...pedig *az* /[?]— /**ő* olyan jól bevált a szúnyogok ellen.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* so well prove_efficient.Past.3Sg the mosquito.Pl against
'...although *it* has proved so efficient against mosquitoes.' ($^3/_4$·100%+$^1/_4$·50%)

b'. ...pedig *az-t* /[?]— /**ő-t* annyira ajánlotta a szomszéd.
but *that-Acc* / — / *(s)he-Acc* so_much recommend.Past.DefObj.3Sg the neighbor
'...although *it* was highly recommended by the neighbor.' ($^3/_4$·100%+$^1/_4$·50%)

b". ...pedig *ar-ra* /**rá* /**ő-rá* annyira esküszik a szomszéd.
but *that-Sub* / *Sub.3Sg*/ *(s)he-Sub.3Sg* so_much swear.3Sg the neighbor
'...although the neighbor swears by *it*, so much.' (100%)

The forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun are perfect everywhere, because the topic-change indicating role of *az* 'that' coincides here with its genuinely [–HUMAN] character. Compared to (53-55b,b') above, the empty pronoun is moderately acceptable, which is somewhat surprising: the empty pronoun seems to be sensitive to the animacy character of the antecedents. In other words, in the case of [–HUMAN] participants, the expression of topic change seems to be less important.

The second part of this subsection is devoted to a brief discussion of the classical case exemplified in (52), where the roles of two human participants are interchanged in the two clauses of complex sentences. We assume that the uniquely decisive factor here is the simultaneous presence of two [+HUMAN] antecedents. This factor makes it practically impossible to interpret the non-empty forms of *ő* '(s)he' in the topic of the second clause as referring to anything but the topic of the first clause, contrary to the intended meanings (marked in italics below, along with the corresponding translations). Every non-empty [+HUMAN] pronoun, thus, is excluded from the "competition" of pronoun variants. Being unsuitable for expressing topic change (see the comments on (53), for instance), the empty pronoun is also excluded from this "competition".

(57) • Back-referencing with two 3Sg [+HUMAN] antecedents: *az* (100%) [100%]

a. Mari bírja *Péter-t*,
Mari be_fond_of.DefObj.3Sg *Péter-Acc*
de *az* /*—/ **ő* nem bírja őt.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* not be_fond_of.DefObj.3Sg (s)he.Acc
'Mari is fond of *Péter*, but *he* is not fond of her.' (100%)

b. Marit érdekli *Péter*,
Mari.Acc interest.DefObj.3Sg *Péter*
de [??]*az-t* /*—/ **ő-t* nem érdekli ő.
but *that-Acc* / — / *(s)he-Acc* not interest.DefObj.3Sg (s)he
'Mari is interested in *Péter*, but *he* is not interested in her.' (100%)

c. Marinak tetszik *Péter*,
Mari.Dat please.3Sg *Péter*
de *an-nak* /*?*nek-i* / **ő-nek-i* nem tetszik ő.
but *that-Dat* / *Dat-3Sg* / *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* not please.3Sg (s)he
'Mari likes *Péter*, but *he* does not like her.'

d. Marinál bevágódott *Péter*,
Mari.Ade score_points.Past.3Sg *Péter*
de ??*an-nál* /*?*nál-a* / **ő-nál-a* nem vágódott be ő.
but *that-Ade* / *Ade-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ade-3Sg* not score_points.Past.3Sg into (s)he
'*Péter* has scored points with Mari, but she does not score points with *him.*' (100%)

d'. Mariban gyakran csalódik *Péter*,
Mari.Ine often be_disappointed.3Sg *Péter*
de *?*ab-ban* /*?*benn-e* / **ő-benn-e* soha nem csalódik ő.
but *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* never not be_disappointed.3Sg (s)he
'*Péter* is often disappointed with Mari, but she is never disappointed *with him.*'

Therefore, the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' remains the only potential candidate in every case. Surprisingly, however, (the appropriately case-marked form of) this unique candidate does not necessarily become a fully acceptable one, as can be seen above, even at the cost that no sufficiently acceptable sentence variant (57d') is yielded.

The poor acceptability of the accusative form of *az* 'that' in (57b) may be attributed to the peculiar situation (unusual in Hungarian) that this genuinely [–HUMAN] pronoun should occupy the topic position, while at the same time the [+HUMAN] pronominal subject should target a postverbal position.

As for the oblique cases, what is surprising in the light of our earlier observations is the fact that the dative form of *az* 'that' in (57c) is fully acceptable (similarly to the nominative form in (57a)). This may be attributed to the distinguished status of the Dative case in the Hungarian case system (in addition to the Nominative and the Accusative), which is, among other factors, due to the fact that the subject of an infinitival phrase is marked by the Dative (i.e., the argument fulfilling the grammatical function of subject for the verb from which the infinitival head in question is derived) (see volume F).

The "normal" oblique cases (57d-d'), however, behave like those in (53b"), for instance: non-distinguishedly case-marked forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun are not suitable for referring back to a [+HUMAN] antecedent expressed by a proper name.

By cancelling the indistinguishability of the two human antecedents with respect to reference, the two tests (58-59) below are intended to clearly show the influence of the "competition" between them in (57) above. The two human antecedents are made distinguishable in two different ways. In (58) the antecedent in topic is unambiguously referred back to by a non-pronominal noun phrase. In (59) the two antecedents are of two different persons.

(58) • Back-referencing with a pronominal and a non-pronominal 3Sg [+HUMAN] expression: *az* / *ő*

a. Mari bírja *Péter-t*,
Mari be_fond_of.DefObj.3Sg *Péter-Acc*
de $^{(?)}$*az* /*—/ $^{?}$*ő* nem bírja a lány-t.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* not be_fond_of.DefObj.3Sg the girl-Acc
'Mari is fond of *Péter*, but *he* is not fond of the girl.'

b. Marit érdekli *Péter*,
Mari.Acc interest.DefObj.3Sg *Péter*
de $^{?}$*az-t* /*—/ $^{(?)}$*ő-t* nem érdekli a lány.
but *that-Acc* / — / *(s)he-Acc* not interest.DefObj.3Sg the girl
'Mari is interested in *Péter*, but *he* is not interested in the girl.'

c. Marinak tetszik *Péter*,
Mari.Dat please.3Sg *Péter*
de $^{?}$*an-nak* /$^{(?)}$*nek-i* / $^{??}$*ő-nek-i* nem tetszik a lány.
but *that-Dat* / *Dat-3Sg* / *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* not please.3Sg the girl
'Mari likes *Péter*, but *he* does not like the girl.'

As can be predicted, the judgment about every non-empty [+HUMAN] pronoun variant radically improves in (58-59). This, on the one hand, yields better sentence variants in (59) than the *az*-counterparts of the non-empty [+HUMAN] pronoun variants, while on the other hand, the resulting variants are reasonably acceptable in each case. In (58), the non-empty [+HUMAN] pronoun variants are somewhat less acceptable, but their acceptability can be increased if they have a strong stress (or a unequivocally constrastive-topic intonation), which seems to take over the task of the expression of topic change.

(59) • Back-referencing with two [+HUMAN] antecedents (1Sg + 3Sg)

a. Én bírom *Péter-t*, de $^{??}$*az* /*∅/ $^{\checkmark}$*ő* nem bír engem.
I be_fond_of.DefObj.1Sg *Péter-Acc* but *that* / ∅ /*(s)he* not be_fond_of.3Sg me
'I am fond of *Péter*, but *he* is not fond of me.'

b. Engem érdekel *Péter*,
me interest.3Sg *Péter*
de $^{??}$*az-t* /*—/ $^{\checkmark}$*ő-t* nem érdeklem én.
but *that-Acc* / — / *(s)he-Acc* not interest.DefObj.1Sg I
'I am interested in *Péter*, but *he* is not interested in me.'

c. Nekem tetszik *Péter*,
I.Dat please.3Sg *Péter*
de $^{?}$*an-nak* /$^{\checkmark}$*nek-i* / $^{??}$*ő-nek-i* nem tetszem én.
but *that-Dat* / *Dat-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* not please.3Sg I
'I like *Péter*, but *he* does not like me.'

d. Nálam bevágódott *Péter*,
I.Ade score_points.Past.3Sg *Péter*
de $^{??}$*an-nál* / $^{\checkmark}$*nál-a* / $^{??}$*ő-nál-a* nem vágódtam be én.
but *that-Ade* / *Ade-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ade-3Sg* not score_points.Past.1Sg into I
'*Péter* has scored points with me, but I do not score points with *him*.'

d'. Bennem gyakran csalódik *Péter*,
I.Ine often be_disappointed.3Sg *Péter*
de **ab-ban* / *ˇbenn-e* / *??ő-benn-e* soha nem csalódtam én.
but *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* never not be_disappointed.Past.3Sg I
'*Péter* is often disappointed with me, but I have never been disappointed *with him*.'

One might think that the type of example illustrated in (57) shows a maximum "advancement" of the [–HUMAN] pronoun in referring to a [+HUMAN] antecedent. That, however, is not the case, as is shown by (60) below.

(60) • Back-referencing with two [+HUMAN] antecedents (generic/habitual reading)

a. Jaj, te mindig bírod *a szomszéd srác-ot*,
ah you always be_fond_of.DefObj.2Sg *the next_door boy-Acc*
de *az* /*—/ *??ő* soha nem bír téged.
but *that-Acc* / — / *(s)he-Acc* never not be_fond_of.3Sg you.Acc
'Ah, you are always fond of *the boy next door*, but *he* is never fond of you.'

b. Jaj, téged mindig érdekel *a szomszéd srác*,
ah you always interest.3Sg *the next_door boy*
de *az-t* /*?*—/*??ő-t* te soha nem érdekled.
but *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* you never not interest.DefObj.2Sg
'Ah, you are always interested in *the boy next door*, but *he* is never interested in you.'

c. Jaj, neked mindig tetszik *a szomszéd srác*,
ah Dat.2Sg always please.3Sg *the next_door boy*
de *an-nak* /*?nek-i* / **?ő-nek-i* te soha nem tetszel.
but *that-Dat* / *Dat-3Sg* / *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* you never not please.2Sg
'Ah, you always like *the boy next door*, but *he* never likes you.'

d. Jaj, nálad mindig bevágódik *a szomszéd srác*,
ah Ade.2Sg always score_points.3Sg *the next_door boy*
de *an-nál* /*?nál-a* / **?ő-nál-a* te soha nem vágódsz be.
but *that-Ade* / *Ade-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ade-3Sg* you never not score_points.2Sg into
'Ah, *the boy next door* always scores points with you, but you never score points with *him*.'

d'. Jaj, benned mindig csalódik *a szomszéd srác*,
ah Ade.2Sg always be_disappointed.3Sg *the next_door boy*
pedig *ab-ban* /*??benn-e* / **?ő-benn-e* te soha nem csalódsz.
but *that-Ine* / *Ine-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* you never not be_disappointed.2Sg
'Ah, *the boy next door* is always disappointed with you, but you are never disappointed *with him*.'

Here, even the oblique forms of *az* 'that' (60d-d') yield fully acceptable sentence variants, despite the fact that the input clauses do not refer to any pairs of indistinguishable human participants and the intended antecedents are formally expressed by definite noun phrases. This is due to a single factor: the generic interpretation of the antecedents in question. This circumstance, thus, overrides even the frequently mentioned observation about the unsuitability of oblique case-marked forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun to refer back to [+HUMAN] antecedents. This fully accords with the fact that, relative to the rigid manner of denotation, generic interpretation can be regarded as the "most predicative" manner of denoting entities. This also serves as an explanation for the low acceptability of the strong and the empty forms of *ő* '(s)he', which have proved to prefer the least predicatively

denoted antecedents possible (in contrast to the non-empty weak forms of *ő* '(s)he', which is rather insensitive to the manner of denotation of antecedents).

II. C. Postverbal pronoun

At this phase in our testing protocol, postverbal pronoun variants will refer back to postverbal antecedents. These are not instances of topic change, so the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' is expected to produce no strong candidates when the antecedents are chosen to be [+HUMAN]. As we will see, this prediction is borne out.

First of all, as per the protocol, the antecedents in question are expressed by proper names. The unambiguous preference for weak forms can be observed, which is presumably to be attributed to the fact that a (non-stressed) information-structural function is retained (in the second clause): the postverbal (non-operator) function.

(61) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, postverbal ← postverbal: ∅>>*ő* (43%)

a. Péter nagyon odavan *Mari-ért*, ...
Péter very.much nut_for.3Sg *Mari-Cau*
'Péter is nuts for *Mari*, ...'

b. ...de a barátjának nem szimpatikus **az /✓∅/*?ő*.
but the friend.Poss.3Sg.Dat not nice *that / ∅ / (s)he*
'...but his friend does not like *her*.' (50%)

b'. ...de a barátja ki nem állhatja **az-t /✓∅/(?)ő-t*.
but the friend.Poss.3Sg out not stand.Mod.DefObj.3Sg *that-Acc / ∅ / (s)he-Acc*
'...but his friend cannot stand *her*.' ($^{2}/_{3}$·50%+$^{1}/_{3}$·0%)

b''. ...de a barátja nem rajong **az-ért /✓ért-e /??ő-ért-e*.
but the friend.Poss.3Sg not be_keen_on.3Sg *that-Cau / Cau-3Sg / (s)he-Cau-3Sg*
'...but his friend is not keen on *her*.' ($^{8}/_{9}$·50%+$^{1}/_{9}$·0%)

c. ...de a barátja csak megvetés-t érez **az-iránt /✓iránt-a /??ő-iránt-a*.
but the friend.Poss.3Sg only contempt.Acc feel.3Sg *that-towards/ towards-3Sg/ (s)he-towards-3Sg*
'...but his friend has only contempt for *her*.' ($^{8}/_{9}$·50%+$^{1}/_{9}$·0%) ✓

As for the strong forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, their acceptability depends, to a considerable extent, on the compatibility of the given grammatical function with the postverbal status; which obviously disfavors the corresponding form of the subject (61b), in contrast to that of the object (61b'). If there are two competing non-empty [+HUMAN] pronoun variants, the weak forms seem to be significantly preferred, presumably for the usual economy reasons. In (61c) above we have tested a postpositional pronominal form (again), which also has two competing non-empty [+HUMAN] pronoun variants. Indeed, the same distribution of grammaticality judgments as for the oblique case-marked pronominal form in (61b'') can be observed.

In test (62), a slight degradation of the grammaticality judgments about the forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun is apparent. Here, the sentence variants do not produce any perfect candidates, presumably because of the decreasing specificity of the antecedent. The best candidates, nevertheless, remain the weak [+HUMAN] pronominal forms, in harmony with the retainment of the information-structural function.

(62) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, postverbal ← postverbal: ∅>>*ő* (46%)

a. Péter nagyon odavan *a szomszéd lány-ért*, ...
Péter very.much nut_for.3Sg *the next_door girl-Cau*
'Péter is nuts for *the girl next door*, ...'

b. ...de a barátjának nem szimpatikus **az /(?)∅ /*?ő.*
but the friend.Poss.3Sg.Dat not nice *that / ∅ / (s)he*
'...but his friend does not like *her*.' (50%)

b'. ...de a barátja ki nem állhatja **?az-t /(?)∅ /??ő-t.*
but the friend.Poss.3Sg out not stand.Mod.DefObj.3Sg *that-Acc / ∅ / (s)he-Acc*
'...but his friend cannot stand *her*.' ($^{3}/_{4}$·50%+$^{1}/_{4}$·0%)

b''. ...de a barátja nem rajong **az-ért /(?)ért-e /*?ő-ért-e.*
but the friend.Poss.3Sg not be_keen_on.3Sg *that-Cau/ Cau-3Sg / (s)he-Cau-3Sg*
'...but his friend is not keen on *her*.' (50%)

Test (63) below can be evaluated as a further degradation of the grammaticality judgments concerning the forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun: the sentence variants produced here are less acceptable candidates. This can be attributed to the tendency explained above (i.e., the decreasing specificity of the antecedent). The best candidates, nevertheless, are still the weak [+HUMAN] pronominal forms, in harmony with the retainment of the information-structural function.

(63) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, postverbal ← postverbal: ∅>>*ő* (50%)

a. Péter nagyon odavan *egy szőke lány-ért*, ...
Péter very.much nut_for.3Sg *a blond girl-Cau*
'Péter is nuts for *a blonde girl*, ...'

b. ...de a barátjának nem szimpatikus **az /?∅/*?ő.*
but the friend.Poss.3Sg.Dat not nice *that / ∅ / (s)he*
'...but his friend does not like *her*.' (50%)

b'. ...de a barátja ki nem állhatja **az-t /?∅ /*?ő-t.*
but the friend.Poss.3Sg out not stand.Mod.DefObj.3Sg *that-Acc / ∅ / (s)he-Acc*
'...but his friend cannot stand *her*.' (50%)

b''. ...de a barátja nem rajong **az-ért /?ért-e /*?ő-ért-e.*
but the friend.Poss.3Sg not be_keen_on.3Sg *that-Cau / Cau-3Sg / (s)he-Cau-3Sg*
'...but his friend is not keen on *her*.' (50%)

Test (64) below has a [–HUMAN] proper name as the antecedent. This test is predicted to produce essentially the same results as test (61) above, i.e., the overwhelming superiority of the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun. This is because the two tests share the same decisive factor that in them a proper name is referred back to while its postverbal information-structural function is retained.

(64) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], postverbal ← postverbal: ∅ (50%)

a. A szomszéd esküszik *a Raid-re*, ...
the neighbor swear.3Sg *the Raid-Sub*
'The neighbor swears by *Raid*, ...'

b. ...de Péternek nem vált be **?az /✓∅ /*ő.*
but Péter.Dat not prove_efficient.Past.3Sg in *that / ∅ / (s)he*
'...but *it* has not proved efficient for Péter.' (50%)

b'. ...de Péter nem tartja jónak *?*az-t* /✓∅ /**ő-t*.
but Péter not hold.DefObj.3Sg good.Dat *that-Acc* / ∅ / *(s)he-Acc*
'...but Péter does not consider *it* good.' (50%)

b''. ...de Péter nem volt elégedett *?*az-zal* /✓*vel-e* /**ő-vel-e*.
but Péter not was satisfied *that-Ins* / *Ins-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ins-3Sg*
'...but Péter was not satisfied with *it*.' (50%)

The prediction definitely proves true. The only difference between the two outcomes is due to the fact that the strong form of a [+HUMAN] pronoun can never refer back to a [–HUMAN] antecedent. This results in a very clear situation in which the weak [+HUMAN] candidate is always the best candidate and in fact the only "competing" variant which is fully acceptable in each case.

III. Back-reference to an antecedent in Topic

Subsections III.A-C are devoted to the discussion of the cases of sentence-internal back-referencing where the antecedent serves as a topic in the information structure of its clause. The pronoun that corefers with it, according to our testing protocol, will be studied in three information-structural functions: in focus (III.A), in topic (III.B), and in a postverbal non-operator position (III.C).

III. A. Pronoun in Focus

The observations made in this subsection are essentially the same as the corresponding observations in subsections I.A and II.A. This is due to the common factor that the given pronoun is in focus, which determines two tendencies that prove to be essentially independent of the information-structural function of the antecedent.

One decisive tendency is that if the focused pronoun refers back to an antecedent expressed by a proper name, the best pronoun variant clearly presents the [+HUMAN] animacy character (cf. (65) below and (31) in I.A, (48) in II.A) or the [–HUMAN] animacy character (cf. (66) below and (37) in I.A, (49) in II.A). In (65) and in (66), thus, the inflected forms of *ő* '(s)he' and those of *az* 'that' prove to be the best candidates, respectively.

(65) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, Topic ← Focus: *ő* >>∅ (8%)

a. *Péter* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
Péter very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*Péter* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de pont **az* /*∅ /✓*ő* nem ér rá pénteken.
but just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but it is *HIM* who is not free on Friday.' (0%)

b'. ...de pont **az-t* /*∅/✓*ő-t* nem tudtuk elhívni a mai előadásra.
but just *that-Acc*/ ∅ /*(s)he-Acc* not can.Past.DefObj.1Pl invite.Inf the today.Adj lecture.Sub
'...but it is *HIM* whom we could not invite to today's lecture.' (0%)

b''. ...de pont **an-nak*/✓*nek-i* /✓*ő-nek-i* nem tudtunk üzenni az előadásról.
but just *that-Dat*/ *Dat-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf the lecture.Del
'...but it was *HIM* that we could not send a message to about the lecture.' (25%)

The empty variant is never acceptable in the stressed focus position. Nevertheless, the fact that the [+HUMAN] pronoun has non-empty weak forms in oblique cases (65b"), in contrast to the [–HUMAN] pronoun, which has no weak forms at all, will result in a further difference: in (65b"), there are two, equally fully acceptable, solutions (moreover, the weak form is definitely preferred by some speakers, presumably for economy reasons), while, in (66b"), the one solution with *az* 'that' has no alternative.

(66) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], Topic ← Focus: *az* (100%)

a. *A Raid* elriasztja ezeket a szúnyogokat, ...
the Raid repel.DefObj.3Sg this.Pl.Acc the mosquito.Pl.Acc
'*Raid* repels these mosquitoes, ...'

b. ...de pont *az* /*∅ /**ő* nem kapható most.
but just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* not available now
'...but it is *THAT* which is not available now.'

b'. ...de pont *az-t* /*∅ /**ő-t* nem lehet most kapni.
but just *that-Acc*/ ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* not be.Mod.3Sg now get.Inf
'...but it is *THAT* which is not available now.'

b". ...de pont *ab-ból* /**belől-e*/**ő-belől-e* van most hiány.
but just *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg* be.3Sg now shortage
'...but it is *THAT* which is in short supply now.'

The other decisive tendency also coincides with the corresponding tendency in I.A and II.A of the decreasing degree of specificity: the less specific the [+HUMAN] antecedent, the more acceptable the coreferring [–HUMAN] pronoun, and, parallel to this, the less acceptable the strong form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun. The "rate" of this tendency in this subsection, however, shows a major difference compared to that in I.A and II.A, as can be established on the basis of a comparison of the animacy character of 13% in test (67) to that of 48% in test (50) in II.A. A comparison of test (68) below to test (51) in II.A also presents a slower "advancement" of the [–HUMAN] pronoun, with results of 50% *versus* 72%.

(67) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, Topic ← Focus: *ő* >>∅ (13%)

a. *Az új diák* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
the new student very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*The new student* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de pont *?az /*∅ /(?)ő* nem ér rá pénteken.
but just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but it is *HIM* who is not free on Friday.' (0%)

b'. ...de pont *?az-t /*∅/(?)ő-t* nem tudtuk elhívni a mai előadásra.
but just *that-Acc*/ ∅ / *(s)he-Acc* not can.Past.DefObj.1Pl invite.Inf the today.Adj lecture.Sub
'...but it is *HIM* we could not invite to today's lecture.' (0%)

b". ...de pont *?an-nak/ nek-i /ʔő-nek-i* nem tudtunk üzenni az előadásról.
but just *that-Dat*/ *Dat-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf the lecture.Del
'...but it was *HIM* we could not send a message to about the lecture.' (38%)

The difference in the rate of acceptability of the [–HUMAN] pronoun in (67) compared to (65) is almost negligible (8%→13%), as the "almost fully

unacceptable" [–HUMAN] candidates are not real rivals for the slightly degrading strong [+HUMAN] candidates. Even this 5% difference in the animacy character comes from a factor independent of [–HUMAN] candidates: the degrading strong [+HUMAN] candidate in (67b") has lost its position it had in (65b") where the two non-empty [+HUMAN] candidates were equally perfect.

(68) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, Topic ← Focus: *ő* / *az* >> ∅ (50%)

a. *Egy új diák* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
a new student very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*A new student* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de pont ?*az* /*∅ /?*ő* nem ér rá pénteken.
but just *that* / ∅ / *(s)he* not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but it is *HIM* who is not free on Friday.' (50%)

b'. ...de pont ?*az-t* /*∅/?*ő-t* nem tudtuk elhívni a mai előadásra.
but just *that-Acc*/ ∅ /*(s)he-Acc* not can.Past.DefObj.1Pl invite-Inf the today-Adj lecture-Sub
'...but it is *HIM* we could not invite to today's lecture.' (50%)

b". ...de pont ?*an-nak*/ (?)*nek-i* /?*ő-nek-i* nem tudtunk üzenni az előadásról.
but just *that-Dat* / *Dat-3Sg* / *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf the lecture.Del
'...but it was *HIM* that we could not send a message to about the lecture.' (50%)

Comparing (68) to (65), the increase in the acceptability of the [–HUMAN] pronoun is considerable (8%→50%), but it still significantly falls behind in comparison to the animacy character of 72% observed in test (51) in II.A. In (68) the [–HUMAN] candidates have only overtaken the corresponding strong [+HUMAN] candidates, while in (51) in II.A the [–HUMAN] candidates "beat" all the corresponding [+HUMAN] candidates.

To sum up, a focused [–HUMAN] pronoun can much less readily refer back to a non-rigidly ("predicatively") denoted topicalized antecedent (III.A) than to a non-rigidly denoted antecedent in a postverbal position (II.A).

Obviously, the explanation is to be sought in the difference between ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Focus⟩ and ⟨Ant.:Topic; Pr.:Focus⟩ transitions with respect to the information-structural functions of the antecedent–pronoun pairs. Considering that topic change—the ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Topic⟩ transition—is both generally held and has also been proven to be the prototypical case where [–HUMAN] pronouns readily refer back to [+HUMAN] antecedents (II.B), the major observation made in the present subsection (III.A) is that the animacy character of the ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Focus⟩ transition is closer to that of ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Topic⟩ than that of ⟨Ant.:Topic; Pr.:Focus⟩.

In light of this formulation, a potential explanation can be based on "rewarding" the similarity of transitions to topic change and penalizing the opposite relation (practically their similarity to the ⟨Ant.:Topic; Pr.:Postverbal⟩ direction of transition). It will be shown in subsection 1.1.1.3.5.4 (Table 12 and Table 13) that a straightforward realization of this idea can precisely systematize all nine cases (I.A-III.C) of the "advancement" of the [–HUMAN] pronominal forms in referring back to [+HUMAN] antecedents, and this way the intricate relations among the graphs characterizing these tendencies can also be accounted for.

III. B. Pronoun in Topic

Continuing the complex analysis of the distribution of animacy features in sentence-internal back-referencing, let us now consider the case where the topicalized antecedent denotes a person ([+HUMAN]) in the input clause by a proper name, while the coreferring pronoun in the output clause serves as the topic of that clause. Out of the nine "transition" types of information-structural functions, this is the case of topic retainment.

As this subsection discusses the retainment of an information-structural function, weak forms are expected to play a decisive role. This, however, raises at least two problems.

One of the problems is that since the [–HUMAN] pronoun has no weak forms, the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun could serve as substitutes. The stressed [+HUMAN] weak forms, however, obligatorily refer to human participants.

The other problem pertains to the methodological question of the interpretation of empty pronouns, thoroughly discussed in I.B. Recall that a variant with '—' simply means that no pronoun is "audible" in the given sentence. As we intend to remain theory-independent, we invite the reader to feel free to either consider or ignore our grammaticality judgments concerning these empty pronouns. Each test will be evaluated in both ways. The resulting percentages will be given in parentheses and square brackets, respectively ('—' pronouns considered / ignored), as in subsections I.B and II.B above.

In harmony with the above-mentioned expectation, if empty forms are taken into account, then the weak forms provide the best candidates in the first two tests in which human antecedents are referred back to by definite noun phrases (69-70).

(69) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, Topic ← Topic: ∅ > *ő* (35%) [13%]

a. *Péter* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
Péter very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*Péter* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de **az*/✓—/$^{(?)}$*ő* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (33%) [0%]

b'. ...de **az-t* /✓—/$^{(?)}$*ő-t* sajnos nem tudtuk elhívni az előadásra.
but *that-Acc*/ — /*(s)he-Acc* unf'ly not can.Past.DefObj.1Pl invite.Inf the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we could not invite *him* to the lecture.' (33%) [0%]

b''. ...de **an-nak*/$^{(?)}$*nek-i* /$^{??}$*ő-nek-i* sajnos nem tudtunk üzenni az előadásról.
but *that-Dat*/ *Dat-3Sg* /*(s)he-Dat-3Sg* unf'ly not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf the lecture.Del
'...but unfortunately we could not send *him* a message about the lecture.' (38%) [38%]

The choice of pronouns, thus, is almost independent of the degrees of specificity of antecedents. This is in total harmony with the discussion in III.A about the close relationship between the decreasing specificity of antecedents and the advancement of [–HUMAN] pronominal forms in "topic-change-like" situations. As the retainment of topic is in fact the opposite of topic change, forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' are totally unacceptable in (69)-(70) as well as in (71).

(70) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, Topic ← Topic: ∅ > *ő* (35%) [13%]

a. *Az új diák* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
the new student very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*The new student* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de **az*/✓—/(?)*ő* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (33%) [0%]

b'. ...de **az-t* /✓—/(?)*ő-t* sajnos nem tudtuk elhívni az előadásra.
but *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* unf'ly not can.Past.DefObj.1Pl invite.Inf the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we could not invite *him* to the lecture.' (33%) [0%]

b''. ...de **an-nak*/✓*nek-i*/?*ő-nek-i* sajnos nem tudtunk üzenni az előadásról.
but *that-Dat*/ *Dat-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* unf'ly not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf the lecture.Del
'...but unfortunately we could not send *him* a message about the lecture.' (38%) [38%]

As for the "competition" between the two forms of *ő* '(s)he', non-empty weak [+HUMAN] forms are unambiguously the best candidates in each tested case in (69-71), presumably for economy reasons. Parallel to the decreasing specificity of the antecedents, the acceptability of empty pronouns also decreases, but only to a slight extent. This conforms to our earlier findings, according to which empty pronouns less readily refer to indefinitely denoted participants.

(71) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, Topic ← Topic: ∅ > *ő* (32%) [13%]

a. *Egy új diák* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
a new student very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*A new student* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de **az*/?—/(?)*ő* sajnos nem ér rá pénteken.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunately not be_free.3Sg onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (33%) [0%]

b'. ...de **az-t* /(?)— /(?)*ő-t* sajnos nem tudtuk elhívni az előadásra.
but *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* unf'ly not can.Past.DefObj.1Pl invite.Inf the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we could not invite *him* to the lecture.' (25%) [0%]

b''. ...de **an-nak*/✓*nek-i*/?*ő-nek-i* sajnos nem tudtunk üzenni az előadásról.
but *that-Dat*/ *Dat-3Sg*/ *(s)he-Dat-3Sg* unf'ly not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf the lecture.Del
'...but unfortunately we could not send *him* a message about the lecture.' (38%) [38%]

The case of a [–HUMAN] antecedent can be characterized by the unambiguous preference for the weak ([+HUMAN]) forms (in harmony with the retainment of information-structural function), at least if these pronouns are empty (72b-b'). Since in stressed positions, non-empty forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun obligatorily refer back to [+HUMAN] antecedents, in cases illustrated by (72b''), forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun remain the last resort. The grammaticality judgments concerning the given forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun in (72b-b') are similar to, but are slightly worse than, the corresponding grammaticality judgments concerning the relevant forms of *ő* '(s)he' in (69) above. This can be attributed to the fact that, on the one hand, it is advantageous that the animacy character of the pronoun is

compatible with that of the antecedent but, on the other hand, *az* 'that' presumably creates the false illusion of topic change.

(72) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], Topic ← Topic: ∅ / *az* (77%) [100%]

a. *A Raid-et* hatékonynak tartják a szúnyogok ellen, ...
the Raid-Acc effective.Dat hold.DefObj.3Pl the mosquito.Pl against
'*Raid* is held to be effective against mosquitoes, ...'

b. ...de ?*az* /✓— /**ő* sajnos most nem kapható.
but *that* / — / *(s)he* unfortunately now not available
'...but unfortunately *it* is not available now.' ($^1/_4$·100%+$^3/_4$·50%)

b'. ...de (?)*az-t* /✓— /**ő-t* sajnos most nem lehet kapni.
but *that-Acc* / — / *(s)he-Acc* unfortunately now not be.Mod.3Sg get.Inf
'...but unfortunately *it* is not available now.' ($^1/_3$·100%+$^2/_3$·50%)

b''. ...de (?)*ab-ból* /**belől-e*/**ő-belől-e* sajnos most hiány van.
but *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg* unfortunately now shortage be.3Sg
'...but unfortunately*it* is in short supply now.' (100%)

Note in passing that *az* 'that' can also indicate topic change in a similar situation where there are two potential [–HUMAN] antecedents in the input clause. Is it possible to decide in the case of the sentences in (73), for instance, whether *az* 'that' refers back to the topic of the input clause (*a Raid-et* 'the Raid-Acc') and retains the topic, or it refers back to the adessive noun phrase (*az Off-nál* 'the Off-Ade') and triggers topic change?

(73) • The role of the stress of *az* 'that' in back-referencing

a. *A Raid-et* hatékonyabbnak tartják <u>*az Off-nál*</u> a szúnyogok ellen, ...
the Raid-Acc more_effective.Dat hold.DefObj.3Pl *the Off-Ade* the mosquito.Pl against
'*Raid* is held to be more effective against mosquitoes than *Off*, ...'

b. ...pedig [˚*az-t*] / *[*'az-t*]/ *[*'amaz-t*] olcsóbban árulják a környéken.
but *that-Acc* / *that-Acc* / *yonder-Acc* cheaper.Adv sell.DefObj.3Pl the neighborhood-Sup
'...yet *it* (*Raid*) is sold cheaper in the neighborhood.'

b'. ...pedig *[˚<u>*az-t*</u>] /✓[*'*<u>*az-t*</u>] /✓[*'*<u>*amaz-t*</u>] drágábban árulják a környéken.
but *that-Acc*/ *that-Acc* / *yonder-Acc* more_expensive sell.DefObj.3Pl the neighborhood-Sup
'...yet *it* (*Off*) is sold more expensive in the neighborhood.'

As is shown above by stress marks, both types of back-referencing are possible, with a slightly but significantly different accentuation of the pronoun in question. The (more) stressed use of *az* 'that' seems to trigger topic change (73b'), while its unstressed (or at least less stressed) use seems to prefer topic retainment (73b)—as though even the [–HUMAN] distal pronoun had a weak form, a counterpart of the [+HUMAN] empty pronoun. It is worth mentioning that the topic changing stressed *az* 'that' can be replaced with the somewhat archaic pronoun *amaz* 'that one over there', which unambiguously indicates topic change in cases like the one illustrated in (73) above, presumably in connection with its obligatory stressed character.

A systematic description of the roles of these and several further, somewhat archaic, pronominal elements (e.g., *e* 'this', *ezen* 'this', *eme* 'this', *azon* 'that', *ama* 'that') in such phenomena is worthy of future research.

III. C. Postverbal pronoun

We conclude our testing protocol with the case where postverbal pronoun variants refer back to antecedents in topic positions. These are not instances of topic change; they rather represent the opposite of topic change—in that the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' is expected to produce no strong candidates when the antecedents are [+HUMAN]. This prediction will definitely be borne out.

Subsection II.C may serve as an excellent starting point. First of all, as usual, let the antecedent in question be expressed by a proper name. The unambiguous preference for weak forms can be observed in the output clauses, which can presumably be attributed to the fact that the pronouns involved appear in (non-stressed) information-structural positions in the postverbal zones of sentences. Note in passing (before entering into details) that the problem of "where is what nowhere is", which was discussed in connection with the symbol '—' in example (40b) in Remark 1 in subsection I.B, emerges again in this subsection; compare, for instance, (74b) to (69b). Our position is unchanged with respect to the method of evaluation (and the reader should still feel free to decide how to consider the relevant grammaticality judgments).

(74) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], proper name, Topic ← postverbal: ∅ (46%)

a. *Péter* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
Péter very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*Péter* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de sajnos nem ér **az* /✓— /*?*ő* rá pénteken.
but unfortunately not be_free.3Sg *that* / — / *(s)he* onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (50%)

b'. ...de sajnos nem hívhattuk **az-t* /✓— /?*ő-t* meg az előadásra.
but unf'ly not invite.Mod.Past.DefObj.1Pl *that-Acc*/ — /*(s)he-Acc* perf the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we could not invite *him* to the lecture.' (38%)

b''. ...de sajnos nem tudtunk üzenni **an-nak*/✓*nek-i* /*?*ő-nek-i* az előadásról.
but unf'ly not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf *that-Dat*/*Dat-3Sg*/*(s)he-Dat-3Sg* the lecture.Del
'...but unfortunately we could not send *him* a message about the lecture.' (50%)

As for the strong forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, their acceptability highly depends on the compatibility of the given grammatical function with the postverbal status; which obviously disfavors the corresponding form of the subject (74b), in contrast to that of the object (74b'). If there are two competing non-empty [+HUMAN] pronoun variants, in oblique cases, the weak forms seem to be significantly preferred, presumably for the usual economy reasons (74b''). These observations are essentially the same as the corresponding ones in test (61) in subsection II.C, with a slight degradation of grammaticality, according to our judgments concerning the object and the oblique case (cf. (61b'-b'') and (74b'-b'')), the reason for which is unclear.

In the test shown in (75), in contrast to (62) in II.C, the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun remain fully acceptable, presumably owing to the fact that the topic function of the antecedent in (75) guarantees more salience (specificity) for the antecedent than a postverbal (non-operator) position in (62).

(75) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], definite, Topic ← postverbal: ∅ (46%)

a. *Az új diák* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
the new student very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*The new student* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de sajnos nem ér **az /✓—/*?ő* rá pénteken.
but unfortunately not be_free.3Sg *that* / — / *(s)he* onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (50%)

b'. ...de sajnos nem hívhattuk **az-t /✓—/?ő-t* meg az előadásra.
but unf'ly not invite.Mod.Past.DefObj.1Pl *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* perf the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we could not invite *him* to the lecture.' (38%)

b''. ...de sajnos nem tudtunk üzenni **an-nak/✓nek-i /*?ő-nek-i* az előadásról.
but unf'ly not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf *that-Dat*/ *Dat-3Sg*/*(s)he-Dat-3Sg* the lecture.Del
'...but unfortunately we could not send *him* a message about the lecture.' (50%)

Presumably because of the decreasing specificity of the antecedent, the results of test (76) below can be characterized by some grammatical degradation of the forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun. This is similar to the corresponding observations made in test (63) in II.C. The sentence variants produced in (76b-b') contain no fully acceptable candidates. The best candidates are still the weak [+HUMAN] pronominal forms, in harmony with the postverbal status of the given pronouns.

In spite of the negative tendency discussed in the previous paragraph, the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun remain somewhat acceptable as compared to (63) in II.C, and the pronoun's strong forms also show a certain extent of acceptability (depending on their grammatical functions; see (76b): in Hungarian, [+HUMAN] subjects do not readily occupy postverbal positions). Again, these differences are presumably due to the fact that the topic function of the antecedent in (76) guarantees more salience—and, hence, (the feeling of) more specificity—for the antecedent than a postverbal (non-operator) position in (63).

(76) • Antecedent: [+HUMAN], indefinite, Topic ← postverbal: ∅ >> *ő* (38%)

a. *Egy új diák* nagyon érdeklődik a nyelvészet iránt, ...
a new student very.much be_interested.3Sg the linguistics towards
'*A new student* is very much interested in linguistics, ...'

b. ...de sajnos nem ér **az /?—/*?ő* rá pénteken.
but unfortunately not be_free.3Sg *that* / — / *(s)he* onto Friday.Sup
'...but unfortunately *he* is not free on Friday.' (50%)

b'. ...de sajnos nem hívhattuk **az-t /(?)—/(?)ő-t* meg az előadásra.
but unf'ly not invite.Mod.Past.DefObj.1Pl *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc* perf the lecture.Sub
'...but unfortunately we could not invite *him* to the lecture.' (25%)

b''. ...de sajnos nem tudtunk üzenni **an-nak/✓nek-i/??ő-nek-i* az előadásról.
but unf'ly not can.Past.1Pl message.Inf *that-Dat*/ *Dat-3Sg*/*(s)he-Dat-3Sg* the lecture.Del
'...but unfortunately we could not send *him* a message about the lecture.' (38%)

It is also worth comparing the last test to the corresponding test in (64) in II.C, in order to highlight both the similarities and the differences.

(77) • Antecedent: [–HUMAN], Topic ← postverbal: ∅ >> *az* (56%)

a. *A Raid* elriasztja ezeket a szúnyogokat, ...
the Raid repel.DefObj.3Sg this.Pl.Acc the mosquito.Pl.Acc
'*Raid* repels away these mosquitoes, ...'

b. ...de sajnos most nem kapható *?az/✓— /*ő .
but unfortunately now not available *that* / — / *(s)he*
'...but unfortunately *it* is not available now.' (50%)

b'. ...de sajnos most nem lehet kapni ??*az-t* /✓— /**ő-t*.
but unfortunately now not be.Mod.3Sg get.Inf *that-Acc*/ — / *(s)he-Acc*
'...but unfortunately *it* is not available now.' ($^1/_9$·100%+$^8/_9$·50%)

b''. ...de sajnos most hiány van ?*ab-ból*/✓*belől-e*/**ő-belől-e*.
but unfortunately now shortage be.3Sg *that-Ela* / *Ela-3Sg* / *(s)he-Ela-3Sg*
'...but unfortunately *it* is in short supply now.' ($^1/_4$·100%+$^3/_4$·50%)

The two tests share the full acceptability of the weak ([+HUMAN]) candidate—which is obviously due to the common (postverbal) unstressed placement of the given pronouns (which refer back to antecedents expressed by proper names). It is worth recalling that the non-empty weak [–HUMAN] candidate (in (77) as well as in (64)) can refer to a [+HUMAN] antecedent due to its unstressed status (see also 1.1.1.3.5.2).

The rather high level of acceptability of (unstressed) *az* 'that' in (77), but not in (64) (which is degraded only by the infelicitous postverbal appearance of the subject) is a very clear difference. The reason for this difference is presumably to be sought in the fact that subsection II.C discussed instances of the retainment of information-structural functions, unlike this subsection. The retainment of non-focus functions seems to "insist on" the high prominence of weak forms so that the alternative candidates are predominantly unacceptable. Where there is no function retainment, back-referencing which preserves the animacy character is tolerated to a greater extent.

1.1.1.3.5.4. The distribution of the [±HUMAN] feature in back-referencing

This subsection is devoted to a bird's-eye-view summary of the results of the test-series demonstrated in 1.1.1.3.5.3. Ten tables and graphs will present partly new arrangements of the large amount of data collected above.

Table 10 provides a visual representation of the percentages intended to express the animacy character of pronoun distributions in various information-structural functions on the basis of grammaticality judgments on a carefully selected series of test sentences (I.A-III.C). The percentages in Table 10a have been exchanged for shades of gray from white to black in Table 10b, where white means that in the given test only the strong [+HUMAN] candidates proved acceptable, while black means that only the [–HUMAN] candidates proved acceptable. As for the various shades of gray, they may express the appearance of (reasonably) acceptable weak [+HUMAN] candidates (see 1.1.1.3.5.3, sub I.A on the 50% assigned to such pronoun variants) and/or a coexistence of (reasonably) acceptable [–HUMAN] and strong [+HUMAN] candidates. The percentages exchanged for shades of gray have

been calculated on the basis of carefully established weighted means demonstrated in the rows of "example names" of the corresponding series of test sentences.

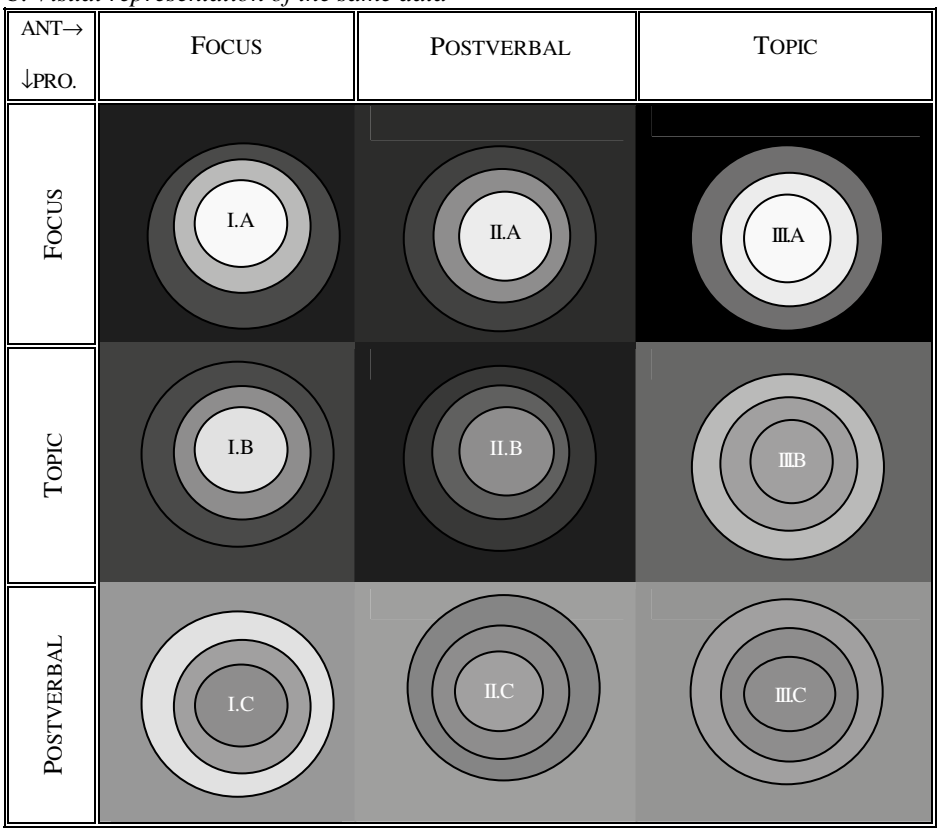
The purpose of these visual representations is to obtain a comprehensive and transparent picture to clearly establish the crucial relationships among grammatical phenomena, which are often hidden by the myriad of data. In what follows, these basic relationships will be reviewed from table to table.

Table 10: The distribution of the [±HUMAN] *feature in back-referencing*

a. *The data of I.A-III.C expressed in percentages*

ANT→ ↓PRO.	FOCUS				POST-V				TOPIC			
	+H PR	+H +D	+H –D	–H PR	+H PR	+H +D	+H –D	–H PR	+H PR	+H +D	+H –D	–H PR
FOCUS	8	33	67	100	12	48	72	100	8	13	50	100
TOPIC	21	44	67	78	46	61	78	92	35	35	32	77
POST-V	41	38	17	52	43	46	50	50	46	46	38	56

b. *Visual representation of the same data*



The nine cells summarize the results obtained in the nine subsections from I.A to III.C. Each dark background corresponds to a test where [–HUMAN] antecedents are referred back to. The three lighter concentric circles correspond to the other three tests in the same subsection, where [+HUMAN] antecedents of three different degrees of specificity are referred back to. The innermost, the middle and the outermost circles correspond to tests with antecedents expressed by proper names, other sorts of definite noun phrases, and by indefinite noun phrases, respectively. The backgrounds are typically dark because black indicates various forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun (*az* 'that') which obviously enjoy preference in back-referencing to [–HUMAN] antecedents. The circles are typically light because white indicates strong forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun (*ő* '(s)he') which obviously enjoy preference in back-referencing to [+HUMAN] antecedents. This formulates the principal connection among the data and can serve as a starting point relative to which dozens of further connections can be evoked from subsections I.A-III.C—in order to account for the different shades of gray shown in the table.

Backgrounds of cells corresponding to cases with postverbal pronouns (I.C, II.C, III.C), for instance, are colored a middle shade of gray, instead of black. The reason for this lies with the high acceptability of the unstressed weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun in back-referencing to [–HUMAN] antecedents, which is presumably to be attributed to the priority of presenting the pronouns' low status in the information structure over presenting the [–HUMAN] character.

Something similar holds for the, also gray, innermost circles of the cells corresponding to cases with postverbal pronouns (I.C, II.C, III.C): the unstressed weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun in back-referencing to [+HUMAN] antecedents (which often refer to [–HUMAN] antecedents, as was established in the previous paragraph) qualify as "sufficient", also because of the priority of presenting the pronouns' low status in the information structure over unambiguously highlighting the [+HUMAN] character by strong [+HUMAN] forms.

The cell of topic retainment (III.B) also has a gray innermost circle, due to the dominance of weak, chiefly empty, pronouns. As was discussed in Remark 1 in 1.1.1.3.5.3, sub I.B, this obviously has to do with the tendency that retainment of a grammatical factor (in this case, information-structural function) is the "unmarked" (default) case. The unmarked character is factually realized by the empty (and weak) pronoun variants mentioned earlier.

The innermost circle of the cell corresponding to topic change (II.B), that is, the case of using a topicalized pronoun to refer back to a postverbal antecedent, is also gray, but for entirely different reasons. In this case empty pronouns are always unacceptable, in total harmony with the fact that this case is not "unmarked" at all in the above-mentioned sense, but definitely "marked", since the relation of the topicalized pronoun to its postverbal antecedent can be regarded as a transition from a lower information-structural function to a high(er) information-structural function. What can serve as the "marker" of this "marked" case? As strong forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun are primarily responsible for highlighting the [+HUMAN] animacy character, the opposite strong pronoun can provide forms to mark the change in information-structural function. The ultimate gray shade results from the

balance between these two demands: to highlight the animacy character, or to mark topic change.

However, the almost white innermost circles in the three cells corresponding to focused pronouns (I.A, II.A, III.A) present the fact that focus can be unambiguously characterized as an information-structural function which prefers to highlight the animacy character, independently of its polarity. The same holds for the (totally) black backgrounds. Owing to the stressed character of focus, empty pronouns are excluded, and the remaining strong pronoun variants clearly show an animacy character, without any tendency to interchange their roles. The only reason for the fact that the innermost circles in question (I.A, II.A, III.A) are not fully white lies with the fact that oblique case-marked pronouns also have non-empty weak variants, and in Hungarian these "more economical" forms seem to be preferred to the animacy-character highlighting forms, even in focus.

The fully black backgrounds of all three cells corresponding to focused pronouns (I.A, II.A, III.A) are due to the fact that focus is a stressed position, which requires non-empty phonetic forms; and non-empty weak forms obligatorily refer to [+HUMAN] antecedents if they are stressed.

In connection with I.A (focus retainment), note in passing that that here the focus character is in conflict with the retainment of information structure. This is because the former character favors animacy-character highlighting strong pronouns, while the latter character favors weak pronouns. It can be regarded as a "consensus with a slight bias towards the focus character" that, if there are non-empty weak forms, they obtain grammaticality judgments as perfect as those that strong forms obtain, but empty weak forms (exactly in the two distinguished grammatical functions Nominative and Accusative) are excluded.

Before turning to an analysis of the relations among the circles embedded in each other, let us consider the table below. This table was constructed on the basis of the alternative method of the calculation of the animacy character introduced in I.B and applied in the B-subsections where topicalized pronouns were tested. Recall that the alternative method of calculation is required because of the methodological question of considering whether "empty topics" should be discussed (in a well-defined, non-trivial, sense) or not (see Remark 1 in 1.1.1.3.5.3, sub I.B again). The table below relies on the latter approach, yielding differences in two B-cells (I.B, III.B). The exceptional cell is exactly that of topic change (II.B), where empty pronouns are unacceptable, so their exclusion from the "competition" among pronoun variants does not count at all.

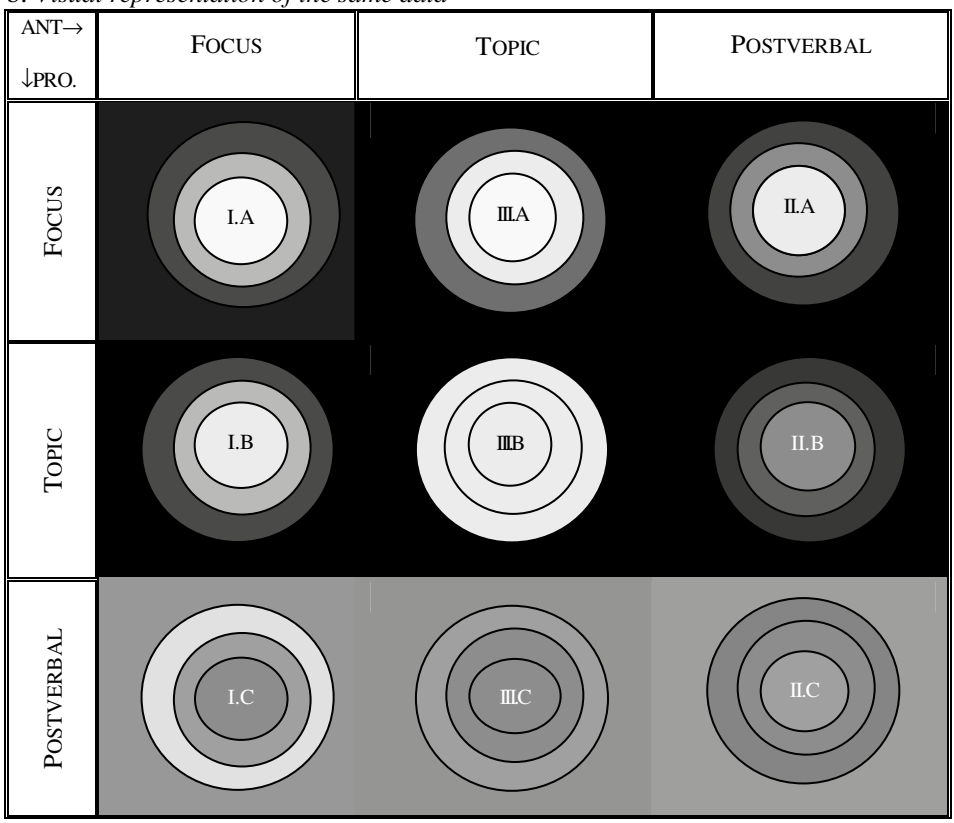
Let us return to the above-mentioned differences which have made it reasonable to interchange two columns, in order to obtain a table where shades of gray (in the backgrounds as well as in the innermost circles) follow each other in a sufficiently gradual manner.

Table 11: The distribution of the [±HUMAN] *feature in back-referencing without "empty topics"*

a. *The data of I.A-III.C expressed in percentages*

ANT→ ↓PRO.	FOCUS				TOPIC				POST-V			
	+H PR	+H +D	+H −D	−H PR	+H PR	+H +D	+H −D	−H PR	+H PR	+H +D	+H −D	−H PR
FOCUS	8	33	67	100	8	13	50	100	12	48	72	100
TOPIC	11	34	67	100	13	13	13	100	46	61	78	100
POST-V	41	38	17	52	46	46	38	56	43	46	50	50

b. *Visual representation of the same data*



In this alternative table, where empty pronouns do not qualify as acceptable candidates either in sentences with focus or with topic (A- and B-cells), the character of the ⟨Ant.:Focus; Pr.:Topic⟩ transition (I.B) now coincides with that of the ⟨Ant.:Focus; Pr.:Focus⟩ transition (I.A).

Another (radical) difference appears between the old version of the cell corresponding to III.B (topic retainment) and the new version. Having done away with empty pronoun variants, the animacy character of topic retainment turns out to be "black and white" as opposed to the earlier uniformly gray character.

A thorough understanding of the data whose representations are the circles embedded in each other—in III.B as well as in all other cells—requires the elaboration of the idea mentioned in the last paragraph of III.A. This idea rests upon three observations.

First, topic change (II.B) can be characterized by a high acceptability of [–HUMAN] pronouns in the case of [+HUMAN] proper names as intended antecedents.

Second, the acceptability of [–HUMAN] pronouns can be characterized by a further increasing acceptability as a result of a decrease in the degree of specificity of the intended [+HUMAN] antecedents. The visual representation of this monotonously increasing tendency is the continuous darkening of growing concentric circles (see all A- and B-cells in Table 10 and Table 11) above—except for topic retainment (III.B)). At the same time, the interpretation of the tendency is as follows: antecedents expressed by less specific noun phrases tolerate (or expect) [–HUMAN] pronouns to a greater extent as means of referring back to them. Example (60) in II.B presents the peak of this tendency: [–HUMAN] pronouns are much better in back-referencing to [+HUMAN] antecedents than [+HUMAN] pronouns, if these antecedents are expressed by noun phrases to be interpreted in a generic way. This also provides a straightforward explanation for the correlation between the increasing acceptability of [–HUMAN] pronouns and the decreasing degree of specificity of antecedents: forms of *az* 'that' and those of *ő* '(s)he' can be characterized by the "division of labor" according to which the former and the latter forms readily refer back to antecedents denoted in a "predicative" manner and to those denoted in a rigid manner, respectively.

Third, the characterization discussed in the two previous paragraphs holds for topic-change-like antecedent-pronoun "transitions" only (in addition to topic change itself). "Similarity to topic change" can and must be defined.

In the light of this formulation, a potential explanation can be based on "rewarding" the similarity of transitions to topic change and penalizing the opposite relation (practically their similarity to the ⟨Ant.:Topic; Pr.:Postverbal⟩ direction of transition). It will be shown below that a straightforward realization of this idea can precisely systematize all nine cases (I.A-III.C) where the [–HUMAN] pronominal forms "advance" in their referring back to [+HUMAN] antecedents and account for the intricate relations among the graphs characterizing these tendencies.

As is shown by the table and the graph below (Table 12), a straightforward system that rests upon this idea will serve as an exhaustive explanation for the partial ordering of the changing animacy character (in the above-discussed respect) among the five "transition" types which show a highly increasing tendency (in the "advancement" of forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun in referring back to [+HUMAN] antecedents). Note that in Table 12 there are six graphs for the five transition types; the reason is that in subsection I.B the animacy character of the ⟨Ant.:Focus; Pr.:Topic⟩ transition is calculated in two ways: one taking empty

pronouns into account and the other leaving them out of consideration. As for the ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Topic⟩ transition (see subsection II.B), there could also be two kinds of calculations, but the results for these coincide fully, because empty pronouns are never acceptable (to a sufficient extent) in the relevant tests.

As an illustration of the operation of the "rewarding" and "penalizing" points that serve the purpose of expressing the similarity of "transitions" to topic change, let us calculate the scores for some transitions on the basis of the rules associated with Table 12.

Topic change itself, for instance, scores three points, which is the maximum here: two points are obtained for the fact that topic change is a transition from an information-structural function which is not topic into topic information-structural function, and a further point is obtained for the fact that topic change also means "being freed" from a low-grade "postverbal" information-structural function.

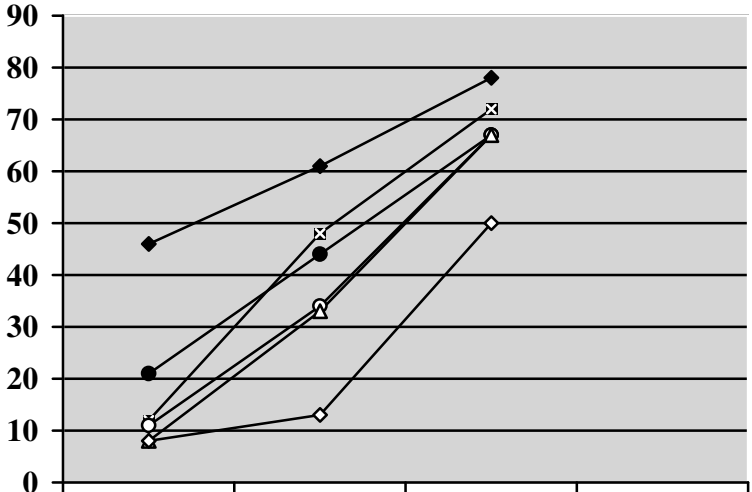
The ⟨Ant.:Focus; Pr.:Topic⟩ and the ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Focus⟩ transitions, for instance, equally score two points, but for different reasons. The former obtains two points due to its similarity to topic change in that the output of the transition is topic. The latter obtains one point for the fact that the input of the transition is "postverbal" (similar to topic change) and it scores another point for the fact that the output is focus. This can be regarded as a property shared with topic change because topic and focus are both operators in contrast to "postverbal".

The ⟨Ant.:Topic; Pr.:Focus⟩ transition obtains no points since the one point it could get for the operator status of the input of the transition disappears because of the penalizing minus point for giving up an input topic status.

Finally, it is demonstrated how to calculate the minus one point obtained by both the ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Postverbal⟩ transition and the ⟨Ant.:Topic; Pr.:Topic⟩ transition, both of which are retainments of some information-structural functions. The rules below are formulated so that both transitions are penalized (for the "postverbal" output, and the "topic" input, respectively), but neither is rewarded, because a transition is worth two points only if its input differs from topic, and worth one point if its output differs from "postverbal".

Table 12: The effect of the decreasing specificity of antecedents upon the advancement of the [–HUMAN] feature (evaluated on the basis of similarities and dissimilarities of transitions to the ⟨Ant.:Postverbal; Pr.:Topic⟩ transition

	PLUS POINTS	MINUS POINTS
TOPIC-BASED TRANSITIONS	⟨Ant.: non-Top; Pr.: Top⟩: +2	⟨Ant.: Top; Pr.: any⟩: –1
FOCUS-BASED TRANSITIONS	⟨Ant.: any; Pr.: Foc⟩: +1	
POSTVERBAL-BASED TR'S	⟨Ant.: pv; Pr.: non-pv⟩: +1	⟨Ant.: any; Pr.: pv⟩: –1



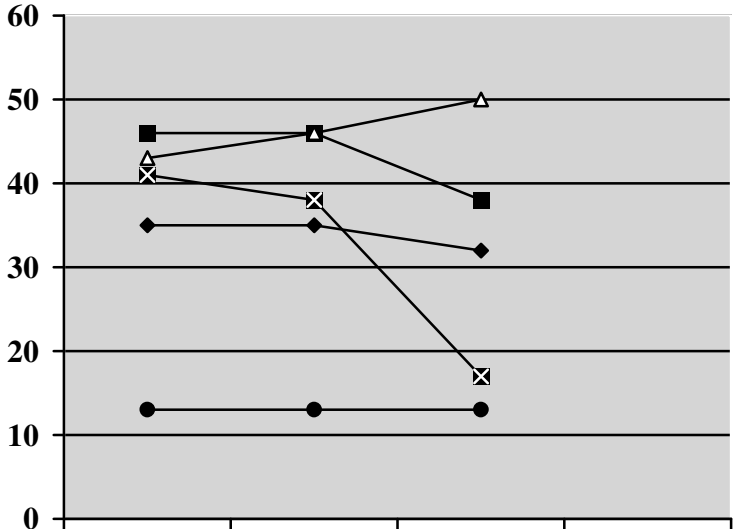
	proper name	definite	indefinite	points
pv-T (II.B)	46	61	78	plus three
F-T (I.B)	21	44	67	plus two
pv-F (II.A)	12	48	72	plus two
F-T var (I.B)	11	34	67	plus two
F-F (I.A)	8	33	67	plus one
T-F (III.A)	8	13	50	plus zero

The lines in the graphs above show the percentages of animacy character obtained in the corresponding tests on [+HUMAN] antecedents of different specificity degrees. The lines are arranged according to their "similarity" to topic change, which was calculated on the basis of the "penalizing" and "rewarding" rules discussed above, which are intended to capture the decisive components of this similarity. Transitions "F-T" and "pv-F" are not ordered compared to each other (i.e., they are incommensurate) according to their penalizing and rewarding points, which is in harmony with what their intersecting relation expresses: in one test one transition scores better, while in another test the other does.

Note in passing that transition "F-T" has two versions because of the methodological question about "empty topics" (see the three B-subsections in 1.1.1.3.5.3). Their slight differences, nevertheless, do not seem worth analyzing.

What can be said about the remaining "transition" types: those which do not show a highly increasing tendency (in the "advancement" of the [–HUMAN] pronominal forms in referring back to [+HUMAN] antecedents)? As the graph in Table 13 demonstrates, their lines show a rather varied picture. Having reviewed all the tests concerning the discussed cases (in I.C, II.C, III.B, III.C), we have found that no forms of *az* 'that' can refer back to [+HUMAN] antecedents (with a higher level of acceptability than that of '*?'), totally independently of the antecedents' specificity degrees. Therefore, it is not possible to speak about any "advancement" of the [–HUMAN] pronominal forms. What makes the picture varied (as was mentioned above), does certainly not concern the [–HUMAN] pronoun, but rather the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun, whose acceptability decreases in relation to the decreasing degree of specificity.

Table 13: Transition types where the advancement of the [–HUMAN] feature shows no highly increasing tendency



	proper name	definite	indefinite	points
T-pv (III.C)	46	46	38	minus two
pv-pv (II.C)	43	46	50	minus one
F-pv (I.C)	41	38	17	minus one
T-T (III.B)	35	35	32	minus one
T-T var (III.B)	13	13	13	minus one

Thus, we seem to have captured the two basic patterns of the triplets of the concentric circles. One of the patterns (indicated with darkening circles from the center outward) presents the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that' as an indicator of a non-rigid but "predicative" manner of denoting corresponding antecedents; as if persons denoted by less rigid manners were less human. The other pattern of concentric circles has nothing to do with the [–HUMAN] pronoun since the appearance of this

pattern triggers the total unacceptability of this pronoun. Cells I.C and III.C in Table 10 and Table 11 above (indicated with growing concentric circles turning into lighter shades) capture the fact that weak forms, and especially empty forms, do not readily refer to less specific antecedents.

Remark 3. The six tables below provide an arrangement of all the grammaticality judgments which have been assigned percentages in order to capture (and visualize) the role of animacy features in Hungarian sentence-internal back-referencing between clauses. Four "small" three-times-three tables of transitions are put together in each bigger table. The columns and rows of the small tables are ordered in a way that the bigger tables should be both axially and centrally symmetric. In this way, we would like to help the reader to make a comparison between the contents of the small tables. On the basis of these arranged data and the basic observations made in this subsection, the distribution of animacy character can be accounted for in various formal linguistic frameworks. The apparatus of Optimality Theory (Archangeli and Langendoen 1997), for instance, is obviously suitable for this (undoubtedly very complex) task.

PRONOUN→ ↓ANTECEDENT	IN NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE				IN OBLIQUE CASES AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
[+HUMAN] PROPER NAME	FF: *	TF: *	pF: ??/*?	axis	pF: *?	TF: *	FF: *
	FT: *?	TT: *	pT: ✓		pT: *?	TT: *	FT: *?
	Fp *	Tp: *	pp: *		pp: *	Tp: *	Fp *
	horizontal			*Table i.* *az* 'that'	axis		
[–HUMAN]	Fp *?	Tp: *?/??	pp: *?	vertical	pp: *?	Tp: ?	Fp ??
	FT ✓	TT: ?/(?)	pT: ✓		pT: ✓	TT: (?)	FT ✓
	FF: ✓	TF: ✓	pF: ✓		pF: ✓	TF: ✓	FF: ✓

Let us study the table above, which demonstrates the "extension" of the forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that'. The corresponding small tables according to the vertical axis are almost the same, with the exception of topic change (see the cell of "pT" above). The similarity is due to the fact that *az* 'that' has only non-empty forms: the nominative case-marked or accusative case-marked forms are non-empty just like the oblique case-marked or postpositional forms. The exception is due to the special role of *az* 'that' in marking topic change instead of expressing the real ([+HUMAN]) animacy character. The corresponding small tables according to the horizontal axis, however, are more or less the negative counterparts of each other, with an exceptional row. The former fact obviously comes from the primary function of *az* 'that': its forms refer (back) to inanimate participants. The exception pertains to the cases where the pronouns in question are postverbal and can be explained by the strong correlation between postverbal positions and unstressed/weak forms.

PRONOUN→ ↓ANTECEDENT	IN NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE				IN OBLIQUE CASES AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
[+HUMAN] PROPER NAME	FF: ✓	TF: ✓	pF: ✓		pF: ✓	TF: ✓	FF: ✓
	FT ✓	TT: (?)	pT: ✓		pT: ?	TT: ??	FT (?)
	Fp ??/(?)	Tp: *?/?	pp: *?/(?)		pp: ??	Tp: *?	Fp ??
[–HUMAN]	Fp *	Tp: *	pp: *		pp: *	Tp: *	Fp *
	FT *	TT: *	pT: *		pT: *	TT: *	FT *
	FF: *	TF: *	pF: *		pF: *	TF: *	FF: *

Table ii. strong *ő* '(s)he'

The table that demonstrates the "extension" of the strong form of *ő* '(s)he' also shows the symmetry according to the vertical axis and the "negative" symmetry according to the horizontal axis. The "negative" symmetry obviously comes from the role of this pronoun type in presenting the [+HUMAN] character of antecedents. The row of postverbal pronouns is exceptional again, which can be attributed (again) to the above-mentioned correlation between postverbal positions and weak forms. Finally, the symmetry according to the vertical axis is also a result of the fact that in the case of this type of pronoun neither the nominative or accusative forms nor the oblique case-marked forms or postpositional forms are empty.

PRONOUN→ ↓ANTECEDENT	IN NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE				IN OBLIQUE CASES AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
[+HUMAN] PROPER NAME	FF: *	TF: *	pF: *		pF: ✓	TF: ✓	FF: ✓
	FT: ?/(?)	TT: ✓	pT: *?		pT: ✓	TT: (?)	FT: ✓
	Fp ✓	Tp: ✓	pp: ✓		pp: ✓	Tp: ✓	Fp ✓
[–HUMAN]	Fp (?)	Tp: ✓	pp: ✓		pp: ✓	Tp: ✓	Fp ✓
	FT (?)	TT: ✓	pT: ?		pT: *	TT: *	FT ✓
	FF: *	TF: *	pF: *		pF: *	TF: *	FF: *

Table iii. weak *ő* '(s)he'

The table that demonstrates the "extension" of the weak form of *ő* '(s)he' (above) presents the following facts. As was mentioned in connection with both tables above, postverbal positions favor weak forms, independently of the animacy character. Second, topic retainment also favors weak forms (if "empty topic" is considered). Third, non-empty weak forms (see the small tables to the right) can always refer back to animate antecedents, in harmony with the fact that the weak forms in question are those of the [+HUMAN] pronoun *ő* '(s)he'. Non-empty weak forms can only refer back to inanimate antecedents in unstressed positions. Foci and "strictly defined" topics are not unstressed.

PRONOUN→ ↓ANTECEDENT	IN NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE				IN OBLIQUE CASES AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
[+HUMAN] DEFINITE (NO PROPER NAME)	FF: (?)	TF: *?	pF: (?)		pF: ??	TF: *?	FF: ??
	FT: (?)/?	TT: *	pT: ✓		pT: ??	TT: *	FT: ?
	Fp *	Tp: *	pp: */*?		pp: *	Tp: *	Fp *
[+HUMAN] INDEFINITE	Fp */*?	Tp: *	pp: *		pp: *	Tp: *	Fp *?
	FT ✓	TT: *	pT: ✓		pT: (?)	TT: *	FT (?)
	FF: ✓	TF: ?	pF: ✓		pF: (?)	TF: ?	FF: ✓

Table iv.
az 'that'

The table above demonstrates the "extension" of forms of the [–HUMAN] pronoun *az* 'that', again (see Table i), with the difference that here the antecedents are not proper names, but other sorts of animate definite noun phrases and animate indefinite noun phrases. There is a symmetry according to the vertical axis, characteristic of non-weak pronouns (Tables i-ii). There is also a symmetry according to the vertical axis, since here pronouns of the same polarity are compared with each other (in contrast to Table i). Compared to Table i, the crucial difference lies with the extension of acceptable [–HUMAN] pronoun variants to an area of "transitions" that consists of four or five cells. These are the transitions "similar" to topic change in a well-defined sense (see Table 12 above).

PRONOUN→ ↓ANTECEDENT	IN NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE				IN OBLIQUE CASES AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
[+HUMAN] DEFINITE (NO PROPER NAME)	FF: (?)	TF: (?)	pF: (?)		pF: ?	TF: ?	FF: ?
	FT ✓	TT: (?)	pT: (?)		pT: ??	TT: ?	FT ??
	Fp ??/(?)	Tp: *?/?	pp: *?/??		pp: *?	Tp: *?	Fp *?
[+HUMAN] INDEFINITE	Fp ??/(?)	Tp: *?/(?)	pp: *?		pp: *?	Tp: ??	Fp *?
	FT (?)	TT: (?)	pT: ?		pT: *?	TT: ?	FT ??
	FF: *	TF: ?	pF: (?)		pF: ??	TF: ?	FF: *

Table v. strong *ő* '(s)he'

It is worth comparing Table v to the upper half of Table ii. The common factor is that animate antecedents are referred back to by forms of the strong [+HUMAN] pronoun *ő* '(s)he'. The decrease in the specificity of antecedents results in a decrease in acceptability of the corresponding sentences. This tendency presumably has to do with the increase in acceptability of *az* 'that', shown in Table iv above. Finally, Table vi below also shows a worsening tendency: weak forms, and especially empty forms, less readily refer back to "predicatively" denoted antecedents than to proper names.

PRONOUN→ ↓ANTECEDENT	IN NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE				IN OBLIQUE CASES AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES		
[+HUMAN] DEFINITE (NO PROPER NAME)	FF: *	TF: *	pF: *		pF: ✓	TF: ✓	FF: ✓
	FT: ?/(?)	TT: ✓	pT: *?		pT: (?)	TT: ✓	FT: ✓
	Fp (?)	Tp: ✓	pp: (?)		pp: (?)	Tp: ✓	Fp ✓
[+HUMAN] INDEFINITE	Fp *?	Tp: ?/(?)	pp: ?		pp: ?	Tp: ✓	Fp (?)
	FT *?	TT: ?/(?)	pT: *		pT: ?	TT: ✓	FT ?
	FF: *	TF: *	pF: *		pF: (?)	TF: (?)	FF: (?)

Table vi. weak *ő* '(s)he'

1.1.1.3.5.5. Back-reference to situations

Let us conclude the subsection about animacy features (1.1.1.3.5) and, in fact, the entire subsection on nominal features (1.1.1.3) with the question of reference to

abstract entities typically expressed by clauses (i.e., situations, for short). Consider (21d), repeated below as (78d):

(78) • The [±HUMAN] feature of *ő* '(s)he', *az* 'that/it' and *ez* 'this'

a. A: Látta már *a kollégád* *a Taj Mahal-t*?
see.Past.DefObj.3Sg already *the colleague.Poss.2Sg* *the Taj Mahal-Acc*
'Has *your colleague* already seen *the Taj Mahal*?'

b. B: Igen, *ő* is ott volt a tavalyi indiai konferencián.
yes *(s)he* also there be.Past.3Sg the last_year Indian conference.Sup
'Yes, *(s)he* was there at the conference in India last year, too.'

c. C: Úgy tudom, *az* a kedvenc épülete.
so know.DefObj.1Sg *that* the favorite building.Poss.3Sg
'As far as I know, *THAT* is his/her favorite building.'

d. D: *Ez* tévedés! A Notre Dame a kedvenc épülete.
this mistake the Notre Dame the favorite building.Poss.3Sg
'*That* is wrong. THE NOTRE DAME is his/her favorite building.'

Recall that the example shows a conversation among four interlocutors (A, B, C and D). The purpose of these examples is to provide a comparative demonstration of the following forms: the 3rd singular personal pronoun *ő* '(s)he', which primarily refers to an antecedent which is a person ([+HUMAN]); the distal demonstrative pronoun *az* 'that', which refers to an antecedent which is an object ([–HUMAN]); and the proximal demonstrative pronoun *ez* 'this', which seems to undertake the remaining task of referring to members of a special subset of [–HUMAN] entities: abstract entities typically expressed by clauses.

In the spirit of our earlier testing protocols, the task of this subsection is to investigate how the pronouns scrutinized in subsections 1.1.1.3.5.2-1.1.1.3.5.4 share the task of reference to situations with *ez* 'this' in focus (79), topic (80) and postverbal positions (81).

In focus (79), *ez* 'this' proves to have no alternative. This observation is in harmony with the observation made in 1.1.1.3.5.3 sub I.A,II.A,III.A: focus prefers pronouns which truly present the animacy feature of their antecedents (cf. (78d)). This may serve as an explanation for the unambiguous unacceptability of *az* 'that', regarding the "division of labor" mentioned above in connection with what has been illustrated in (78b-d).

(79) • Antecedent: Situation ← Focus: *ez*

a. Péternek nagyon tetszik az új szintaxis-könyv, ...
Péter.Dat very.much please.3Sg the new syntax-book
'Péter likes the new book on syntax very much, ...'

b. ...de éppen *ez* / *?*az* / **ő* / *— volt a mi feltételezésünk is.
but just *this* / *that* / *(s)he* / — be.Past.3Sg the we assumption.Poss.1Pl also
'...but *THIS* is what we were expecting of him, too.'

b'. ...de éppen *ez-t* / *?*az-t* / **ő-t* / *— vártuk mi is.
but just *this-Acc* / *that-Acc* / *(s)he-Acc* / — expect.Past.DefObj.1Pl we also
'...but we were expecting *THIS* of him, too.'

b”. ...de éppen *eb-ben* / **ab-ban* /**ő-benn-e* / **benn-e* bíztunk mi is.
but just *this-Ine* / *that-Ine* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg*/ *Ine-3Sg* trust.Past.1Pl we also
‘...but we were hoping for *THIS*, too.’

As for the possibilities of back-referencing to situations by means of pronouns in topic (80), *ez* ‘this’ still has no real rivals. It is worth mentioning, however, that in the object grammatical function (80b’) (but not in the subject function (80b)) the empty variant of the [+HUMAN] pronoun *ő* ‘(s)he’ also appears, albeit with a fairly low level of acceptability. The consideration or refusal of this alternative depends on the answer to the methodological question discussed in the introduction to 1.1.1.3.5.3 sub I.B including Remark 1. Recall that the former assumption considers (certain) sentences with no “audible” topics to be “ambiguous” with respect to information structure and remains neutral in deciding where empty pronominal elements can be found in syntactic structures. The symbol ‘—’ is used in this approach and here, too, it means in (80) and later in this subsection that the given sentences have topics in a pragmatico-semantic sense without necessarily having any syntactic topic constituents present.

After this methodological remark, let us return to the difference between (80b) and (80b’). We attribute this difference to the usual observation that the empty pronoun is primarily responsible for topic retainment, especially if the subject grammatical function is involved.

(80) • Antecedent: Situation ← Topic: *ez* (∅)

a. Péternek nagyon tetszik az új szintaxis-könyv, ...
Péter.Dat very.much please.3Sg the new syntax-book
‘Péter likes the new book on syntax very much, ...’

b. ...de *ez* / *?*az* / **ő* / *— senkit sem lepett meg.
but *this* / *that* / *(s)he* / — nobody.Acc nor surprise.Past.3Sg perf
‘...but *this* was no surprise to anyone.’

b’. ...pedig *ez-t* / *?*az-t* / **ő-t* / ??— senki sem gondolta volna.
but *this-Acc* / *that-Acc*/ *(s)he-Acc* / — nobody nor think.Past.DefObj.3Sg be.Cond
‘...when no one would have thought *this* to be so.’

b”. ...de *er-ről* / **ar-ról* /**ő-ról-a* / **ról-a* senki sem beszélt.
but *this-Del* / *that-Del* / *(s)he-Del-3Sg*/ *Del-3Sg* nobody nor speak.Past.3Sg
‘...but no one spoke about *this*.’

As for the weak but non-empty variant of the [+HUMAN] pronoun *ő* ‘(s)he’ in (80b”) above, it is fully unacceptable, because in a topic position it cannot be unstressed; and stressed non-empty [+HUMAN] pronouns inevitably refer to [+HUMAN] participants. In the corresponding sentence in (81b”) below, however, the non-empty weak form of the [+HUMAN] pronoun is a real alternative to the appropriate form of *ez* ‘this’; obviously due to the genuinely unstressed postverbal position (in harmony with what was observed in subsection 1.1.1.3.5.2 in connection with subordination).

(81) • Antecedent: Situation ← postverbal: *ez* > ∅

a. Péternek nagyon tetszik az új szintaxis-könyv, ...
Péter.Dat very.much please.3Sg the new syntax-book
'Péter likes the new book on syntax very much, ...'

b. ...de Marit egyáltalán nem érdekli ?*ez* / **az* / **ő* / *—.
but Mari.Acc at_all not interest.DefObj.3Sg *this* / *that* / *(s)he* / —
'...but Mari is not interested in *this fact* at all.'

b'. ...de Mari egyáltalán nem sejti (?)*ez-t* / **az-t* / **ő-t* / ??—.
but Mari at_all not suspect.DefObj.3Sg *this-Acc* / *that-Acc*/ *(s)he-Acc*/ —
'...but Mari does not suspect *this fact* at all.'

b''. ...pedig Mari egyáltalán nem bízott (?)*eb-ben* / **ab-ban* /**ő-benn-e* / ?*benn-e.*
but Mari at_all not trust.Past.3Sg *this-Ine* / *that-Ine* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg*/ *Ine-3Sg*
'...while Mari did not hope that *this* would happen at all.'

Nevertheless, the forms of *ez* 'this' remain the best candidates in each case in (81), though, at least according to our judgments, they are not fully acceptable. This may be attributed to a tension coming from the placement of *ez* 'this', which seems to require some stress as a default, in a genuinely unstressed postverbal position. It is worth adding, in the case of the subject grammatical function (81b), the frequently-mentioned incompatibility of (pronominal) subjects with postverbal positions in Hungarian.

As for the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun *ő* '(s)he' (including the empty form), their poor acceptability can be explained with the fundamental role of unmarked and less marked elements in indicating the retainment of the postverbal non-operator function.

To sum up these observations, the appropriate forms of *ez* 'this' are the best candidates for sentence-internal back-referencing to situations in all information-structural positions. Does the same hold for back-referencing between separate sentences?

The dialogues below (between interlocutors A and B) suggest a definitely negative answer to this question. First, let us compare the results of the test in (82) below to those of the corresponding test in (81) above, which share the property that the given pronouns occupy postverbal positions.

(82) • Sentence-external back-referencing: Antecedent: Situation ← postverbal: ∅ > *ez*

a. A: Péternek nagyon tetszik az új lány.
Péter.Dat very.much please.3Sg the new girl
éter likes the new girl very much.'

b. B: Hihetetlen **ez* / **az* / **ő* / ✓—!
unbelievable *this* / *that* / *(s)he*/ —
'*That* is unbelievable!'

b'. B: A felesége vajon sejti (?)*ez-t* / **az-t* / **ő-t* / ✓—?
the wife.Poss.3Sg whether suspect.DefObj.3Sg *this-Acc* / *that-Acc*/ *(s)he-Acc*/ —
'Does his wife suspect *(it)*?'

b''. B: Biztos vagy (?)*eb-ben* / **ab-ban* /**ő-benn-e* / ✓*benn-e*?
sure be.2Sg *this-Ine* / *that-Ine* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg*/ *Ine-3Sg*
'Are you sure about *this/that*?'

An overwhelming preference for the weak forms of the [+HUMAN] pronoun (*ő* '(s)he') can be observed, compared to (81); while *ez* 'this' remains almost perfect (82b'-b"), with the exception of the subject grammatical function (82b). As usual, this latter fact can be attributed to the incompatibility of (pronominal) subjects with postverbal positions in Hungarian. The unacceptability of the strong forms of *ő* '(s)he' is straightforwardly attributable to the fact that these forms obligatorily refer to [+HUMAN] antecedents.

As for *az* 'that', its forms also remain unacceptable, presumably because of the "division of labor" mentioned above in connection with what has been illustrated in (78b-d): at least in certain contexts, *ez* 'this' seems to be predestined to refer to situations, in contrast to *az* 'that', which is predestined to refer to other inanimate entities mentioned earlier.

In this light, (83b) below yields unexpected and surprising observations: *az* 'that' is one of the best candidates, apart from the empty [+HUMAN] pronoun (this latter, however, does not need to be taken into account because of the methodological question mentioned above in connection with the corresponding example (80)). What is even more unexpected and surprising is that the same does not hold for the sentences shown in (83b') below, despite the fact that the subject status as well as the meaning and all other factors seem to be very similar in (83b') as compared to (83b). Since all forms of *az* 'that' are unacceptable in the cases discussed below, as is demonstrated in (83c-d), the unacceptable status of *az* 'that' can qualify as a rule, while what is illustrated in (83b) is to be regarded as a strange exception, whose explanation is left for future research.

(83) • Sentence-external back-referencing: Antecedent: Situation ← Topic: *ez* / ∅ (*az*?)

a. A: Péternek nagyon tetszik az új lány.
Péter.Dat very.much please.3Sg the new girl
'Péter likes the new girl very much.'

b. B: $^{(?)}$*Ez* / $^{\checkmark}$*Az* / **Ő* / $^{\checkmark}$— lehetetlen / [ki van zárva]!
this / *that* / *(s)he* / — impossible / out is closed
'*This* is impossible / [out of question].'

b'. B: *Ez* / $^{*?}$*Az* / **Ő* / $^{\checkmark}$— hihetetlen / [nem lehet igaz]!
this / *that* / *(s)he* / — unbelievable / not maybe true
'*This* [is unbelievable] / [cannot be true].'

c. B: $^{?}$*Ez-t* / **Az-t* / **Ő-t* / $^{(?)}$— vajon sejti a felesége?
this-Acc / *that-Acc*/ *(s)he-Acc*/ — whether suspect.DefObj.3Sg the wife.Poss.3Sg
'Does his wife suspect *this*?'

d. B: *Eb-ben* / **Ab-ban* /**Ő-benn-e* / **Benn-e* biztos vagy?
this-Ine / *that-Ine* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* / *Ine-3Sg* sure be.2Sg
'Are you sure about *this*?'

On the basis of the "regular" cases (83b'-d), *ez* 'this' (along with the empty pronoun) proves to retain its dominance, which is due to the "division of labor" among pronouns mentioned above. Nevertheless, forms of *ez* 'this' are slightly less acceptable, while the empty pronoun becomes more acceptable, compared to (80) above.

Note that if a reacting sentence starts with a connective, this effect does not emerge (84). As if the two sentences in the dialogue had turned into one complex sentence consisting of two clauses...

(84) • Special sentence-external back-referencing: Antecedent: Situation ← Topic: *ez* (*az*?)

a. A: Péternek nagyon tetszik az új lány.
Péter.Dat very.much please.3Sg the new girl
'Péter likes the new girl very much.'

b. B: De hát $^{(?)}$*ez* / $^{(?)}$*az* / **ő* / $^{*?}$— lehetetlen / [ki van zárva]!
but well *this* / *that* / *(s)he* / — impossible / out is closed
'However, *this* is impossible / [out of question].'

c. B: És *ez-t* / **az-t* / **ő-t* / $^{??}$— vajon sejti a felesége?
and *this-Acc* / *that-Acc* / *(s)he-Acc*/ — whether suspect.DefObj.3Sg the wife.Poss.3Sg
'And does his wife suspect *this*?'

d. B: És *eb-ben* / **ab-ban* /**ő-benn-e* / **benn-e* biztos vagy?
and *this-Ine* / *that-Ine* / *(s)he-Ine-3Sg* / *Ine-3Sg* sure be.2Sg
'And are you sure about *this*?'

Let us conclude this subsection with the case whose "sentence-internal" counterpart (79) was discussed at the beginning of the subsection, where the given pronouns were tested in focus position. This information-structural function can be appropriately characterized by the afore-mentioned "division of labor" among pronouns. This absolutely correctly predicts an overwhelming dominance of *ez* 'this'. A comparison of (85) below to (79) above provides only a slight difference, a difference in grammaticality judgments about *az* 'that': this is more or less acceptable, but its acceptability is typically degraded by a potential ambiguity between reference to a situation and reference to participants of the situation.

(85) • Sentence-external back-referencing: Antecedent: Situation ← Focus: *ez* >> *az*

a. A: Péternek nagyon tetszik a két új lány.
Péter.Dat very.much please.3Sg the two new girl
'Péter likes the two new girls very much.'

b. B: Szerintem pont *ez* / $^{??}$*az*/ **ő* / *—okozza majd a vesztét.
in_my_oppinion just *this* / *that* / *(s)he*/ — cause.DefObj.3Sg then the fall.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I think *THIS* will be his end.'

b'. B: Szerintem pont *ez* / *az* / **ő* / *—okozza majd a vesztét,
in_my_oppinion just *this* / *that* / *(s)he*/ — cause.DefObj.3Sg then the fall.Poss.3Sg.Acc
hogy egy ilyen ügybe keveredik.
that a such case.Ill get_involved.3Sg
'I think *THIS* will be his end—that he will get involved in such a situation.'

c. B: Pont *ez-t* / $^{??}$*az-t* / **ő-t* / *—mondtam én is a múltkor.
just *this-Acc* / *that-Acc*/ *(s)he-Acc*/ — say.Past.1Sg I also the lately
'*THIS* is exactly what I, too, said the other day.'

d. B: Pont *er-ről* / $^{*?}$*ar-ról* /**ő-ról-a* / **róla* beszéltem én is a múltkor.
just *this-Del* / *that-Del*/ *(s)he-Del-3Sg*/ *Del-3Sg* speak.Past.1Sg I also the lately
'*THIS* is exactly what I was talking about the other day, too.'

Note in passing that, at least to some speakers, forms of *az* 'that' in sentences like those in (85b,c,d) above seem to evoke some kind of implicit subordinate clause (cf. (85b')), which serves as an explanation for the appearance of *az* 'that' (see subsection 1.1.1.3.5.2 on subordination) as well as for its rather low acceptability at the same time. As for the also full acceptability of the variant in (85b') with *ez* 'this', in this case the explicit subordinate clause is understood as an afterthought.

1.1.1.4. Agreement

In Hungarian, noun phrases are involved in many agreement relations. This subsection gives a brief overview of these. Subsection 1.1.1.4.1 is devoted to agreement in number and person (and definiteness), subsection 1.1.1.4.2 discusses agreement in person, while subsection 1.1.1.4.3 deals with agreement in number and case.

1.1.1.4.1. Agreement in number and person, and the definiteness of the object

In Hungarian, agreement in number and person can be observed between a possessee and a possessor, a (non-)finite verb and the subject, and a postposition and its nominative (or dative) case-marked argument.

From the perspective of noun phrases, the most relevant out of these agreement relations is the possessive one illustrated in Table 14 below. Empty morphemes are also indicated here to make the structure of the possessed Hungarian words clear to the reader. It is worth mentioning that the possessor and the possessee only agree if the possessor is a personal pronoun (Bartos 2000b: 678–680). This agreement relation is indicated here by adding an empty agreement morpheme to the possessee following the 3Sg pronominal possessor, while the same morpheme is not added if the possessor is expressed by a non-pronominal noun phrase (cf. the 3Sg forms with the corresponding forms of *a fiú* 'the boy' in Table 14; NB: the general glossing practice applied in this book does not consider this sophisticated differentiation, in order to handle uniformly the third person, which is marked by a non-empty suffix in certain cases (e.g., *men-j-en* 'go-Subj-3Sg' and *men-ni-e* 'go-Inf-3Sg' *vs. men-ni* 'go-Inf'). If there were also agreement between non-pronominal possessors and possessees, the possessive forms of a 3Pl pronominal possessor would not differ from the corresponding forms of a possessor expressed by the plural noun phrase *a fiúk* 'the boys' in the table.

Table 14: Possessive agreement in singular and plural

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1SG	az én kalap-∅-om / hajó-∅-m the I hat-Poss-1Sg / ship-Poss-1Sg 'my hat / ship'	az én kalap-ja-i-m / hajó-∅-i-m the I hat-Poss-Pl-1Sg / ship-Poss-Pl-1Sg 'my hats / ships'
2SG	a te kalap-∅-od / hajó-∅-d the you hat-Poss-2Sg / ship-Poss-2Sg 'your$_{Sg}$ hat / ship'	a te kalap-ja-i-d / hajó-∅-i-d the you hat-Poss-Pl-2Sg / ship-Poss-Pl-2Sg 'your$_{Sg}$ hats / ships'
3SG	az ő kalap-ja-∅ / hajó-ja-∅ the (s)he hat-Poss-3Sg / ship-Poss-3Sg 'her/his hat / ship'	az ő kalap-ja-i-∅ / hajó-∅-i-∅ the (s)he hat-Poss-Pl-3Sg / ship-Poss-Pl-3Sg 'her/his hats / ships'
A FIÚ 'the boy'	a fiú kalap-ja / hajó-ja the boy hat-Poss / ship-Poss 'the boy's hat / ship'	a fiú kalap-ja-i / hajó-∅-i the boy hat-Poss-Pl / ship-Poss-Pl 'the boy's hats / ships'
1PL	a mi kalap-∅-unk / hajó-∅-nk the we hat-Poss-1Pl / ship-Poss-1Pl 'our hat / ship'	a mi kalap-ja-i-nk / hajó-∅-i-nk the we hat-Poss-Pl-1Pl / ship-Poss-Pl-1Pl 'our hats / ships'
2PL	a ti kalap-∅-otok / hajó-∅-tok the you$_{Pl}$ hat-Poss-2Pl / ship-Poss-2Pl 'your$_{Pl}$ hat / ship'	a ti kalap-ja-i-tok / hajó-∅-i-tok the you$_{Pl}$ hat-Poss-Pl-2Pl / ship-Poss-Pl-2Pl 'your$_{Pl}$ hats / ships'
3PL	az ő kalap-j-uk / hajó-j-uk the (s)he hat-Poss-3Pl / ship-Poss-3Pl 'their hat / ship'	az ő kalap-ja-i-k / hajó-∅-i-k the (s)he hat-Poss-Pl-3Pl / ship-Poss-Pl-3Pl 'their hats / ships'
A FIÚK 'the boys'	a fiú-k kalap-ja / hajó-ja the boy-Pl hat-Poss / ship-Poss 'the boys' hat / ship'	a fiú-k kalap-ja-i / hajó-∅-i the boy-Pl hat-Poss-Pl / ship-Poss-Pl 'the boys' hats / ships'

It is also worth noting that the form of the 3Pl personal pronoun *ők* 'they' as a possessor coincides with that of the 3Sg personal pronoun (*ő* '(s)he'). Only the agreement suffix added to the possessee shows which 3rd personal pronoun (Sg/Pl) is the possessor (cf. the empty 3Sg agreement morpheme ('∅') with its 3Pl counterpart *-(U)k*). The phenomenon in the plural can also be regarded as an instance of anti-agreement (cf. Den Dikken 1999).

Note in passing that the possessed status in Hungarian is somewhat special, because the suffix *-i* marks the plural of the possessee instead of the general plural suffix *-(V)k* (see 1.1.1.3.1 about this topic).

Table 15 below illustrates subject-verb agreement. The agreement suffix on the verb shows the number and person of the subject; hence, as in many languages, the subject is not necessarily required to have a phonetic form. Moreover, "pro-drop" is highly preferred to using overt pronouns. In this latter case, the pronoun is held to fulfill some special information-structural function.

In Hungarian, the agreement suffix on the verb shows not only the number and person of the subject but also the definiteness of the object.

Table 15: Subject–verb and object–verb agreement

OBJECT→ ↓SUBJECT	NOT DEFINITE	DEFINITE
1SG	*Én [ír-ok (egy könyvet)]/ [könyvet ír-ok].* I write-1Sg (a book.Acc) / book.Acc write-1Sg 'I am writing (a book).'	*Én ír-om a könyvet.* I write-DefObj.1Sg the book.Acc 'I am writing the book.'
2SG	*Te [ír-sz (egy könyvet)] / [könyvet ír-sz].* you write-2Sg (a book.Acc) / book.Acc write-2Sg 'You are writing (a book).'	*Te ír-od a könyvet.* you write-DefObj.2Sg the book.Acc 'You are writing the book.'
3SG	*Ő [ír (egy könyvet)] / [könyvet ír].* (s)he write.3Sg (a book.Acc) / book.Acc write.3Sg '(S)he is writing (a book).'	*Ő ír-ja a könyvet.* (s)he write-DefObj.3Sg the book.Acc '(S)he is writing the book.'
1PL	*Mi [ír-unk (egy könyvet)] / [könyvet ír-unk].* we write-1Pl (a book.Acc) / book.Acc write-1Pl 'We are writing (a book).'	*Mi ír-j-uk a könyvet.* we write-DefObj-1Pl the book.Acc 'We are writing the book.'
2PL	*Ti [ír-tok (egy könyvet)] / [könyvet ír-tok].* you write-2Pl (a book.Acc) / book.Acc write-2Pl 'You are writing (a book).'	*Ti ír-já-tok a könyvet.* you write-DefObj-2Pl the book-Acc 'You are writing the book.'
3PL	*Ők [ír-nak (egy könyvet)] / [könyvet ír-nak].* they write-3Pl (a book.Acc) / book.Acc write-3Pl 'They are writing (a book).'	*Ők ír-já-k a könyvet.* they write-DefObj-3Pl the book.Acc 'They are writing the book.'

Definite conjugation is used in the case of a definite object, which is not necessarily required to have a phonetic form (that is, it can also be expressed by a phonetically empty *pro* form), exactly because of this agreement (86). Definite conjugation is to be used not only if the definite object is the argument of the verb (86a), but also if it is an argument of its verbal argument, or an argument of an argument of its verbal argument (86b-c), and so on. The non-definite conjugation is used when the verb (or its argument (of its argument...)) has no object, or when the object is not definite (an indefinite or a bare noun phrase), or when the object is a first or second personal pronoun and certain requirements concerning the person feature of the concomitant subject are satisfied (see also 1.1.1.4.2). For more details about the syntactic relevance of the definiteness of the object, the interested reader is referred to V1.

(86) • Object *pro-drop*

a. Nem néz-em (ő-t / az-t).
not watch-DefObj.1Sg (s)he-Acc / that-Acc
'I am not watching him/her. / I am not watching it.'

b. Nem fog-om megnézni (ő-t / az-t).
not will-DefObj.1Sg watch.Inf (s)he-Acc / that-Acc
'I will not watch him/her. / I will not watch it.'

c. Nem fog-om megpróbálni megnézni (ő-t / az-t).
not will-DefObj.1Sg try.Inf watch.Inf (s)he-Acc / that-Acc
'I will not try to watch him/her. / I will not try to watch it.'

For the sake of completeness, examples (87-88) below illustrate the agreement in number and person in the case of infinitives and postpositions. These agreement suffixes on infinitives are the same as the possessive agreement suffixes. The main difference between the agreement suffixes of noun phrases and those of infinitives is that the latter are not obligatorily used (87g).

(87) • Agreement in number and person: infinitives

a. *Nek-em* is el kell menn-*em.*
Dat-1Sg also away have_to go.Inf-*1Sg*
'*I* have to go, too.'

b. *Nek-ed* is el kell menn-*ed.*
Dat-2Sg also away have_to go.Inf-*2Sg*
'*You*$_{Sg}$ have to go, too.'

c. *Nek-i* / *Péter-nek* is el kell menni-*e*.
Dat-3Sg / *Péter-Dat* also away have_to go.Inf-*3Sg*
'*(S)he* has to go, too. / *Péter* has to go, too.'

d. *Nek-ünk* is el kell menn-*ünk.*
Dat-1Pl also away have_to go.Inf-*1Pl*
'*We* have to go, too.'

e. *Nek-tek* is el kell menn-*etek.*
Dat-2Pl also away have_to go.Inf-*2Pl*
'*You*$_{Pl}$ have to go, too.'

f. *Nek-ik* / [*A fiúknak*] is el kell menni-*ük*.
Dat-3Pl / *the boy.Pl.Dat* also away have_to go.Inf-*3Pl*
'*They* have to go, too. / *The boys* have to go, too.'

g. *Nekem* / *Neked* / *Neki* / *Nekünk* / *Nektek* / *Nekik* is el kell menni.
Dat.1Sg / *Dat.2Sg* / *Dat.3Sg* / *Dat.1Pl* / *Dat.2Pl* / *Dat.3Pl* also away have_to go.Inf
'*I* / *You*$_{Sg}$ / *(S)he* / *We* / *You*$_{Pl}$ / *They* have/has to go, too.'

The number and person agreement suffixes on postpositions are also the same as the possessive agreement suffixes, but a postpositional head bears an agreement suffix only if it agrees with a pronoun; otherwise, in contrast to what we found in the case of noun phrases, the counterpart of the suffix that indicates the possessed status in the case of noun phrases (*-(j)A*) cannot be used on postpositions (cf. (88c) with (88c'), and (88f) with (88f')).

(88) • Agreement in number and person: postpositions

a. (én-)mellett-em
I-next_to-1Sg
'next to me'

b. (te-)mellett-ed
you$_{Sg}$-next_to-2Sg
'next to you$_{Sg}$'

c. (ő-)mellett-e
(s)he-next_to-3Sg
'next to him/her'

c'. Péter mellett(*-e)
Péter next_to-3Sg
'next to Péter'

d. (mi-)mellett-ünk
we-next_to-1Pl
'next to us'

e. (ti-)mellett-etek
you$_{Pl}$-next_to-2Pl
'next to you$_{Pl}$'

f. (ő-)mellett-ük
(s)he-next_to-3Pl
'next to them'

f'. Péter-ék mellett(*-e/*-ük)
Péter-Apl next_to-3Sg/3Pl
'next to Péter and the others'

1.1.1.4.2. Agreement in person

Agreement exclusively in person can only be observed if a 1Sg verb has a 2nd person object. In this case a special morpheme (*-lak/-lek*) appears on the verb, which indicates both the number and the person of the subject and the person of the object.

If the object is (2nd person) singular, it does not necessarily require a phonetic form (89a); moreover, this pro-drop is ideally preferred. The accusative case-marked pronoun, however, must not be phonetically empty (89b) if the verb (or its argument (of its argument...) (89b')) has a (2nd person) plural object. An interesting consequence of these facts is that the one-word sentence in (89c) is not ambiguous with respect to the number of the implicit object, in spite of the fact that the agreement morpheme on the verb would be compatible with a plural object.

(89) • Agreement in person: *-lak/-lek*

a. Szeret-*lek* (téged).
love-*2Obj.1Sg* you$_{Sg}$.Acc
'I love you$_{Sg}$.'

b. Szeret-*lek* titeket.
love-*2Obj.1Sg* you$_{Pl}$.Acc
'I love you$_{Pl}$.'

b'. Szeret-*lek* nézni (téged) / titeket.
love-*2Obj.1Sg* watch.Inf you$_{Sg}$.Acc / you$_{Pl}$.Acc
'I like watching you$_{Sg/Pl}$.'

c. Szeret-*lek.*
love-*2Obj.1Sg*
'I love you$_{Sg}$/*you$_{Pl}$.'

1.1.1.4.3. Agreement in number and case

In contrast to other modifiers of the head noun in Hungarian (e.g., adjectives, numerals, quantifiers), the distal and the proximal demonstrative pronoun modifiers (those that precede the definite article in a complete Hungarian noun phrase) show agreement in number and case with the head noun (90a-c). In addition to cases, even most postpositions—the "case-like" ones, which, *per definitionem*, case-mark their arguments nominatively—take part in this agreement (90d). The postpositions that assign non-empty cases do not take part in the agreement (90d'), but the cases assigned by them do (on the types of postpositions, see P2).

(90) • Agreement in number and case

a. *Az / Ez* a két zöld kabát és *az-ok /ez-ek* a kék kalap-*ok* szép-ek.
that / this the two green coat and *that-Pl /this-Pl* the blue hat-*Pl* beautiful-Pl
'*Those/These* two green coats and *those/these* blue hat*s* are beautiful.'

b. Megvesszük *az-t* / *ez-t* a két zöld kabát-*ot*
buy.DefObj.1Pl *that-Acc* / *this-Acc* the two green coat-*Acc*
és *az-ok-at* / *ez-ek-et* a kék kalap-*ok-at*?
and *that-Pl-Acc* / *this-Pl-Acc* the blue hat-*Pl-Acc*
'Do we buy *those/these* two green coat*s* and *those/these* blue hat*s*?'

c. Beszélhetnénk *ar-ról* / *er-ről* a két zöld kabát-*ról*
talk.Mod.Cond.1Pl *that-Del* / *this-Del* the two green coat-*Del*
és *az-ok-ról* / *ez-ek-ről* a kék kalap-*ok-ról*?
and *that-Pl-Del* / *this-Pl-Del* the blue hat-*Pl-Del*
'Could we talk *about those/these* two green coat*s* and *those/these* blue hat*s*?'

d. Vedd el a tollat *az* /*ez* **(alól)* a két zöld kabát *alól*,
take.Subj.DefObj.2Sg away the pen.Acc *that* / *this* *from_under* the two green coat *from_under*
és tedd *az-ok* / *ez-ek* **(alá)* a kék kalap-*ok* *alá*!
and put.Subj.DefObj.2Sg *that-Pl* / *this-Pl* *under* the blue hat-*Pl* *under*
'Take away the pen from *under those/these* two green coat*s*,
and put it *under those/these* blue hat*s*.'

d'. A házunk *ez-en* *(*túl)* a két patak-*on* *túl* van,
the house.Poss.1Pl *this-Sup* *over* the two creek-*Sup* *over* is
és *az-ok-on* *(*keresztül)* az erdő-*k-ön* *keresztül* érhető el.
and *that-Pl-Sup* *through* the forest-*Pl-Sup* *through* reachable away
'Our house is *over these* two creeks,
and it can be reached through *those* forest*s*.'

As can be seen in (91a,c) below, the agreement of the demonstrative pronoun modifier with the nominal head can extend to the possessor suffix ('Posr'), as well. This morpheme (*-é*) is used when the word that contains it refers to something/someone possessed by what the relative stem denotes (see (1d-f) in 1.1.1). Personal possessive suffixes (e.g., *-unk* 'Poss.1Pl' in (91a)), the associative plural suffix *-ék* (91b) (see 1.1.1.3.1), and the possessive plural *-i* (91c), however, do not take part in this complex agreement (Bartos 2000b: 704–708). It should be admitted, nevertheless, that even the optimal variants of the sentences below are somewhat artificial.

(91) ● Further aspects of agreement between demonstrative pronouns and the nominal head

a. Melyik cikk tetszik? **Az* / *✓Az-é* / **Az-unk-é* a kollégá-nk-*é*?
which article please.3Sg *that* / *that-Posr* / *that-Poss.1Pl-Posr* the colleague-Poss.1Pl-*Posr*
'Which article do you like? The article of *that* colleague of ours?'

b. Hová mész? (?)*Ah-hoz* / **Az-ék-hoz* / **Az-od-ék-hoz* a fia-d-ék-*hoz*?
where go.2Sg *that-All* / *that-Apl-All* / *that-Poss.2Sg-Apl-All* the son-Poss.2Sg-Apl-*All*
'Where will you go? To the family of *that* son of yours?'

c. Melyik két cikk tetszik?
which two article please.3Sg
**Az-é* / **Az-é-i* / ?*Az-ok-é* / **?Az-ok-é-i* a lány-*ok-é*-i?
that-Posr / *that-Posr-Pl* / *that-Pl-Posr* / *that-Pl-Posr-Pl* the girl-*Pl-Posr*-Pl
'Which two articles do you like? *Those* girls' articles?'

Both cases (and case-like postpositions) and the special possessor suffix *-é* , thus, can take part in the agreement between demonstrative pronouns and nominal heads. Does this mean that both can appear in the agreement at the same time?

(92) ● The role of *-é* 'Posr' in agreement between demonstrative pronouns and the nominal head

a. Melyik cikk tetszik? **Az* / ✓*Az-é* a lány-*é*?
which article please.3Sg *that* / *that-Posr* the girl-*Posr*
'Which article do you like? *That* girls' one?'

b. Melyik cikket fogadták el? **Az-t* / (?)*Az-é-t* a lány-*é-t*?
which article.Acc accept.DefObj.3Pl away *that-Acc*/*that-Posr-Acc* the girl-*Posr-Acc*
'Which article has been accepted? *That* girls' one?'

c. Melyik cikken akadtál ki? **Az-on* / ?*Az-é-n* a lány-*é-n*?
which article.Sup come_across.Past.2Sg out *that-Sup* / *that-Posr-Sup* the girl-*Posr-Sup*
'Which article stressed you out? *That* girls' one?'

c'. Melyik cikkhez szóltál hozzá? ??*Ah-hoz* / *?*Az-é-hoz* a lány-*é-hoz*?
which article.All say.Past.2Sg All.3Sg *that-All* / *that-Posr-All* the girl-*Posr-All*
'Which article did you make a comment on? *On that* girls' one?'

c''. Melyik cikkből van eleged? ??*Ab-ból* / *?*Az-é-ból* a lány-*é-ból*?
which article.Ela is enough.Poss.2Sg *that-Ela* / *that-Posr-Ela* the girl-*Posr-Ela*
'Which article are you fed up with? *With that* girls' one?'

d. Melyik cikk iránt érdeklődsz?
which article towards be_interested.2Sg
*?*Az* / **Az-é* *iránt* a lány-*é* *iránt*?
that / *that-Posr* towards the girl-*Posr* *towards*
'Which article are you interested in? *In that* girls' one?'

The data above show a worsening of the grammaticality judgments according to the weights of case markers. The phonetically null Nominative case (92a) produces a perfect sentence, while the Accusative case (92b) produces a somewhat worse result. As for the oblique cases, there is a significant difference between the Superessive *-n* (92c) and the other, phonetically heavier, oblique cases (92c'-c''), because the Superessive is the only oblique case that does not necessarily form a separate syllable (cf. *ha–jó* → *ha–jón* 'ship.Sup' *versus ha–jó–hoz* 'ship.All'). The postpositional demonstrative pronoun—furnished with *-é*—(92d) produces the worst result.

In our overview of the appropriately (case-) marked demonstrative pronouns without *-é*, we observed the following tendency: If a certain form of the demonstrative pronoun provided with *-é* is (rather) unacceptable in the given agreement relation, its counterpart without *-é* becomes (not well-formed but) less unacceptable. Even the best versions in (92c'-c''), however, are strange and artificial.

The last series of examples is intended to test the role played by the associative plural suffix *-ék* in the agreement between demonstrative pronouns and the nominal head. The starting point here will be an observation made by Bartos (2000b: 704–708) (illustrated by the sentence in (91b) above and repeated as (93c') below). As can be seen below, *-ék* never takes part in the agreement under investigation since versions of a demonstrative pronoun furnished with *-ék* are all totally unacceptable.

The (singular) versions exempt from *-ék*, however, are also more or less unacceptable. The best variant is the one with a demonstrative pronoun provided with a heavy oblique case (93c'-c") (cf. (93a,b,d)). This might have to do with the relative acceptability of the analogous examples in (92c'-c") above.

(93) ● The role of *-ék* 'Apl' in agreement between demonstrative pronouns and the nominal head

a. Kik jönnek látogatóba? **Az / *Az-ék / ??Az-ok* a fiad-*ék*?
who.Pl come.3Pl visit.Ill *that / that-Apl / that-Pl* the son.Poss.2Sg-*Apl*
'Who will pay us a visit? *That* son of yours and the others?'

b. Kiket vársz? **Az-t / *Az-ék-at / ??Az-ok-at* a fiad-*ék-at*?
who.Acc wait.2Sg *that-Acc / that-Apl-Acc / that-Pl-Acc* the son.Poss.2Sg-*Apl-Acc*
'Who are you waiting for? *That* son of yours and the others?'

c. Kiken akadtál ki? **?Az-on / *Az-ék-on /??Az-ok-on* a fiad-*ék-on*?
who.Pl.Sup occur.Past.2Sg out *that-Sup / that-Apl-Sup / that-Pl-Sup* the son.Poss.2Sg-*Apl-Sup*
'Who stressed you out? That son of yours and the others?'

c'. Kikhez megyünk? *(?)Ah-hoz / *Az-ék-hoz /?Az-ok-hoz* a fiad-*ék-hoz*?
who.Pl.All go.1Pl *that-All / that-Apl-All / that-Pl-All* the son.Poss.2Sg-*Apl-All*
'Who will we pay a visit? *That* son of yours and the others?'

c". Kikből van eleged? *(?)Ab-ból /*Az-ék-ból /?Az-ok-ból* a fiad-*ék-ből*?
who.Pl.Ela be.3Sg enough.Poss.2Sg *that-Ela / that-Apl-Ela / that-Pl-Ela* the son.Poss.2Sg-*Apl-Ela*
'Who are you fed up with? *With that* son of yours and the others?'

d. Kik iránt érdeklődsz? **Az / *Az-ék / ??Az-ok* a fiad-*ék iránt*?
who.Pl towards be_interested.2Sg *that / that-Apl / that-Pl* the son-*Apl towards*
'Who are you interested in? *In that* son of yours and the others?'

For the sake of completeness, the general plural versions of demonstrative pronouns (with *-(V)k*, instead of *-ék*) have also been tested in (93). To certain native speakers (but not to others), the plural form seems to be almost acceptable in the given agreement as a substitute for the associative plural *-ék*.

All in all, Hungarian has an agreement type whose prototypical (cross-linguistic) realization is such that an adjunct shows agreement with a nominal head in number, case and gender—but never in person, contrary to the other basic type of agreement, characterized by Lehmann (1988) as an agreement typically in person and number (and sometimes in gender) between heads and their arguments. The types of agreement discussed in subsections 1.1.1.4.1 and 1.1.1.4.2 obviously belong to the latter Lehmann-group of agreements, person being their decisive feature.

In the absence of gender in Hungarian grammar, the type of agreement discussed in this subsection (1.1.1.4.3) can pertain to number and case. One might think that in Hungarian an adjectival or a quantitative attribute shows an agreement like this (in number and case) with the nominal head, but that is not the case (see example (90) above). These attributes do not agree with the nominal head in any feature. Only the above-mentioned two demonstrative pronouns *ez* 'this' and *az* 'that' and two rather old-fashioned variants, *emez* 'this one over here' and *amaz* 'that one over there', take part in an agreement like this (see also Szépe 1964).

1.1.1.5. The internal structure of Hungarian nouns

Two tables on morphotactics will conclude our long review on Hungarian nouns and their crucial internal features. These work like the genes which are hidden deeply inside the individuals but which determine the species formed by these individuals: they determine how words and their phrases are to participate in grammatical relations such as grammatical function, argument relations, information-structural functions, word order, intonational patterns, or categorial relationships among nominal phrase types—linguistic phenomena principally relevant also to syntacticians. These phenomena were investigated on almost each single page of subsection 1.1.1.

Table 16 below shows an exhaustive template of the Hungarian noun, based on Kiefer (2000a). Capital letters in the representation of morphemes indicate vowel alternations fundamentally regulated by the rules of vowel harmony (1.1.1.2).

Table 16: The template of Hungarian nouns

<table>
<tr><th>STEM</th><th>POS-
SESSED</th><th>NUMBER</th><th>POSS.
SUFFIX</th><th>POS-
SESSOR</th><th>NUMBER</th><th>CASE</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="12">barát
‘friend’</td><td rowspan="6">∅</td><td rowspan="3">∅</td><td rowspan="6">∅</td><td>∅</td><td>∅</td><td rowspan="12">-∅ [Nom]
-(V)t [Acc]
-nAk [Dat]
-vAl [Ins]
-ért [Cau]
-vÁ [TrE]
-bAn [Ine]
-(V)n [Sup]
-nÁl [Ade]
-rA [Sub]
-rÓl [Del]
-bA [Ill]
-bÓl [Ela]
-hOz [All]
-tÓl [Abl]
-ig [Ter]
(-ként [For])
(-Ul [Mod])</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">-é
[Posr]</td><td>∅</td></tr>
<tr><td>-i/-k [Pl]</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">-(V)k
[Pl]</td><td>∅</td><td>∅</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">-é</td><td>∅</td></tr>
<tr><td>-i/-k</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">-((j)A)
[Poss]</td><td rowspan="3">∅</td><td rowspan="4">-(V)m
[1Sg]
-(V)d
[2Sg]
-∅ [3Sg]
-(U)nk
[1Pl]
-(V)tOk
[2Pl]
-Uk [3Pl]</td><td>∅</td><td>∅</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">-é</td><td>∅</td></tr>
<tr><td>-i/-k</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">-i
[Pl]</td><td rowspan="3">-m [1Sg]
-d [2Sg]
-∅ [3Sg]
-nk [1Pl]
-tOk [2Pl]
-k [3Pl]</td><td rowspan="2">∅</td><td rowspan="2">∅</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">-é</td></tr>
<tr><td>∅</td><td>-i/-k</td></tr>
</table>

The series of examples below illustrates how to understand and use this table.

(94) ● Illustration of Hungarian morphotactics
  a. [stem]+∅+[Pl]+∅+∅+∅+[Ela]: *barát-ok-ból* ‘from friends’
  b. [stem]+[Poss]+[Pl]+[3Pl]+∅+∅+[Del]: *barát-a-i-k-ról* ‘about their friends’
  c. [stem]+[Poss]+∅+[1Sg]+[Posr]+∅+[Sup]: *barát-om-é-n* ‘on that of my friend’
  d. [stem]+[Poss]+∅+[1Pl]+[Posr]+[Pl]+[Sup]: *őr-ünk-é-i-n* ‘on those of our guards’
  e. [stem]+∅+∅+∅+[Posr]+[Pl]+[Posr]+[Acc]: *Ili-é-k-é-t* ‘that$_{\text{Acc}}$ of Ili and the others’
  f. [stem]+[Poss]+[Pl]+[1Sg]+[Posr]+[Pl]+[Posr]+[Pl]+...+[Del]:
  barát-a-i-m-é-i-é-i-...-ról ‘about those of... those of my friends’
  g. [stem]+∅+∅+∅+[Posr]+[Pl]+[Posr]+[Pl]+[Nom]: **Ili-é-i-é-k*
  Intended meaning: ‘Ili’s, say, friends, and the others’

Let us only make a remark on the last, ill-formed, example (94g). It conforms to the given morphotactical rules, because we have inserted the associative plural suffix *-ék* ‘Apl’ in the system as a combination of the possessor suffix *-é* and the general plural suffix *-(V)k* (see (94d) and (94e)), as can be seen in Table 16 above. We cannot attribute the ill-formedness of the potential word given in (94g) to the iteration of the [[Posr]+[Pl]] combination (see (94f) and (1f) in 1.1.1.1). The ill-formedness here must be credited to the specificity restrictions on the associative plural suffix *-ék* discussed in 1.1.1.3.1.

> Remark 4. The interested reader is offered an even more detailed, diachronic, decomposition of Hungarian pronouns, which shows each tiny element taking part in number and person agreement between the verb and its two distinguished arguments, the subject and the object (P. Hajdú 1989: 140–144).

Table 17: A diachronic analysis of person and number features in agreement

↓S/O→	SG1	SG2	SG3	PL1	PL2	PL3
SG1	lát-om mag-am(-at) see-1_{Def} self-1(-Acc) 'I see myself.'	lát-l-ak (tég-ed) see-2-1 you-2 'I see you_{Sg}.'	lát-om ő-t see-1_{Def} (s)he-Acc 'I see her/him.'	lát-om mag-un-k-at see-1_{Def} self-1-Pl-Acc 'I see ourselves.'	lát-l-ak ti-t-ek-et see-2-1 you-2-Pl-Acc 'I see you_{Pl}.'	lát-om ő-k-et see-1_{Def} (s)he-Pl-Acc 'I see them.'
SG2	lát-sz eng-em see-2 I-1 'You_{Sg} see me.'	lát-od mag-ad(-at) see-2_{Def} self-2(-Acc) 'You_{Sg} see yourself.'	lát-od ő-t see-2_{Def} (s)he-Acc 'You_{Sg} see her/him.'	lát-sz mi-n-k-et see-2 we-1-Pl-Acc 'You_{Sg} see us.'	lát-od mag-at-ok-at see-2_{Def} self-2-Pl-Acc 'You_{Sg} see yourselves'	lát-od ő-k-et see-2_{Def} (s)he-Pl-Acc 'You_{Sg} see them.'
SG3	lát eng-em see I-1 '(S)he sees me.'	lát tég-ed see you-2 '(S)he sees you_{Sg}.'	lát-ja mag-á-t see-Def self-3-Acc '(S)he sees her/himself.' / lát-ja ő-t see-Def (s)he-Acc '(S)he sees him/her.'	lát mi-n-k-et see we-1-Pl-Acc '(S)he sees us.'	lát ti-t-ek-et see you-2-Pl-Acc '(S)he sees you_{Pl}.'	lát-ja mag-uk-at see-Def self-Pl-Acc '(S)he sees th'selves.' / lát-ja ő-k-et see-Def (s)he-Pl-Acc '(S)he sees them.'
PL1	lát-un-k eng-em see-1-Pl I-1 'We see me.'	lát-un-k tég-ed see-1-Pl you-2 'We see you_{Sg}.'	lát-j-uk ő-t see-Def-Pl (s)he-Acc 'We see him/her.'	lát-j-uk mag-un-k-at see-Def-Pl self-1-Pl-Acc 'We see ourselves.'	lát-un-k ti-t-ek-et see-1-Pl you-2-Pl-Acc 'We see you_{Pl}.'	lát-j-uk ő-k-et see-Def-Pl (s)he-Pl-Acc 'We see them.'
PL2	lát-t-ok eng-em see-2-Pl I-1 'You_{Pl} see me.'	–	lát-já-t-ok ő-t see-Def-2-Pl (s)he-Acc 'You_{Pl} see her/him.'	lát-t-ok mi-n-k-et see-2-Pl we-1-Pl-Acc 'You_{Pl} see us.'	lát-já-t-ok mag-at-ok-at see-Def-2-Pl self-2-Pl-Acc 'You_{Pl} see yourselves.'	lát-já-t-ok ő-k-et see-Def-2-Pl (s)he-Pl-Acc 'You_{Pl} see them.'
PL3	lát-n-ak eng-em see-3-Pl I-1 'They see me.'	lát-n-ak tég-ed see-3-Pl you-2 'They see you_{Sg}.'	– / lát-j-á-k ő-t see-Def-3-Pl (s)he-Acc 'They see her/him.'	lát-n-ak mi-n-k-et see-3-Pl we-1-Pl-Acc 'They see us.'	lát-n-ak ti-t-ek-et see-3-Pl you-2-Pl-Acc 'They see us.'	lát-j-á-k mag-uk-at see-Def-3-Pl self-Pl-Acc 'They see th'selves.' / lát-j-á-k ő-k-et see-Def-3-Pl (s)he-Pl-Acc 'They see them.'

We would like to call attention to two interesting points in Table 17 above. The examples in (i) below demonstrate three components: the 1Sg agreement marker *-(V)k*, the 2Sg agreement marker *-(V)l*, and the general plural suffix *-(V)k*. These are combined in a different way in (ii) below. In example (ii) the synchronic agreement suffix *-lak* is a combination of exactly the two previously mentioned 1Sg and 2Sg agreement markers, which indicate 1Sg subject and 2nd person object.

(i) Tévét néz-*ek* / néz-*el* / *néz-ün-k*.
tv.Acc watch-*1Sg* / watch-*2Sg* / watch-*1-Pl*
'[I am] / [You are] / [We are] watching tv.'

(ii) Néz-l-ek ti-t-ek-et.
watch-2-1Sg you-2-Pl-Acc
'I am watching you_{Pl}.'

As for the object in example (ii) above, it is worth mentioning the double appearance of reference to 2nd person. As if the object in question were 'your you', with an underspecified version of 'you' with respect to number, which is encoded by the general plural suffix *-(V)k* in this word form. Verb-object agreement, thus, may be accompanied by the triple appearance of the person feature in Hungarian.

The other point worth mentioning is the defective nature of the paradigm, illustrated below in (iv). This example should be compared to the one in (iii) below, which is well-formed in spite of its rather strange meaning. It is inconceivable, thus, why the construction in (iv), with an analogous structure and meaning, is fully unacceptable.

(iii) Eng-em lát-un-k a képen.
I-1Sg see-1-Pl the picture.Sup
'It is me that we can see in the picture.'

(iv) *Tég-ed lát-t-ok a képen.
you-2Sg see-2-Pl the picture.Sup
Intended meaning: 'It is you_{Sg} that you_{Pl} can see in the picture.'

1.1.2. The internal structure of the noun phrase

This subsection will discuss the overall internal structure of the noun phrase. We will distinguish two syntactic domains. The first domain, which we will call the NP-domain, is headed by the noun. The second domain is the determining domain, which is the place of articles, numerals, demonstrative pronouns and other determining elements. We will discuss these two domains in 1.1.2.1 and 1.1.2.2, respectively. Subsection 1.1.2.3 is devoted to a brief discussion of adjectival (participial) and other modifiers of the noun phrase. This subsection will be concluded with a summary of "regular" word orders within the noun phrase and with some remarks on alternative, "irregular", word-order variants (1.1.2.4).

1.1.2.1. The NP-domain

The NP-domain consists of the head noun, its complement(s) and its modifier(s). As for the sometimes obscure relation between complements and modifiers, on the one hand, and arguments and adjuncts, on the other, it is captured in this book as follows. Argumenthood is taken to be a close lexical-semantic relationship between heads and certain dependents (as will be thoroughly discussed in subsection 2.1.2), as a consequence of which the given dependents tend to occupy syntactic positions closer to the head than adjuncts do; the syntactic positions in question will be referred to as complements, and their (continuous) series as complement zones. The fine theoretical difference between the lexical-semantic concept of argumenthood

and the syntactic concept of complementhood can also be clarified by claiming (in advance, cf. 2.1.2) that a complement is inevitably an argument but an argument can also appear as a modifier (2.2) or as an expression extracted from its noun phrase. An adjunct, however, never appears as a complement but appears as a modifier in its noun phrase (see 2.2.1.1.1, for instance). Note in passing that it also occurs in the literature that what we call a complement zone is referred to as 'complement'; the reason for this is that in many sophisticated syntactic frameworks only binary branching is accepted (Kayne 1994), and hence a complement zone consists of a single complement.

The NP-domain is assumed to be as indicated in (95a), but we will often use the less specified structure demonstrated in (95b) or some even more simplified labeling, in order to remain as theory-independent as possible.

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

The first series of examples (96) demonstrates the five positions in the NP-domain from the center outward, where the center is the *italicized* noun head (96a). Then (96b) and (96b') show the "appearance" of a prenominal and a postnominal complement, respectively, in the internal NP-zone according to (95a). Finally, (96c) and (96c') exemplify a prenominal modifier position and a postnominal modifier position, outside the internal NP-zone, as is shown in (95a), too.

(96) ● 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'

Here in this series of examples the head is a deverbal noun (*érkezés* 'arrival'). Due to the deverbal character of the head, the first extension in (96b) pertains to a position—the prenominal one left-adjacent to the noun head—whose status is far from trivial (Laczkó 1995: 125–154). Nevertheless, it is not by accident that we have started with this non-prototypical position since it is "closer" to the noun than other positions. 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. An

[argument + 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 "argument" 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 (see (97a)). We are practically speaking about the intonational pattern of the often-discussed [preverb + verb stem] unit ((97b); see also (100h) below):

(97) ● Stress pattern of the unit of a verb and the expression left-adjacent to it

a. Emlékszel? 'Váratlanul [*'Pestre* érkezett] a 'fiad '1992-ben.
remember.2Sg unexpectedly *Pest.Sub* arrive.Past.3Sg the son.Poss.2Sg 1992-Ine
'Do you remember? In 1992, your son unexpectedly arrived *in Pest*.'

b. Emlékszel? 'Váratlanul [*'el*-utazott] a 'fiad '1992-ben.
remember.2Sg unexpectedly *away*-travel.Past.3Sg the son.Poss.2Sg 1992-Ine
'Do you remember? Your son unexpectedly set *off* in 1992.'

c. [*'Tanárnak* készült], de [*'fia* született], ezért [*'újságot* árul].
teacher.Dat prepare.Past.3Sg but *son.Poss.3Sg* be_born.Past.3Sg so *newspaper.Acc* sell
'He wanted to be *a teacher*, but then he had *a son*, so now he is selling *newspapers*.'

The given prenominal position left-adjacent to the verbal or nominal head can often be characterized by "reduced" complementhood because it tends to lose its referential power (and to gain some predicative power), as is shown in (97c) above by the italicized bare noun phrases.

We believe, nevertheless, that this prenominal complement position is worth taking into account if we intend to obtain a complete picture of the distribution of arguments of nominal (and verbal) heads (with respect to word order). The reader should feel free to adapt his/her chosen framework to account for data like these.

Our task is to review the Hungarian language using an ultimately language-independent strategy, which may, for the most part, be based upon a universal pragmatico-semantics. In the given area, this universal basis lies with the fact that a head typically has lexically selected "dependents". In this light, our task is to observe all forms of syntactic appearances of these dependents, while at the same time to thoroughly describe their limitations and the restrictions concerning these appearances. By doing so, we intend to provide a solid empirical basis for potential theory-dependent categorizations and accounts.

Let us return to (96b') above, which illustrates the "appearance" of a postnominal complement in the form of a dative case-marked noun phrase that shows (partial) agreement with the head in person and number (see Table 14 in 1.1.1.4.1). This agreement is to be regarded as an indication of a relation between a head and its "designated" lexically selected argument (Lehmann 1988). The example in (99b) below will demonstrate another type of relation between a dative case-marked noun phrase and a head that shows agreement with it in person and number. The former relation is "inherited" from the relation of a verb to its subject argument (97a), while the latter relation is what is discussed in *SoD-NP* (2.2.5) as the relation between a possessor complement and a *story/picture* noun. Our corresponding Chapter 2 on Hungarian will provide numerous structured series of relevant data which enable the reader to make a decision about the lexical semantic and syntactic status of various kinds of dative dependents of noun heads in their chosen framework.

Example (96c) above illustrates the prototypical prenominal modifier: an attributive adjectival phrase. Example (96c') ends this series with the illustration of a postnominal modifier, which happens to be an oblique case-marked noun phrase.

The following series of examples in (98) below is intended to show that the basic structure proposed in (95a) above can also be applied to noun phrases with non-deverbal noun heads. In (98b) the stressed syllables are marked in order to demonstrate that the proper name (*Szabolcsi*) might be construed as one which occupies a prenominal complement position, similar to the proper name (*Pest*) in (96b) above. Note that this similarity does not mean that in a specific syntactic theory these two positions left-adjacent to the N head should necessarily be defined by exactly the same syntactic configuration.

Example (98b) also illustrates the extension of the head with a complement in the postnominal direction (cf. (96b')).

(98) ● The general structure of the NP-domain with a non-deverbal noun as its head

a. egy [$_{NP}$ *cikk*]
a *paper*
'a *paper*'

b. egy [$_{NP}$ 'Szabolcsi-*cikk* a 'DP-ről]
a Szabolcsi-*paper* the DP-Del
'a *paper* by Szabolcsi about DP'

c. egy [$_{NP}$ jelentős [$_{NP}$ Szabolcsi-*cikk* a DP-ről] a 80-as évekből]
a significant Szabolcsi-*paper* the DP-Del the 80-Adj year.Pl.Ela
'a significant *paper* by Szabolcsi about DP from the eighties'

Here the postnominal complement is not a dative case-marked noun phrase, but another type of oblique noun phrase that shows no agreement with the noun head. After this, example (98c) illustrates a further extension of the structure with two modifiers here also in two directions according to the basic structure in (95a) above.

Now let us scrutinize the two complement positions and then the two modifier positions to see what phrasal categories are suitable to occupy them.

We claim on the basis of Alberti (1997) that a postnominal complement position is prototypically occupied by a referential noun phrase (99b). As is shown below, however, practically almost all categories of phrases can occupy the position in question, obviously depending on the particular deverbal noun head. The following categories appear in postnominal complement positions, respectively: referential and bare noun phrases (99b-c), postpositional, adjectival, adverbial (or converbial) and infinitival phrases (99d-g). As for adjectival participial phrases (99e'), they cannot readily occupy postnominal complement positions. As is shown below, more than one phrase can occupy postnominal complement positions, and they can be of the same category (99b,e) or of different categories (99d').

(99) ● Categories of postnominal complements

a. [$_{NP}$ ... [$_{NP}$ ... N ... *Complement(s)*] ...]

b. egy [$_{NP}$ cikke [$_{DP}$ *Szabolcsinak*] [$_{DP}$ *a DP-ről*]]
a paper *Szabolcsi.Dat* *the DP-Del*
'a paper *by Szabolcsi about DP*'

c. a majmok [$_{NP}$ etetése [$_{NP}$ *banánnal*]]
the monkey.Pl feeding.Poss.3Sg *banana.Ins*
'feeding monkeys *with bananas*'

d. [$_{NP}$ érdeklődés [$_{PP}$ *a főnevek iránt*]]
interest *the noun.Pl towards*
'interest *in nouns*'

d'. a heves [$_{NP}$ érdeklődése [$_{DP}$ *annak az új diáknak*] [$_{PP}$ *a főnevek iránt*]]
the eager interest.Poss.3Sg *that.Dat the new student.Dat the noun.Pl towards*
'*that new student's* eager interest *in nouns*'

e. a hinták [$_{NP}$ átfestése [$_{AP}$ *zöldről*] [$_{AP}$ *pirosra*]]
the swing.Pl repainting.Poss.3Sg *green.Del red.Sub*
'the repainting of the swings *red from green*'

e'. ??a ház [$_{NP}$ átalakítása [$_{PartP}$ *Marinak tetszőre*]]
the house rebuilding.Poss.3Sg *Mari.Dat please.Part.Sub*
'the rebuilding of the house *into one that pleases Mari*'

f. az e egyenes [$_{NP}$ elhelyezése [$_{AdvP}$ *merőlegesen*$_{Adv}$ *az f egyenesre*]]
the e line placement.Poss.3Sg *perpendicular.Adv the f line.Sub*
'the placement of line e *perpendicular to line f*'

f'. az e egyenes [$_{NP}$ elhelyezése [$_{ConvP}$ *tengelyesen tükrözve*]]
the e line placement.Poss.3Sg *axially reflect.Conv*
'the placement of line e *by axially reflecting it*'

g. a [$_{NP}$ legalkalmasabb [$_{NP}$ idő [$_{InfP}$ *öntözni*]]]
the most_suitable time *pour.Inf*
'the most suitable time *to irrigate*'

h. az a [$_{NP}$ meglepő [$_{NP}$ kijelentés [$_{CP}$ *hogy ez egy vonzat*]]]
that the surprising statement *that this an argument*
'the surprising statement *that this is an argument*'

As for the last example in (99h), the status of the subordinate clause is theory-dependent. Here it is held to be a lexically selected argument of the noun head *kijelentés* 'statement', because the subordinate clause (CP) can play the role of the object of the corresponding verb *kijelent* 'state'. One might hold this subordinate clause to be a restrictive postnominal modifier, similar to the subordinate clause shown in (104g) below. This latter analysis, however, cannot account for the difference in argument-taking capacity between the words 'state(ment)' (99h) and 'son' (104g): only the former can take an argument that refers to a situation to be expressed by a subordinate clause.

It also holds for the prenominal complement position that practically almost all categories of phrases can occupy it. This is also due to the above-mentioned reason: the noun head can be deverbal; and Hungarian verbs—as well as the deverbal nominals derived from them—can be immediately preceded by complements of the following categories: referential (100b) or bare noun phrases (100c,c'), and postpositional, adjectival, adverbial (participial) or infinitival phrases (100d-g), as is illustrated below. Note in passing that adjectival participial phrases cannot occupy the prenominal complement position (100e').

In connection with (100c,c'), it is worth recalling the discussion concerning (96b) about the compound-word problem on the syntax–morphology interface.

There is a difference between the [argument + noun] units in (100c,c'): (100c) is even more compound-word like than (100c') because in (100c) the (accusative) case-marking associated with the object of the input verb (*kutyá-t sétáltat* 'dog-Acc walk') is not retained in the output [argument + noun] unit, while in (100c') the input case-marking is retained (*sarok-ba gurít* 'corner-Ill roll').

(100) ● Categories of prenominal complements

a. [$_{NP}$ ... [$_{NP}$ *Complement* N ...] ...]

b. a [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ *Pestre*] érkezés]
the *Pest.Sub* arrival
'the arrival *in Pest*'

c. a [$_{NP}$ tegnapi [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *kutya-*] sétáltatás]
the yesterday.Adj *dog* walking
'the walking of *the dogs* yesterday'

c'. a labda [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *sarokba*] gurítása]
the ball *corner.Ill* rolling.Poss.3Sg
'the rolling of the ball *into a corner*'

d. a labda [$_{NP}$ [$_{PP}$ *pad alá*] gurítása]
the ball *bench to_under* rolling.Poss.3Sg
'the rolling of the ball *under a bench*'

e. a hinták [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ *pirosra*] festése]
the swing.Pl *red.Sub* painting.Poss.3Sg
'the painting of the swings *red*'

e'. *?a ház [$_{NP}$ [$_{PARTP}$ *Marinak tetsz-ő-re*] alakítása]
the house *Mari.Dat please-Part-Sub* rebuilding.Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'the rebuilding of the house *into one that pleases Mari*'

f. ?az [$_{NP}$ [$_{ADVP}$ *udvariasan*] bánás a vendégekkel]
the *politely* treating the guest.Pl.Ins
'treating guests *in a polite manner*'

f'. az [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ *udvarias*] [$_{NP}$ bánásmód a vendégekkel]]
the *polite* treatment the guest.Pl.Ins
'the *polite* treatment of guests'

f''. az üzlet [$_{NP}$ [$_{CONVP}$ *nyitva*] [$_{NP}$ tartása]]
the shop *open.Conv* keeping.Poss.3Sg
'the opening hours of the shop'

g. az [$_{NP}$ örökös [$_{NP}$ [$_{INFP}$ *győzni*] akarás]]
the eternal *win.Inf* will
'the eternal desire *to win*'

h. a könyv [$_{NP}$ *el* (nem) olvasása]
the book *away* not reading.Poss.3Sg
'the (non-) reading of the book'

Note in passing that an adverbial preverbal complement is not readily inherited by the corresponding deverbal nominal head (100f). The reason is presumably in connection with the fact that the role played by an adverb (*udvarias-an* 'polite-ly') as an argument of a verb is played by the corresponding adjectival modifier (*udvarias* 'polite') in the phrase of the deverbal nominal corresponding to the verb (100f'). In contrast to (100f), a converb is "inherited" in an intact form when a

deverbal nominal phrase is derived (100f"). This is presumably due to the absence of an adjectival (relative) stem within the morphological structure of the given adverbial participle.

Example (100h) illustrates the use of the preverb. The preverb is in the same preverbal position left-adjacent to the verbal head as the discussed phrases in (100b-g), but it is not clear whether it can be regarded as a lexically selected argument of a nominal head, or another status is to be attributed to it, and if so, what status? The example (100h) also shows that it is not impossible to separate it from the deverbal nominal (although their order cannot be interchanged).

All in all, the analogy suggests that the preverb occupies the prenominal complement position in (100h) above, but its argumenthood is questionable.

In (100) above, the noun head is always a deverbal noun, and the phrase that occupies the prenominal complement position is the same as the phrase that could occupy the corresponding (preverbal complement) position belonging to the corresponding verb. The occupiability of the position in question, thus, was due to the verbal origin of the noun head. The question arises whether this position can host phrases of the same categories if the noun head is non-deverbal.

It is left to further research to give a general answer to this question. The examples in (101) below are to be regarded as analogous to those in (100) above in that there are [stressed argument + unstressed noun head] phonological units in their centers. The argument status of the first component of this unit can be argued for as follows: The construction can be formed by putting in the given prenominal position an expression which, otherwise, could occupy a postnominal complement position—namely, that of a possessor (see, e.g., (99b) above). Examples (101b-c') serve as illustrations.

(101) ● Prenominal complements of non-deverbal nominal heads?

a. [$_{NP}$ ... [$_{NP}$ *Complement* N ...] ...]

b. egy [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ *'Szabolcsi-*] cikk]
a *Szabolcsi-* paper
'a paper *by Szabolcsi*'

b'. az 'egyik [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ *'Fonda-*] unoka]
the one_of *Fonda-* grandchild
'a grandchild *of Fonda's*'

c. egy [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *'nyelvész-*] disszertáció]
a *linguist-* dissertation
'a dissertation *of a linguist*'

c'. egy [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *'milliomos-*] unoka]
a *millionaire-* grandchild
'a grandchild *of a millionaire*'

d. 'Ili [$_{NP}$ 'kedvenc [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ '*Szabolcsi-*] cikke]]
Ili favorite *Szabolcsi-* article.Poss.3Sg
'Ili's favorite article *by Szabolcsi'*

d'. 'Kanada [$_{NP}$ 'kedvenc [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ '*milliomos-*] unokája]]
Canada favorite *millionaire-* grandchild.*Poss.3Sg*
'Canada's favorite grandchild *of a millionaire*'

Despite the fact that a potential possessor is expressed as a prenominal complement-like constituent, the resulting construction is such that no possessive agreement is triggered on the head noun. And, as this is not a possessive construction any longer, it is possible to add a new possessor to it, yielding such complex constructions as those shown in (101d-d') above.

Two types of noun heads are illustrated in (101) above: the primeless examples feature noun heads that belong to the *story/picture* type while the primed ones feature noun heads that belong to the type of relational nouns. *SoD-NP* (Chapter 2) classifies (only) these two types of non-deverbal nouns as complement-taking ones, besides the genuinely argument-taking deverbal nouns. As for the DP labels in the (b)-examples and the NP labels in the (c)-examples in the prenominal complement positions, they do not necessarily stand for the factual categories of the nominal expressions in question but refer to the categories of the "potential" possessors that could substitute for them. Obviously, the categorial status of the prenominal complement can be found at a syntax-morphology interface the analysis of which is highly theory-dependent but is worth much future research, in view of the intriguing questions about its reduced complement status, among others.

Note in passing that the prenominal complement position seems to host only one argument. There can be found, nevertheless, a few potential counterexamples (102) (see also (631) in 1.4.2.1.3).

(102) ● More prenominal complement positions?

a. (?)A [$_{NP}$ tegnapi [$_{NP}$[$_{DP}$*Pécsről*] *([$_{DP}$*Pestre*]) utazás]] tovább tartott,
the yesterday.Adj *Pécs.Del* *Pest.Sub* travel longer last.Past.3Sg
mint a[$_{NP}$ keddi [$_{NP}$[$_{DP}$ *Pestről*] [$_{DP}$ *Pécsre*] utazás]].
than the Tuesday.Adj *Pest.Del* *Pécs.Sub* travel
'The travel *from Pécs to Pest* yesterday took more time
than the travel *from Pest to Pécs* on Tuesday.'

b. (?)Én az[$_{NP}$ azonnali [$_{NP}$[$_{NP}$ *légkondi-*] [*be-*]kapcsolás]] mellett vagyok!
I the prompt *air-conditioner* *into* switching for be.1Sg
'I am for (the idea of) turning *on the air-conditioning* right away.'

Example (102a) can be construed as a result of applying the grammatical operation shown in (100b) above either twice or once, but then to a special complex constituent that consists of two noun phrases. Example (102b) has been constructed by the combination of the grammatical operations shown in (100c,h), namely, the prenominal coexistence of a preverb and a caseless object. The theoretical status of these examples, however, highly depends on our assumptions concerning the role of lexicalization and the properties of the syntax–morphology interface. Any proposed explanation for (102a) should also account for the ill-formed alternative marked with the asterisk in the example.

Let us now turn to the modifier zone of the structure of the NP-domain as was specified in (95a) above. Restrictive modifiers can also be either pre- or postnominal.

The prenominal position is normally occupied by an attributive (adjectival) phrase or an adjectival participial phrase, as illustrated in (103b-b") below. It can be raised that (apposition-like) bare and referential noun phrases can also occupy this position (103c-d); note in passing that the phrasal status of the proper noun in

(103d) is questionable: it can be regarded either as a noun or as an obligatorily simplex noun phrase (see section 2.3). As is shown in (103e), the combination of these grammatical operations is also possible with the word-order restriction demonstrated (see also 1.1.2.3).

(103) ● Categories of prenominal modifiers

a. [$_{NP}$ *preN-modifiers* [$_{NP}$ ... N ...] ...]

b. a [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ *magas*]/ [$_{AttrP}$ *kreol bőrű*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the *tall* *creole skin.Attr* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your *tall / dark-skinned* friend'

b'. az [$_{NP}$ [$_{PartP}$ *Ilit Janinak bemutat-ó*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the *Ili.Acc Jani.Dat introduce-Part* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your friend *who introduced Ili to Jani*'

b''. az [$_{NP}$ [$_{PartP}$ *Ilinek bemutat-ott / bemutat-andó/ bemutat-ható*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the *Ili.Dat introduce-Part / introduce-Part / introduce-Part* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your friend *who [has been] / [should be] / [can be] introduced to Ili*'

c. a [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ (leendő) *építész*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the would_be *architect* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your (would-be) *architect* friend'

d. a [$_{NP}$ [*Havanecz Jóska*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the *Havanecz Jóska* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your friend *Jóska Havanecz*'

e. a te [$_{NP}$ [$_{PartP}$ *háromszor elvált*] [$_{AP}$ *csélcsap*] [$_{NP}$ *építész*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the you *three_times divorce.Part fickle architect* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your *three-times divorced fickle architect* friend (of your several architect friends)'

The postnominal modifier prototypically has the form of an oblique case-marked referential noun phrase (104b), or a postpositional phrase (104d), or a restrictive relative clause (104g).

(104) ● Categories of postnominal modifiers

a. [$_{NP}$ ... [$_{NP}$ ... N ...] *postN-modifiers*]

b. a kávé [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ elfogyasztása] [$_{DP}$ *a diófa árnyékában*]]
the coffee consumption.Poss.3Sg *the walnut_tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine*
'the consumption of coffee *in the shade of the walnut-tree*'

c. a kávé [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ elfogyasztása] [$_{NP}$ *barna cukorral*]]
the coffee consumption.Poss.3Sg *brown sugar.Ins*
'the consumption of coffee *with brown sugar*'

d. a kávé [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ elfogyasztása] [$_{PP}$ *a bőséges reggeli után*]]
the coffee consumption.Poss.3Sg *the substantial breakfast after*
'the consumption of coffee *after the substantial breakfast*'

e. a kávé [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ elfogyasztása] [[$_{AdvP}$ *tűzforrón*] *vagy* [$_{ConvP}$ *felmelegítve*]]]
the coffee consumption.Poss.3Sg *fire_hot.Adv or up.warm.Conv*
'having coffee *piping hot or warmed*'

f. a kávé [NP [NP elfogyasztása] [AdvP *jó forrón*] [NP *barna cukorral*]
the coffee consumption.Poss.3Sg *good hot.Adv brown sugar.Ins*
[DP *a diófa árnyékában*] [PP *a bőséges reggeli után*]]
the walnut_tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine the substantial breakfast after
'the consumption of coffee *very hot with brown sugar*
in the shade of the walnut-tree after the substantial breakfast'

g. az a [NP [NP fiad], [CP *amelyik tavaly elvált*]]
that the son.Poss.2Sg *who last_year divorce.Past.3Sg*
'that son of yours *who got divorced last year*'

It is not impossible, either, that a restrictive postnominal modifier appears in the form of a bare noun phrase (104c), of an adverbial or of a converbial phrase (104e). As is shown in (104f), these alternatives can also be combined.

Table 18 below serves as a summary of the observations made on the basis of (99-104) above about the categorial variations in the four positions in the structure of the NP-domain proposed in (95a) above.

Table 18: The distribution of categories in the NP-domain

	PREN MOD	PREN COMPL	POSTN COMPL	POSTN MOD
DP	✓	✓(✓)	✓✓	✓✓
NP	✓	✓(✓)	✓	✓
PP		✓	✓	✓✓
AP / ATTRP	✓✓	✓	✓	
PARTP	✓✓	*?	??	
ADVP		?	✓	✓
CONVP		✓	✓	✓
INFP		✓	✓	
CP			✓	✓✓
PREVERB		✓(✓)		

The double check-marks in the table refer to the prototypical categories filling the given positions. The special marking '✓(✓)' in the column of the prenominal complement refers to the fact that the corresponding constructions are quite frequent but their exact status (and category) in the syntax-morphology interface is uncertain and highly theory-dependent.

For our present purposes, this brief introduction to the internal structure of the NP suffices. An exhaustive discussion of complementation in NPs can be found in section 2.1. Modification in the NP is the topic of section 2.2, and it will also be extensively discussed in A4.1.

Semantically speaking, the internal NP-domain determines the denotation of the complete noun phrase. A noun like *cikk* 'article' can be said to denote a set of entities with certain properties. Complementation and modification of the noun involves modification of the set denoted by the noun phrase. The NP *Szabolcsi-cikk a DP-ről* 'paper by Szabolcsi about the DP' (98b), for example, denotes a subset of the set

denoted by *cikk* 'article'. And then the NP *jelentős Szabolcsi-cikk a DP-ről a 80-as évekből* 'significant paper by Szabolcsi about the DP from the eighties' (98c) denotes a subset of this latter set (the one denoted by *Szabolcsi-cikk a DP-ről* 'paper by Szabolcsi about the DP'). The NP-domain itself does not encode the fact that noun phrases are normally used as referring expressions; subsection 1.1.2.2 will show that this is the semantic function of the elements constituting the determining domain.

1.1.2.2. The determining domain of the noun phrase

This subsection will discuss the lexical elements that are found in what we call the determining domain; it will characterize the syntactic positions that these elements occupy and the semantic contribution that they make. The elements under discussion are determiners, quantifiers, numerals and demonstrative pronouns.

Remark 5. The corresponding subsection of *SoD-NP* proposes the following—reasonably simplified, underspecified and theory-independent—noun-phrase structure: a "predicative" internal NP-domain, the phrase of an N head, is surrounded by a "determining" DP-domain, the phrase of a D head.

In order to remain as theory-independent as possible, we will not adapt the concept of this kind of DP-domain to Hungarian, because there is no consensus in the Hungarian literature on the question whether the category of any referential noun phrase is a DP. Such seminal authors in the current Hungarian literature as Bartos (2000a, b) and É. Kiss (2000: 133, 2002: 155), for instance, do not agree with the simpler earlier assumption represented by Szabolcsi (1983, 1992, 1994) and by others (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992, Alberti and Medve 2002/2005) who opt for a D head even in the case of an indefinite noun phrase. That is why we speak of a "determining domain" instead of a DP-domain and remain neutral about its categorial status in certain cases.

The (i)- and (ii)-examples below sketch the relevant characteristics of the Szabolcsi-approach. A referential noun phrase is always held to be a DP. If it is definite, the D head is occupied by the definite article *a(z)* 'the' (i-i"); which, however, is allowed to be deleted (phonetically) in certain circumstances (1.2.1.2.1, sub C). Example (i') illustrates this latter possibility: a proper name in Hungarian may "delete" the article of its possessee (as well as its own article).

(i) Elolvasom [$_{DP}$ az$_D$ érdekes cikket].
read.DefObj.1Sg the interesting paper.Acc
'I will read the interesting paper.'

(i') Elolvasom [$_{DP}$ az$_D$ / ~~az~~$_D$ Anna érdekes cikkét].
read.DefObj.1Sg the / the Anna interesting paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I will read Anna's interesting paper.'

(i") Elolvasom [$_{DP}$ az$_D$ / *~~az~~$_D$ ő érdekes cikkét].
read.DefObj.1Sg the / the (s)he interesting paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I will read her interesting paper.'

(ii) Elolvasok [$_{DP}$ **O**$_D$ egy / négy érdekes cikket].
read.1Sg an / four interesting paper.Acc
'I will read an / four interesting paper(s).'

(ii') *Elolvasom / *Elolvasok [$_{DP}$ egy$_D$ Anna érdekes cikkét].
read.DefObj.1Sg / read.1Sg an Anna interesting paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc
intended meaning: 'I will read an interesting paper by Anna.'

(ii") Elolvasom [$_{DP}$ **O**$_D$ 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.'

(ii”’) [A(z) (te) egy fiad] többet evett,
the you one 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.’

If the noun phrase is referential but indefinite, a phonetically null element is assumed to occupy the D head, which (the D head itself, independent of its filler) is claimed to be indispensable for a noun phrase in order for it to function as a referential expression. Example (ii) above serves as an illustration, whereas the ill-formed word-order variant in (ii’) demonstrates that *egy* ‘a(n)/one’, which is traditionally held to be the Hungarian “indefinite article”, does not occupy the D head. The evidence lies with the fact that *egy* ‘a(n)’/’one’ cannot precede the nominative case-marked—or caseless?—possessor (compare (ii’) and (i’)), while the definite article *a(z)* ‘the’ cannot be preceded by this kind of possessor (see (ii’) above). Further evidence is provided in (ii”’) above: even the co-occurrence of *a(z)* ‘the’ and *egy* ‘one’ is allowed.

All in all, in the Szabolcsi-approach, a referential noun phrase is always headed by a D, and, hence, forms a DP. It is a secondary question what occupies this D position: the definite article *a(z)* ‘the’ (i,i’,i”), its phonetically deleted empty variant (i’), or the genuinely empty “indefinite article” **O** (ii,ii”). The word-order facts unequivocally show that the word *egy* can never occupy the D position, on the basis of which we commit ourselves to Szabolcsi and Laczkó’s (1992: 222–227) seminal position according to which *egy* is “only” a numeral. In the glosses, the translation ‘a(n)’ should be regarded as being associated with the combination ‘**O** + *egy*’, which indicates that the given nominal expression is an indefinite but not bare noun phrase (NB: the presence of what is construed as a numeral is required in Hungarian to indicate that the given nominal expression is not a bare noun (phrase)). Note in passing that in Hungarian there are also non-referential noun phrases. Examples (iii) and (iii’) below show the two types: ones underspecified in number (iii) and predicative ones (iii’).

(iii) Anna keddenként [$_{NP}$ cikket] ír.
Anna on_Tuesdays paper.Acc write.3Sg
‘Anna write papers on Tuesdays.’

(iii’) Ez [$_{NP}$ kiváló cikk] / [[$_{NP}$ kiváló cikknek] tűnik]!
this excellent paper / excellent paper.Dat seem.3Sg
‘This is an excellent paper. / This seems to be an excellent paper.’

Let us now turn to the alternative approach. The point of departure for Bartos (2000a) is the two kinds of conjugation in Hungarian: the verb is hypothesized to be sensitive to the category of its object. One of the conjugation types is assumed to indicate that the noun phrase in the object position is not a DP, but “only” an NP (see (iii) above), or “at most” a phrase headed by Num (NumP; see (iv) below).

(iv) Elolvasok [$_{NumP}$ egy$_{Num}$ / négy$_{Num}$ / minden$_{Num}$ érdekes cikket].
read.1Sg an / four / every interesting paper.Acc
‘I will read an / four / every interesting paper(s).’

(iv’) Elolvasom [$_{DP}$ (az) Anna (egy / négy) érdekes cikkét].
read.DefObj.1Sg the Anna an / four interesting paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc
‘I will read an / four interesting paper(s) by Anna.’

(iv”) Elolvasom [$_{DP}$ mindkét / mindegyik érdekes cikket].
read.DefObj.1Sg both / each interesting paper.Acc
‘I will read both / each interesting paper(s).’

The other conjugation is unambiguously assumed to indicate a DP in the object grammatical function, as is shown in (iv’-iv”) above. As for fillers of the D head in these and similar examples, elaborating on the exact details would go far beyond the scope of this book.

The series (v) below reviews the phrases that can form “noun phrases” in the syntax of Hungarian proposed in É. Kiss (2002: 153, 168–169), essentially relying on Bartos’s (2000a, b) morphological approach based upon Baker’s (1985) mirror principle.

(v) [$_{DemP}$ e [$_{NumP}$ két [$_{NP}$ cikk]]]
this two paper
'these two papers'

(v') [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ a+te$_i$ [$_{AgrP}$ ∅$_i$ [$_{Agr'}$-d$_{Agr}$ [$_{NumP}$ -i$_{Num}$ [$_{PossP}$ ∅$_i$ [$_{Poss'}$ -e$_{Poss}$ [$_{NP}$ cikk]]]]]]]
the+you$_{Sg}$ Sg2 Pl Poss paper
→ *a te cikk-e-i-d* 'your papers'

(v") [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [az+Anna$_i$]$_D$ [$_{QP}$mely [$_{NumP}$ -i$_{Num}$ [$_{PossP}$ ∅$_i$ [$_{Poss'}$ -e$_{Poss}$ [$_{NP}$cikk]]]]]]
the+Anna which Pl Poss paper
→ *az Anna mely cikk-e-i* 'which papers of Anna's'

(v''') [$_{DP}$ Annának$_i$ [$_{DP}$ a$_D$ [$_{NumP}$ -i$_{Num}$ [$_{PossP}$ ∅$_i$ [$_{Poss'}$ -e$_{Poss}$ [$_{NP}$cikk]]]]]]
Anna.Dat the Pl Poss paper
→ *Annának a cikk-e-i* 'Anna's papers'

Note in passing that what is regarded as an NP-domain in this book is essentially equal to the "clearly predicative" NP phrase of the Bartos/É. Kiss-approach. This choice ensures that the "NP-domain" in our terminology is the same as the "NP-domain" of *SoD-NP*. In the earlier mentioned Szabolcsi-approach, the NP can contain such determining elements as numerals and nominative case-marked possessors, as is shown in (vi) below:

(vi) Elolvasom [$_{DP}$ **O**$_D$ [$_{NP}$ Anna [$_{N'}$ egy [$_{N'}$ érdekes cikkét]]]].
read.DefObj.1Sg Anna an interesting paper.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I will read one of Anna's interesting papers.'

The structure of the determining domain of the Hungarian noun phrase is so complex that it is worth decomposing it into three parts, as is shown in (105a-c) below.

(105) ● 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]

One part (105c) is obviously the right periphery of the noun phrase, that is, the zone after the internal NP-domain. It will be referred to as the post-NP zone. The other two parts are the left periphery of the noun phrase before the NP-domain, divided into a zone consisting of the positions that precede the position of the definite article (105a) and into a zone which consists of the positions following it (105b). They will be referred to as the pre-D zone and the post-D zone, respectively. The post-D zone is almost the repetition of the pre-D zone since both contain a possessor position, a position for a universal determiner, and a position for a demonstrative pronoun, strictly in this order. The potential fillers of each position, however, are (predominantly) different from each other, as will be reviewed below. Another difference is that the domain following the D head also contains a position for numerals and can be enriched with further (typically adjectival) elements as well, which will be reviewed in the following subsection (1.1.2.3).

Note that referring to the nominative case of the possessor in the post-D zone in (105b) is rather theory-dependent since this possessor variant can also be analyzed as caseless (see the literature mentioned in Remark 5 above). Nevertheless, we use

the label '∅' (and the term *unmarked possessor*) in order to distinguish this possessor variant from the NAK possessor variant, without necessarily committing ourselves to the corresponding theoretical background.

The series of examples in (106) below demonstrates the positions in the pre-D zone (105a). Example (106b) shows the two basic "points of reference" in the Hungarian noun phrase: the NP-domain and the position of the definite article that precedes it; and then examples (106c-g) show three further positions that precede the position of the definite article.

(106) ● The pre-D zone of the determining domain

a. [[... NP ...]$_{NAK}$ ∀ DP$_{Dem}$ **D** ... [NP-domain] ...]

b. [a [$_{NP}$ játékokon]]
the toy.Pl.Sup
'on the toys'

c. [ezeken / azokon *(a) [$_{NP}$ játékokon]]
this.Pl.Sup/ that.Pl.Sup the toy.Pl.Sup
'on these/those toys'

d. [mind- *(ezeken / azokon) *(a) [$_{NP}$ játékokon]]
all this.Pl.Sup/ that.Pl.Sup the toy.Pl.Sup
'on all of these/those toys'

d'. [mind *(a) hét [$_{NP}$ játékon]]
all the seven toy.Sup
'on all the seven toys'

e. [Ilinek (ezeken / azokon / mind-ezeken/ mind-azokon) *(a) [$_{NP}$ játékain]]
Ili.Dat this.Pl.Sup/ that.Pl.Sup / all-this.Pl.Sup / all-that.Pl.Sup the toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Sup
'on the / these / those / [all these] / [all those] toys of Ili's'

f. [Ilinek *(azokon) a [$_{NP}$ játékain, [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]]
Ili.Dat that.Pl.Sup the toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'on the toys of Ili's that she got from me'

f'. [mind-azokon a [$_{NP}$ játékokon, [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]]
all-that.Pl.Sup the toy.Pl.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'on all the toys that she got from me'

f''. Nevettek [(azokon) a [$_{NP}$ játékokon, [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]].
laugh.Past.2Pl that.Pl.Sup the toy.Pl.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'They laughed at the toys that she got from me.'

g. [Ilinek (*azokon) a [$_{NP}$ játékain], [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]
Ili.Dat that.Pl.Sup the toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'on Ili's toys, which she got from me'

A (distal or proximal) demonstrative pronoun can immediately precede the definite article (106c). As the example presents, the pronoun agrees with the noun head in number and case. The asterisk signals the fact that the immediate combination of a noun head and a demonstrative pronoun in this position does not result in a well-formed noun phrase; the presence of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' is minimally required.

The (d)-examples in (106) above illustrate the position that immediately precedes the position of the demonstrative pronouns. Nothing else but a single phonetic form of universal determiners, *mind* 'each', can occupy this particular

position. The combination of a noun head and a universal quantifier-determiner in this position does not result in a well-formed noun phrase; that is why these strings are marked with asterisks. The presence of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' is required, in addition to either a demonstrative pronoun (106d) or a numeral in the post-D zone ((106d'); cf. (107d')).

The leftmost position of the Hungarian noun phrase can be occupied by nothing else but a possessor, which is obligatorily case-marked by *-nAk*. It cannot be decided in this theory-independent discussion whether this case is the dative case or the genitive case (coinciding with the dative), or it is a special marker (e.g., Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992). In order to remain as theory-independent as possible, we will call the variant of the possessor in question the NAK possessor.

As is indicated in example (106e) above, the combination of a noun head and a NAK possessor in the position in question does not result in a well-formed noun phrase. A construction like this (without the definite article) sounds very archaic. In present-day Hungarian, the presence of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' is required. The presence of a universal and/or a demonstrative element, however, is not required. Their appearance can be captured by the rules mentioned above in connection with examples (106b-d'), and it is independent of the possessive construction which consists of a NAK possessor, a definite article and a noun head.

The (f)- and (g)-examples in (106) above illustrate the role of the distal demonstrative pronoun in an NP with clausal subordination. The appearance of a restrictive relative clause in the NP-domain makes the presence of a distal demonstrative pronoun obligatory, at least in the company of the NAK possessor or a universal determiner (106f-f'). Otherwise, as is shown in (106f''), the restrictive interpretation of the relative clause does not necessarily require the presence of a distal demonstrative pronoun; its presence, thus, is optional in such cases.

As is demonstrated in (106g), however, if the relative clause is interpreted as non-restrictive, the distal demonstrative pronoun in question is not allowed to be present in the noun phrase.

The series of examples in (107) below demonstrates the positions in the post-D zone (105b) before the NP-domain. Example (107b) shows the position of numerals immediately left-adjacent to the NP-domain (and after the position of the definite article).

Then examples (107c-g) show the three post-D positions between that of the numeral and that of the definite article which have been claimed to correspond to the three pre-D positions discussed in (106c-g) above.

(107) ● The post-D zone of the determining domain

a. [... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ∀ DetP_{Dem} NumP [NP-domain] ...]

b. [a hét [$_{\text{NP}}$ játékon]]
the seven toy.Sup
'on the seven toys'

c. [(*az) e / ezen / eme / ama / azon [$_{\text{NP}}$ játékokon]]
the this / this / this / that / that toy.Pl.Sup
'on these/those toys'

d. [a *(tegnap kapott) mindegyik [$_{NP}$ játékon]]
the yesterday get.Part each toy.Sup
'on each toy (someone got yesterday)'

d'. [mind- két / három / *négy [$_{NP}$ játékon]]
all two / three / four toy.Sup
'on both / [all the three] / [all the four] toys'

d''. [mind- *e / ✓ezen / ?eme / *?ama / (?)azon [$_{NP}$ játékokon]]
all this / this / this / that / that toy.Pl.Sup
'on all of these/those toys'

e. [(az) Ili (e / ezen / ?eme / *?ama / (?)azon) [$_{NP}$ játékain]]
the Ili this / this / this / that / that toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Sup
'on these/those toys of Ili's'

f. [(az) Ili *(azon) [$_{NP}$ játékain, [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]]
the Ili that toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'on those toys of Ili's that she got from me'

f'. [mind-azon [$_{NP}$ játékokon, [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]]
all-that toy.Pl.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'on each toy that she got from me'

f''. Nevettek [*(az) azon [$_{NP}$ játékokon, [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]].
laugh.Past.2Pl the that toy.Pl.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'They laughed at the toys that she got from me.'

g. [(az) Ili (*azon) [$_{NP}$ játékain], [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]]
the Ili that toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Sup which.Pl.Acc Abl.1Sg get.Past.3Sg
'on the toys of Ili's, which she got from me'

Example (107c) above shows the demonstrative pronouns that can appear in the post-D zone. Three of them are proximal, and two are distal, but all of them are more or less archaic and typically occur in written texts. In contrast to the demonstrative pronouns in the pre-D zone (106c), these demonstrative pronoun variants show no agreement with the head noun. As for their relation to the definite article, the combination of a noun head and a demonstrative pronoun in the discussed post-D position can result in a well-formed noun phrase; and the presence of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' is definitely excluded (cf. (106c) and (107c)).

Examples (107d-d'') above illustrate the position that immediately precedes the position of the demonstrative pronouns. Various versions of the universal determiner *mind* 'each' can occupy the position in question, among others. For further information on *mind*, see subsections 2.6.1.1.5.9, 2.6.2.1, 2.6.2.2.1 and 2.6.2.5. As is also illustrated in (107d-d''), the combination of a noun head and a demonstrative pronoun or a universal quantifier-determiner in this position can result in a well-formed noun phrase, whereas the presence of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' is excluded, at least if it is immediately left-adjacent to the demonstrative pronoun in question (cf. (106d) and (107d)).

The post-D appearance of *mind* 'each' is compatible with the two cardinal numbers *két* 'two' and *három* 'three', but not with *négy* 'four' or with any greater number (107d'). Note in passing that, as was illustrated in (106d'), *mind* 'each' is compatible with any cardinal number (greater than one) if it occupies its pre-D position.

As for the compatibility of the post-D universal determiner with the post-D demonstrative pronouns, it is not easy to make decisions on the degree of grammaticality of the potential constructions, partly because of the archaic character of these kinds of demonstrative pronouns, mentioned above. The grammaticality judgments in (107d") above, thus, are rather uncertain and show high speaker-dependency. It is somewhat surprising, nevertheless, how wide the range of judgments is.

Example (107e) above illustrates the post-D position of the possessor. In contrast to the pre-D possessor (106e), referred to as the NAK possessor above, the (prenominal) post-D possessor cannot be overtly case-marked. Thus, it can be taken to be either caseless or nominative case-marked, in a theory-dependent way. It is a sufficiently theory-independent method to refer to it as the short or unmarked version of the possessor, compared to the "long" NAK possessor. From now on, we will use the terms 'unmarked possessor' and 'NAK possessor' to refer to the two forms of the possessor in Hungarian.

The question of the overt occurrence of the definite article in combination with the unmarked possessor is not an easy one, either, because it is hard to decide which constituent's definite article is realized phonetically if any definite article appears at all (cf. (106e) and (107e)). As is shown in (107e), a noun phrase, in spite of its definite character, is allowed to include no definite article at all. It is also allowed, however, to have an overt definite article, even if the definite article is followed by certain post-D demonstrative pronouns (107e); but, again, grammaticality judgments radically vary because of the archaic character of the demonstrative pronouns involved (and the dialectal and sociolectal differences in (dis-)preferring the definite article before proper names (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 229–230)).

The (f)- and (g)-examples in (107) above demonstrate the role of the distal demonstrative pronoun in subordination. The presence of a restrictive relative clause in the NP-domain makes the use of a distal demonstrative pronoun obligatory, at least in combination with an unmarked possessor or a universal determiner (107f-f'). Otherwise, as was shown in (106f") above, the restrictive interpretation of the relative clause does not necessarily require the presence of a distal demonstrative pronoun. Its presence, however, is not optional here (107f"), because the adjacency of the definite article and a post-D distal demonstrative pronoun is not permitted, in harmony with the observation shown in (107c).

As is demonstrated in (107g), however, if the relative clause is interpreted as non-restrictive, no distal demonstrative pronoun in question is allowed to be present in the noun phrase.

As for the relation between the pre-D zone and the post-D zone, three observations may be made.

The first observation is a strict rule, with no exceptions. Of the corresponding positions, at most one is occupied in a well-formed Hungarian noun phrase. The "long" NAK possessor never appears together with the unmarked possessor. It is also impossible for both the pre-D and the post-D universal-determiner positions of a noun phrase to be occupied. The same holds for the two demonstrative-pronoun positions.

This observation does not necessarily imply the exclusion of the "mixed usages" of the two domains involved, in the following sense: if the pre-NP domain of a noun phrase contains two or three out of the triplet of a possessor, a universal determiner and a demonstrative pronoun at the same time, they can be found either in the pre-D or in the post-D zone. This is the second of our aforementioned three observations.

As will be illustrated below in (108), this potential constraint is not a strict rule, and can at most be qualified as a strong tendency. Its verification, however, would not be easy, due to the following three problems. In certain constructions, it is not easy to decide whether *mind* 'each' occupies a pre-D or a post-D position. It is not easy to decide, either, whether the NAK possessor forms a constituent with its possessee, or it "has run away from home" (Szabolcsi 1983), that is, it has been extracted. Finally, constructions including post-D demonstrative pronouns are always hard to judge, owing to their rather archaic status.

We are proposing a somewhat weaker generalization. The "mixed usage" of the pre-D domain and the post-D domain cannot serve the purpose of creating an order among a possessor, a universal determiner and a demonstrative pronoun that would change this—domain-internal—order among them. This order (possessor > ∀ > Dem), thus, may be regarded as their "regular order". This has been the third of our aforementioned three observations

Let us see some relevant examples.

(108) ● The connection between the pre-D zone and the post-D zone

a. [[... NP ...]$_{NAK}$ ∀ DP_{Dem} **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ∀ $DetP_{Dem}$ NumP ...]

b. [Ilinek ($^{(?)}$e / $^{??}$ezen / $^{??}$eme / $^{?*}$ama / $^{?*}$azon) [$_{NP}$ játékai]]
Ili.Dat this / this / this / that / that toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg
'these/those toys of Ili's'

c. [ez a te [$_{NP}$ megbízható barátod]]
this the you reliable friend.Poss.2Sg
'this reliable friend of yours' (who is considered to be not reliable at all by the speaker)

c'. [ez az $^{?}$ő / *Ili [$_{NP}$ megbízható barátja]]
this the (s)he / Ili reliable friend
'this reliable friend of hers / Ili's'

d. *[ez (a) minden / mind-két [$_{NP}$ játék]]
this the all / all-two toy
Intended meaning: 'all / both these toys'

e. [Ilinek (mind) a két játéka] / [Ili (mind-) két játéka]
Ili.Dat all the two toy.Poss.3Sg / Ili all- two toy.Poss.3Sg
'both toys of Ili's'

e'. [Ilinek $^{??}$(*a) mind- két [$_{NP}$ játéka]]
Ili.Dat the all-two toy.Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'both toys of Ili's'

e". *[mind (az) Ili [$_{NP}$ játékai]]
all the Ili toy.Poss.Pl.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'all toys of Ili's'

f. [ez a 20 játék] / [az a 20 játék] / [e /ʔezen / eme / ama /ʔ*azon 20 játék]
this the 20 toy / that the 20 toy / this / this / this / that / that 20 toy
'this / that / this / this / this / that / that twenty toys'

The NAK possessor in the pre-D zone, for instance, cannot readily be combined with the demonstrative pronouns that can appear in the post-D zone (108b); although the grammaticality judgments above show a wide speaker-dependent variety because of the archaic character of the demonstrative pronouns in question.

Example (108c) above illustrates the combination of a pre-D demonstrative pronoun with an unmarked possessor in the post-D zone. Here not only the zones are mixed, but even the "regular" [possessor > ∀ > Dem] order is violated. Nevertheless, the result is entirely well-formed, but only if it is interpreted in a pejorative sense (or loaded emotionally in some other way). The pejorative interpretation can be attributed to the "marked" status of the construction, in harmony with the pragmatic maxim according to which an irregular grammatical construction is typically the indicator of some deviant meaning.

Another piece of evidence in favor of the rather marked status of the construction in the (c)-examples is provided by the two versions shown in (108c') above: a 3Sg pronoun in the position of the unmarked possessor can be characterized with a poor level of acceptability, compared to the 2Sg pronoun in (108c); and a proper name in the position in question is fully unacceptable.

Is it possible to combine the pre-D universal determiner *mind* 'each' with the post-D demonstrative pronouns? Example (107d") above provides no evidence against this hypothesis since this phonetic form can occur both in the pre-D zone and in the post-D zone, as was mentioned above. What is certain is that the inverse case is excluded: where a pre-D demonstrative pronoun is combined with a post-D universal determiner (108d). Thus, the [possessor > ∀ > Dem] order, classified above as the "regular" one, cannot be violated.

Finally, let us consider potential combinations of a possessor with a universal determiner. If both expressions are chosen to occupy positions in the pre-D zone, or both expressions are chosen to occupy positions in the post-D zone, the resulting noun phrases are perfect (108e). Otherwise, however, ill-formed constructions are yielded (108e'-e"). The question marks in (108e') indicate that the variant in question (including no overt definite article) cannot readily be held to form a constituent. Its optimal intonational pattern seems to suggest that the possessor is extracted from the noun phrase (Szabolcsi 1983), at least according to our judgments (NB: the intonational pattern based on this "split" pattern is fully acceptable; for further information on extracting the possessor from its noun phrase, see subsection 3.2.2.1, sub A).

All in all, either the pre-D zone or the post-D zone tends to be "used" in a Hungarian noun phrase, with one straightforward exception, obviously due to the fact that numerals can only appear in the post-D zone. Numerals can be combined with both kinds of possessors (108e), with both kinds of universal determiners (106d', 107d'), and with almost all kinds of demonstrative pronouns (108f).

As the determining domain of the noun phrase is thought of as such that surrounds an internal "predicative" NP-domain, it necessarily has a zone on the right periphery of the noun phrase, as was formulated in (105c) above. It is far from

trivial, however, how to distinguish the NP-internal postnominal modifier zone, illustrated in (104) in 1.1.2.1, from the post-NP zone of the determining domain, to be discussed here.

We follow *SoD-NP* (1.1.2.3) in relying on the distinction between these two adjacent domains, the post-NP zone of the determining domain and the NP-internal postnominal modifier zone, upon the restrictive *versus* non-restrictive character of the given modifiers: "non-restrictive modifiers [...] contain material that falls outside the scope of the noun and determiner: non-restrictive modifiers neither affect the denotation of the NP nor the referential or quantificational properties of the noun phrase as a whole, but just provide additional information about the referent of the noun phrase. Syntactically speaking, [... nevertheless] the non-restrictive modifiers [...] clearly belong to the noun phrase, since they occupy the clause-initial position together with the DP (the constituency test)."

As a constituency test, we use examples containing contrastive topics on the left periphery, because this position tolerates right-branching from the N head, and its boundaries are quite clear-cut. Subsection 2.1.1.1 is devoted to a detailed argumentation in favor of using this construction as a constituency test (instead of focus, for instance, which does not tolerate any sort of right branching).

Let us review the potential categories of post-NP (non-restrictive) modifiers (cf. (104) in 1.1.2.1). They typically take the form of non-restrictive relative clauses, as in (109g), but they can occasionally also be nominal (109b-c), postpositional (109d) or adverbial (109e) in nature. Note, nevertheless, that these types form a syntactically heterogeneous group, beyond their common post-NP appearance. In a specific syntactic theory, for instance, (109b) and (109b') would presumably be given different internal structures (e.g., on the basis of their distinct stress patterns).

(109) ● The post-NP zone of the determining domain

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

b. Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ili] [$_{DP}$ a nagy fa árnyékában]], ő tuti nem izzad!
well for_instance Ili the big tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine she sure not sweat.3Sg
'Well for instance, Ili under the shade of that big tree, she is surely not sweating.'

b'. Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Jóskát], [$_{DP}$ a férjemet]],
well for_instance Jóska.Acc the husband.Poss.1Sg.Acc
őt imádják a szúnyogok!
he.Acc adore.DefObj.3Pl the mosquitoe.Pl
'Well for instance, Jóska, my husband is loved by mosquitoes.'

c. Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ili] [$_{NP}$ bikiniben]], ő tuti nem izzad!
well for_instance Ili bikini.Ine she sure not sweat.3Sg
'Well for instance, Ili in a bikini, she is surely not sweating.'

d. Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ili] [$_{PP}$ a hatalmas fa alatt]],ő tuti nem izzad!
well for_instance Ili the huge tree under she sure not sweat.3Sg
'Well for instance, Ili under the huge tree, she is surely not sweating.'

e. Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ili] [$_{ConvP}$ a fa alá behúzódva]], ő tuti nem izzad!
well for_instance Ili the tree to_under hide.Conv she sure not sweat.3Sg
'Well for instance, Ili taking refuge under the tree, she is surely not sweating.'

f. *Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ili] [$_{AP}$ kreol bőrű]], ő tuti nem ég le!
well for_instance Ili creole skinned she sure not burn.3Sg down
'Well for instance, Ili, dark-skinned, she will surely not get sunburnt.'

f'. Na például [$_{DP}$ a [$_{AP}$ kreol bőrű] [$_{NP}$ 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 [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ 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.'

g. Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ili] [$_{CP}$ aki bikiniben/[$_{PP}$ a fa alatt] van]], ő tuti nem izzad!
well for_instance Ili who bikini.Ine / the tree under be.3Sg she sure not sweat.3Sg
'Well for instance, Ili, who is [in a bikini] / [under the tree], she is surely not sweating.'

Post-NP (non-restrictive) modifiers, similar to (restrictive) NP-internal modifiers (see Table 18 in 1.1.2.1), are never adjectival, as is shown in (109f) above. As the AP is a prototypical pre-N modifier (see Table 18 in 1.1.2.1, again), a non-restrictive AP is to occupy a pre-NP position, as is shown in (109f') above (see also 1.1.2.3 below about possible AP positions in Hungarian noun phrases). Note in passing that the intended "adjectival" meaning can be expressed in the post-NP zone by an instrumental case-marked DP (109f'').

As for the combination of the two post-N modifier zones, the series of examples in (110) below demonstrates that it is not impossible to have an NP-internal restrictive and an NP-external non-restrictive modifier at the same time. Such constructions, however, can be understood in the intended ways only if the speaker utters them very carefully.

Not surprisingly, the most straightforward order of the modifiers is the one where a (non-restrictive) CP follows a (restrictive) non-CP constituent (110c), while the least straightforward combination is the opposite one, where the (restrictive) CP is followed by a (non-restrictive) non-CP (110d). This observation can be attributed to two (related) factors: a CP is potentially heavy and it forms a separate intonational unit.

(110) ● Interaction between the right periphery of the NP-domain and that of the determining domain

a. [... [$_{NP}$ ... XP* CP] XP* CP]

b. ?Na például [$_{DP}$ a [$_{NP}$ barátnőd a klubból] [$_{DP}$ a piros bikiniben]],
well for_instance the friend.Poss.2Sg the club.Ela the red bikini.Ine
ő tuti nem izzad!
she sure not sweat.3Sg
'Well for instance, your friend from the club, in the red bikini, she is surely not sweating.'

c. Na például [$_{DP}$ a [$_{NP}$ barátnőd a klubból], [$_{CP}$ aki bikiniben van]],
well for_instance the friend.Poss.2Sg the club.Ela who bikini.Ine be.3Sg
ő tuti nem izzad!
she sure not sweat.3Sg
'Well for instance, your friend from the club, who is in a bikini, she is surely not sweating.'

d. ??Na például [$_{DP}$ az a [$_{NP}$ lány, [$_{CP}$ akit úgy imádsz]], [$_{DP}$ a kreol bőrével]],
well for_instance that the girl who.Acc so adore.2Sg the creole skin.Poss.3Sg.Ins
ő tuti nem ég le!
she sure not burn down
'Well for instance, that girl you adore so much, with her dark skin, she will surely not get sunburnt.'

e. ?Na például [$_{DP}$ az a [$_{NP}$ lány, [$_{CP}$ akit úgy imádsz]],
well for_instance that the girl who.Acc so adore.2Sg
[$_{CP}$ aki most bikiniben van]], ő tuti nem ég le!
who now bikini.Ine be.3Sg she sure not burn down
'Well for instance, that girl you adore so much, who is now in a bikini, she will surely not get sunburnt.'

As for the two other variants (110b,e), their in-between acceptability can be attributed to the same phonetic tendency, which can be formulated generally as follows. Suppose there are several dependent phrases XP_1, XP_2, ..., XP_k after a head in this order. This is the phonetically ideal order if $XP_1 < XP_2 < ... < XP_k$, where '<' expresses their order according to their phonetic weights. Equality of weights yields less preferred variants, and inverse orders yield dispreferred ones.

The second part of this subsection deals with the semantic contribution of the determining domain of the Hungarian noun phrase. We follow *SoD-NP* in that we assume determiners and quantifiers/numerals to be external to the NP (cf. Remark 5 in 1.1.2.2), 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. Below, we will briefly illustrate this through examples in which the noun phrase acts as the subject of the clause. Beforehand, however, let us provide some background by briefly outlining the set-theoretic treatment of the subject-predicate relation, which will be central to our discussion of the denotational properties of the NP.

Certain aspects of the meaning of a clause can be expressed by means of set theory: an example like *Henk arrived in Pécs* expresses that the singleton set denoted by the proper noun *Henk* is included in the set denoted by the verb phrase *arrived in Pécs*. More generally, the subject-predicate relation in a clause can be expressed in Figure 1, where A represents the set denoted by the NP and B indicates 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.

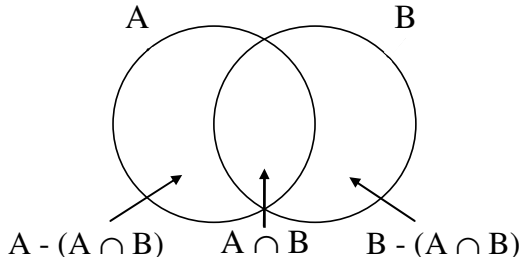


Figure 1: Set-theoretic representation of the subject-predicate relation

In an example like *Henk and Marie arrived in Pécs*, it is assumed that the complete set denoted by A, viz. {Henk, Marie}, is included in set B, which is constituted by the people that arrived in Pécs. In other words, it expresses that the intersection ($A \cap B$) exhausts set A so that the remainder of set A is empty: $A - (A \cap B) = \varnothing$. The semantic function of determiners and quantifiers/numerals is to specify the intersection $A \cap B$ and the remainder of $A - (A \cap B)$. Here we will informally describe this for some basic determiners and quantifiers/numerals, following the practice of *SoD-NP* (1.1.2.2.1, 6.1.1.2) in this respect. More exhaustive and formal descriptions can be found in the corresponding subsections of this volume (see 2.5.1.1.1 and 2.6.1.1.2).

Let us start the overview of the basic Hungarian data by applying to Hungarian what has been said about proper names (111):

(111) • The set-theoretic aspect of the semantic contribution of proper names

a. *(A) Henk* megérkezett Pécsre.
the Henk arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*Henk* arrived in Pécs.'

a'. {Henk} = A

a". $|A - (A \cap B)| = 0$

b. *(A) Henk és (a) Marie* megérkezett Pécsre.
the Henk and the Marie arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*Henk and Marie* arrived in Pécs.'

b'. {Henk, Marie} = A

b". $|A - (A \cap B)| = 0$

The definite article *a(z)* 'the' (112) expresses that in the domain of discourse all entities that satisfy the description of the NP are included in the intersection $A \cap B$, that is, $A - (A \cap B) = \varnothing$ (see the formulae in the double primed examples). The singular noun phrase *a holland szintakta* 'the Dutch syntactician' in (112a), therefore, has approximately the same interpretation as the proper noun *Henk* in the discussion above: it expresses that the cardinality of $A \cap B$ is 1 (112a'). The similarity is not accidental. As the optional definite article shows in (111a) above, the interpretation of a proper name is to be calculated in the same way as that of a definite noun phrase with a common noun as its head. Example (112a) refers to 'the single person (in the situation) of whom it can be predicated that he is a Dutch syntactician', while (111a) refers to 'the single person (in the situation) of whom it can be predicated that he is called Henk'.

(112) • The set-theoretic aspect of the semantic contribution of definite noun phrases

a. *A holland szintakta* megérkezett Pécsre.
the Dutch syntactician arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*The Dutch syntactician* arrived in Pécs.'

a'. $|A \cap B| = 1$

a". $|A - (A \cap B)| = 0$

b. *Az öt holland szintakta* megérkezett Pécsre.
the five Dutch syntactician arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*The five Dutch syntacticians* arrived in Pécs.'

b'. $|A \cap B| = 5$
b". $|A - (A \cap B)| = 0$
c. *A holland szintaktá-k* megérkeztek Pécsre.
the Dutch syntactician-Pl arrive.Past.3Pl Pécs.Sub
'*The Dutch syntacticians* arrived in Pécs.'

c'. $|A \cap B| > 1$
c". $|A - (A \cap B)| = 0$
d. *Ez / Az az öt holland szintakta* megérkezett Pécsre.
this / that the five Dutch syntactician arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*These/Those five Dutch syntacticians* arrived in Pécs.'

d'. *Az öt holland barát-om* megérkezett Pécsre.
the five Dutch friend-Poss.1Sg arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*My five Dutch friends* arrived in Pécs.'

d". $A' \subset A$, and $|A' \cap B| = 5$; $|A' - (A' \cap B)| = 0$

The example that illustrates the numeral in (112b) above differs from example (112a) only in that it expresses that the cardinality of $A \cap B$ equals the given numeral (112b'). There is a similar difference between the plural example in (112c) and the example in (112a): the former expresses that the cardinality of $A \cap B$ is greater than one (112c'). This is the contribution of the plural suffix.

The meaning of a definite demonstrative pronoun like *ez* 'this' and *az* 'that' (112d) or that of a possessor (112d') is similar to the meaning of the definite article, the only difference being that these determiners effect a partitioning of the set denoted by A, and claim that one of the resulting subsets, denoted by A' in (112d"), is properly included in B.

(113) • The set-theoretic aspect of the semantic contribution of indefinite noun phrases
a. Érkezett Pécsre *egy holland szintakta*.
arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub *one Dutch syntactician*
'There arrived in Pécs *a Dutch syntactician*.'

a'. $|A \cap B| = 1$
a". $|A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$
b. Érkezett Pécsre *öt holland szintakta*.
arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub *five Dutch syntactician*
'There arrived in Pécs *five Dutch syntacticians*.'

b'. $|A \cap B| = 5$
b". $|A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$
c. *Holland szintaktá-k* érkeztek Pécsre.
Dutch syntactician-Pl arrive.Past.3Pl Pécs.Sub
'*Dutch syntacticians* arrived in Pécs.'

c'. $|A \cap B| > 1$
c". $|A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$

We follow Szabolcsi's (1992) seminal assumption (see (ii-ii") in Remark 5 in 1.1.2.2) in assuming that *egy* in (113a) is not an indefinite article but a cardinal numeral ('one'), similar to *öt* 'five' in (113b). In this approach, thus, there is no phonetically overt indefinite article in Hungarian. Nevertheless, the semantic

differences between the examples in (113) and the corresponding examples in (112) above can be calculated in a compositional manner: simply by not applying the semantic contribution attributed to the definite article. This is shown by the formulae in the double primed examples in (112-113): those in (113) are totally meaningless; that is, it is the absence of a certain semantic contribution that indefiniteness implies.

This argumentation also holds for indefinite plural noun phrases, illustrated in (113c) above (cf. (112c)). The identical formulae in the two (c')-examples show the semantic contribution of the plural suffix while the different (c")-formulae present the difference between the set-theoretic contribution of the definite article and the lack of its contribution.

The semantic contribution of quantifiers like *néhány* 'some', *sok* 'many' and *kevés* 'few' can be described in similar terms. The main difference is that the cardinality of the set $A \cap B$ is somewhat more vague: an example like (114a) expresses more or less the same as (113c), but in addition, the use of *néhány* suggests that the cardinality of $A \cap B$ is lower than some implicitly assumed norm *c*: $1 < |A \cap B| < c$ (114a'). The interpretation of the quantifiers *sok* and *kevés* also seems to depend on some implicitly assumed norm: *sok* expresses that $|A \cap B| > c'$ (114b') and *kevés* that $|A \cap B| < c''$ (114c').

(114) ● The set-theoretic aspect of the semantic contribution of some quantifying determiners

a. Érkezett Pécsre *néhány holland szintakta*.
arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub *some Dutch syntactician*
'There were *some Dutch syntacticians* arriving in Pécs.'

a'. $1 < |A \cap B| < c$

a". $|A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$

b. *Sok holland szintakta* érkezett Pécsre.
many Dutch syntactician arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*Many Dutch syntacticians* arrived in Pécs.'

b'. $|A \cap B| > c'$

b". $|A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$

c. *Kevés holland szintakta* érkezett Pécsre.
few Dutch syntactician arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*Few Dutch syntacticians* arrived in Pécs.'

c'. $|A \cap B| < c''$

c". $|A - (A \cap B)| \geq 0$

d. *A sok holland szintakta* már megérkezett Pécsre.
the many Dutch syntactician already arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'*The many Dutch syntacticians* have already arrived in Pécs.'

d'. $|A \cap B| > c'$

d". $|A - (A \cap B)| = 0$

In the case of *néhány* in (114a), the implicit norm c seems more or less fixed; the cardinality of the set of Dutch syntacticians visiting Pécs will never be higher than, say, five or at most ten. In the case of *sok* and *kevés*, on the other hand, the implicitly assumed norm is contextually determined: a hundred visitors may count

as many at a vernissage but as few at a concert of the Rolling Stones. We note further that, as in the case of the indefinite articles and numerals, the examples in (114) do not imply anything about the set A - (A ∩ B) (see the formulae in the double primed examples).

When we combine a definite determiner and a numeral/quantifier, the meanings of the two are combined. An example such as (112b) above, for instance, expresses that $|A \cap B| = 5$ (112b'), which can be seen as the semantic contribution of the numeral *öt* 'five', and that $A - (A \cap B) = \varnothing$, which can be seen as the semantic contribution of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' (112b"). Similarly, (114d) expresses that $|A \cap B| > c$' (114d'), which is the contribution of the quantifier, and that $A - (A \cap B) = \varnothing$ (114d"), which is the contribution of the definite article *a(z)* 'the'.

Let us conclude this subsection by tapping into the question of the bare singular noun phrase, which contains no determining domain. As is shown in (115a) below, this construction is open (even) to countable nouns in Hungarian.

(115) ● The set-theoretic aspect of the semantic contribution of the bare singular

a. Mindennap érkezett Pécsre *holland szintakta.*
every_day arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub *Dutch syntactician*
'Every day there arrived *one or more Dutch syntacticians* in Pécs.'

a'. (for each relevant day i:) $|A_i \cap B_i| > 0$

a". $|A_i - (A_i \cap B_i)| \geq 0$

b. Mindennap érkezett Pécsre *egy holland szintakta.*
every_day arrive.Past.3Sg Pécs.Sub *one Dutch syntactician*
'Every day there arrived *a Dutch syntactician* in Pécs.'

b'. (for each relevant day i:) $|A_i \cap B_i| = 1$

b". $|A_i - (A_i \cap B_i)| \geq 0$

c. Mindennap érkeztek Pécsre *holland szintaktá-k.*
every_day arrive.Past.3Pl Pécs.Sub *Dutch syntactician-Pl*
'Every day there arrived *Dutch syntacticians* in Pécs.'

c'. (for each relevant day i:) $|A_i \cap B_i| > 1$

c". $|A_i - (A_i \cap B_i)| \geq 0$

The semantic (i.e., set-theoretic) contribution of the bare singular can be calculated compositionally by taking into account both the lack of any numerals/quantifiers (cf. the formulae in the primed examples in (111-114) above) and the lack of any determiners (cf. the formulae in the double primed examples in (111-114)). What remains are two meaningless constraints. The mere mention of Dutch syntacticians implies that the intersection $A_i \cap B_i$ (for each day i) is not empty, without any further constraints on the number of Dutch syntacticians arriving in Pécs (115a'). The other constraint on the remainder set $A_i - (A_i \cap B_i)$ in (115a") is vacuous in every case when the noun phrase is not definite.

This bare noun phrase construction (115a) makes it possible in Hungarian to express a special meaning ("one or more") which differs from both that of the singular construction (115b) and that of the plural construction (115c), as is formulated in the primed examples above.

Remark 6. Example (115) is an excellent illustration of the fundamental methodological role of the semantic / set-theoretic background behind the syntactic discussion, which is the method consistently and systematically applied in *SoD-NP* (Alberti and Farkas 2013). This particular role is to ensure that the discussion of a linguistic phenomenon should be conducted in a universal (i.e., language-independent) manner. The language-dependent syntactic description thus relies on a (sufficiently) language-independent (pragmatico-)semantic basis.

For the sake of comparison, let us look at the Dutch example and its discussion below as regards number.

It is argued in *SoD-NP* (p. 683) that the singular marking expresses that $|A \cap B| = 1$, which is not surprising, and that the plural marking expresses that $|A \cap B| \geq 1$, instead of $|A \cap B| > 1$ (cf. (112c') above), which is somewhat unexpected. As an explanation, the authors cite a situation in which Jan is in hospital with a fractured leg. He's bored stiff so his friend Peter always brings him something to read when he is visiting: the number of books varies depending on size. One day Peter enters the hospital ward empty-handed, i.e., $|A \cap B| = 0$. In this case Jan will probably ask the question in (i) below with *boeken* 'books' in the plural and not with *boek* 'book' in the singular, given that the latter option presupposes that Peter normally brings only one book. The plural marking thus expresses the presupposition that $|A \cap B| \geq 1$.

(i) Heb je geen boeken / # boek voor me meegenomen?
did you no book.Pl / book for me Prt-taken
Intended meaning: 'Didn't you bring me any books?'

(ii) Nem hoztál nekem [könyvet] / #[egy könyvet] / # [könyveket]?
not bring.Past.2Sg Dat.1Sg book.Acc / a book.Acc / book.Pl.Acc
Intended meaning: 'Didn't you bring me any books?'

In Hungarian, as was discussed in connection with (112c) and (115c) above, the plural marking simply expresses that $|A \cap B| > 1$. (Note in passing that the version of (ii) with *könyveket* 'book.Pl.Acc' is felicitous with this plural reading.) However, if we use semantics as our starting point, we can see that $|A \cap B| \geq 1$ can also be expressed in Hungarian: by the bare form of the NP, as is illustrated in (ii) above as well as in (115a).

1.1.2.3. Adjectival phrases and further modifiers in the noun phrase

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of further linguistic elements which may appear in the determining domain of the noun phrase.

Adjectival phrases (APs) and participial phrases (PartPs), for instance, can appear not only in the NP-domain (1.1.2.1) but also in one of the three zones of the determining domain; namely, in the post-D zone (the general structure of which can be found in (105b) in 1.1.2.2). APs and PartPs can appear before the position of the numeral phrase (116a), as well as after it (116b). Both positions seem to be, at least theoretically, iterable, as is signaled by the asterisks below. Note that there is a strong tendency for (non-participial) adjectives to occupy the position after that of numerals.

(116) ● Positions for phrases of adjectives, adjectival participles and *-ik* determiners (α = A / Part / Det_{ik}) in the determining domain

a. [... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ... (αP)* ... NumP ... [NP-domain] ...]

b. [... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ... NumP (αP)* [NP-domain] ...]

Note in passing that there may appear a long series of APs and PartPs between the position of the numeral and that of the nominal head of the entire noun phrase. Since we follow *SoD-NP* (1.1.2.3) in distinguishing NP-internal and NP-external modifiers on the basis of their restrictive *versus* non-restrictive character, we divide sequences of APs and PartPs into two segments. There is a first NP-external

segment consisting of non-restrictive adjectival (participial) phrases, and a second NP-internal one which consists of restrictive adjectival (participial) phrases. On the basis of example (109) and our comments on it, it should be recalled that this method of distinction is not arbitrary but relies on scopal considerations, which are useful at least as a starting point (cf. 1.1.2.4).

Example (117a) below illustrates a series of APs/PartPs and its division into an NP-external segment, which consists of two APs/PartPs interpretable as non-restrictive ones, and into a complementary NP-internal segment of two restrictive APs. As there is another position for APs/PartPs before the position of the numeral, this latter position can be a natural point of separation for NP-external non-restrictive APs/PartPs and NP-internal restrictive ones (117b).

(117) ● NP-external APs, PartPs and *-ik* determiner phrases

a. [a [$_{NumP}$ két] [$_{PartP}$ szeptembertől itt dolgozó] [$_{AP}$ mindenkihez kedves]
the two September.Abl here working everyone.All nice
[$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ új] [$_{AP}$ tanszéki] titkárnő]]
new departmental secretary
'the two new departmental secretaries, who have been working here since September and are nice to everyone'

a'. [a [$_{NumP}$ két] [$_{DetP\text{-}ik}$ másik] [$_{AP}$ szintén kedves] [$_{NP}$ titkárnő]]
the two other also nice secretary
'the two other secretaries, who are also nice'

b. [a [$_{PartP}$ szeptembertől itt dolgozó] [$_{AP}$ mindenkihez kedves]
the September.Abl here working everyone.All nice
[$_{NumP}$ két][$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ új] [$_{AP}$ tanszéki] titkárnő]]
two new departmental secretary
'the two new departmental secretaries, who have been working here since September and are nice to everyone'

b'. [a [$_{PartP}$ már 10 éve itt dolgozó] [$_{DetP\text{-}ik}$ másik][$_{NumP}$ két] [$_{NP}$ titkárnő]]
the already 10 year.Poss.3Sg here working other two secretary
'the other two secretaries, who have been working here for 10 years'

c. [A legjobb második futam] különbözik [a második legjobb futamtól].
the best second run differ.3Sg the second best run.Abl
'The best second run is different from the second best run.'

c'. Ez volt [a jobb / jobbik / legjobb/ ?legjobbik / másik második futam].
this is.Past.3Sg the better / better.Det/ best / best.Det / other second run
'This was the better / better / best / best / other second run.'

The primed examples in (117) above illustrate that a certain group of determiners which can be classified on the basis of their common derivational suffix *-ik* can also appear in the two positions of (primarily) NP-external APs and PartPs. The interchangeability of APs and *-ik* determiners, exemplified in (117c), serves as an argument for the assumption that they share the same iterable position. Nevertheless, their order is not arbitrary, but depends on scopal relations, as is illustrated by the two distinct meanings that belong to the two noun phrases in (117c).

The variants in (117c') are intended to illustrate several points. First, *-ik* determiners can also be iterated. Second, many *-ik* determiners are derived from

adjectives, with the slight difference that the determining/specifying capacity implicit in the contribution of APs becomes explicit. That is why *-ik* determiners cannot readily be derived from adjectives in the superlative: the two restricting aspects of meaning make each other redundant.

1.1.2.4. Order of elements within the noun phrase: summary and exceptions

We conclude subsection 1.1.2 by summarizing the structures of the zones that form Hungarian noun phrases while the second part presents "loose ends" by mentioning some "irregular" word-order variants.

Example (118) below summarizes the structures of the zones that form Hungarian noun phrases—now essentially from left to right, rather then center outward (1.1.2.1-1.1.2.2). These structures were formed on the basis of the word-order variants to be regarded as fundamental and "regular".

(118) ● The general structure of the Hungarian noun phrase

a. Pre-D zone (of the determining domain): → (105a)
[[... NP ...]$_{NAK}$ ∀ DP$_{Dem}$ **D** ... [NP-domain] ...]

b. Post-D zone (of the determining domain): → (105b)
[... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ∀ DetP$_{Dem}$ NumP [NP-domain] ...]

c. Positions for phrases of adjectives, adjectival participles and *-ik* determiners (α = A / Part / Det$_{ik}$) in the determining domain: → (116a-b)
[... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ... (αP)* ... NumP (αP)* [NP-domain] ...]

d. NP-domain: → (95a)
[$_{NP}$ preN-modifier(s) [$_{NP}$ Compl **N** Complements] postN-modifier(s)]

e. Post-NP zone (of the determining domain): → (105c)
[... [NP-domain] XP* CP]

Let us continue the subsection with certain types of word-order variants which can be qualified as "irregular", relative to the structures given in (118) above.

The first construction to be discussed here violates the rule on which the order of adjectival (participial) phrases was based in subsection 1.1.2.3. According to this rule, non-restrictive APs/PartPs are NP-external and hence precede the (necessarily NP-internal) restrictive APs/PartPs, due to the relevant scopal considerations. Example (119) serves as an illustration: the variant with the restrictive adjectival participial phrase preceding the non-restrictive adjectival phrase is fully acceptable (119a), in contrast to the less acceptable "regular" variant, shown in (119b).

(119) ● Mixing restrictive and non-restrictive adjectival (participial) phrases

a. [az [$_{PartP}$ elsőként érkezett] [$_{AP}$ kissé habókos][$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ külföldi] résztvevő]]
the first arrived somewhat loony abroad.Adj participant
'the first arrived, somewhat loony participant from abroad'

b. ?[a [$_{AP}$ kissé habókos][$_{PartP}$ elsőként érkezett] [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ külföldi] résztvevő]]
the somewhat loony first arrived abroad.Adj participant
'the first arrived, somewhat loony participant from abroad'

The violation of the scopal hierarchy (1.1.2.3) may be attributed to another potential rule, according to which "more complex" phrases should precede "less complex" ones (to ensure that "less complex" phrases stay closer to the nominal head). In the

case studied above (119), the category of adjectival participles counts as "more complex" than that of adjectives.

In the following case, two adjectives are compared to each other (120a-a'). *Új* 'new' is morphologically simple since it consists of a single absolute stem. *Újabb* 'newer' is morphologically complex: it is an adjective in the comparative degree. As is presented in (120a), both adjectives are fully acceptable in the NP-internal zone, after the numeral, in harmony with their restrictive semantic character. As for the NP-external AP-position before the numeral, demonstrated in (120a'), both adjectives should be unacceptable because of their restrictive role. The morphologically more complex adjective, however, is utterly perfect. The morphologically simple adjective is also not fully unacceptable.

The reason for the fact that both variants of (120a') are more or less acceptable is probably that (120a') and (120a) may convey different meanings. The difference relies on the different scopal orders (behind the identical word orders): in (120a'), the interpretation of the adjective remains restrictive but pertains to the (three-member) set of sonnets. The poet is claimed to write three sonnets at a time. Although this interpretation is available in the case of both adjectives, the less complex one cannot readily occupy the position before the numeral.

(120) ● Mixing restrictive APs and numerals

a. [a három [$_{AP}$ új] / [$_{AP}$ új-abb] szonett]
the three new / new-er sonnet
'the three new / later sonnets'

a'. [az $^{??}$[$_{AP}$ új] / $^{\checkmark}$[$_{AP}$ új-abb] három szonett]
the new / new-er three sonnet
'the new / later three sonnets'

b. Péter [[$_{AP}$ derék] egy ember]!
Péter good a man
'Péter is a good man!'

b'. $^{*?}$Jan [[$_{AP}$ derék] egy holland ember]!
Jan good a Dutch man
Intended meaning: 'Jan is a good Dutch man!'

b". Jan [egy [$_{AP}$ derék] (holland) ember].
Jan a good Dutch man
'Jan is a good (Dutch) man.'

Example (120b) above shows a special construction in which a simple adjective precedes the numeral. This word order, however, is only allowed with the numeral *egy* 'one' and with certain adjectives. Furthermore, it is only allowed in order to trigger some emphatic or funny effect. Example (120b') demonstrates that this construction cannot readily be enriched, while a construction of the "regular" order (Num < simple adjective) can be enriched freely (120b").

Now let us consider the question of the order of adjectival participles and numerals. In (121) below, three types of restrictive adjectival participial phrases are compared to each other. They differ in meaning as follows. The PartP in (121a-a') has an inevitably collective meaning since *összegyűlt* 'gathered' obviously pertains to a set. The PartP in (121c-c') has an inevitably distributive meaning since *lebarnult* 'tanned' obviously pertains to individuals. As for the PartP in (121b-b'),

its qualification is not obvious: either individuals or the group of them as a whole can be regarded as being indignant.

(121) ● Mixing restrictive simplex adjectival participial phrases and numerals

a. az összegyűlt 120 hallgató
the gathered 120 student
'the gathered 120 students'

a'. ?a 120 összegyűlt hallgató
the 120 gathered student
'the gathered 120 students'

b. ?a feldühödött 120 hallgató
the indignant 120 student
'the indignant 120 students'

b'. a 120 feldühödött hallgató
the 120 indignant student
'the indignant 120 students'

c. *?a lebarnult 120 topmodell
the tanned 120 supermodel
'the tanned 120 supermodels'

c'. a 120 lebarnult topmodell
the 120 tanned supermodel
'the tanned 120 supermodels'

This difference in collectivity/distributivity implies some difference in scopal order, and hence in word order. As a collective PartP pertains to a set, it takes scope over the numeral that determines the cardinality of the set. In the case of a distributive PartP, however, the numeral has a broader scope (and hence precedes the PartP), because here the set whose cardinality is to be determined consists of elements whose selection depends on the meaning of the PartP (in a restrictive way). These connections account for the (quite) high level of acceptability in the case of (121a,b,b',c') and the unacceptability of (121c).

The quite high level of acceptability of example (121a') can be attributed to the observation made on the order of more and less complex phrases, first mentioned in connection with (119) above. The adjectival participial phrase in (121a') seems to accept a position after the numeral due to its simplex (i.e., "less complex") character (in spite of the fact that this order does not express the scopal order).

The examples in (122) below provide an even more detailed picture of these tendencies. In a series of adjectival participles, a (basically) distributive one will never precede a collective one, as is shown in the primed examples. Neither can a (basically) distributive adjectival participle precede the numeral in the presence of a collective one; see (122c).

(122) ● Mixing adjectival participles, adjectives and numerals

a. ?az összegyűlt 120 feldühödött pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the gathered 120 indignant Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the gathered 120 indignant university students from Pécs'

a'. *a feldühödött 120 összegyűlt pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the indignant 120 gathered Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the gathered 120 indignant university students from Pécs'

b. (?)a 120 összegyűlt feldühödött pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the 120 gathered indignant Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the 120 gathered indignant university students from Pécs'

b'. *a 120 feldühödött összegyűlt pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the 120 indignant gathered Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the 120 indignant gathered university students from Pécs'

c. *az összegyűlt feldühödött 120 pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the gathered indignant 120 Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the gathered indignant 120 university students from Pécs'

c'. *a feldühödött összegyűlt 120 pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the indignant gathered 120 Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the indignant gathered 120 university students from Pécs'

As for the two quite acceptable variants (122a,b), their slight and speaker-dependent difference in grammaticality judgment can be attributed to the tension between the above-mentioned two word-order strategies. The word order in (122a) presents a scope hierarchy while the inverse word order in (122b) keeps to the rule of placing "less complex" adjectival (participial) phrases after the numeral.

The following examples illustrate the case of non-simplex (i.e., "more complex") adjectival (participial) phrases. These phrases are predicted to readily appear before the numeral, on the basis of both tendencies discussed in the previous paragraph. This prediction proves to be correct, as is shown in the primeless examples in (123) below. The inverse word-order variants, however, cannot be fully excluded, either (see the primed examples below). This too, however, depends on the degree of the complexity of the given adjectival (participial) phrase. Some speakers even seem to tolerate rather complex adjectival (participial) phrases after numerals.

Note in passing that Laczkó (2006: 204, fn. 18) considers the word order where the APs / PartPs are preceded by a numeral as "unmarked". He argues that, in order to avoid ambiguity, the marked order (with the numeral preceded by an adjectival (participial) phrase) is to be chosen. A typical source of ambiguity is illustrated in (123b"): the numeral can be understood as belonging to the argument (here, *Pink*) of the adjectival (participial) head, or as belonging to the N head (*táncos* 'dancer') of the whole noun phrase containing the AP / PartP (123b').

(123) ● Mixing restrictive non-simplex adjectival (participial) phrases and numerals

a. a [$_{\text{PartP}}$Pesten összegyűlt] 120 feldühödött pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the Pest.Sup gathered 120 indignant Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the 120 indignant university students from Pécs who gathered in Pest'

a'. (?)a 120 [$_{\text{PartP}}$Pesten összegyűlt] feldühödött pécsi egyetemi hallgató
the 120 Pest.Sup gathered indignant Pécs.Adj university.Adj student
'the 120 indignant university students from Pécs who gathered in Pest'

b. a [$_{\text{PartP}}$Pinket felemelő] három táncos
the Pink.Acc lifting three dancer
'the three dancers lifting Pink'

b'. a három [$_{PartP}$ Pinket felemelő] táncos
the three Pink.Acc lifting dancer
'the three dancers lifting Pink'

b''. a [$_{PartP}$ három Pinket] felemelő] táncos
the three Pink.Acc lifting dancer
'the dancer lifting three Pinks'

c. az [$_{AP}$ (emiatt) rám nagyon büszke] két tanár
the because_of_this Sub.1Sg very proud two teacher
'the two teachers who are very proud of me because of this'

c'. a két [$_{AP}$?(??emiatt) rám nagyon büszke] tanár
the two because_of_this Sub.1Sg very proud teacher
'the two teachers who are very proud of me because of this'

Let us return to the (b)-examples in (123) above, which raise the possibility of a clear-cut, easily comprehensible ambiguity between a collective and a distributive reading (the dancers may lift Pink up in the air together, forming a group, or one at a time). The obvious prediction is that the collective reading belongs to the word-order variant in (123b), while the distributive one to that in (123b'). That is not exactly the case, however. Both word-order variants are ambiguous between the collective and the distributive readings, each with (only) a slight preference for the predicted reading. The exploration into the grammatical factors behind this ambiguity (i.e., the lack of disambiguation) requires future research.

Note in passing that many examples of the series (119-123) suggest that AP/PartP positions within the Hungarian noun phrase are possibly to be classified in a way slightly different from the "regular" way proposed in 1.1.2.3. What can be maintained is that NP-internal APs/PartPs are restrictive. What seems to require some modification is that NP-external APs/PartPs are not obligatorily non-restrictive, that is, this zone is underspecified with respect to expressing restrictiveness.

Let us conclude the series of problems concerning adjectival (participial) phrases with examples where (post-D) demonstrative elements are also taken into consideration (124). Recall that, according to (118b) above, demonstratives obligatorily precede numerals in the post-D zone. The inverse word order is fully unacceptable, as is illustrated in (124a) below.

The structure in (118c) is underspecified with respect to the precise position of PartPs. The examples below demonstrate that a PartP may appear in all the three positions relative to the (strictly ordered) demonstrative–numeral pair: before the demonstrative (124b-b'), between the demonstrative and the numeral (124c-c'), and after the numeral (124d-d').

(124) ● The order of non-simplex adjectival participles, demonstrative elements and numerals

a. *a három e / eme / ezen / ama / azon táncos
the three this / this / this / that / that dancer
Intended meaning: 'these/those three dancers'

b. a [$_{PartP}$ Pinket felemelő] ??e / eme / ?ezen / ??ama / azon három táncos
the Pink.Acc lifting this / this / this / that / that three dancer
'these/those three dancers lifting Pink'

b'. 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'

c. ?e / eme / ezen / ?ama / *azon [$_{PartP}$ Pinket felemelő] három táncos
this / this / this / that / that Pink.Acc lifting three dancer
'these/those three dancers lifting Pink'

c'. *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'

d. e / eme / ??ezen / (?)ama / *?azon három [$_{PartP}$ Pinket felemelő] táncos
this / this / this / that / that three Pink.Acc lifting dancer
'these/those three dancers lifting Pink'

d'. *e / eme / ??ezen / (?)ama / *?azon öt [$_{PartP}$ Pinket felemelő] táncos
this / this / this / that / that five Pink.Acc lifting dancer
'these/those five dancers lifting Pink'

The distribution of grammaticality judgments about the five different demonstrative elements, however, shows differences, depending on the position of the PartP, on the one hand (cf. (124b-b'), (124c-c') and (124d-d')), and on the quality of the initial sound of the word (consonant/vowel) immediately following the given demonstrative (cf. the primeless and primed examples in (124)), on the other hand. Recall, nevertheless, that judgments about data concerning post-D demonstratives are always highly speaker- and register-dependent, and rather uncertain because of their archaic character.

Let us now turn to the postnominal side of the Hungarian noun phrase.

The "regular" structure of the NP-domain, demonstrated in (118d), can be overridden, obviously due to phonetic reasons (see subsection 2.1.2, and especially Remark 20 in it). Example (125b) shows the regular order, where the complement is closer to the nominal head, and hence precedes the modifier. The complement is so heavy (in the sense of phonetic weight), however, that this variant is not fully acceptable; the inverse word order—with the heavy phrase on the right periphery—proves better (125b').

(125) ● Mixing postnominal complements and modifiers within the NP-domain

a. [$_{NP}$ ... [$_{NP}$ ... **N** Complements] *postN-modifier(s)*]

b. ?az a híres cikk
that the famous paper
a magyar főnévi csoportok szórendi és egyéb jellegzetességeiről
the Hungarian noun.Adj phrase.Pl word_order-Adj and other characteristic.Poss.Pl.Del
a 80-as évekből
the 80-Adj year.Pl.Del
'that famous paper about the word-order and other characteristics of Hungarian noun phrases *from the eighties*'

b'. az a híres cikk
that the famous paper
a 80-as évekből
the 80-Adj year.Pl.Del
a magyar főnévi csoportok szórendi és egyéb jellegzetességeiről
the Hungarian noun.Adj phrase.Pl word_order-Adj and other characteristic.Poss.Pl.Del
'that famous paper *from the eighties* about the word-order and other characteristics of Hungarian noun phrases'

The same phonetic principle can account for the mixing of *ab ovo* NP-internal and NP-external phrases. Example (126b) illustrates this point: the less heavy (non-restrictive) postpositional phrase (*az engedélyem nélkül* 'without my permission') is "permitted" to precede the rather heavy sublative case-marked dependent, which is, moreover, an argument.

(126) ● Mixing postnominal NP-internal phrases with NP-external phrases

a. [... [$_{NP}$ ... [$_{NP}$ ... **N** Complements] postN-modifier(s)]] *XP* CP*]

b. Na például a kelekótya fiam meghívása
well for_instance the foolish son.Poss.1Sg invitation.Poss.3Sg
az engedélyem nélkül
the permission.Poss.1Sg without
arra a legalább éjfélig tartó heavy metal koncertre,
that the at_least midnight.Ter lasting heavy metal concert.Sub
az borzalmas ötlet volt.
that terrible idea was
'As for the invitation, *without my permission*, of my foolish son to that heavy metal concert lasting at least until midnight, for instance, that was a terrible idea.'

c. Na például Ilinek azokat a babáit,
well for_instance Ili.Dat that.Pl.Acc the doll.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc
[$_{CP}$ [$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott],
which.Pl.Acc Abl.Sg1 get.Past.3Sg
de [$_{CP}$ *amikkel amúgy már évek óta nem játszik*]],
but *which.Pl.Ins incidentally already year.Pl for not play.3Sg*
azokat igazán odaadhatnánk Lilinek.
that.Pl.Acc indeed give.Cond.1Pl Lili.Dat
'As for the dolls of Ili's that she got from me but *with which, otherwise, she has not played for years*, for instance, those we could give to Lili.'

c'. ? Na például [$_{DP}$ Ilinek azokat a [$_{NP}$ babáit,
well for_instance Ili.Dat that.Pl.Acc the doll.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc
[$_{CP}$ amiket tőlem kapott]],
which.Pl.Acc Abl.Sg1 get.Past.3Sg
[$_{CP}$ *amikkel amúgy már évek óta nem játszik*]],
which.Pl.Ins incidentally already year.Pl for not play.3Sg
azokat igazán odaadhatnánk Lilinek.
that.Pl.Acc indeed give.Cond.1Pl Lili.Dat
'As for the dolls of Ili's that she got from me, *with which, otherwise, she has not played for years*, for instance, those we could give to Lili.'

Example (126c) above illustrates another type of mixing. Here a (non-restrictive) NP-external relative clause is "permitted" to be coordinated with a (restrictive) NP-

internal relative clause. The reason may presumably be that the "regular" word order would require a CP, an NP-external one, to immediately follow another CP, an NP-external one (126c'). As was discussed in connection with (110e) in 1.1.2.2, however, a CP does not readily follow another CP, perhaps because of the cumulation of two heavy phrases.

1.1.3. Syntactic uses and semantic functions of the noun phrase

This subsection briefly illustrates the semantic and syntactic functions of the noun phrase. Although noun phrases are prototypically used as arguments (1.1.3.1), or as adjuncts (1.1.3.2), they can also be used as predicates (1.1.3.3). Furthermore, they can appear in other functions, for instance, as parts of idioms or vocative constructions (1.1.3.4). The question of syntactic uses and semantic functions of the noun phrase will be returned to in the chapter on external syntax (see section 3.1).

1.1.3.1. Noun phrases as arguments

Prototypically, a noun phrase is used as an argument. Noun phrases may function as arguments of lexical items of all categories. The fact that noun phrases can be used as arguments is related to the fact that they are typically used to refer to (possibly singleton) sets of entities.

The series of examples below illustrates that a noun phrase can be the argument of a verb (127a), an infinitive (127b), a converb (127b') or an adjectival participle (127b"). In addition to these categories of verbal origin, a post- or a preposition (127c-c'), an adverb (127d), an adjective (127e), or a noun (127f) can also take a noun phrase as an argument. Note in passing that *mint* 'as' is the only unquestionable preposition in Hungarian (NB: there are potential prepositions (*túl* 'over', for instance) which can also function as postpositions).

(127) ● Categories of *predicates* taking **noun phrases** as their arguments

a. [$_{VP}$ *Megcsókoltam* [**Marit**]].
kiss.Past.1Sg **Mari.Acc**
'I *kissed* **Mari**.'

b. Szeretném [$_{InfP}$ *megcsókol-ni* [**Marit**]].
like.Cond.DefObj.1Sg *kiss-Inf* **Mari.Acc**
'I would like *to kiss* **Mari**.'

b'. [$_{ConvP}$ *Megcsókol-va* [**Marit**]] felvidultam.
kiss-Conv **Mari.Acc** cheer_up.Past.1Sg
'*Having kissed* **Mari**, I cheered up.'

b". A [$_{PartP}$ [**Marit**] *megcsókol-ó*] fiú felvidult.
the **Mari.Acc** *kiss-Part* boy cheer_up.Past.1Sg
'The boy *kissing* **Mari** cheered up.'

c. [$_{PP}$ [**Mari**] *alatt*] összetört a szék.
Mari *under* crash.Past.3Sg the chair
'The chair crashed *under* **Mari**.'

c'. 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**.'

d. [$_{AdvP}$ *Mámorosan* [**a** **bortól**]] megcsókoltam Ilit.
drunk.Adv **the** **wine.Abl** kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc
'*Being drunk* **from wine**, I kissed Ili.'

e. Találkoztam egy[$_{AP}$ [**Marira**] *büszke*] tanárral.
meet.Past.1Sg a **Mari.Sub** *proud* teacher.Ins
'I met a teacher *proud* **of Mari**.'

f. Fülembe jutott [$_{DP}$ *a* *pletyka* [**Mariról**]].
ear.Ill get.Past.3Sg *the* *rumor* **Mari.Del**
'I was told the *rumor* **about Mari**.'

The remainder of this subsection provides a special overview of noun-phrase-internal positions open to noun phrases which can be regarded as lexically-semantically selected arguments of the nominal head. Note that this does not necessarily mean that these positions are (all) construed as "argument positions" in a strict sense (see, for instance, the comments on examples (97a) and (98b) in 1.1.2.1).

First of all, let us invoke the general structure of the Hungarian noun phrase, as was summarized in (118) in 1.1.2.4, repeated here as (128):

(128) ● The general structure of the Hungarian noun phrase (118)
a. Pre-D zone (of the determining domain): → (105a)
[[... NP ...]$_{NAK}$ ∀ DP$_{Dem}$ **D** ... [NP-domain] ...]
b. Post-D zone (of the determining domain): → (105b)
[... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ∀ DetP$_{Dem}$ NumP [NP-domain] ...]
c. Positions for phrases of adjectives, adjectival participles and *-ik* determiners (α = A / Part / Det$_{ik}$) in the determining domain: → (116a-b)
[... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ... (αP)* ... NumP (αP)* [NP-domain] ...]
d. NP-domain: → (95a)
[$_{NP}$ preN-modifier(s) [$_{NP}$ Compl **N** Complements] postN-modifier(s)]
e. Post-NP zone (of the determining domain): → (105c)
[... [NP-domain] XP* CP]

There are two types of noun phrases that can belong to nominal heads as arguments. The—"distinguished"—argument in the possessor grammatical function can occupy a set of positions different from the set of positions that all other arguments (and dependents)—the "non-possessors"—can occupy (compare the examples in (130) with those in (129)).

As is shown in (129) below, a non-possessor argument can occupy both the postnominal complement position (129c) and the prenominal one (129d) within the NP-domain (128d). It can also appear in the attributive *való*-construction, which also seems to be NP-internal, due to its predominantly restrictive semantic contribution (129e).

(129) ● Occurrence of a non-possessor argument in the noun phrase

a. [[... NP ...]$_{Obl}$ ... **D** ... [$_{NP}$ PartP ... [$_{NP}$ Compl **N** ... Compl ...]]]
↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

a'. (f') (e) (d) (c)

b. (El)küldtünk egy futárt *Pécs-re*.
(away)send.Past.1Pl a courier.Acc *Pécs-Sub*
'We sent a courier *to Pécs*.'

c. egy futár [$_{NP}$ elküldése *Pécs-re*]
a courier away_sending.Poss.3Sg *Pécs-Sub*
'the sending of a courier *to Pécs*'

d. egy futár [$_{NP}$ *Pécs-re* küldése]
a courier *Pécs-Sub* sending.Poss.3Sg
'the sending of a courier *to Pécs*'

e. egy futár [$_{NP}$ [$_{PartP}$ *Pécs-re* való] elküldése]
a courier *Pécs-Sub* be.Part away_sending.Poss.3Sg
'the sending of a courier *to Pécs*'

f. *?Na például *Pécs-re* egy futárnak az [$_{NP}$ 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.'

f'. (?)Na például *mindhárom város-ba* ugyanannak a futárnak
well for_instance *all_three city-Ill* same.Dat the courier.Dat
az [$_{NP}$ 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.'

As for the potential NP-external appearance of a non-possessor argument, let us consider the (f)-examples above. In harmony with the "regular" structure in (128a), example (129f) suggests that a non-possessor argument cannot appear DP-internally before the NAK possessor. Under special circumstances, however, this position seems to be able to host a non-possessor, as is demonstrated by the surprisingly acceptable sentence in (129f'). Presumably, this quite high level of acceptability has to do with the wide scope of the operator role that the given argument plays, relative to the intended narrow scope of the possessor.

Within the NP-domain (128d), the argument in the possessor grammatical function can occupy the postnominal complement position (130c). There is also a prenominal complement position available to the argument in question (*futár* 'courier' in (130d)). At least we can identify these two kinds of arguments on the basis of their straightforward semantic correspondence in spite of the fact that the latter construction is not a possessive construction, since in this case no agreement is triggered on the noun head; compare the fully acceptable variant in (130d) with the fully unacceptable ones in (130d'-d"), and see the comments on (101) in 1.1.2.1. The possessor(-like) argument, thus, is similar to the non-possessor argument (129c-d) in that it can occupy both a pre- and a postnominal complement position. They are different, however, in that the possessor cannot appear in attributive *való-*

constructions (cf. (130e) and (129e)), and, as is illustrated in (130f-g'), there are two NP-external positions (128a-b) which are (exclusively) open to the possessor.

(130) ● Occurrence of a possessor argument in the noun phrase

a. [[... NP ...]$_{NAK}$ ... **D** [... NP ...]$_{\varnothing}$ ... [$_{NP}$ Compl **N** ... Compl* ...]]
↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

a'. (130g) (130f) (130d) (130c)
↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

a''. (129f') (129e) (129d) (129c)

b. (El)küldtünk *egy futár-t* Pécsre.
(away)send.Past.1Pl *a courier-Acc* Pécs.Sub
'We sent *a courier* to Pécs.'

c. $^{(?)}$az [$_{NP}$ elküldése *egy futár-nak* Pécsre]
the away_sending.Poss.3Sg *a courier-Dat* Pécs.Sub
'the sending *of a courier* to Pécs'

c'. *az [$_{NP}$ elküldése *egy futár* Pécsre]
the away_sending.Poss.3Sg *a courier* Pécs.Sub
Intended meaning: 'the sending *of a courier* to Pécs'

d. a [$_{NP}$ *futár*-küldés Pécsre]
the *courier*-sending Pécs.Sub
'the sending *of couriers* to Pécs'

d'. *a [$_{NP}$ *futár*-küldés-e Pécsre]
the *courier*-sending-Poss.3Sg Pécs.Sub
Intended meaning: 'the sending *of couriers* to Pécs'

d''. *a [$_{NP}$ *futár-nak*-küldés(-e) Pécsre]
the *courier-Dat*-sending(-Poss.3Sg) Pécs.Sub
Intended meaning: 'the sending *of couriers* to Pécs'

e. **egy futár(nak)* való [$_{NP}$ elküldés(e) Pécsre]
a courier(Dat) be.Part away_sending(.Poss.3Sg) Pécs.Sub
Intended meaning: 'the sending *of a courier* to Pécs'

f. *egy futár* [$_{NP}$ elküldése Pécsre]
a courier away_sending.Poss.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'the sending *of a courier* to Pécs'

f'. **egy futár-nak* [$_{NP}$ elküldése Pécsre]
a courier-Dat away_sending.Poss.3Sg Pécs.Sub
Intended meaning: 'the sending *of a courier* to Pécs'

g. *egy futár-nak* az [$_{NP}$ elküldése Pécsre]
a courier-Dat the away_sending.Poss.3Sg Pécs.Sub
'the sending *of a courier* to Pécs'

g'. **egy futár* az [$_{NP}$ elküldése Pécsre]
a courier the away_sending.Poss.3Sg Pécs.Sub
Intended meaning: 'the sending *of a courier* to Pécs'

h. a [$_{NP}$ Pécsre küldés-*ünk*]
the Pécs.Sub sending-*Poss.1Pl*
'the sending *of us* to Pécs'

More precisely, of the four available positions mentioned above, the two positions between the D head and the N head (128b) are only open to the unmarked variant of

the possessor (compare the fully acceptable variants in (130d,f) with the fully unacceptable ones in (130d',f')), while the other two positions (the one in the NP-internal postnominal complement zone (128d) and the one in the NP-external pre-D zone (128a)) can only be occupied by the NAK possessor; compare the acceptable variants in (130c,g) with the fully unacceptable ones in (130c',g'), respectively. Of the two available positions, the ideal one of a NAK possessor is the one in the pre-D zone, presented in (130g).

Note in passing that, due to the agreement between the nominal head and its "distinguished" possessor argument in person and number, the possessor can also be pro-dropped (130h).

To sum up the explored similarities and differences between the two types of arguments, let us take a look at the structural schemas in (130a-a") above. The schemas enable the reader to make a comparison between the DP-internal word-order positions open to possessor(-like) arguments (130a') and those open to non-possessors (130a").

Now let us consider the semantic contribution of noun phrases used as arguments.

As pointed out in 1.1.2, the NP part of the noun phrase provides the descriptive information needed to identify the set of entities in question, 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. They 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 (131).

(131) ● Some cases and thematic roles of noun phrases

a. [Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ épített [egy ház-at]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Ili build.Past.3Sg a house-Acc
'Ili built a house.'

a'. [Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ keményen dolgozik.
Ili hard.Adv work.3Sg
'Ili works hard.'

a". Épült [egy új ház]$_{\text{Theme}}$ a szomszédban.
build.Past.3Sg a new house the neighborhood.Ine
'There was a new house built in the neighborhood.'

b. [Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ kent [egy kis vaj-at]$_{\text{Theme}}$ [a kenyér-re]$_{\text{Goal}}$.
Ili spread.Past.3Sg a little butter-Acc the bread-Sub
'Ili spread some butter on the bread.'

b'. [Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ megkente [egy kis vaj-jal]$_{\text{Theme}}$ [a kenyer-et]$_{\text{Goal}}$.
Ili spread.Past.DefObj.3Sg a little butter-Ins the bread-Acc
'Ili spread the bread with some butter.'

c. [Péter]$_{\text{Agent}}$ ügyesen bánik [a kés-sel]$_{\text{Instrument}}$.
Péter skilfully handle.3Sg the knife-Ins
'Péter handles knives skillfully.'

d. [Péter]$_{\text{Experiencer}}$ kedveli [Mari-t]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Péter like.DefObj.3Sg Mari-Acc
'Péter likes Mari.'

d'. [Mari]$_{\text{Theme}}$ tetszik [Péter-nek]$_{\text{Experiencer}}$.
Mari please.3Sg Péter-Dat
'Mari appeals to Péter.'

e. [A boszorkány]$_{\text{Agent}}$ [béká-vá]$_{\text{Goal}}$ változtatja [a herceg-et]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
the witch frog-TrE transform.DefObj.3Sg the prince-Acc
'The witch will turn the prince into a frog.'

In the transitive construction in (131a) above, the subject (*Ili*) in the Nominative case performs the action of building and is thus assigned the semantic role of Agent, while the object in the Accusative (*egy ház-at* 'a house-Acc'), which undergoes the action of building, is called the Theme of the action. In the intransitive construction in (131a'), the only participant in the Nominative, *Ili*, is also assigned the Agent role since she performs the action of working. In (131a"), too, the verb takes a single argument (in the Nominative). Due to the unaccusative character of the verb (Perlmutter 1978), however, the argument receives the semantic role of Theme.

In (131b) above, there is a third participant (*a kenyér-re* 'the bread-Sub') in the state of affairs, in addition to the Agent and the Theme. This participant, which is in the Sublative case here, receives the role of Goal in the action. It is however certainly not the case that there is a one-to-one mapping between semantic role and syntactic function. Three-participant actions of this kind typically show some "locative alternation" (Fillmore 1968, Zsilka 1966, Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Alberti 2006, see also V6.3). The same participants, thus, can appear in another case frame (at least in the "Fillmorean" family of thematic theories mentioned). Example (131b') demonstrates this alternative: here the verb takes the Goal as its object (in the Accusative) while the Theme receives the Instrumental case.

Example (131c) illustrates that an instrumental case-marked noun phrase can also be assigned the Instrument thematic role. Its argumenthood is indicated by its obligatoriness. Note in passing that when they refer to instruments of actions, instrumental case-marked noun phrases are typically non-obligatory; in such cases, due to their compositional semantic contribution, they should rather be regarded as adjuncts (see (136a) in 1.1.3.2).

Examples (131d-d') above contain psychological verbs (e.g., *like, appeal*) illustrating typical syntactic realizations of the Experiencer and Theme arguments.

The last example in (131e) demonstrates that an argument can be predicative at the same time. That is, an argument can serve as a secondary predicate. In the given example, the secondary predicate (*béká-vá* 'frog-TrE') is assigned the Goal thematic role within the system outlined in the canonical literature (Komlósy 1992, 1994), since this argument expresses the final state of the Theme, which is reported to undergo a change under the Agent's control.

Now let us consider a special group of arguments. In the examples below, one of the arguments is expressed by a bare noun phrase in the verbal modifier position left-adjacent to the verb stem (132). Themes (132a-b) and Goals (132c) can readily occupy this position.

(132) ● Some cases and thematic roles of bare noun phrases

a. [Víz]$_{\text{Theme}}$ ment [a szemembe]$_{\text{Goal}}$.
water go.Past.3Sg the eye.Poss.1Sg.Ill
'Some water has got into my eyes.'

b. [Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ [vaj-at]$_{\text{Theme}}$ kent [a kenyér-re]$_{\text{Goal}}$.
Ili butter-Acc spread.Past.3Sg the bread-Sub
'Ili put some butter on the bread.'

c. [Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ [kenyér-re]$_{\text{Goal}}$ kente [az összes vaj-at]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Ili bread-Sub spread.Past.DefObj.3Sg the all butter-Acc
'Ili has put all the butter on (some) bread.'

Note that the bare noun phrases demonstrated in (132) above are different from the also bare noun phrase shown in (131e) above (*béká-vá* 'frog-TrE'; see also (138) in 1.1.3.3). The latter is predicative, that is, it serves as a secondary predicate (predicating something of another argument of the verb). The bare noun phrases in (132) do not qualify as predicative in the same sense. At the same time, however, they can also be claimed to have lost their referentiality. Thus, they seem to make it possible for us to illustrate the possibility for noun phrases (used as arguments) to be neither referential nor predicative.

Since in this subsection it is beyond our aims to give an exhaustive overview of the semantic roles that can be assigned to noun phrases, or to discuss how these roles can be realized syntactically, we refer the reader to V2 for a more detailed discussion of verb types and the semantic roles the verbs may assign.

1.1.3.2. Noun phrases as adjuncts

Noun phrases also function as adjuncts.

The first series of examples (133) provides an overview of the phrasal categories which can host noun phrases as adjuncts.

It might not be trivial at first glance but in addition to arguments, adjuncts can also belong to certain predicates. That is why the first two examples below (133a-b) are devoted to illustrating the importance of construing adjuncts as dependents of certain predicates (instead of linking adjuncts to entire clauses in a vague manner). The difference in meaning between the homophonous sentences in (133a) and (133b) can be attributed exactly to the following fact. In (133a), the locative adjunct *Budapesten* 'in Budapest' belongs to the matrix verb *tanulok* 'I learn' (together with the argument *vezetni* 'to drive'). In (133b), however, the same locative adjunct is understood to belong to the infinitival head *vezetni* 'to drive'.

(133) ● Categories of *predicates* which **noun phrases** belong to as adjuncts

a. Soha nem [$_{\text{VP}}$ *tanulok* meg vezetni [**Budapest-en**]].
never not *learn.1Sg* perf drive.Inf **Budapest-Sup**
'I will never *learn* how to drive **in Budapest**.'
That is, 'I will not succeed to learn how to drive if I try to do it in Budapest.'

b. Soha nem tanulok meg [$_{\text{InfP}}$ *vezet-ni* [**Budapest-en**]].
never not learn.1Sg perf *drive-Inf* **Budapest-Sup**
'I will never learn how *to drive* **in Budapest**.'
That is, 'I will not succeed to learn how to drive in Budapest (even if I can drive elsewhere).'

b'. [$_{\text{ConvP}}$ *Megpillant-va* [**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 [**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 [$_{PP}$ Bő és Ölbő *között* [**félút-on**]].
meet.1Pl Bő and Ölbő *between* **halfway-Sup**
‘We will meet **halfway** *between* Bő and Ölbő.’

d. Péter [$_{AdvP}$ a két fiára [**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 [**jog-gal**] *büszke*] barátom el fog válni.
the two son.Poss.3Sg.Sub **law-Ins** *proud* friend.Poss.1Sg away will divorce.Inf
‘My friend, **rightly** *proud* of his two sons, is going to get a divorce.’

f. Nagyon tetszik [$_{DP}$ az a Szabolcsi-*cikk* [**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**.’

Evidently, a noun phrase as an adjunct can belong to the following categories: verbs (133a), infinitives (133b), converbs (133b’), participles (133b”), postpositions (133c), adverbs (133d), adjectives (133e), and nouns (133f).

As this volume concentrates on noun phrases, here we discuss the four logical possibilities for placing noun phrases as adjuncts within matrix noun phrases (134). First, a noun phrase as an adjunct can appear NP-internally (134a-b), as a restrictive modifier. Second, it can also appear NP-externally (134c-d), as a non-restrictive modifier. Furthermore, in both cases, it can appear either postnominally (134a,c), or prenominally (134b,d).

(134) ● Four types of nominal constructions in which noun phrases appear as adjuncts

a. Na például [$_{DP}$ az a [$_{NP}$ lány [$_{DP}$ *a nagy fa árnyékában*]]],
well for_instance that the girl *the big tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine*
ő nagyon okos!
she very clever
‘Well for instance, that girl *in the shade of that big tree*, she is very clever.’
Cf. (104b) in 1.1.2.1.

b. Találkoztam [$_{DP}$ az [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *építész*] barátoddal]].
meet.Past.1Pl the *architect* friend.Poss.2Sg.Ins
‘I met your *architect* friend.’
Cf. (103c) in 1.1.2.1.

c. Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ili]] [$_{DP}$ *a nagy fa árnyékában*]], ő tuti nem izzad!
well for_instance Ili *the big tree shadow.Poss.3Sg.Ine* she sure not sweat.3Sg
‘Well for instance, Ili *in the shade of that big tree*, she is surely not sweating.’
See (109b) in 1.1.2.2.

d. $^{(?)}$Na például [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ *mind az öt moziban*] ugyanannak a filmnek
well for_instance *all the five cinema.Ine* same.Dat the film.Dat
a [$_{NP}$ megnézése]], az nem volt jó ötlet.
the watch.Poss.3Sg that not be.Past.3Sg good idea
‘Well for instance, the watching of the same film *in all the five cinemas*, that was not a good idea.’
Cf. (129f’) in 1.1.3.1.

d'. [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ *Péter*(*nek*] a) [$_{NP}$ meghívása / fia / [(kedvenc) képe]]]
Péter.Dat the invitation.Poss.3Sg / son.Poss.3Sg / favorite picture.Poss.3Sg
'[inviting *Péter*] / [*Péter's* son] / [*Péter's* (favorite) picture]'

Note in passing that example (134d) above is undoubtedly marginal. The example is only meant to illustrate the case of an NP-external prenominal noun phrase used as an adjunct. One might think that certain semantic types of possessive constructions would provide more natural examples. Let us consider this alternative. In (134d') above, some types of possessive constructions are illustrated. If the nominal head (i.e., the possessee) is a deverbal nominal (e.g., *meghívás* 'invitation'), the possessor inherits an argument role; here, namely, the Theme thematic role of the action expressed by the "input" verb (*meghív* 'invite'). Obviously, this is not an adjunct role. If the possessee is a relational noun (*fia* 'son.Poss.3Sg'), however, the possessor belongs to it as a relatum, which is already a less argument-like type of dependency. Something similar holds for *story/picture* nouns like *képe* 'picture.Poss.3Sg'. Here the possessor can belong to the possessee either as its Theme, or as its creator, or as its owner, or as a participant whose relationship to his/her "favorite" picture is practically arbitrary. The order of the possible interpretations mentioned in the previous sentence may be regarded as an illustration of the decreasing degree of argumenthood. The question is, thus, whether the above-listed less argument-like types of dependency between possessor and possessee are to be considered adjunct-like grammatical relations.

In this introductory chapter, however, we do not wish to get involved with such an intricate question as that of the obscure continuum between prototypical verbal argumenthood and adjuncthood. We follow *SoD-NP* in exploring this problem in a separate subsection (see 2.1.2).

The series of examples in (135) below gives an overview of the main types of noun phrases as adjuncts—from a semantic and a case-morphological point of view, simultaneously.

As compared to the semantic contribution of arguments (Komlósy 1992, 1994), the semantic contribution of an adjunct to the meaning of the sentence containing it can be defined as follows. An argument belongs to a predicate the lexico-semantic description of which partially determines the semantic contribution of the argument to the semantic content of the sentence. This lexico-semantically determined partial semantic content consists of the thematic information pertaining to the given argument and further idiosyncratic elements of meaning characteristic of the particular predicate. An adjunct also belongs to a predicate, but its semantic contribution is to be calculated independently of the lexico-semantic description of the predicate. Its semantic contribution is to be calculated exclusively on the basis of the lexico-semantic descriptions of the elements that form the phrase of the adjunct, depending on the internal syntax of the phrase; and then the resulting semantic content is to be added to the cumulated semantic content of the unit of the predicate and its arguments. A noun phrase used as an adjunct, thus, is assigned no thematic information, but its semantic contribution to the meaning of the sentence mainly depends on its case marker, that is, the information that can be regarded as the basic meaning associated with the given case.

A noun phrase used as an adjunct typically denotes the time (135a-a") or the place (135b) of the event or state of affairs expressed by the predicate that it belongs to and the argument(s) of the predicate. The variants in (135a-b) show the basic (phonetically non-empty) case markers which express temporal and spatial relations.

Note in passing that the locative case marker *-(Vt)t*, mentioned in (135b), is no longer productive in present-day Hungarian, its usage is not obligatory and is restricted to a certain group of towns. Historically, the case marker *-(Vt)t* is related to such demonstrative pronouns and postpositions as *itt* 'here', *ott* 'there', *alatt* 'under', *között* 'between'.

The examples in (135a') demonstrate that certain temporal adjuncts appear without any phonetically overt case marker, at least in certain sentential contexts (cf. (135a")). Note that in (135a'), *vasárnap* 'Sunday' and *egész nap* 'the whole day' cannot be replaced with *vasárnap-on* 'Sunday-Sup' and *egész nap-on* 'the whole day-Sup', respectively. On the one hand, in (135a), *hétfő-n* 'Monday-Sup' and *egész hét-en* 'the whole week-Sup' cannot be replaced with their caseless counterparts *hétfő* 'Monday' and *egész hét* 'whole week', in spite of the obvious semantic similarity between the corresponding temporal expressions.

(135) ● Some adjunct types of noun phrases: I. Temporal and spatial expressions

a. Ili *hétfő-n / egész hét-en / egész május-ban / karácsony-kor* tanult.
Ili *Monday-Sup/ whole week-Sup/ whole May-Ine / Christmas-Tmp* study.Past.3Sg
'Ili studied *[on Monday] / [the whole week] / [the whole May] / [at Christmas]*.'

a'. Ili *vasárnap / egész nap / egy év-e* tanul.
Ili *Sunday / whole day / one year-Poss.3Sg* study.3Sg
'Ili will study [*on Sunday*]. / Ili spends *the whole day* learning. /Ili has been studying *for a year*.'

a". Ili [*ez-en a vasárnap-on* / [*ez-en a nap-on*]/ [*eb-ben az év-ben*] tanul.
Ili *this-Sup the Sunday-Sup / this-Sup the day-Sup / this-Ine the year-Ine* study.3Sg
'Ili spends *[this Sunday]* / *today* learning. / Ili is studying *this year*.'

b. *Szeged-en / Győr-ben / Pécs-ett /[A Zsolnay-szobor-nál]* megcsókoltam Ilit.
Szeged-Sup / Győr-Ine / Pécs-Loc / the Zsolnay-statue-Ade kiss.Past.1Sg Ili.Acc
'I kissed Ili *[in Szeged / Győr / Pécs] / [at the Zsolnay-statue]*.'

Let us consider further types of noun phrases used as adjuncts (136).

An instrumental case-marked noun phrase, for instance, can serve as an adjunct, in two functions.

Example (136a) illustrates the case where the instrumental case-marked noun phrase (*egy bicská-val* 'a pocket_knife-Ins') expresses the instrument used by the Agent in the action. Note that the noun phrase in question is to be treated as an adjunct, and not as an argument, because it is not obligatory, and its semantic contribution can be calculated in a compositional way on the basis of one of the basic meanings of the instrumental case (cf. (131c) in 1.1.3.1).

The other basic meaning of the instrumental case in Hungarian is illustrated in (136a') below. Here the instrumental case-marked noun phrase refers to a participant who/which takes part in the action as a "partner" of one of the arguments. The noun phrase *a fiammal* 'the son.Poss.1Sg.Ins', for instance, is the Agent's partner in the action of eating, while *a kompóttal* 'the bottled_fruit.Ins' refers to a participant which shares the fate of the Theme (they will be eaten

together). The coincidence of the case suffix makes it possible to create such funny ambiguous sentences as the one shown in (136a") below (Rákosi 2014a: 2).

The sentences in (136b-c) provide further examples for the use of noun phrases as adjuncts. In (136b), the action is claimed to be carried out for the sake of someone referred to by the dative case-marked noun phrase (namely, *Péter*). In (136c), it is claimed that someone (namely, *Péter*, again) does not care if the action takes place or not. The source of this meaning component (i.e., the indifference) comes from the ablative case marker.

(136) ● Some adjunct types of noun phrases: II. Further types

a. Megettem a húst *egy bicská-val.*
eat.Past.1Sg the meat.Acc *a pocket_knife-Ine*
'I ate the meat *off a pocket knife*.'

a'. Megettem a húst [*a fiam-mal*] / [*a kompót-tal*].
eat.Past.1Sg the meat.Acc *the son.Poss.1Sg-Ins / the bottled_fruit-Ins*
'I ate the meat *[(together) with my son] / [with the bottled fruit]*.'

a". Tom *Jerry-vel* pecázik.
Tom *Jerry-Inst* fish.3Sg
'Tom is fishing with *Jerry*.'

b. Megjavítottam *Péter-nek* a lámpát.
repair.Past.1Sg *Péter-Dat* the lamp.Acc
'I repaired the lamp *for Péter*.'

c. *Péter-től* akár el is mehetünk.
Péter-Abl even away also go.Mod.1Pl
'*As far as Péter is concerned,* we can leave.'

d. Péter *tanár-ként* nagyra becsüli Marit.
Péter *teacher-FoE* great.Sub appreciate.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc
'Péter appreciates Mari *as a teacher*.'

d'. [*Az iskola legelismertebb tanára-ként*]
the school most_appreciated teacher.Poss.3Sg-FoE
ezt nem engedhetem meg magamnak.
this.Acc not allow.Mod.DefObj.1Sg perf myself.Dat
'I cannot allow this *as the most acknowledged teacher of the school*.'

Examples (136d-d') show noun phrases used as predicative adjuncts. The essive case-marked noun phrase (*tanár-ként* 'teacher-FoE') in (136d) expresses a relevant status of one of the arguments in the given situation. As either the Experiencer (*Péter*) or the Theme (*Mari*) may be claimed to be a teacher, the given sentence in (136d) is ambiguous. The last example (136d') illustrates that it is also possible for a predicative adjunct to be expressed by a definite noun phrase, and not by a bare noun phrase.

1.1.3.3. Predicative use of the noun phrase

Although typically used as arguments or adjuncts, 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.

Typical cases are found in copular constructions, as illustrated in (137) below. In these examples, the noun phrase variants *a fia(i)m* 'son.Poss(.Pl).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 (cf. the example in (137a"), in which the attributively used noun *tanár* 'teacher' shows no agreement with the head noun; see also 1.1.1.4.3). Note in passing that in Hungarian there appears no overt verb in such constructions if (the predicate of) the clause is in the indicative mood, present tense, third person; otherwise, the appropriate form of the copula is obligatorily present (e.g., *volt* 'be.Past.3Sg' / *voltak* 'be.Past.3Pl' in the past tense examples below).

(137) ● 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.Poss.Pl.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.Poss.Pl.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.Poss.Pl.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*.'

Note that the three basic degrees of referentiality are illustrated above. The predicate appears as a bare plural noun phrase in (137a',b'), where Hungarian offers no alternative form to express the intended (non-definite) meaning. In (137a,b), however, the predicate may appear either as a bare singular noun phrase or as an indefinite one. The more complex the internal structure of the predicatively used noun phrase, the more acceptable the indefinite version is (considered), as the grammaticality judgments in (137a) and (137b) indicate. Finally, the examples in (137c-c') show that a predicatively used noun phrase can also be definite. In this case such a noun phrase simultaneously plays a predicative and a referential role.

The fact that a constituent serves as a predicative element does not necessarily exclude that it can also simultaneously function as either an argument (see (131e) in 1.1.3.1) or an adjunct (see (136d-d") in 1.1.3.2). Thus, a noun phrase may also play the role of a secondary predicate.

Let us start with the case of noun phrases which serve as arguments and as predicates at the same time (138). As for agreement in number between the

secondary predicate and its logical subject (i.e., the noun phrase that it predicates about), the situation is not as unambiguous as in the case of the primary predicate (137), where this kind of agreement is always obligatory. As is shown below, agreement in number is obligatory if the secondary predicate is definite (138c-c'), while it is rather dispreferred if the secondary predicate is not definite (138b). Note in passing that the sentence variant of (138b) with the plural form of the secondary predicate (*béká-k-ká* 'frog-Pl-TrE') is fully acceptable with the following strange reading: each prince is transformed into a group of frogs.

(138) ● Predicative noun phrases as arguments

a. A boszorkány (??*egy*) *békává* változtatta a herceget.
the witch *a* *frog.TrE* transform.Past.DefObj.3Sg the prince.Acc
'The witch turned the prince *into a frog*.'

b. A boszorkány *békává* / ?*béká-k-ká* változtatta a herceg-ek-et.
the witch *frog.TrE* / *frog-Pl-TrE* transform.Past.DefObj.3Sg the prince-Pl-Acc
'The witch turned the princes *into frogs*.'

b'. Egy boszorkány *békává* / *?*béká-k-ká* változtatja
a witch *frog.TrE* / *frog-Pl-TrE* transform.DefObj.3Sg
az útjába kerülő herceg-ek-et.
the way.Poss.3Sg.Ill get.Part prince-Pl-Acc
'A witch turns the princes that she comes across *into frogs*.'

c. A boszorkány *a* *földkerekségnek* *a* *legcsúnyább* *békájává*
the witch *the* *world.Dat* *the* *most_ugly* *frog.Poss.3Sg.TrE*
változtatta a herceget.
transform.Past.DefObj.3Sg the prince.Acc
'The witch turned the prince *into the ugliest frog in the world*.'

c'. A boszorkány *a* *földkerekségnek* *a* *legcsúnyább* **békájává* / ˇ*béká-i-vá*
the witch *the* *world.Dat* *the* *most_ugly* *frog.Poss.3Sg.TrE* / *frog.Pl.TrE*
változtatta a herceg-ek-et.
transform.Past.DefObj.3Sg the prince-Pl-Acc
'The witch turned the princes *into the ugliest frogs in the world*.'

The sentence in (138b') with its intended generic reading shows a further difference: here the agreement in number is strictly prohibited (unless the above-mentioned strange meaning is considered with groups of frogs belonging to each transformed prince).

The series of examples in (139) below gives an overview of the main types of predicative noun phrases used as arguments, both from a semantic and a case-morphological point of view.

A predicative noun phrase can appear without any overt case marking not only in the copular construction but as the (single) predicative argument of *marad* 'remain' (139a) or the goal argument of *lesz* 'become' (139b). In the latter case (139b), the argument which bears the goal thematic role can also be expressed by a translative case-marked noun phrase (*üzletember-ré* 'businessman-TrE'). As is also demonstrated in (139b) below, the resultative verb in question has another, elative case-marked, predicative argument, which bears the source thematic role, since the verb's meaning conveys both the source and the goal of a change of state.

The predicative noun phrase can also be in the Accusative case (139c).

The two examples in (139d-d') illustrate that a dative case-marked predicative noun phrase can be taken either by resultative verbs (139d) or by verbs expressing someone's opinion / supposition about someone or something.

The last example (139e) contains a resultative verb again, which can take a sublative case-marked predicative noun phrase.

(139) ● The main types of predicative noun phrases used as arguments

a. Péter *tanár* maradt.
Péter *teacher* remain.Past.3Sg
'Péter remained *a teacher*.'

b. Péter *tanár-ból* lett *üzletember(-ré)*.
Péter *teacher-Ela* become.Past.3Sg *businessman(-TrE)*
'Péter has become a businessman from a teacher.'

c. Péter *tanár-t* játszik.
Péter *teacher-Acc* play.3Sg
'Péter is acting as *a teacher*.'

d. Péter *tanár-nak* tanul / született / szegődött.
Péter *teacher-Dat* study.3Sg / be_born.Past.3Sg / be_employ.Past.3Pl
'Péter [studies to be] / [was born to be] / [was employed as] *a teacher*.'

d'. Pétert *tanár-nak* hitték / gondolták / nézték.
Péter.Acc *teacher-Dat* believe.Past.3Pl / think.Past.3Pl / look.Past.3Pl
'Péter was believed / thought / considered to be *a teacher*.'

e. Péter *darab-ok-ra* vágta az almát.
Péter *piece-Pl-Sub* cut.Past.DefObj.3Sg the apple.Acc
'Péter cut the apple *into pieces*.'

The series of examples below shows that it is not only verbs that predicative noun phrases can belong to as arguments, but infinitives (140a), all kinds of participles (140b), converbs (140c) and deverbal nominals (140d) can also readily take them as arguments.

(140) ● Categories of predicates that predicative noun phrases can belong to as arguments

a. Szeretnélek [$_{InfP}$ béká-vá *változtat-ni*].
like.Cond.2Obj.1Sg frog-TrE *transform-Inf*
'I would like *to turn* you into a frog.'

b. [$_{ConvP}$ Béká-vá *változtat-va* a herceget] a boszorkány boldog volt.
frog-TrE *transform-Conv* the prince the witch happy be.Past.3Sg
'*Having turned* the prince into a frog, the witch was happy.'

c. Tegnap megláttam a [$_{PartP}$ béká-vá *változtat-ott*] herceget.
yesterday see.Past.3Sg the frog-TrE *transform-Part* prince.Acc
'Yesterday I saw the prince *turned* into a frog.'

d. [$_{DP}$ A herceg béká-vá *változtat-ás-a*] nem volt könnyű.
the prince frog-TrE *transform-ing-Poss.3Sg* not be.Past.3Sg easy
'The *turning* of the prince into a frog was not easy.'

Observe that the case marking (here, the translative case) of the predicative noun phrase is retained in the case of every deverbal form above. This holds only partially for the copular construction (137), however, as is shown in (141) below.

If the predicative noun phrase belongs to the infinitival form of the copula (141a-a'), its case marking depends on the matrix predicate that the infinitive is an argument of. In (141a), for instance, only its dative case-marked form is acceptable. The construction in (141a'), however, is similar to the "primary" predicative construction, demonstrated in (137) above: the predicatively used noun phrase (*tanár* 'teacher') bears no phonetically overt case marking.

If the predicative noun phrase belongs to the converbial form of the copula (141b), the above-mentioned "regular" construction appears again: the predicatively used noun phrase bears no phonetically overt case marking.

The association of the predicative noun phrase with the adjectival participial form (141c) or the *-Ás* nominal form (141d) of the copula, however, results in unacceptable constructions: none of the potential overt forms of the copula can be used. Instead, in (141c), the "bare" form of the predicative noun phrase (*tanár* 'teacher') should be used (see also (103c) in 1.1.2.1, and (134b) in 1.1.3.2); while, in (141d), a derived form, the denominal noun *tanár-ság* 'teacher-hood', should be used but this construction is somewhat artificial (see also 1.3.1.2.3, sub I).

(141) ● Copular constructions as secondary predicates

a. Jó lenne [$_{InfP}$ $^{*?}$tanár / $^{\checkmark}$tanár-nak *len-ni*].
good be.Cond.3Sg teacher / teacher-Dat *be-Inf*
'It would be good *to be* a teacher.'

a'. Szeretnék [$_{InfP}$ tanár / *tanár-nak *len-ni*].
like.Cond.1Sg teacher / teacher-Dat *be-Inf*
'I would like *to be* a teacher.'

b. [$_{ConvP}$ Tanár(*-nak) *lé-vén*] nem mondhattam mást.
teacher-Dat *be-Conv* not say.Mod.Past.1Sg else.Acc
'As a teacher, I couldn't say anything else.'

c. Tegnap meglátogatott a [tanár (**val-ó* / **lev-ő*)] fiam.
yesterday visit.Past.3Sg the teacher *be-Part* / *be-Part* son.Poss.1Sg
'Yesterday I was visited by my teacher son.'

c'. Tegnap meglátogatott a [$_{PartP}$ tanár-nak $^{\#}$*val-ó* / **lev-ő*] fiam.
yesterday visit.Past.3Sg the teacher-Dat *be-Part* / *be-Part* son.Poss.1Sg
Intended meaning: 'Yesterday I was visited by my teacher son.'
(The meaning that can be associated with this sentence: 'Yesterday I was visited by my son who could make a good teacher.')

c". A fiam tanár-nak *∅ / **van* / $^{\checkmark}$*val-ó* / **lev-ő* (volt).
the son.Poss.1Sg teacher-Dat ∅ / *be.3Sg* / *be-Part* / *be-Part* be.Past.3Sg
'My son can/could make a good teacher.'

d. [$_{DP}$ A $^{(?)}$tanár-ság] / [$_{DP}$ A *tanár / $^{*?}$tanár-nak *lev-és*] nem kifizetődő.
the teacher-ness / the teacher / teacher-Dat *be-ÁS* not pay_off.Part
'Being a teacher does not pay off.'

Note in passing that the dative case-marked variant of the predicative noun phrase *tanár* 'teacher' can belong to the (seemingly) adjectival participial form *való* of the copula; but, as is demonstrated in (141c') above, the meaning of the given sentence is different from "the intended meaning", that is, what is to be expected "compositionally". As for the factual meaning of (141c'), it is worth noting that the construction *tanár-nak való* 'teacher-Dat *való*' is not the adjectival participial form

of a potential verbal construction *tanár-nak van* 'teacher-Dat is'. Instead, as is shown in (141c") above, the construction *tanár-nak való* 'teacher-Dat *való*' is practically the non-verbal (namely, adjectival) component of the usual primary copular construction demonstrated in (137) above. The presence of the copula in the past tense (*volt* 'be.Past.3Sg') can be regarded as evidence for this. On other uses of *való* as an adjective, see (773) in 2.2.1.1.2.

Let us now turn to predicative noun phrases used as adjuncts (142).

The typical example of a noun phrase used as an adjunct was shown in (136d) in 1.1.3.2, repeated below as (142a). Here the essive case-marked noun phrase (*tanár-ként* 'teacher-FoE') conveys some relevant status of one of the arguments participating in the state of affairs referred to in the sentence. As both the Experiencer (*Péter*) and the Theme (*Mari*) may be claimed to be a teacher, the sentence is ambiguous.

Sentence (142b) is also ambiguous, for the same reason: either of the two human participants may wear slippers.

(142) ● Predicative noun phrases as adjuncts

a. Péter *tanár-ként* nagyra becsüli Marit.
Péter *teacher-FoE* great.Sub appreciate.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Acc
'Péter appreciates Mari *as a teacher*.'

b. Péter *papucs-ban* táncoltatta meg Marit.
Péter *slippers-Ine* make_dance.DefObj.3Sg perf Mari.Acc
'Péter made Mari dance *in slippers*.'

c. Péter *düh-é-ben* / *ijedt-é-ben* hazament.
Péter *anger-Poss.3Sg-Ine* / *fright-Poss.3Sg-Ine* home_go.Past.3Sg
'Péter *got so angry* / *scared* that he went home.'

c'. *Düh-öm-ben* / *Ijedt-em-ben* hazamentem.
anger-Poss.1Sg-Ine / *fright-Poss.1Sg-Ine* home_go.Past.1Sg
'I *got so angry* / *scared* that I went home.'

d. Péter *poén-ból* megcsókolt egy sündisznót.
Péter *joke-Ela* kiss.Past.3Sg a hedgehog.Acc
'*As a joke*, Péter kissed a hedgehog.'

e. Péter *tanár-nak* tanár, de tanítani nem tud.
Péter *teacher-Dat* teacher but teach.Inf not can
'Péter may be a teacher but he cannot teach.'

Example (142c) shows further inessive case-marked phrases used as predicative adjuncts. They express the state of one of the arguments (typically the subject / topic of the sentence). The specialty of this construction is that the given state is to be regarded as a trigger of the action described by the sentence. Furthermore, in this special construction, the inessive case-marked noun phrase shows agreement in number and person with its semantic subject (i.e., with the participant which it predicates of), through the possessive suffix it obligatorily bears (142c-c'). On the noun status of the relative stem *ijedt*, which coincides with a present-day adjectival past participle and an Old Hungarian gerund (see Dékány 2014), see the analysis presented in (443c) in 1.3.1.4.1 (i.e., the relative stem *ijedt* is considered as noun-like as the stem *düh* 'anger' in the other example in (142c-c')).

The special feature of the example in (142d) is that the (elative case-marked) predicative noun phrase does not predicate something about one of the participants in the action denoted by the verb but about this action itself as a whole. That is, the kissing of a hedgehog is claimed to be a joke. As is observed by Komlósy (1992: 446), predicative adjuncts, but not predicative arguments, can not only make a statement about participants of the state of affairs expressed by the sentence but also about this state of affairs itself.

The dative case-marked noun phrase in (142e) is a special topic which "anticipates" the nominal predicate (see Gyuris 2009: 4.3). This construction is exceptional since the predicative noun phrase provides no additional information compared to the predicate. Hence, as a matter of fact, it cannot be regarded as a prototypical secondary predicate, at least in a semantic sense. Instead, it seems that in Hungarian not only the participants of the state of affairs described by the sentence can be topicalized but also the state of affairs itself—through topicalizing its predicative core.

The examples in (143) below serve as counterparts of the sentences in (140) above.

(143) ● Categories of predicates that predicative noun phrases can belong to as adjuncts

a. Nem tudom [$_{\text{InfP}}$ tanár-ként nagyra *becsül-ni* Marit].
I can.DefObj.3Sg teacher-FoE great.Sub *appreciate-Inf* Mari.Acc
'I cannot *appreciate* Mari as a teacher very much.'

b. Itt állok [$_{\text{ConvP}}$ tanár-ként nagyra *becsül-ve*], de magányosan.
here stand.1Sg teacher-FoE great.Sub *appreciate-Conv* but lonely
'I am here very much *appreciated* as a teacher but lonely.'

c. A [$_{\text{PartP}}$ tanár-ként nagyra *becsül-t*] Mari gyakran magányos.
the teacher-FoE great.Sub *appreciate-Part* Mari often lonely
'Mari, who is very much *appreciated* as a teacher, is often lonely.'

d. $^{(?)}$Marit nem boldogítja [$_{\text{DP}}$ a tanár-ként való nagyra *becsül-és-e*].
Mari.Acc not make_happy.DefObj.3Sg the teacher-FoE be.Part great.Sub *appreciate-ing-Poss.3Sg*
'Her great *appreciation* as a teacher does not make Mari happy.'

It is shown that predicative noun phrases used as adjuncts can belong to infinitives (143a), to converbs (143b) and to all kinds of participles (143c) (not only to verbs). As for deverbal nominals (143d), the corresponding construction is somewhat artificial, presumably due to the inevitably many dependents around the deverbal nominal head. Notice that the case marking (here, the essive case) of the predicative noun phrase is retained in the case of every deverbal form above.

1.1.3.4. Summary and further syntactic uses and semantic functions of noun phrases

We conclude subsection 1.1.3 with cases where noun phrases are used neither predicatively, nor as arguments, nor as adjuncts.

Parts of idioms, for instance, manifest this special case (144). In the idiomatic reading of, say, the sentence in (144a), the two noun phrases, in spite of the fact that they have syntactic functions, cannot be regarded as arguments, because they do not refer to persons, groups or any kind of other entities, and obtain no thematic roles in either a 'beating' state of affairs or any other state of affairs. Nor can they be regarded as adjuncts, since no semantic content is associated with them which might

serve as a contribution to the semantic content of any kind of state of affairs. Furthermore, these noun phrases cannot be regarded as any kind of predicates, since no one is claimed to be a devil or a wife.

Noun phrases used as parts of idioms can practically bear any kind of case marking: Nominative (144a,b,f), Accusative (144a,c,e), or any kind of oblique case (144d,e). Parts of idioms can be expressed by bare noun phrases, as well (144c).

(144) ● Noun phrases as parts of idioms

a. Veri *az ördög a feleség-é-t.*
beat.DefObj.3Sg *the devil the wife-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'It is raining, but the sun is shining at the same time.'
(Literal reading: '*The devil* is beating *his wife*.')

b. Ilinél eltörött *a mécses.*
Ili.Ade break.Past.3Sg *the lampion*
'Ili broke into tears.'
(Literal reading: '*The lampion* broke with Ili.')

c. Péter *bak-ot* lőtt.
Péter *horned_goat-Acc* shoot.Past.3Sg
'Péter made a mistake.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter shot *a horned goat*.')

d. Péter kirázza *az ujj-á-ból* a megoldást.
Péter shake_out.DefObj.3Sg *the finger-Poss.3Sg-Ela* the solution.Acc
'Péter is going to nail the solution.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter will shake out the solution *from his finger*.')

e. Péter köti *az eb-et a karó-hoz.*
Péter bind.DefObj.3Sg *the dog-Acc the picket-All*
'Péter insists on something.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter binds *the dog to the picket*.')

f. ?Felkopott Ili-nek *az áll-a.* / ✓Ili-nek felkopott *az áll-a.*
up_is_worn.Past.3Sg Ili-Dat *the chin-Poss.3Sg* / Ili-Dat up_is_worn.Past.3Sg *the chin-Poss.3Sg*
'Ili became dirt-poor.'
(Literal reading: 'Ili*'s chin* was worn out.')

It is also possible that (the lexical form of) the idiom contains only a part of the argument of the "original" verb in its literal meaning, as is illustrated by (144f) above. The subject of the verb *felkopik* 'is worn (out)', according to the potential literal reading, is the complete possessive construction *Ilinek az álla* 'Ili.Dat the chin.Poss.3Sg', but the (possibly extracted) NAK possessor *Ilinek* does not belong to the lexical form of the idiom; only the remnant *az álla* 'the chin.Poss.3Sg' belongs to that. The noun phrase *Ilinek* expresses a real, semantic, argument of the idiom (as a lexical item).

Note in passing that idioms typically take real arguments as well, besides their "virtual" arguments. The following are real arguments in (144b-e) above: the addessive case-marked noun phrase *Ilinél* 'Ili.Ade' in (144b), the subject *Péter* in (144c-e), and the accusative case-marked argument *a megoldást* 'the solution.Acc' in (144d). Example (144a) illustrates the interesting case where an idiom has no real argument, similar to verbs like *havazik* 'it snows'.

Vocative constructions (145) are also noun phrases that are not predicates nor arguments nor adjuncts, since they do not form parts of (finite) sentences. A

difference between vocative constructions and parts of idioms is that the former ones are necessarily referential, in spite of the fact that they cannot contain articles (see Remark 1; see also Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992: 227)).

We show below three types of noun phrases used as vocative constructions: a proper name (145a), an attributive construction (145b), and an (explicit) possessive construction (145c).

(145) ● Noun phrases used as vocative constructions

a. *Peti*, menj haza!
Peti go.Subj.2Sg home
'*Peti*, go home.'

b. *Kedves kisebbik fiam!*
dear smaller.Det son.Poss.1Sg
'*My dear younger son, ...*'

c. *Világ proletárjai*, egyesüljetek!
world proletarian.Poss.Pl.3Sg unite.Subj.2Pl
'*Proletarians of all countries,* unite!'

We conclude subsection 1.1.3 with a classification of the data illustrating noun phrases used as arguments or adjuncts, on the one hand, and predicatively ([+PRED]) or non-predicatively ([–PRED]), on the other hand.

As non-predicatively used noun phrases are typically used referentially ([+REF]), the table below contains a row for referential uses, too. It is also possible, however, for a noun phrase to be used predicatively and referentially at the same time. Hence, the table needs to contain a row for this case, as well ([+REF, +PRED]). Furthermore, as is shown in subsection 1.1.3.4, there may occur noun phrases which qualify as neither arguments nor adjuncts ([–(SEMANTIC) DEPENDENT]), on the one hand, and neither predicative nor referential, on the other hand ([–REF, –PRED]).

Table 19: Summary of syntactic uses and semantic functions of the Hungarian noun phrase

	+(SEMANTIC) DEPENDENT		–(SEMANTIC) DEPENDENT
	ARGUMENT	ADJUNCT	
[+REF, –PRED]	(127a-c, d-f), (129), (130b-c, f-g), (131a-d')	(133a-b", f), (134a, c-d), (135), (136a-c)	(145)
[–REF, +PRED]	(127c'), (131e), (138b-b'), (139), (140), (142), (143)	(134b), (136d), (137a")	(137a', b')
[+REF, +PRED]	(138c-c')	(136d')	(137c-c')
[–REF, –PRED]	(130d), (132)	(133c-e)	(144)

As can be seen, no cells are empty. Each combination of the given aspects, thus, appear in Hungarian; several details, of course, are left to future research. The relevant comments are provided near the corresponding examples in their original places above.

1.2. Classification *(Veronika Szabó)*

This section provides a classification of nouns. In traditional grammars different types of proper nouns (e.g., personal names or geographical nouns) and common nouns (e.g., mass/substance nouns, nouns denoting mental processes or activity) are distinguished. The subclasses can be defined semantically, but in some cases the semantic differences between the noun classes are also reflected in their syntactic and morphological properties. According to Barabás, Kálmán and Nádasdy (1977), proper nouns cannot be classified without a formal analysis. We adopt their conception and describe the distinction with the help of a formal test which is based on determination.

The discussion is structured as follows. Subsection 1.2.1 gives a short explanation for why it is not easy to draw a line between proper nouns (such as *János* or *Duna* 'Danube') and common nouns (such as *fiú* 'boy' or *folyó* 'river'). We introduce the Test of Determination, with the help of which we distinguish four basic types of nouns. Examples are given of other morphological properties. In subsection 1.2.2, common nouns are divided into several subclasses.

Finally, subsection 1.2.3 discusses the differences between relational nouns like *apa* 'father' versus non-relational nouns like *fiú* 'boy'. Subsection 2.1.1.2 will discuss the differences between the classes distinguished above in more detail with regard to complementation within the noun phrase.

1.2.1. Proper nouns

We start the discussion of the typology of nouns with the distinction between proper nouns (this subsection) and common nouns (1.2.2). Subsections 1.2.1.1 and 1.2.1.2 will discuss the semantic and syntactic properties of proper names, respectively.

1.2.1.1. Semantic properties

From a semantic viewpoint, common nouns are typically nouns with descriptive content or meaning—in the sense that they denote entities by providing an appropriate description of them. Conversely, proper nouns are normally characterized by little or no descriptive content; they can be said to have no denotation, only reference. In other words, while common nouns enable the addressee to pick out the intended referent (set) with the help of the descriptive content of the noun, proper nouns do not normally have such descriptive content (they do not denote a set with the property mentioned). Therefore, a proper noun is label for a specific object.

Let us compare a common noun and a proper noun to clarify matters. The noun phrase *a menetrend* 'the time-table' in (146a) has both denotation and reference: its head noun, *menetrend* 'time-table', denotes a set of things with the particular property of being a time-table; the noun phrase *a menetrend* as a whole refers to a unique entity (in the given context), which is identifiable on account of this

description. The noun *Péter* in (146b), on the other hand, has no denotation: it has no meaning and does not denote a set of entities by providing an appropriate description of them. It does, however, have (unique) reference: the proper noun by itself is sufficiently informative (in the given context) for any addressee to identify the person referred to.

(146) ● Proper nouns and common nouns in sentences

a. Figyelje *a menetrend-et*!
pay_attention.Subj.DefObj.3Sg *the time_table-Acc*
'Pay attention to *the time-table*!'

b. Juli látta *Péter-t*?
Juli see.Past.DefObj.3Sg *Péter-Acc*
'Did Juli see *Péter*?'

As a result, proper nouns are usually untranslatable; the English equivalent for the Hungarian *Ilona* is simply *Ilona* (and not *Helen* or *Ellen*).

However, there are many exceptions to this general rule. For example, *a Tejút* does have descriptive content and can, indeed, be translated to English as 'the Milky Way'. The same holds for geographical names with descriptive content: for instance, *az Egyesült Államok* 'the United States'. Note that many other geographical names have their own forms in different languages (e.g., *Horvátország* 'Croatia', *Bécs* 'Vienna'); but these, obviously, are not true instances of translation.

There are also other problems with the use of a clearly semantic distinction. On the one hand, proper nouns can be used as common nouns in a metonymic way. The name of a country, for instance, can stand for the name of the national army (or some national sports team) of that country (see subsection 1.2.1.2.2). Metonymic use can lend proper nouns descriptive content. On the other hand, common nouns may lose their descriptive content and can be used as proper nouns (e.g. *morzsa* 'morsel' as a name for a dog). The difficulty to draw the line between nouns with and without descriptive content shows that semantics alone does not provide a reliable criterion for the distinction between common and proper nouns.

M. Hajdú (2003) claims that everything can be a proper noun depending on the speech community using it. The distinction between a proper noun and a common noun is mostly orthographic in nature; the first letter of a proper noun is capitalized. However, this rule is not always applied: the name for the world's biggest online shopping website does not begin with a capital letter (Vincze and Farkas 2012), see (147).

(147) ● A proper noun which does not begin with a capital letter

A Google megállapodást kötött az *eBay*-jel.
the Google agreement.Acc make.Past.3Sg the *eBay*-Ins
'Google has entered into an agreement with *eBay*.'

1.2.1.2. Syntactic properties

Given the problems mentioned above, it is necessary to find a syntactically relevant test to distinguish proper nouns from common nouns. This subsection will show that proper nouns behave differently from common nouns in a number of ways, principally in the possibility of determination. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in

subsection 1.2.1.2.2, there are cases in which proper nouns can be used as regular common nouns. Conversely, there are also cases in which common nouns are used as proper nouns, and these cases are discussed in subsection 1.2.1.2.3.

1.2.1.2.1. Proper nouns: prototypical and non-prototypical use

In what follows we will first describe the prototypical use of proper nouns and their behavior beside determiners/numerals and modifiers. This is followed by a discussion of more exceptional cases.

I. Prototypical use

Common nouns constitute the head of a noun phrase: they can be preceded by a determiner (e.g., an article or a demonstrative), they can be modified by adjectives and they can take one or more complements. By contrast, proper nouns prototypically form noun phrases all by themselves. Since a proper noun has a unique reference, this makes the addition of restrictive modifiers to it superfluous, and it also renders the pluralization of the noun impossible.

A. Pluralization and agreement

The examples in (148) show that proper nouns cannot be pluralized (but cf. (171) in II.A), except when the proper noun phrase itself is formally plural. Example (148b') shows that in the latter case the singular will not be available (at least not as a proper noun).

(148) ● Pluralization of proper nouns is impossible

a. *a János-ok / *a Julcsi-k
the János-Pl / the Julcsi-Pl

b. az Alp-ok / az Egyesült Állam-ok
the Alp-Pl / the United State-Pl
'[the Alps] / [the United States]'

b′. egy *Alp / *Egyesült Állam
one Alp / United State

Proper nouns with plural morphology are used as singular nouns (149a-b).

(149) ● Proper nouns in plural are used like singular nouns

a. Az *Ámokfutó-**k*** zenél a színpadon.
*the Amok_runner-**Pl*** play_music.3Sg the stage.Sup
'The band *Ámokfutók* ('Amok runners') is playing on stage.'

b. *A kőszívű ember fia-**i*** érdekes regény.
*the stonehearted man son.Poss-**Pl**.3Sg* interesting novel
'*A kőszívű ember fiai* ('The Heartless Man's Sons') is an interesting novel.'

B. Restrictive modification

The (a)-examples in (150) show that proper nouns do not allow any modification aimed at restricting the number of their potential referents: examples (150a-a') are acceptable but only when the attributive adjective is used non-restrictively and if it provides additional information about the referent of the noun phrase. Example

(150b) shows that if the proper noun itself contains a (restrictive) modifier, this cannot be omitted without the head of the noun phrase losing its status as a proper noun.

(150) ● Proper nouns with non-restrictive adjectives

a. a magas Halászbástya
the tall Fisherman's_bastion
'the tall Fisherman's bastion'

a'. a Halászbástya, ami magas
the Fisherman's_bastion which tall
'the Fisherman's bastion, which is tall'

b. a *(Dunántúli) Középhegység
the Transdanubian Mountain
'the Transdanubian Mountains'

C. Determination

The definite construction containing the definite article *a(z)* 'the' and the indefinite construction containing the numeral *egy* 'one' (see Remark 5 in 1.1.2.2) play an important role in distinguishing proper nouns from common nouns. The appearance of *egy* 'one' forecasts a common noun. In their prototypical use, proper nouns cannot appear in the indefinite construction, as is demonstrated in (151) 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 (151b), *Fehér-Körös* 'White Körös', *Fekete-Körös* 'Black Körös' and *Sebes-Körös* 'Swift Körös'.

(151) ● Proper nouns cannot appear in the indefinite construction

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 *[egy Körös-t] / [az egyik Körös-t].*
yesterday see.Past.1Sg *one Körös-Acc / the one_of Körös-Acc*
'Yesterday I saw *[a Körös] / [one of the Körös rivers].*'

Note in passing that in traditional Hungarian grammars (e.g., Keszler 2000: 284) *egy* is referred to as the Hungarian indefinite article, which corresponds to the English *a(n)*. It would have been easier to speak about "the distinguishing role of the definite and the indefinite article", instead of referring to "definite or indefinite constructions (containing *a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'one', respectively)". As was discussed in Remark 5, however, generative linguists have argued that *egy* is only a numeral ('one'), and the indefinite counterpart of *a(z)* 'the', which occupies the D head position, is a phonetically empty element (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 222–224). The series of examples below provides a comparative overview of the opposition between the definite article and its zero indefinite counterpart in different noun phrase constructions, simultaneously elucidating the role of *egy* 'one' in the singular indefinite noun phrase construction (152).

(152) ● Definite and indefinite construction

a. Tegnap megérkeztek *a mexikói vendég-ek* Pécsre.
yesterday arrive.Past.3Pl *the Mexican guest-Pl* Pécs.Sub
'Yesterday *the Mexican guests* arrived in Pécs.'

a'. Tegnap *mexikói vendég-ek* érkeztek Pécsre.
yesterday *Mexican guest-Pl* arrive.Past.3Pl Pécs.Sub
'Yesterday *Mexican guests* arrived in Pécs.'

b. Tegnap megérkezett *az öt mexikói vendég* Pécsre.
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *the five Mexican guest* Pécs.Sub
'Yesterday *the five Mexican guests* arrived in Pécs.'

b'. Tegnap érkezett *öt mexikói vendég* Pécsre.
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *five Mexican guest* Pécs.Sub
'Yesterday there arrived in Pécs *five Mexican guests*.'

c. Tegnap megérkezett *a mexikói vendég* Pécsre.
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *the Mexican guest* Pécs.Sub
'Yesterday *the Mexican guest* arrived in Pécs.'

c'. Tegnap érkezett #(egy) *mexikói vendég* Pécsre.
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *one Mexican guest* Pécs.Sub
'Yesterday there arrived in Pécs *a Mexican guest*.'
(the alternative meaning without *egy* 'one':
'Yesterday there arrived one or more *Mexican guests* in Pécs.')

As is demonstrated in the (a)- and (b)-examples in (152) above, it is true for semantically plural constructions, independently of their morphologically plural or singular character, that the overt definite article in the definite construction does stand in opposition to an implicit element (or the lack of any element) in the corresponding indefinite construction. In the singular construction, however, the numeral *egy* 'one' obligatorily appears in the corresponding indefinite construction (152c'). This is presumably due to the fact that the bare noun phrase in Hungarian denotes a special number which simultaneously includes both singularity and plurality (see Remark 6 in subsection 1.1.2.2 and the "alternative meaning" provided in (152c') above). In the singular noun phrase construction, thus, the definite/indefinite opposition can rightly be referred to as a simple (superficial) opposition between *a(z)* 'the' and *egy* 'one', without having to give up the current generative assumption "in the theoretical background".

Let us review the behavior of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' in combination with different kinds of proper nouns. Over the last few decades, Szabolcsi's theory (1992) has had a great influence on the Hungarian literature, while Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992), and É. Kiss (1999) laid down the rules of determination. Here the work of Alberti and Balogh (2004) is discussed since it summarizes the most important results and gives a clear and systematized description of the phenomenon in question.

There are certain differences between proper nouns from the point of view of determination. Some proper nouns, especially the names of countries (at least without an attributive adjective; cf. (155c) below), do not take a definite article (153b), while other proper nouns—the names of rivers (153a), for instance—demand it in their prototypical use.

(153) ● Proper nouns with and without the definite article

a. Láttam *a Tiszá-t.*
see.Past.1Sg *the Tisza-Acc*
'I saw *the Tisza* (river).'

b. Láttam *Máltá-t.*
see.Past.1Sg *Malta-Acc*
'I saw *Malta*.'

Before turning to the behavior of the definite article in noun phrases which fulfill an argument function, it is useful to take a brief look at vocative constructions.

(154) ● Noun phrases in vocative constructions

a. (*A) *Fiú,* gyere csak ide!
the boy come.Subj.2Sg just here
'Come here, *boy*!'

b. (*A) *Tisza,* áldottak habjaid!
the Tisza blessed.Pl foam.Poss.Pl.2Sg
'*Tisza*, blessed are your waves!'

c. (*A) *Péter,* gyere csak ide!
the Péter come.Subj.2Sg just here
'Come here, *Péter*!'

d. (*A) (*Gyönyörű*) *Málta*, hol van régi dicsőséged?!
the wonderful Malta where be.3Sg old glory.Poss.2Sg
'(*Wonderful*) *Malta*, where is your old glory?'

According to Szabolcsi (1992), the noun phrase in the vocative is not an argument, therefore it cannot be referential (independent of its noun class). Even definite noun phrases like *a Tisza* 'the Tisza' or *a gyönyörű Málta* 'the wonderful Malta' (155b), which obligatorily contain an overt definite article, must also be used without it in the vocative construction (for further information on the vocative construction, see example (145) and the comments on it in subsection 1.1.3.4).

By contrast, if a noun phrase is an argument, it has to be referential in a postverbal position, according to the Referentiality Effect (see subsection 1.1.1.3.4 and Alberti (1997)). To fulfill this requirement, a proper noun needs an (overt) definite article if its "nominal character" is stronger, but it can stay without a definite article if it is capable of "self-determination" (Alberti and Balogh 2004). Therefore, the definite article is obligatory with common nouns and river names, but country names reject it (155a).

Similarly, personal names are to be used without the definite article or any other determiner (e.g., *e* 'this', *azon* 'that') in standard Hungarian. It must be noted, however, that in dialects or informal registers of Hungarian, the use of the definite article is acceptable with proper nouns referring to a living, familiar person: *a Péter* 'the Péter' (while a non-living person's name like *Arisztotelész* 'Aristotle' occurs only occasionally with a definite article). It is also worth noting that the definite article is not omissible if the name has a non-restrictively used attributive adjective (155b).

(155) ● Noun phrase as an argument

a. Ekkor megpillantottam *(*a*) *fiú-t* / *(*a*) *Tiszá-t* / (%*a*) *Péter-t* / (**a*) *Máltá-t.*
then see.Past.1Sg *the boy-Acc*/ *the Tisza-Acc*/ *the Péter-Acc* / *the Malta-Acc*
'Then I saw [*the boy*] / [*the Tisza*] / *Péter* / *Malta*.'

b. Ekkor megpillantottam *a csodálatos fiú-t* / *Tiszá-t* / *Péter-t* / *Máltá-t.*
then see.Past.1Sg *the wonderful boy-Acc*/ *Tisza-Acc* / *Péter-Acc*/ *Malta-Acc*
'Then I saw *[the wonderful boy] / [the wonderful Tisza] / [the wonderful Péter] / [the wonderful Malta]*.'

As can be seen in the examples above, there are differences between the various types of proper nouns. Country names do not take an adjacent definite article (153b), which makes them less nominal. Names of continents (156a), except for the Antarctic (156a'), as well as cities, towns and villages (156b) also belong to this type.

By contrast, river names always receive the definite article (see (153a) above); hence, they are more similar to common nouns. In addition to river names, this group of proper nouns also includes names of institutions (156c). As for names of islands, many require the definite article (156d). Thus they are more similar to common nouns; presumably due to the "non-foreign" elements they contain: for instance, the plural suffix *-(V)k* or the word *sziget* 'island'. Names of islands containing only foreign elements, however, reject the overt definite article (156d').

Note in passing that this observation does not hold for names of cities (156b) and names of institutions (156c). On the one hand, *Dunaújváros* 'Danube.new.town' (156b), for instance, rejects an adjacent (overt) definite article in spite of the fact that it contains non-foreign elements. On the other hand, *Sorbonne* (156c) cannot occur in Hungarian without a definite article in spite of the fact that this word contains no Hungarian morphemes.

(156) ● Names of islands, continents, institutions, cities, and parts of cities

a. Láttam már [(**az*) *Ausztráliá-t*]/ [(**az*) *Afriká-t*].
see.Past.1Sg already *the Australia-Acc* / *the Africa-Acc*
'I have already seen *Australia* / *Africa*.'

a'. Láttam már *(*az*) *Antarktisz-t.*
see.Past.1Sg already *the Antarctic-Acc*
'I have already seen *the Antarctic*.'

b. Láttam már [(**a*) *Dunaújváros-t*] / [(**a*) *Debrecen-t*] / [(**a*) *Bő-t*].
see.Past.1Sg already *the Danube_new_town-Acc* / *the Debrecen-Acc* / *the Bő-Acc*
'I have already seen *Dunaújváros* / *Debrecen* / *Bő*.'

c. Láttam [*(*a*) *Zeneakadémiá-t*] / [*(*a*) *PTE-t*] / [*(*a*) *Sorbonne-t*].
see.Past.1Sg *the music_academy-Acc* / *the PTE-Acc* / *the Sorbonne-Acc*
'I saw [*the Academy of Music*] / [*the PTE* (acronym for the University of Pécs)] / [*the Sorbonne*].'

d. Láttam már [*(*a*) *Bahamá-k-at*] / [*(*a*) *Szentendrei-sziget-et*].
see.Past.1Sg already *the Bahama-Pl-Acc* / *the Szentendre.Adj-Island-Acc*
'I have already seen *[the Bahamas] / [the Szentendrei Island]*.'

d'. Láttam már [(**a*) *Madeirá-t*] / [(**a*) *Szicíliá-t*].
see.Past.1Sg already *the Madeira-Acc* / *the Sicily-Acc*
'I have already seen *Madeira* / *Sicily*.'

e. Láttam már [*(*a*) *Ferencváros-t*] / [*(*a*) *Tabán-t*].
see.Past.1Sg already *the Ferenc_town-Acc* / *the Tabán-Acc*
'I have already seen [*the Ferencváros*] / [*the Tabán*].'

e'. Láttam már [(**a*) *Pécsbányá-t*] / [(**a*) *Zugló-t*].
see.Past.1Sg already *the Pécs_mine-Acc* / *the Zugló-Acc*
'I have already seen *Pécsbánya* / *Zugló*.'

Names of districts, quarters and other parts of cities or towns show an even more eclectic picture with respect to the property of requiring or rejecting the definite article as is shown in (156e-e') above. Independent of the transparency and intelligibility of their elements, certain names of quarters require the definite article (156e) while others reject it (156e').

In contrast to English, the names of the seven days and the twelve months are not regarded as proper names in Hungarian. The situation here is manifold, again. In any case, these nouns do not behave as prototypical common nouns in Hungarian, since in certain syntactic contexts they definitely reject the definite article (157b-b"). In other syntactic contexts, however, the bare variants of the days and the months are definitely prohibited (157a-a'). The distinction between these syntactic contexts has to do with the obvious temporal adverbial character in examples (157b-b"), compared to the other (thematic) character attributed to the corresponding verbs in examples (157a-a'); the precise definition of the distinction, nevertheless, remains for future research. Note that (157b") can only be well-formed with a definite article if it refers to the winter in this year (see also 184). Without the definite article the construction is ambiguous: on the one hand, it refers to the winter in this year, on the other hand, it can be interpreteded generic ('What do you do when it is winter?')

(157) ● Names of the days, months and seasons

a. Eljött [*(*a*) *hétfő*] / [*(*a*) *január*] / [*(*a*) *tél*].
come.Past.3Sg *the Monday* / *the January* / *the winter*
'[Monday] / [January] / [The winter] has come.'

a'. Vártuk [*(*a*) *hétfő-t*] / [*(*a*) *január-t*] / [*(*a*) *tel-et*].
wait.Past.DefObj.1Pl *the Monday-Acc* / *the January-Acc* / *the winter-Acc*
'We were waiting for *Monday* / *January* / [*the winter*].'

b. Mit csinálsz [(**a*) *hétfő-n*] / [(**a*) *január-ban*]?
what do.2Sg *the Monday-Sup* / *the January-Ine*
'What will you do [*on Monday*] / [*in January*]?'

b'. Mit csinálsz [(#*a*) *tél-en*]?
what do.2Sg *the winter-Sup*
'What will you do [*in the winter*]?'

b". Ez a munka [(**a*) *hétfő-től* (**a*) *kedd-ig*] / [(**a*) *január-tól* (**a*) *május-ig*]
this the job *the Monday-Abl the Tuesday-Ter* / *the January-Abl the May-Ter*
[(?*a*) *tél-től* (?*a*) *nyár-ig*] tart.
the winter-Abl the summer-Ter last.3Sg
'This job lasts *[from Monday to Tuesday] / [from January to May] / [from the winter to the summer]*.'

The names of the four seasons, as is also shown above in (157), behave in exactly the same way: they require or reject the definite article in the same syntactic contexts as the names of the days and months do (see also 1.2.1.2.1, sub II.D).

The same holds for parts (i.e., periods) of the day; this is demonstrated in a separate series of examples (158) to point out peculiar morphological curiosities. The word *hajnal* 'dawn', for instance, with its differently case-marked forms, behaves exactly in the same way as the name of the month *január* 'January' in (157) above. What is surprising is the morphological behavior of the variants of the word meaning 'night'. The basic form *éj* 'night' and its historically instrumental case-marked alternative *éjjel* 'night.Ins' can both serve as nominal stems (158a). The other three examples for the use of this word (158a'-b') show three different patterns of behavior. In (158a'), both variants can be case-marked (namely, accusative case-marked). In (158b), only the historically instrumental case-marked variant can be used, with no (further) temporal-adverbial case marking. Note that the definite article may appear here, in contrast to all the other words investigated in the (b)-examples in (157-158). Finally, in (158b'), the historically instrumental case-marked variant should be used, too, but in an obligatorily further case-marked form.

(158) ● Names for the parts of the day

a. Eljött [*(*a*) *hajnal*] / [*(*a*) *reggel*] / [*(*az*) *éj(jel)*].
come.Past.3Sg *the dawn* / *the morning* / *the night(Ins)*
'*Dawn / Morning / Night* has come.'

a'. Vártuk [*(*a*) *hajnal-t*] / [*(*a*) *reggel-t*] / [*(*az*) *éj(jel)-t*].
wait.Past.DefObj.1Pl *the dawn-Acc* / *the morning-Acc* / *the night(Ins)-Acc*
'We were waiting for [*the dawn*] / [*the morning*] / [*the night*].'

b. Mit csinálsz [(*a) *hajnal-ban*] / [(*a) *reggel*] / [(*az*) *éjjel*]?
what do.2Sg *the dawn-Ine* / *the morning* / *the night.Ins*
'What will you be doing [*at dawn*] / [*in the morning*] / [*at night*]?'

b'. Ez a munka [(*a) *hajnal-tól* (*az) *éj-*(-jel)-ig*] vagy
this the job *the dawn-Abl* *the night-Ins-Ter* or
[(*az) *éj-*(-jel)-től* (*a) *reggel-ig*] tart.
the night-Ins-Ter *the morning-Ter* last.3Sg
'This job lasts *[from dawn to night] or [from night to morning]*.'

Note in passing that *reggel* 'morning' does not show this eclectic morphological behavior and it is almost as regular as *hajnal* 'dawn'—in spite of the fact that it is also a historically instrumental case-marked word. It can be analyzed as the instrumental form of the stem *reg* 'morning'. This stem, however, is extinct. The only form that functions according to the original structure is the temporal-adverbial form, shown in (158b) above, which cannot be case-marked any further. For further details on the behavior of the names of parts of the day; see the series of examples in (591) in subsection 1.3.4.

Let us consider another test for distinguishing proper nouns from common nouns, which is also based on the investigation of the appearance of *egy* 'a(n)/one' and/or *a(z)* 'the' in certain syntactic constructions. The diagnostic syntactic constructions can be characterized as follows: they contain noun phrases as arguments of adjectival participles which are parts of matrix noun phrases. In (159a)

below, for instance, the noun phrase with the head noun *fiút* 'boy.Acc' is an argument of the adjectival participle *érintő* 'concerning' in the matrix phrase of the noun head *ügyet* 'issue.Acc'. It can be observed that the embedded noun phrase is acceptable with a definite article if it is a common noun and if the matrix noun phrase is indefinite (see the comments on *egy* 'a(n)/one' pertaining to example (152) above). With an embedded proper noun, however, the corresponding definite article is less acceptable (159b-c) or entirely unacceptable (159d). This test, thus, provides a distinction between common nouns and proper nouns in their prototypical use.

(159) ● Embedded noun phrases as arguments of adjectival participles inside indefinite noun phrases

a. Elintéztem [$_{DP}$ egy [$_{PartP}$ *∅ /$^{(?)}$*a fiút* érintő] ügyet].
deal_with.Past.1Sg a ∅ / *the boy.Acc* concern.Part issue.Acc
'I dealt with an issue concerning *the boy*.'

b. Elintéztem [$_{DP}$ egy [$_{PartP}$ ∅ /*$^{?}$*a Pétert* érintő] ügyet].
deal_with.Past.1Sg a ∅ / *the Péter.Acc* concern.Part issue.Acc
'I dealt with an issue concerning *Péter*.'

c. Fentről megpillantottam [$_{DP}$ egy [$_{PartP}$ ∅ / $^{??}$*a Tiszába* ömlő] mellékfolyót].
above.Del see.Past.1Sg a ∅ / *the Tisza.Ill* flow.Part tributary.Acc
'From above I saw a tributary flowing into *the Tisza*.'

d. A szén [$_{DP}$ egy [$_{PartP}$ ∅ /*a *Lengyelországban* található] bányából] érkezett.
the coal a ∅ / *the Poland.Ine* located.Part mine.Ela arrive.Past.3Sg
'The coal came from a mine located *in Poland*.'

If the matrix noun has a definite article, the use of another definite article before the embedded noun phrase is prohibited. This is because two overt definite articles cannot be directly adjacent (160a'), as was observed by Szabolcsi (1992). Only one of them can be overtly realized (160a,b,c,d). However, the question of which one it is, is not addressed here, in harmony with our theory-independent perspective. Nevertheless, if the two definite articles do not stand directly next to each other, the resulting phrase is well-formed, moreover, only in this way is the phrase well-formed (160a").

(160) ● Embedded noun phrases as arguments of adjectival participles inside definite noun phrases

a. Elintéztem [$_{DP}$ *(*a*) fiút érintő ügyet].
sort_out.Past.1Sg *the* boy.Acc concern.Part issue.Acc
'I sorted out the issue concerning *the* boy.'

a'. *Elintéztem [$_{DP}$ *az* [$_{PartP}$ *a* fiút érintő] ügyet].
sort_out.Past.1Sg *the* *the* boy.Acc concern.Part issue.Acc
Intended meaning: 'I sorted out *the* issue concerning *the* boy.'

a". Elintéztem [$_{DP}$ *(*a*) [$_{PartP}$ sajnos *(*a*) legjobb barátomat is érintő] ügyet].
sort_out.Past.1Sg *the* unfortunately *the* best friend.Poss.1Sg.Acc also concern.Part issue.Acc
'I sorted out *the* issue unfortunately also concerning my best friend.'

b. Elintéztem [$_{DP}$ *(*a*) Pétert érintő ügyet].
sort_out.Past.1Sg *the* Péter.Acc concern.Part issue.Acc
'I sorted out the issue concerning Péter.'

c. Hallottál [$_{DP}$ *(*a*) Tiszát károsító balesetről]?
hear.Past.2Sg *the* Tisza.Acc impair.Part accident.Del
'Have you heard about *the* accident causing damage to *the* Tisza?'

d. Hallottál [$_{DP}$ *(*a*) Lengyelországot sújtó válságról]?
hear.Past.2Sg *the* Poland hit.Part crisis.Del
'Have you heard about *the* crisis affecting Poland?'

Let us continue the exploration of distinguishing proper nouns from common nouns with inspecting another type of embedding construction; namely, the possessive construction. As can be seen in the examples in (161b-d) below, if the proper noun is a NAK possessor, it simply behaves exactly as is expected of its type, as was illustrated in (155a): Certain proper names obligatorily require the definite article (161b) while others clearly reject it (161d). In between these two extremes, there are cases where the appearance of the definite article with personal names is dialect- and/or register-dependent (161c). Furthermore, in harmony with what was observed in (151a), the proper name is not compatible with *egy* 'a(n)/one' in the prototypical use, as is demonstrated through a comparison of examples (161b-d) with example (161a), where a common-noun phrase is chosen to serve as a NAK possessor.

(161) ● Proper nouns as NAK possessors

a. Megpillantottam [*a* / *egy*/*∅ *konzul-nak* a / egy /*∅ kocsiját].
see.Past.1Sg *the* / *a* / ∅ *consul-Dat* the/ a / ∅ car.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I saw the/a car *of a/the consul*.'

b. Megpillantottam [*a* / **egy*/*∅ *Tiszá-nak* a / egy/*∅ mellékfolyóját].
see.Past.1Sg *the* / *a* / ∅ *Tisza-Dat* the/ a / ∅ tributary.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I saw a/the tributary *of the river Tisza*.'

c. Megpillantottam [$^{\%}$*a* / **egy*/∅ *Péter-nek* a /egy/*∅ kocsiját].
see.Past.1Sg *the* / *a* / ∅ *Péter-Dat* the/ a / ∅ car.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I saw the/a car *of Péter*.'

d. Az Eiffel-torony [**a* / **egy*/∅ *Franciaország-nak* a / egy/*∅ jelképe].
the Eiffel_tower *the* / *a* / ∅ *France-Dat* the/ a / ∅ symbol.Poss.3Sg
'The Eiffel Tower is a/the symbol *of France*.'

Note in passing that neither the obligatory appearance of *a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'a(n)/one' in front of a common noun if it is used as a possessee, nor the choice between them depends on the type of the NAK possessor, as is presented by the corresponding grammaticality judgments in (161) above. What only counts is the definite or indefinite character of the whole possessive construction.

Let us continue with the case where a proper name is chosen to be the possessee in the *-nAk* possessive construction. As can be observed in (162) below, the difference between the above-mentioned types of proper names totally disappears now: the definite article simply becomes obligatory, even if the proper noun is a country name (162c). As is stated by Alberti and Balogh (2004), the nominal character of the proper name is dominant in such cases. This is comparable with the non-restrictive attributive adjective, which also requires the definite article (155b).

Strictly speaking, these examples (162a-c) could also be labeled as non-prototypical proper names.

(162) ● The proper noun as a possessee with a NAK possessor

a. Neked valóban jobban tetszett [a XIX. századnak *(*a*) *Tiszá-ja*]?
Dat.2Sg really better enjoy.Past.3Sg the 19. century.Dat *the* *Tisza-Poss.3Sg*
'Did you really prefer the 19th century *Tisza*?'

b. Felismered [Marinak *(*a*) *Péter-é-t*]?
recognize.DefObj.2Sg Mari.Dat *the* *Péter-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'Do you recognize Mari's *Péter*? (a boyfriend of Mari's whose name is Péter)'

c. Könyvet írtak [Jaruzelskinek *(*a*) *Lengyelország-á-ról*].
book.Acc write.Past.3Pl Jaruzelski.Dat *the* *Poland-Poss.3Sg-Del*
'A book was written about Jaruzelski's *Poland*.'

If the proper noun is an unmarked possessor, it also (cf. (161b-d)) behaves exactly according to its type, as was shown in (155a): Certain proper names obligatorily require the definite article (163b), while others definitely reject it (163d). In between these cases, the appearance of the definite article with personal names is dialect- and/or register-dependent (163c).

Furthermore, in harmony with what was observed in (151a), the proper name is not compatible with *egy* 'a(n)/one' in its prototypical use, as is presented through a comparison of examples (163b-d) with example (163a), where a noun phrase headed by a common noun is chosen to serve as an unmarked possessor.

Note in passing that the symbol % in (163c) does not refer to (the inheritance of) the same dialect-based distribution of grammaticality judgments as the same symbol used in (155a). There are dialects in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1992: 79), for instance, where the personal name with the definite article is not acceptable at all as an argument of a verb (e.g., **a Péter* 'the Péter' is ill-formed) while the definite article is outright obligatory in a possessive construction with an unmarked possessor (e.g., *a Péter kocsija* 'the Péter car.Poss.3Sg').

(163) ● Proper nouns as unmarked possessors

a. Megpillantottam [*a* /*egy* / *∅ *konzul* egy/∅ kocsiját].
see.Past.1Sg *the*/ *a* / ∅ *consul* a / ∅ car.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I saw the/a car *of a*/*the consul*.'

b. Megpillantottam [*a* /**egy*/*∅ *Tisza* egy/ ∅ mellékfolyóját].
see.Past.1Sg *the*/ *a* / ∅ *Tisza* a / ∅ tributary.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I saw a/the tributary *of the river Tisza*.'

c. Megpillantottam [%*a* /**egy*/∅ *Péter* egy/∅ régi kocsiját].
see.Past.1Sg *the* / *a* / ∅ *Péter* a / ∅ old car.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I saw the/an old car *of Péter('s)*.'

d. Megpillantottam [**a* /**egy* / ∅ *Lengyelország* egy/ ∅ küldöttjét].
see.Past.1Sg *the*/ *a* / ∅ *Poland* a / ∅ diplomat.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I saw a/the diplomat *of Poland*.'

Note also that in the unmarked possessive construction, the country name rejects the appearance of a left-adjacent definite article regardless of which nominal head the definite article in question belongs to (163d). This is surprising because, as was shown in (160d), the country name can "phonetically" tolerate the appearance of a

left-adjacent definite article that does not belong to it. Thus, a potential explanation should be based on attributing a double "capacity for determination" to the country name expressed as an unmarked possessor (Alberti and Balogh 2004): it determines itself without the aid of a separate definite article, and it can also determine its possessee. This case is worth comparing to the case of the river name expressed as an unmarked possessor (163b). This kind of proper name requires a separate element to determine it, that is, an overt definite article; and then, by the above-mentioned logic, this definite article will also determine the possessee.

For the sake of clarity, it is worth mentioning that the definite article cannot appear between the unmarked possessor and the possessee as an alternative to *egy* 'a(n)/one', because this position is only available to numerals (see Remark 5 in 1.1.2.2). Thus, in (163) above, it would be pointless to refer to an excluded definite article in this word-order position.

On the basis of our findings, we can conclude that there are at least three types of proper nouns in the prototypical use. The members of type I (e.g., names of rivers, mountains, stars, institutions, and the names of certain islands and parts of cities) are proper nouns with a strong nominal character, since in certain cases, they resemble common nouns in requiring an overt definite article, (i.e., they cannot take part in self-determination). In other words, at least from a formal point of view, they are not inherently definite. The members of type III (names of countries and cities, and certain names of islands and parts of cities) reject the definite article. Consequently, they are the best candidates for self-determination. However, names of countries which include certain modifying elements behave like river names (e.g. *az Egyesült Arab Emírségek* 'the United Arab Emirates'*, a Dél-Afrikai Köztársaság* 'the South African Republic' *versus *a Lengyelország* 'Poland'*, *a Dánia* 'Denmark'), so they belong to type I. Type II (personal names) is a transitional category.

The behavior of the three different types is summarized in Table 20.

Table 20: Types of proper nouns from the point of view of determination

NOUN PHRASE WITH / WITHOUT AN OVERT DEFINITE ARTICLE ↓	*COMMON NOUNS*	*TYPE I*	*TYPE II*	*TYPE III*
IN THE VOCATIVE (154)	* / ✓	* / ✓	* / ✓	* / ✓
USED AS AN ARGUMENT OF AN ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE INSIDE AN INDEFINITE MATRIX NOUN PHRASE (159)	✓(?)/ *	??/ ✓	*?/ ✓	* / ✓
USED AS AN ARGUMENT OF A VERB (155a) OR AS A NAK POSSESSOR (161)	✓ / *	✓ / *	%/ ✓	* / ✓
USED AS AN UNMARKED POSSESSOR (163)	✓ / *	✓ / *	✓(?)/ ✓	* / ✓
USED AS A POSSESSEE WITH A NAK POSSESSOR (162), OR AS AN ARGUMENT WITH AN ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE (155b), OR AS AN ARGUMENT OF AN ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLE INSIDE A DEFINITE MATRIX NOUN PHRASE (160)	✓ / *	✓ / *	✓ / *	✓ / *

Titles of books, journals, paintings and some institutions are special from the point of view of determination, insomuch as they often begin with *a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'a(n)/one'; see, for instance, the famous Hungarian author's, Mór Jókai's novels: *A kőszívű ember fiai* ('The Heartless Man's Sons') or *Egy magyar nábob* ('A Hungarian Nabob'). If the definite article is a part of the proper noun, problems arise when one tries to use *a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'a(n)/one' before a particular name (164-165) (for further examples, see Vincze and Farkas (2012)). We must note that with *egy* 'a(n)/one' the noun phrase means one copy of the novel, so this kind of usage can be taken to be non-prototypical.

Let us review the possibilities in a systematic way (164-166).

First, definite matrix noun phrases are exemplified in (164). Two definite articles cannot stand next to each other (164a) so one of them must (and can) be deleted. As is shown in (164a'), the definite article that belongs to the definite matrix noun phrase is not omissible. In other words, the title containing an initial definite article does not belong to Type III in Table 20. As for the type of the title containing an initial *egy* 'a(n)/one', here the matrix *a(z)* 'the' and the embedded *egy* 'a(n)/one' can stand next to each other in this order, and none of them can be deleted (164b).

(164) ● Titles of books with *a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'a(n)/one' as a definite noun phrase

a. Megvettem a (**A*) *kőszívű ember fiai*-t.
buy.Past.1Sg the *the stonehearted man son.Poss.3Sg.Pl*-Acc
'I bought the novel *A kőszívű ember fiai* ('The Heartless Man's Sons').'

a'. Megvettem *(a) *Kőszívű ember fiai*-t.
buy.Past.1Sg the *stonehearted man son.Poss. 3Sg.Pl*-Acc
'I bought the novel *A kőszívű ember fiai.*'

b. Megvettem *(az) *(*Egy*) *magyar nábob*-ot.
buy.Past.1Sg the *a Hungarian nabob*-Acc
'I bought the novel *Egy magyar nábob* ('A Hungarian nabob').'

Second, indefinite matrix noun phrases are presented in (165). *Egy* 'a(n)/one' cannot precede the definite article (165a). It seems that in a case like this we should also have recourse to the strategy of definite-article deletion, while the *egy* 'a(n)/one' that belongs to the matrix noun phrase (and indicates its indefiniteness) cannot be deleted. If the title starts with *egy* 'a(n)/one', we face a simultaneous (side by side) use of two instances of *egy* 'a(n)/one'. This construction is obviously strange but not fully unacceptable if the second instance of *egy* 'a(n)/one' is stressed (165b). In this case—if *egy* 'a(n)/one' is stressed in order to signal the beginning of the title—the matrix instance of *egy* 'a(n)/one' is not omissible (165b). The matrix instance of *egy* 'a(n)/one' is not omissible, either, if the embedded instance of *egy* 'a(n)/one' is deleted and the word which originally stood second in the title is stressed (165b'), but these grammaticality judgments are rather speaker-dependent.

(165) ● Titles of books with *a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'a(n)/one' as an indefinite noun phrase

a. Vettem *(egy) (*A*) *kőszívű ember fiai*-t.
buy.Past.1Sg a *the stonehearted man son.Poss.Pl.3Sg*-Acc
'I bought a copy of the novel *A kőszívű ember fiai* (The Heartless Man's Sons).'

b. Vettem *?(??egy) ***Egy*** *magyar nábob*-ot.
buy.Past.1Sg an ***a*** *Hungarian nabob*-Acc
'I bought a copy of the novel *Egy magyar nábob* ('A Hungarian nabob').'

b'. Vettem *(?egy) *Magyar nábob*-ot.
buy.Past.1Sg a *Hungarian nabob*-Acc
'I bought a copy of the novel *Egy magyar nábob.*'

Finally, for the sake of completeness, bare matrix noun phrases are considered in (166)—in spite of the fact that the intended meanings are somewhat artificial and obviously beyond the prototypical uses of titles (see also subsection 1.2.1.2.2). The potential alternatives here are reduced to a simple choice between deleting or not deleting the initial word (*a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'a(n)/one') in the embedded title. The result is as follows: *a(z)* 'the' must be deleted (166a) while *egy* 'a(n)/one' (preferably) must not be deleted (166b).

(166) ● Titles of books with *a(z)* 'the' or *egy* 'a(n)/one' as a bare noun phrase

a. Vettem már (*A) *kőszívű ember fiai*-t.
buy.Past.1Sg already *the stonehearted man son.Poss.Pl.3Sg*-Acc
'I have already bought (one or more) copies of the novel *A kőszívű ember fiai.*'

b. Vettem már *?((?)*Egy*) *magyar nábob*-ot.
buy.Past.1Sg already *a Hungarian nabob*-Acc
'I have already bought (one or more) copies of the novel *Egy magyar nábob.*'

Note in passing that the foreign article is omissible in foreign proper nouns if the name is well-known: in the case of The Beatles, for instance, the translation *a*

Beatles 'the Beatles' is considered correct. Some people would (also) use the complete form *a The Beatles* 'the The Beatles' (Vincze and Farkas 2012).

D. -féle *and* -szerű

Apart from the fact that proper nouns and common nouns behave differently from the point of view of determination, there is another test at our disposal to decide if the noun is used as a proper noun or a common noun in a construction. The test involves the semiwords *-féle* and *-szerű*, which occur in different constructions with different meanings (about semiwords see Remark 18 and Kenesei (2000, 2007)). The test was mentioned in Kicsi and Kálmán (2012), they base their analysis on the label-like character of proper nouns.

In a construction 'X-*féle* Y' the noun X has a label-like character, when the construction means 'Y is invented and/or produced by X' (167a). For example, *Chomsky-féle hierarchia* refers to a hierarchy developed by Chomsky (i.e., 'Chomsky's hierarchy'). This construction is analogous to the compound phrase *Chomsky-hierarchia* (about this latter construction, see examples in (98) and (101) in subsection 1.1.2.1 and the comments on them). The label-like character of the X is a guarantee for X being a proper noun. However, if a constructions 'X-*féle* Y' means '(a) Y of the type of X' the noun X can only be interpreted as common noun. The construction *jazz-féle zene* means 'jazz-like music', or a *Hitler-féle diktátor* denotes a dictator who behaves like Hitler (167a').

(167) ● The semiwords *-féle* and *-szerű*

a. Chomsky-*féle* hierarchia
Chomsky-*féle* hierarchy
'Chomsky's hierarchy'

a'. jazz-*féle* zene/ Hitler-*féle* diktátor
jazz-*féle* music/ Hitler-*féle* dictator
'jazz-*like* music/ 'Hitler-like dictator'

b. Szaturnusz-*szerű* bolygó
Saturn-*szerű* planet
'Saturn-*like* planet'

b'. özönvíz*szerű* esőzés
deluge_*szerű* rain
'deluge-*like* rain'

A construction 'X-*szerű* Y' can only mean 'Y is similar to X'. The expression *Szaturnusz-szerű bolygó*, for instance, means a Saturn-like planet (167b). This semiword can also appear with common nouns (167b'): for instance, *özönvízszerű esőzés* refers to deluge-like rain. In these cases X cannot have a label-like character, X can only be interpreted as a common noun. (Note that there also exist lexicalized constructions with *-szerű* with the meaning: 'Y satisfies X', see *jogszerű intézkedés* lit. 'lawful action' but we do not deal with this construction here.) To sum up, Kicsi and Kálmán (2012) claim that the interpretation characteristic for proper nouns is not an inherent property of the lexical item itself but the construction which contains it. A noun has a proper noun interpretation in a construction with *–féle*, if the construction means 'Y is invented and/or produced by X'. In this case the noun X has a label-like character, as opposed to other constructions with the semiwords –

féle and *-szerű* in which the same noun cannot have this interpretation. It must be noted, however, that this test is applied to the most prototypical groups of proper nouns, to person names.

E. Double declination and other morphological properties

Let us continue the assessment of the differences between proper names and common nouns with discussing some morphological phenomena.

First, it is worth noting that if the proper noun in itself is already declined (e.g., in titles of books, journals, paintings), it—that is, its last word—can be further declined as if it were a normal noun head (168a,b,c). This may yield such strange words as nouns with two case markers (168a,b), which can even be identical (168c), or as case-marked verbs (168a'). Such strange words cannot occur in noun phrases which do not serve as titles. In this (latter) case, as is shown in (168b'), the head of the noun phrase should be case-marked, instead of the last word. In the case of a title which is a noun phrase with the nominal head appearing not in its right periphery, however, this strategy of case marking is excluded (168b).

(168) ● Double declination of proper nouns

a. (?)Megtanultam egy versszakot *A Duná-nál*-ból.
learn.Past.1Sg a verse *the Danube-Ade*-Ela
'I learned a verse from the poem *A Dunánál* by heart. (*At the Danube*, a poem by Attila József)'

a'. (?)Megtanultam egy versszakot a *Szeretném, ha szeretnének*-ből.
learn.Past.1Sg a verse the *love.Cond.DefObj.1Sg if love.Cond.3Pl*-Ela
'I learned a verse from the poem *Szeretném, ha szeretnének* by heart. (*I want to be loved*, 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*
'I read the short story *Találkozás egy fiatalemberrel.* ('*Meeting with a young man*', a short story by Frigyes Karinthy)'

b'. Nagyon várom *[a *találkozás egy rajongóm-mal*-**t**]/
very.much waiting.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 waiting for the meeting with a fan of mine very much.'

c. ?Csalódtam *a Halál Velencé-ben*-ben.
be_disappointed.Past.1Sg *the death Venice-Ine*-Ine
Intended meaning: 'I was disappointed at the novel *Halál Velencében* ('Death in Venice').'

Now let us consider further morphological phenomena concerning proper names and special groups of common nouns.

There is a suffix in Hungarian, *-né,* which can appear with nouns to denote the wife of a man. It can only be attached to a full name or a surname (169a), and to a limited number of common nouns, mainly titles (169b) and occupations (169c). Note in passing that there is a similar ending *-nő* '-woman' in Hungarian, which can only be attached to common nouns (169a') which typically mean titles (169b') and

occupations (169c'). The denotata of these nouns are women who obtained the given titles or occupations not via marriage but in their own right.

(169) ● The use of the suffixes *-né* and *-nő*

a. [Kovács János-né] / Kovács-né / *János-né
Kovács János-NÉ / Kovács-NÉ / János-NÉ
'Mrs. Kovács'

a'. *[Kovács János-nő] / *Kovács-nő / *János-nő
Kovács János-woman / Kovács-woman / János-woman

b. király-né / császár-né / báró-né / gróf-né
king-NÉ / emperor-NÉ / baron-NÉ / count-NÉ
'the wife of the king / emperor / baron / count'

b'. király-nő / császár-nő / báró-nő / gróf-nő
king-woman / emperor-woman / baron-woman / count-woman
'queen / empress / baroness / countess'

c. boltos-né / hentes-né
shop_assistant-NÉ / butcher-NÉ
'the wife of the [shop assistant] / butcher'

c'. boltos-nő / hentes-nő
shop_assistant-woman / butcher-woman
'female [shop assistant] / butcher'

The familiar plural suffix *-ék* was discussed in detail in subsection 1.1.1.3.1. Recall that we concluded in 1.1.1.3.1 that what really counts in the use of the suffix *-ék* is exactly a kind of "proper-nameness", and not simply specificity, as exemplified in (7) in subsection 1.1.1.3.1, repeated here as (170a-a").

(170) ● The use of the suffix *-ék*

a. a barát*(-om)-ék / szüle-i-m-ék
the friend-Poss.1Sg-Apl / the parents-Poss.Pl-1Sg-Apl
'[my friend and the others] / [my parents and the others]'

a'. a *?(szomszéd) fiú-ék
the next_door boy-Apl
'the boy next door and the others'

a". a dékán (?)(úr)-ék
the dean (mister)-Apl
'the dean and the others'

b. [Kovács János-ék] / Kovács-ék / János-ék
Kovács János-Apl / Kovács-Apl / János-Apl
'[János Kovács] / Kovács / János and the others (belonging to him)'

c. a báró-ék / gróf-ék / boltos-ék / hentes-ék
baron-Apl / count-Apl / shop_assistant-Apl / butcher-Apl
'the baron / count / shop assistant / butcher and the others (belonging to him)'

c'. a báró-né-ék / gróf-né-ék / boltos-né-ék / hentes-né-ék
baron-NÉ-Apl / count-NÉ-Apl / shop_assistant-NÉ-Apl / butcher-NÉ-Apl
'the wife of the baron / count / [shop assistant] / butcher and the others (belonging to her)'

c”. báró-nő-ék / grófnő-ék / boltos-nő-ék / hentes-nő-ék
baron-woman-Apl / count-woman-Apl / shop_assistant-woman-Apl / butcher-woman-Apl
‘the baroness / countess / [female shop assistant] / [female butcher] and the others (belonging to her)’

The examples in (170b-c) above should be compared to those in (169). We can draw the conclusion that *-ék* can also appear with a full name or a surname (170c). Moreover, it can appear even with a first name (170c), in contrast to the suffixes *-né* and *-nő* (169a-a’). The familiar plural suffix *-ék* can also be attached to common nouns denoting titles and occupations (170c), similar to *-né* and *-nő* (169b-c’). Its capacity for attachment, however, is much broader in the sphere of common nouns then that of *-né* (and *-nő*); excellent illustrations were the expressions provided in (170a-a”) and the expressions in (170c’-c”), the relative stems of which happen to be formed precisely with the suffixes *-né* and *-nő*.

II. Non-prototypical use

Proper nouns can present deviant, common-noun-like, behavior, that is, e.g. they can be pluralized. This is generally the result of the failure of a proper noun to uniquely refer to an entity within a given context.

A. Pluralization

The differences in the syntactic behavior of common nouns and proper nouns can be accounted for by the fact that proper nouns are supposed to “uniquely” refer to an entity within a given context, providing the addressee with sufficient information to identify the intended referent. When the proper noun fails in this respect, pluralization becomes possible. Let us presume that there is a family where the father and the son have the same first name, *János*, for instance. The mother can say the sentence shown in (171).

(171)● Pluralization of proper nouns in non-prototypical use
A János-ok is segítenek a főzésben.
the János-Pl also help.3Pl the cooking.Ine
‘*The Johns* (father and son) will also help with the cooking.’

On rare occasions there are differences in the plural forms of a common noun and its homophonous proper noun counterpart, as is illustrated in (172a,a’). In these examples, the proper noun has a regular (or a regularly suffixable) stem while the common noun has an irregular one, not only in its plural form but in every case involving a change in the noun stem (172b-c).

(172) ● Stem and suffix variations for nouns

a. A kertben *hárs-**ak*** állnak.
the garden.Ine *lime-**Pl*** stand.3Pl
‘There are *lime trees* standing in the garden.’

a’. *A **Hárs-ok*** szőlészettel foglalkoznak.
*the **Hárs-Pl*** viticulture.Ins deal_with.3Pl
‘*The Hárs family* are involved in viticulture.’

b. Ázsiában mindenki *arany-**at*** vesz.
Asia.Ine everybody *gold-**Acc*** buy.3Sg
'In Asia, everybody buys *gold*.'

b'. *Arany-**t*** olvasok.
*Arany-**Acc*** read.1Sg
'I'm reading (a book by) *Arany* (*János*).'

c. Felismertem *a **sólym**-ot* / ***Sólyom**-ot*.
recognize.Past.1Sg *the **hawk**-Acc* / ***Sólyom**-Acc*
'I recognized *[the hawk]* / *Sólyom* (the former president of Hungary).'

Nonetheless, native speakers do not always go by this rule; many proper nouns can be declined like a common noun, although they have a regular stem, too.

(173) ● Regular and irregular stems of proper nouns

a. A család megnézett egy régi %*Szomszéd-ok-**ot*** / %*Szomszéd-ok-**at***.
the family watch.Past.3Sg an old *Neighbor-Pl-**Acc*** / *Neighbor-Pl-**Acc***
'The family watched an old episode from *Szomszédok* ('*Neighbors*', soap opera).'

b. Megittunk egy %*Három Király-ok-**ot*** / %*Három Király-ok-**at***.
drink.Past.1Pl an *Three King-Pl-**Acc*** / *Three King-Pl-**Acc***
'We drank a glass of *Három Királyok* ('Three Kings', a beer).'

Moreover, we must concede that also common nouns can have regular and irregular stems. While in some cases the stem change entails semantic differences (174a-a'), in other cases it does not (174b).

(174) ● Regular and irregular stems of common nouns

a. A ***darv**-ak* délre repülnek.
the ***crane**-Pl* south.Sub fly.3Pl
'*Cranes* fly south.'

a'. Már az ókori görögök is használtak ***daru**-k-at*.
already the ancient greek.Pl also use.Past.3Pl ***crane**-Pl-Acc*
'*Cranes* were already used by the ancient Greeks.'

b. Micsoda ***tetv**-ek* / ***tetű**-k* vagytok!
what ***louse**-Pl* / ***louse**-Pl* be.2Pl
'What *crawlers* you are!'

B. Restrictive modification

Whenever a modifier is present, it forces a reading on which there is more than one referent available which can be referred to by the same proper noun. This shows that the addition of modifiers to the noun phrase becomes acceptable when unique identification is not possible on the basis of the proper noun alone. This is shown in the example in (175).

(175) ● Restrictive modification of proper nouns in non-prototypical use
Ki-re gondolsz? *A kis Jani-ra* vagy *a nagy Jani-ra*?
who-Sub mean.2Sg *the small Jani-Sub* or *the big Jani-Sub*
'Who do you mean? *The small Jani or the big Jani?*'

C. Determination

There are numerous occasions where proper nouns can change their type.

A river name (176a), for instance, can be used as a personal name (176a'). A country or a city (176b') can also be named after a river (176b). In these cases the occurrence of the definite article is regulated by the current function of the proper noun.

(176) ● River name as personal name and as a country/city name

a. 2001-ben kiadtak egy könyvet *(*a*) *Tiszá-ról.* (River)
2001-Ine publish.Past.3Pl a book.Acc *the Tisza-Del*
'In 2001 a book was published *about the river Tisza*.'

a'. 2001-ben kiadtak egy könyvet (**a*) *Tiszá-ról* (Tisza Istvánról). (Person)
2001-Ine publish.Past.3Pl a book.Acc *the Tisza-Del*
'In 2001 a book was published *about Tisza* (Tisza István).'

b. Nem fürödtem *(*a*) *Kongó-ban* / *Kabul-ban.* (River)
not swim.Past.1Sg *the Congo-Ine* / *Kabul-Ine*
'I didn't have a swim *in the Congo* / *Kabul river*.'

b'. Nem fürödtem (**a*) *Kongó-ban* / *Kabul-ban.* (Country / Town)
not swim.Past.1Sg *the Congo-Ine* / *Kabul-Ine*
'*In Congo* / *Kabul* I didn't swim.'

Another possibility is that a proper name can serve as a part of another proper name. Then this matrix proper name may also become a part of a proper name, and theoretically long chains of proper names can be formed in this way. In the example below the first element is a first name for men (177a), which is embedded in a full name (177b), then the full name is embedded in an institution name (177c). The final example (177d) shows that an institution name can be embedded in a proper name of the same type, that is, an institution name.

(177) ● Proper names embedded in each other

a. Mihály (first name of a person)
b. Táncsics Mihály (full name of a person)
c. Táncsics Mihály Gimnázium (institution name: secondary school)
d. Táncsics Mihály Gimnázium Alapítvány
Táncsics Mihály high_school Foundation
'Foundation of the Mihály Táncsics Secondary School'

Since the name of the institution can be abbreviated, *Táncsics Mihály Gimnázium* can be called *Táncsics* for short in spoken language (178b). In a sentence, the absence of the definite article (in standard Hungarian) is an indicator of the fact that the proper noun is a personal name (178a).

(178)● The name of an institution and of a person

a. Olvastam (**a*) *Táncsics-ról.*
read.Past.1Sg *the Táncsics-Del*
'I read *about Táncsics* (*Táncsics* is a historical person's name).'

b. Olvastam *(*a*) *Táncsics-ról.*
read.Past.1Sg *the Táncsics-Del*
'I read *about the Táncsics* (*Táncsics* as an institution name)'

Proper nouns in certain possessive constructions can play a special role in determination. If the proper noun is formally a possessor but its function is to identify its possessee (179a), the proper noun is always an unmarked possessor, and the possessee rejects the definite article (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992). A similar phenomenon (179b) can also be observed with common noun constructions including relations of quality and apposition (Chisarik and Payne 2001).

(179) ● Special possessive constructions

a. Párizs volt [Ady Bakony-a] / *[Ady-nak a Bakony-a].
Paris was Ady Bakony-Poss.3Sg / Ady-Dat the Bakony-Poss.3Sg
'Paris was Ady's Bakony. (the Bakony mountains)

b. Jártam [Pécs város-á-ban] /*[Pécs-nek a város-á-ban].
go.Past.1Sg Pécs city-Poss.3Sg-Ine / Pécs-Dat the city-Poss.3Sg-Ine
'I have been to the city of Pécs.'

The proper noun as an identifying possessor is used before names of cities, islands and holidays (180a), but not before names of villages, rivers or lakes (180b).

(180) ● Proper nouns as identifying possessors

a. [Pécs város-a] / [Málta sziget-e] / [karácsony ünnep-e]
Pécs city-Poss.3Sg / Malta island-Poss.3Sg / Christmas holiday-Poss.3Sg
'[the city of Pécs] / [the island of Malta] / [the Christmas holidays]'

b. [*Mánfa falu-ja] /[*a Duna folyó-ja] / [*a Balaton tav-a]
Mánfa village-Poss.3Sg / the Danube-Poss.3Sg / the Balaton lake-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: [the village of Mánfa] / [the River Danube] / [the Lake Balaton]'

Finally, proper nouns can also co-occur with the demonstrative determiner *az/ez* 'that/this' in informal expressions such as (181), which are used to express surprise usually combined with a touch of admiration ("who would have thought it so!"), or sympathy ("poor fellow"), or despise ("that stupid person").

(181) ● A proper noun with a demonstrative determiner

a. Ez a Péter!
this the Péter
'This Péter!'

b. Ez a Péter már megint átejtett!
this the Péter already again spoof.Past
'This Péter spoofed me once again!'

D. Names of the days, months and seasons

Prototypically, the names of the days of the week behave like river names, although they are not proper nouns since they do not have unique reference (see also (157) in 1.2.1.2.1 sub I.C). At the same time, they can be used in combination with the definite article and an identifying modifier (182a). When referring to a day close to the moment of speech, however, the definite article is normally left out, even when the noun is modified (182b,c).

(182) ● Names of the days with and without articles

a. *A húsvét előtti / utáni (második) szerdá-n* jön.
the Easter before.Attr/ after.Attr second Wednesday-Sup come.3Sg
'He will come *on the (second) Wednesday before/after Easter*.'

b. Péter (*múlt*) *szerdá-n* volt itt.
Péter *last Wednesday-Sup* be.Past.3Sg here
'Péter was here *(last) Wednesday*.'

c. (*Jövő*) *szerdá-n* jön.
next Wednesday-Sup come.3Sg
'He will come *(next) Wednesday*.'

Egy 'a(n)/one' can also be used if the noun has a modifier.

(183) ● Names of the days with *egy* 'a(n)/one'

Egy ?(*esős*) *szerdá-n* érkezett.
a rainy Wednesday-Sup come.Past.3Sg
'He came *on a (rainy) Wednesday*.'

Nouns referring to the names of the seasons can be used without a definite article (184a). With the definite article the phrase means the closest spring/summer/autumn/winter to the moment of speech.

(184) ● Names of seasons with and without a definite article

a. *Tél-en / tavasz-szal / nyár-on / ősz-szel* született.
winter-Sup / spring-Ins / summer-Sup / autumn-Ins be_born.Past.3Sg
'He was born *in winter / spring / summer / autumn*.'

b. *A tél-en / tavasz-szal / nyár-on / ősz-szel* született.
the winter-Sup / spring-Ins / summer-Sup / autumn-Ins be_born.Past.3Sg
'He was born *in winter / spring / summer / autumn (this year)*.'

The examples in (185), on the other hand, show that the names of the months cannot be preceded by a definite article without a modifier.

(185) ● The names of months and the definite article

a. Péter *január-ban* született.
Péter *January-Ine* be_born.Past.3Sg
'Péter was born *in January*.'

b. *A* *(*hideg*) *január-ban* jó visszaemlékezni a nyaralásra.
the cold January-Ine good remember.Inf the holiday.Sub
'*In a (cold) January* it is good to think back of the summer holidays.'

The examples in (186a) show that the names of the seasons can be preceded by *egy* 'a(n)/one', but the names of the months cannot. In example (186b), an indefinite construction should be chosen to express the intended generic meaning.

(186) ● Names of the seasons and months within indefinite noun phrases

a. [*Egy nyár-on*] / ??[*Egy június-ban*] elmentem a nagyszüleimhez.
a summer-Sup / a June-Ine go.Past.1Sg the grandparent.Poss.Pl.1Sg.All
'*One summer / June* I went to see my grandparents.'

b. *Egy meleg nyár-on / június-ban* az átlaghőmérséklet
a hot summer-Sup / June-Ine the avarage_temperature
meghaladhatja a 30 fokot.
exceed.Mod.DefObj.3Sg the 30 Celsius_degree.Acc
'*In a hot summer* / *June* the average temperature can exceed 30 Celsius degrees.'

1.2.1.2.2. Proper nouns used as common nouns

Proper nouns often shift towards regular common nouns.

The phrase *Szent János Kórház* 'Szent János hospital' in (187a), for example, denotes an institution; nonetheless, it can also refer to a location. In (187b), the names of the countries *Egyesült Államok* 'United States' and *Szlovákia* 'Slovakia' refer to their ice-hockey teams. The same holds for the example in (187b') with the slight difference that here names of towns refer to their teams. Finally, in (187c), the name of an author stands for his book.

(187) ● Proper nouns used as common nouns

a. Kicserélték az ajtókat *(*a*) *Szent János (Kórház)-ban*.
replace.Past.DefObj.3Pl the door.Pl.Acc *the Szent János hospital-Ine*
'The doors were replaced *in Szent János hospital*.'

b. A jégkorong VB-n *(*az*) *Egyesült Államok*
the ice-hockey world_championship-Sup *the United States*
legyőzte (**a*) *Szlovákiá-t*.
beat.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the Slovakia-Acc*
'*The Unites States* beat *Slovakia* at the ice-hockey world championship.'

b'. (**A*) *Kaposvár-on* *(*a*) *Kaposvár* legyőzte *(*a*) *Pécs-et*.
the Kaposvár-Sup the Kaposvár beat.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the Pécs-Acc*
'*In Kaposvár the (team of) Kaposvár* beat *the (team of) Pécs*.'

c. (%*A*) *Gothár* végigolvasta *(*az*) *Esterházy-t*.
the Gothár read_through.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the Esterházy-Acc*
'*Gothár* read through the book by *Esterházy*.'

c'. (%*A*) *Gothár* végigolvasta (**az*) *Esterházy-t*.
the Gothár read_through.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the Esterházy-Acc*
'*Gothár* read through all works by *Esterházy*.'

Notice that type shift might potentially come with a change in determination.

The first two examples (187a-b) illustrate that a change like this does not necessarily take place. The institution name requires the definite article in the same way as the location name derived from it (187a). Note in passing that a personal name has served as the basis for the formation of the institution name, which can then be used without mentioning the name of the kind of institution. In this case what remains is exactly the original personal name, but with an obligatory definite article (see also (178b) in 1.2.1.2.1, sub II.C). Example (187b) is another illustration of the case in which type shift comes with no change in determination: the team name must or must not take a definite article depending on the relevant property of the country name after which the team has been named.

In (187b'), however, the team names must obligatorily take the definite article although here, too, sports teams are mentioned, with the slight difference that now

the teams are named after towns. Recall that names of towns uniformly reject the definite article (see (156b) in 1.2.1.2.1, sub I.C), so here the type shift implies radical change in determination.

The next example (187c) is another illustration of type shift with change in determination. While a personal name (*(a) Gothár* '(the) Gothár') may or may not take a definite article in a dialect- and register-dependent way (and the article is to be avoided in standard Hungarian), the reference to a given person's book (*az Esterházy* 'the Esterházy') must obligatorily take a definite article if it is referred to through the author's name.

If the given person's whole lifetime achievement is referred to by his/her name, however, the definite article is definitely prohibited (187c'). As for the variant with the definite article, it is an expression of some kind of jargon.

It is a very common phenomenon that the name of an artist (e.g., painter, sculptor, author, designer) is used as reference to his/her work. This may involve a reference to a specific creation of the artist, as in (188a), in which case the noun behaves as a count noun, or to the work of the artist in general, as in (188b), in which case we are dealing with a mass noun.

(188) ● Personal names as common nouns

a. Láttam [*egy Munkácsy-t*] / [*két Munkácsy-t*].
see.Past.1Sg *a Munkácsy-Acc / two Munkácsy-Acc*
'I have seen [*a Munkácsy*] / [*two Munkácsys*].'

b. *Sok Esterházy-t* olvas.
a_lot_of Esterházy-Acc read.3Sg
'He reads *a lot of Esterházy*.'

The names of well-known brands are often used to refer to specific products. Well-known examples include *egy Zsolnay* 'a Zsolnay' (a kind of porcelain), or *egy tokaji* 'a Tokaji' (a bottle of wine from the Tokaj region). In certain cases, the use of the brand name can become more popular than the use of the common noun denoting the product. This may result in the substitution of the brand name for the common noun denoting the product: for example, the brand name *Rotring* is often used today to refer to mechanical pencils in general—so much so that the example in (189) has by now become ambiguous.

(189) ● Brand names

Kaphatnék *egy rotring-ot*?
get.Mod.Cond.1Sg *a rotring-Acc*
'Can I have *[a rotring] / [a pencil]*?'

Not only brand names, but also the names of inventors and producers can denote their product. The word *röntgen* is used for X-ray and *szendvics* for sandwich—after Wilhelm Röntgen and John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, respectively.

A personal name can also stand for a characteristic behavior. *Háry János*, for example, the protagonist of a Hungarian "folk opera" is a veteran hussar in the Austrian army in the first half of the 19th century, who entertains his listeners with fantastic tales of heroism. Therefore, if somebody is characterized as a *háryjános*, it means that he talks through his hat.

Slang words, typically funny or pejorative ones, may also come from personal names: see *pali* 'man' or *maca* 'woman' from the nicknames *Pali, Maca* respectively.

1.2.1.2.3. Common nouns used as proper nouns

The examples in (190) illustrate the use of common nouns as proper nouns. This use is restricted to nouns referring to members of the family (e.g., *apa* 'father', *anya* 'mother'). The phrases *apával* and *anyával* in example (190a) denote the father and mother of either the speaker or the listener (or both). In (190b), the expressions in question are triply ambiguous: they can denote the speaker's father or mother, the listener's father or mother, or the speaker himself/herself (in discussion with his/her own child). Example (190c), however, is not ambiguous, and the diminutive expressions (but not the original ones *apa* 'father' and *anya* 'mother') refer to a fourth kind of participant: the listener himself/herself.

(190) ● Common nouns used as proper nouns

a. Találkoztál már ma *apá-val* / *anyá-val*?
meet.Past.DefObj.2Sg already today *father-Ins* / *mother-Ins*
'Have you met *Daddy* / *Mummy* today?'

b. *Apa* / *Anya* rögtön jön.
father / *mother* straightaway come.3Sg
'*Daddy* / *Mummy* is coming straightaway.'

c. *Apuka* / *Anyuka*, kér kávét?
Daddy / *Mummy* ask_for.3Sg coffee.Acc
'*Daddy* / *Mummy*, would you like to have some coffee?'

The investigation of the pragmatic factors behind this multiple ambiguity and the role of the vocative use (illustrated in (190c)) remain for future research.

1.2.2. Common nouns

In the introduction to section 1.2, common nouns were defined as nouns with typically descriptive content or meaning, while proper nouns as nouns with unique reference. In subsection 1.2.1.2.1 we introduced a series of tests on the basis of which it is possible to distinguish not only the three main types of proper names from each other but also common nouns from proper names, as can be seen in Table 20. As for this latter task, the test illustrated in (159) provides the crucial data. This subsection is devoted to the discussion of common nouns, especially with regard to their classification.

As regards the group of common nouns, differences can also be observed within the group itself. Subsection 1.2.2.1 will give a brief overview of the semantic properties of common nouns, while subsection 1.2.2.2 will introduce a syntactic test to distinguish the different kinds of common nouns. It is possible for a noun in one subclass to be used as a noun in another subclass; such non-prototypical uses will also be considered.

1.2.2.1. Semantic properties

A basic semantic distinction can be made between concrete and abstract nouns. Concrete nouns will be defined in terms of their physical existence, and will therefore include nouns denoting entities that can be seen, heard, tasted or smelled, or, in some cases, only seen indirectly (e.g., microbes, gases, black holes, or force fields). Some examples are *víz* 'water', *asztal* 'table' or *csoport* 'group'. Abstract nouns, by contrast, denote entities that have a mental existence only, and therefore do not have any physical properties, such as *tény* 'fact', *kérdés* 'question' or *folyamat* 'process'.

The corresponding subsection of *SoD-NP* assumes that the class of concrete nouns is generally subdivided on the basis of the features [±SHAPE] and [±SET] in (191).

(191) ● Features of concrete nouns
- a. [+SHAPE]: entities denoted are conceptualized as having a definite outline.
- b. [–SHAPE]: entities denoted are not conceptualized as having a definite outline.
- c. [+SET]: entities denoted are conceived of as a group or a non-singleton set.
- d. [–SET]: entities denoted are conceived of as individuals.

The combination of these features results in the four subclasses in Table 21, where the names given **in bold** are the names that we will use for these noun classes in what follows.

Table 21: Four subclasses of concrete nouns

	[–SET]	[+SET]
[–SHAPE]	**substance nouns**: *víz* 'water', *gáz* 'gas'	**mass nouns**: *bútorzat* 'furniture', *rendőrség* 'police'
[+SHAPE]	**individual nouns**: *férfi* 'man', *kutya* 'dog'	**collective nouns**: *csoport* 'group', *juhnyáj* 'flock'

We will carefully follow the classification above. Although in the prototypical use there are some differences between the classes, in Hungarian there are no strict, clear-cut distinctions between the different kinds of common nouns. Citing Behrens (1995: 84): "the standard criteria for distinguishing MASS and COUNT nouns in Western languages cannot be applied" to Hungarian.

In the classification presented here we are dealing with the possibilities of the appearance of determiners and quantifiers with common nouns.

Most traditional (and also many theory-specific) discussions of abstract nouns treat these nouns as belonging to a single heterogeneous group, their common feature being that they are not concrete. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to arrive at a subclassification depending on the types of abstract entities denoted by them (e.g., state-of-affairs nouns, proposition nouns, speech-act nouns, property nouns or emotion nouns). Given that they are derived nouns in general, we describe their syntactic behavior in section 1.3.

1.2.2.2. Syntactic properties

Regarding pluralization or quantification, there are only vague lines between the subclasses of concrete nouns in Hungarian. Substance and mass nouns, that is, non-count nouns, cannot co-occur with *egy* 'a(n)/one' in the prototypical use, and cannot be pluralized. Note, nevertheless, that "in Hungarian we cannot tell with absolute certainty whether a word is singulare tantum or not, because in Hungarian there is no noun whose plural could not be formed theoretically, i.e. grammatically (all that happens is that the result might sound strange or unusual, e.g. *sar-ak* 'mud.Pl', *levegő-k* 'air.Pl')" (H. Varga 2014: 127). Hungarian also has very few *plurale tantum*, see *javak* 'possessions', *történtek* 'happenings', *léptek* 'steps', *mézeshetek* 'honeymoon'.

The quantified forms of mass nouns, nevertheless, can only occur in non-prototypical use. In example (192) the phrase *sok rendőrség* 'many police stations/forces' is acceptable if the phrase denotes police stations or the institutions of various cities or countries.

Csirmaz and Szabolcsi (2012) mention that there is no distinction between count and non-count nouns for value judgment quantifiers (192). All quantifiers and numerals can be used and are generally used with word forms in the singular.

For a detailed discussion of the distribution and function of the various determiners and quantifiers, see sections 2.5 and 2.6.

(192) ● Common nouns in quantifier constructions

a. sok víz / férfi / nyáj / rendőrség
much water / man / flock / police
'[much water] /[many men] / [many flocks] / [many police stations/forces]'

b. kevés víz / férfi / nyáj / rendőrség
little water / man / flock / police
'[little water] / [few men] / [few flocks] / [few police stations/forces]'

c. elég víz / férfi / nyáj / rendőrség
enough water / man / flock / police
'enough water /men / flocks / [police stations/forces]'

1.2.2.2.1. Prototypical use

The following subsections will discuss some differences between the four subclasses of concrete common nouns in more detail, as regards their prototypical uses.

I. Substance nouns

Substance nouns like *víz* 'water' or *pamut* 'cotton' have the feature [–SHAPE]: the entities described by such nouns have measure (weight, volume) but no outline. They do not qualify as sets, either, given that the entities denoted by substances do not consist of individual members.

Since substance nouns lack a definite outline, they cannot co-occur with *egy* 'a(n)/one' in the prototypical use, but require a bare nominal form instead, as is shown in example (193a). Attributively used substance nouns in a predicate nominal also remain in the singular, and there is no agreement in number ((193a'),

H. Varga 2014: 126). Substance nouns can be modified by a quantifying expression like *egy kis* 'a little', *egy kevés* 'a little' or *némi* 'some' (193b), but not by quantifying expressions like *néhány* 'some/a few' (193c). As for *némi* 'some', it is a quantifier which can also occur with abstract nouns (193d), but not with individual and collective nouns (193d').

(193) ● Substance nouns

a. A pohárban még volt (**egy*) *víz*.
the glass.Ine still be.Past.3Sg *a* *water*
'There was *water* left in the glass.'

a'. Tiszta (**?egy*) *víz* lettünk.
clear a water become.Past.1Pl
'We got completely soaked.'

b. A pohárban volt [[*egy kis*]/ [*egy kevés*]/ [*némi*] *víz*].
the glass.Ine be.Past.3Sg *a little* / *a little* / *some* *water*
'There was *[a little] / [a little] / some water* in the glass.'

b'. Vegyél *némi élelmiszer-t* / *tej-et*!
buy.Subj.2Sg *some food-Acc* / *milk-Acc*
'Buy *some food / milk!*'

c. *A pohárban volt *néhány* *víz*.
a glass.Ine be.Past.3Sg *some* *water*

d. Az új helyzet *némi* *aggodalm-at* / *bonyodalm-at* okozott.
the new situation *some* *anguish-Acc* / *complication-Acc* cause.Past.3Sg
'The new situation gave rise to *considerable anguish* / *complication*.'

d'. *Látok *némi* *nyáj-at* / *férfi-t*.
see.1Sg *some* *flock-Acc* / *man-Acc*

The use of the question words *mennyi* 'how much' and *hány* 'how many' present another grammatical phenomenon regarding countability. The (distributive) question word *hány* 'how many' is compatible with countable nouns; it is used to ask about the number of pieces or units (194a',b',c). The (collective) question word *mennyi* 'how much', however, is compatible with uncountable nouns; it is used to ask about amounts (194a,b). Note that in a construction which is used to express surprise (194c'), the phrase is usually combined with *mennyi* 'how much', but here it is not used as a question word but as an exclamative expression.

(194) ● The use of the question words *mennyi* 'how much' and *hány* 'how many'

a. Mennyi az idő?
how_much the time
'What time is it?'

a'. Hány óra van?
how_many hour be.3Sg
'What time is it?'

b. Mennyi bor van a hordóban?
how_much wine be.3Sg the barrel.Ine
'How much wine is there in the barrel?'

b'. Hány liter bor van a hordóban?
how_many liter wine be.3Sg the barrel.Ine
'How many liters of wine are there in the barrel?'

c. Hány ember jött el az esküvőre?
how_many people come.Past.3Sg away the wedding.Sub
'How many people came to the wedding?'

c'. Mennyi ember eljött az esküvőre!
how_many people come.Past.3Sg the wedding.Sub
'What a lot of people came to the wedding!'

Thus, substance nouns in their prototypical use always stand with the question word *mennyi* 'how much', while only with a measure word is the question word *hány* 'how many' possible.

II. Individual nouns

Individual nouns have the feature [+SHAPE]: they denote entities with a definite outline, such as *autó* 'car' or *asztal* 'table'. They can be used to refer to persons, animals and things (e.g., *férfi* 'man', *kutya* 'dog', *autó* 'car'). Since the entities denoted by individual nouns are conceived of as individuals, they also have the feature [–SET].

Example (195a) shows that a postverbal (non-operator) singular indefinite noun phrase cannot be bare (Alberti 1997), but must be referential, except for very special constructions. The enumeration shown in (195a') serves as an illustration of potential exceptions.

As for the preverbal zone of Hungarian sentence structure, we can see that bare noun phrases can appear in different positions and in different functions (and the same holds for the pre-head zones of non-finite verbal heads): The position left-adjacent to the (unstressed) verb (stem), for instance, readily hosts both non-predicative (195b) and predicative (195c-c') bare noun phrases (see subsections 1.1.3.1 and 1.1.3.3), even if they are headed by individual nouns. An individual noun phrase can also appear as a bare noun phrase in such operator positions (see subsection 1.1.1.3.4) as focus (195d), quantifier (195d') and contrastive topic (195d") .

(195) ● Individual nouns

a. Meglátogattam *(*a* / *egy*/ *öt*) *kollégá-t.*
visit.Past.1Sg *the* / *a* / *five* *colleague-Acc*
'I paid [the/a colleague] / [five colleagues] a visit.'

a'. Meglátogattam *kollégá-t, rokon-t, barát-ot.*
visit.Past.1Sg *colleague-Acc* *relative-Acc* *friend-Acc*
'I paid *colleagues, relatives and friends* a visit (or at least one of each).'

b. Péter *magántanár-hoz* küldte a fiát.
Péter *private_tutor-All* send.Past.DefObj.3Sg the son.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'Péter sent his son *to a private tutor*.'

c. Dávid *magántanár* volt.
Dávid *private_tutor* be.Past.3Pl
'Dávid was *a private tutor*.'

c'. Dávidot *tanár-nak* nézték.
visit.Past.1Sg *teacher-Dat* look.Past.3Pl
'Dávid was mistaken *for a teacher*.'

d. *Csak osztályvezető-vel* tárgyalok.
only *department_head-Ins* negotiate.1Sg
'I only negotiate *with department heads*.'

d'. *Osztályvezető-vel is* tárgyalok.
department_head-Ins *also* negotiate.1Sg
'I also negotiate *with department heads*.'

d''. *Osztályvezető-vel* többé nem tárgyalok.
department_head-Ins any_longer not negotiate.1Sg
'As for *department heads*, I will not negotiate with them any more.'

Note that bare forms of individual noun phrases can occur postverbally in existential constructions, as is demonstrated in (196a) below. The possessive sentence in (196a') shows the same structure: the subject appears postverbally in the form of a bare noun phrase. This similarity is not coincidental (Szabolcsi 1992, Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992). In Hungarian the possessive sentence is a special existential sentence, with *van* 'be' used as the verb of possession and with a nominative case-marked noun as a possessee which agrees in number and person with its possessor (see Table 14 in 1.1.1.4.1), and with which the verb agrees in number. As for the relationship between the postverbal subject and the verb, examples (196b-c') demonstrate that in Hungarian the verb always adjusts to the formal number feature of the noun head of the subject; that is, in the primed examples, the existential verb shows agreement in number with the possessee (and not the possessor).

(196) ● Individual nouns in existential constructions

a. A táskában van *matekkönyv*.
the bag.Ine be.3Sg *maths_book*
'There are *one or more maths books* in the bag.'

a'. Van *matekkönyv-em*.
be.3Sg *maths_book-Poss.1Sg*
'I have *one or more maths books*.'

b. A táskában van *egy / öt matekkönyv*.
the bag.Ine be.3Sg *a / five maths_book*
'There [is *a maths book*] / [are *five maths books*] in the bag.'

b'. Van *egy / öt matekkönyv-em*.
be.3Sg *a / five maths_book-Poss.1Sg*
'I have *[a maths book] / [five maths books]*.'

c. A táskában van-nak *matekkönyv-ek*.
the bag.Ine be-3Pl *maths_book-Pl*
'There are *maths books* in the bag.'

c'. Van-nak *matekkönyv-e-i-m*.
be-3Pl *maths_book-Poss-Pl-1Sg*
'I have *maths books*.'

Note in passing that the bare phrases of the individual nouns in (196a-a') are associated with the special set-theoretic meaning component ("numberlessness" / 'one or more') precisely defined in example (115) in subsection 1.1.2.2 (see also Remark 6 in the same subsection).

III. Mass nouns and collective nouns

The difference between mass and collective nouns is not a well-researched field in Hungarian linguistics. It is not even clear if the distinction exists at all in Hungarian. H. Varga mentions that it would "better to use the term *collective noun* only for the nouns with suffixes, whose morphological structure already shows what group of identical individuals they denote (H. Varga 2014: 128)": suffix *-(V)s* such as in *tölgy-es* 'oak plantation' (see also (555b)); the suffix *-sÁg* such as in *magyar-ság* 'the Hungarian people' (see also 1.3.3.1) and the suffix *-zAt,* such as in *növény-zet* 'vegetation'.

We do not follow H. Varga, and define mass nouns as nouns which have the features [+SET] and [–SHAPE]: they denote entities that are conceived of as non-singleton sets, but the set as a whole lacks a definite outline. Examples of these nouns are *rendőrség* 'police' and *bútorzat* 'furniture', *személyzet* 'staff'. Collective nouns differ from mass nouns in that they have the feature [+SHAPE]: they denote entities that are conceived of as non-singleton sets with a definite outline in the sense that they consist of a restricted (though possibly unknown) number of members and are, as such, bounded (examples of collective nouns are *csoport* 'group' and *nyáj* 'flock').

The fact that mass nouns have the feature [–SHAPE] suggests that, like substance nouns, they cannot co-occur with *egy* 'a(n)/one' and cannot readily be pluralized (197b). Collective nouns, however, presumably due to their feature [+SHAPE], behave largely like individual nouns: they can be preceded by *egy* 'a(n)/one' and can be pluralized (197a).

(197) ● Differences between collective nouns and mass nouns

a. Láttam [*egy juhnyáj-at*] / *juhnyáj-ak-at.*
see.Past.1Sg *a flock-Acc* / *flock-Pl-Acc*
'I saw *a flock / flocks*.'

b. *?Megismerhettem [*egy rokonság-ot*] / *rokonság-ok-at.*
meet.Mod.Past.1Sg *a kinship-Acc* / *kinship-Pl-Acc*

However, with an appropriate attributive adjective, *egy* 'a(n)/one' can also occur with mass nouns (198b-d), just like with collective nouns (198a). It seems that this appropriateness can be captured as follows: a mass is a peculiarly structured set, and the appropriate adjectives should pertain to the peculiar structure.

(198) ● Collective and mass nouns with an attributive adjective and *egy* 'a(n)/one'

a. Láttam *egy hatalmas nyáj-at.*
see.Past.1Sg *a huge flock-Acc*
'I saw *a huge flock*.'

b. Láttam *egy jól működő rendőrség-et.*
see.Past.1Sg *a well functioning police-Acc*
'I saw *a well-functioning police station/force*.'

c. Láttam *egy szép barokk bútorzat-ot.*
see.Past.1Sg *a beautiful baroque furniture-Acc*
'I saw *a set of beautiful baroque furniture*.'

d. Megismerhettem *egy összetartó rokonság-ot.*
meet.Mod.Past.1Sg *a close-knit kinship-Acc*
'I was able to meet *a close-knit family*.'

Certain kinds of collective nouns present special behavior in the sense that they can occur in compound nouns, such as *embercsoport* 'a group of people' and *gyerekcsapat* 'a group of children'. Collective nouns can be used as "measure words" in classifier constructions (see section 2.4), whose Dutch counterparts are referred to as binominal constructions in *SoD-NP*: *egy csoport ember* 'a group of people', *egy csapat gyerek* 'a group of children'.

1.2.2.2.2. Non-prototypical uses

This subsection will show that the classification presented in the preceding subsections is characterized by a certain degree of flexibility in the sense that it is sometimes possible to use nouns belonging to one category in a way that is more appropriate for another category. In the following three subsections we discuss three cases of such non-prototypical uses, which all involve a shift in the value of the feature [±SHAPE]. The most common shift from the feature [–SHAPE] to [+SHAPE] involves the use of a substance noun as an individual noun, but there are also further marked cases in which a substance noun is used as an individual noun. There is just one single case that involves a shift from the feature [+SHAPE] to [–SHAPE], namely, the use of an individual noun as a substance noun.

Let us consider the first case of type shift. Substance nouns can be used as individual nouns. The combinations of *egy* 'a(n)/one' or another numeral and a substance noun are used to refer to (culturally defined) fixed quantities or individual entities in constructions such as those given in (199). This particular use is more or less restricted to situations in which listed or displayed items (especially food) are ordered. In these and some of the earlier cases, there is reason to assume that we are dealing with ellipsis. Thus, the phrase *egy kávét* 'a coffee' in (199a) might be taken to be the elliptical form of the classifier-containing noun phrase *egy csésze kávé* 'a cup of coffee' (199a'). Similarly, the noun phrase *két tej* 'two milks' (199a) may be taken to be the simplified form of the noun phrase *két üveg tej* 'two bottles of milk' (199a'). Example (199b) demonstrates that this phenomenon is not restricted to kinds of food.

(199) ● Substance nouns as individual nouns

a. [*Egy káv-ét*] / [*két tej-et*] kérek.
a coffee-Acc / *two milk-Acc* ask_for.1Sg
'I will have [*a coffee*] / [*two milks*], please.'

a'. [*Egy csésze kávé-t*] / [*két üveg tej-et*] kérek.
a cup coffee-Acc / *two bottle milk-Acc* ask_for.1Sg
'I will have *[a cup of coffee] / [two bottles of milk],* please.'

b. Tudnál adni *egy (darab) papír-t*?
can.Cond.2Sg give *a piece paper-Acc*
'Could you give me *a piece of paper*?'

c. Hová tehetem *a bor-ok-at / viz-ek-et*?
where put.Mod.DefObj.1Sg *the wine-Pl-Acc / water-Pl-Acc*
'Where can I put *the wines* / *waters*?'

In this case of type shift, substance nouns can be pluralized (199c). It must also be mentioned that the substance noun *víz* 'water' can denote bottled water, but its pluralized form is also used for bodies of water (200a). Example (200b) provides another illustration of this type shift.

(200) ● Pluralized substance nouns with a special meaning

a. Magyarország gazdag *természetes viz-ek-ben.*
Hungary rich *natural water-Pl-Ine*
'Hungary is rich in *natural waters*.'

b. Az állam bérbe adta *a föld-ek-et.*
the state lease.Ill give.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the land-Pl-Acc*
'The state granted a lease of *lands*.'

Now let us consider instances where mass nouns are used as individual nouns. Consider example (201). Such instances always involve the use of a mass noun referring to different kinds of the entity denoted. The pluralized form of *rendőrség* 'police', for instance, is acceptable in a context where different kinds of police (e.g., state police, county police, municipal police) are being distinguished, or if the phrase *rendőrségek* 'police.Pl' denotes a police force, police station or the police of different countries.

(201) ● Pluralized mass nouns as individual nouns

a. Európában összefogtak *a rendőrség-ek.*
Europe.Ine co-operate.Past.3Pl *the police-Pl*
'In Europe *the police forces* co-operated.'

b. Eladó *hálószoba-bútorzat-ok*!
for_sale *bedroom-furniture-Pl*
'*Bedroom furniture* for sale!'

The use of [+SHAPE] nouns as [–SHAPE] nouns is our third case to be investigated in this subsection. It only involves the use of individual nouns as substance nouns. Contexts in which reference is made to food are typical for this kind of use: the noun *csirke* 'chicken', which normally refers to an entity, is used in (202a) to refer to an unbounded quantity of edible parts of this entity. It is also possible in all cases where several individual nouns build a homogenous mass (202b). However, as is presented by the grammaticality judgments in (202b), this kind of conversion is less common in non-culinary contexts and often yields less acceptable results.

(202) ● Individual nouns as substance nouns

a. Tegnap este *csirké-t* ettünk.
yesterday evening *chicken-Acc* eat.Past.1Pl
'We had *chicken* last night.'

b. A zsákban maradt ?*némi* / (?)[*egy kevés*] *ceruza.*
the sack.Ine remain.Past.3Sg *some* / *a little pencil*
'There remained *some pencils* in the package.'

c. (?)Péter már *túl szemanta* az én ízlésemnek.
Péter even *too.much semanticist* the I taste.Poss.1Sg.Dat
'Péter is *too much of a semanticist* for my taste.'

d. (?)Péter is *férfi-ból* van.
Péter also *man-Ela* be.3Sg
'Even Péter is a typical man, after all (at least in some sense).'

Another case which may involve the use of [+SHAPE] individual nouns as [–SHAPE] substance nouns is illustrated in (202c-d). In these funny sentences the expressions in italics are evaluative predicative phrases, which are due exactly to this type shift.

If we accept the assumption of *SoD-NP* (1.2.2.1.4, sub II), according to which the use of individual nouns (with no determination) as predicates is to be regarded as a consequence of a shift from the individual type to the substance type, the simple nominal predicative construction should also be treated as an instance of this shift. Let us review the potential implications of this approach on the basis of the series of examples below.

(203) ● Predicatively used individual nouns as substance nouns

a. (?)Péter *egy jó tanár.*
Péter *a good teacher*
'Péter is *a good teacher.*'

a'. Péter *jó tanár.*
Péter *good teacher*
'Péter is *a good teacher.*'

b. Péter és Jóska (?)[*jó tanár-ok*] / ?[*két jó tanár*].
Péter and Jóska *good teacher-Pl* / *two good teacher*
'Péter and Jóska are [*good teachers*] / [*two good teachers*].'

b'. (?)Péter és Jóska *jó tanár.*
Péter and Jóska *good teacher*
'Péter and Jóska are *good teachers.*'

c. Péter és Jóska már ?[*professzor-ok*] / *?[*két professzor*].
Péter and Jóska already *professor-Pl* / *two professor*
'Péter and Jóska have already become *professors* / [*two professors*].'

c'. (?)Péter és Jóska már *professzor.*
Péter and Jóska already *professor*
'Péter and Jóska have already become *professors.*'

In this approach, the construction in (203a) would be the starting point, in which the entity denoted by the subject is claimed to be identical with an indefinitely specified entity denoted by an individual noun. If the individual noun undergoes the above-mentioned type shift, the result is a substance noun, which is preferred in Hungarian as a (primary) predicate (203a').

We can also compare these two strategies of predication if the subject denotes a set but it has an internal structure that in Hungarian permits an agreeing predicate either in the singular (due to the morphosyntactic fact that two singular nouns are

coordinated), or in the plural (due to the genuine plural semantic character of sets). It seems that the least acceptable alternative is the one in which the predicative noun phrase is the description of a two-member set (203b); this version is obviously based on the individual use of the predicative noun. The (also individual-use-based) plural version, also shown in (203b), seems to be as acceptable as the singular version in (203b'), which obviously relies on the substantial use of the predicative noun. The essentially identical grammaticality judgments are presumably due to the fact that the former sentence better displays plurality, while the latter sentence contains a better method of predication (cf. (203a')).

We believe that the last pair of examples corroborate the basic elements of this analysis. As a result of the explicit evaluative character of the predicate, the "most individual" variant (in which the predicative noun phrase appears as the description of a two-member set (203c) becomes even less acceptable, while the "most substantial" variant (203c') becomes the unambiguously most acceptable one.

1.2.2.2.3. A special case: exclamative constructions

Combinations of *egy* 'a(n)/one' and a substance noun or /and a collective noun are normally not acceptable (in their prototypical use). This is illustrated here again in the examples in (204a, 205a). These combinations become fully acceptable when preceded by an exclamative element in constructions like *micsoda egy/milyen egy* (*micsoda* literally means 'what-wonder').

(204) ● The constructions *micsoda egy/milyen egy* with a substance noun

a. *egy víz
   a water

b. Micsoda (egy) víz!
   what a water
   'What a water!'

c. Micsoda (egy) mocskos víz!
   what a dirty water
   'How dirty that water is!'

d. Micsoda mocskos egy víz!
   what dirty a water
   'How dirty that water is!'

In these cases (204b-d, 205b-d), the noun phrases express an exclamation, conveying the idea of an unexpectedly large quantity, or of unexpected quality; the water may be very dirty and the horde extremely arrogant (Kálmán 2001: 111–112). The appearance of *egy* 'a(n)/one' in these constructions is not obligatory.

(205) ● The constructions *micsoda egy/milyen egy* with a collective noun

a. *egy népség
   a horde

b. Milyen (egy) népség!
   what a horde
   'What a horde!'

c. Milyen (egy) arrogáns népség!
what an arrogant horde
'What an arrogant horde!'

d. Milyen arrogáns egy népség!
what arrogant an horde
'What an arrogant horde!'

It is not only the construction *micsoda egy*/*milyen egy* which shows these properties, but also constructions where *egy* 'a(n)/one' is preceded by an adjective (see also (120b-b') in subsection 1.1.2.4). These examples express a (positive or negative) evaluation on the part of the speaker. Den Dikken and Lipták (1997: 63) suggest that *egy* is a "spurious" indefinite article which belongs to the whole construction and not to any of its parts. However, while *micsoda egy* constructions are DP-s, the examples in (206) are smaller than a DP. This is the reason for the fact that they can be combined with *micsoda egy* exclamative constructions (204d, 205d), and syntactically behave like bare noun phrases which occupy the preverbal field (compare (206a) and (206b)).

(206) ● Constructions with a spurious indefinite article

a. *Furcsa népség-gel* találkoztam.
strange horde-Ins meet.Past.1Sg
'I met *a strange horde*.'

b. *Furcsa egy népség-gel* találkoztam.
strange a horde-Ins meet.Past.1Sg
'I met *a strange horde*.'

1.2.3. Relational and story/picture *nouns*

Nouns can also be classified based on their ability to take arguments.

Deverbal nouns inherit the argument structure from the input verb (see section 1.3). Normally, non-derived nouns are often regarded as having no argument structure. This subsection, nevertheless, introduces two classes of nouns which are exceptional in this respect: the group of relational nouns and the group of *story/picture* nouns. In this we follow *SoD-NP* (see 2.2.2 and 2.2.5, respectively). In the Hungarian volume, too, they will thoroughly be discussed in section 2.1, especially with regard to their properties in connection with complementation.

The distinction between relational and non-relational nouns is generally assumed to be relevant for the subclass of concrete nouns. Relational nouns require, or at least imply, an argument; the entities they denote can only be identified on the basis of a relation to some other entity. Thus, generally speaking, one cannot refer to a father without including a reference to one or more of his children; nor can one refer to a body part without relating the object to its possessor. In the former case, the relation is one of kinship, and in the latter we are dealing with a "part-whole" relationship. In either case, the relationship is in a sense inherent: the nouns *apa* 'father' and *fej* 'head' denote inalienably possessed entities (Fillmore 1968).

According to Laczkó (2009), there are at least three types of relational nouns:

(207) ● Relational nouns
- a) body part nouns like *kéz* 'hand', which have both inalienable and non-inalienable uses,
- b) social relation nouns like *szülő* 'parent', which are always inalienable,
- c) nouns expressing part–whole relationships, like *közép* 'middle'.

Some of these nouns can only be used in possessive constructions, and if the possessor does not appear, the noun phrase is not well-formed. Therefore, example (208a) is odd because there is no mention of a related entity; the addition of the genitive noun phrase (208b) renders the sentence acceptable.

(208) ● Relational nouns

a. **A közep-et* célozd!
the *middle-Acc* aim.Subj.DefObj.2Sg
Intended meaning: 'Aim at *the middle*!'

b. *A tábla közep-é-t* célozd!
the table middle-Poss.3Sg-Acc aim.Subj.DefObj.2Sg
'Aim at *the middle of the board!*'

A noun denoting a body part like *orr* 'nose' typically requires a possessor. Note that using *egy* 'a(n)/one' and the absence of possessedness suffix in (209b) leads to an interpretation in which János broke someone else's nose; compared to example (209a).

(209) ● Alienable and inalienable readings of a relational noun

a. János betörte *az orr-á-t.*
János break.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the nose-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'János broke *his nose*.'

b. János betört *egy orr-ot.*
János break.Past.3Sg *a nose-Acc*
'János broke *a nose*.'

In Hungarian there are some nouns which have two different stems in the possessive paradigm: *gyapja* 'wool.Poss.3Sg', for instance, is an inflected version of *gyapjú* 'wool', and it has an inalienable interpretation since the wool belongs to a sheep (210a). If we emphasize that the wool belongs to someone else, for instance, a shepherd, we use an alternative inflected form: *gyapjúja* 'wool.Poss.3Sg' (210a'); this reading relies on the so-called alienable interpretation (Laczkó 2009, Den Dikken 2015). The variants in (210b-b') also illustrate the same alternation.

(210) ● Stem variations for nouns in possessive constructions

a. a juh *gyap**j**-a*
the sheep *wool-Poss.3Sg*
'the sheep's *wool*'

a'. a juhász *gyap**jú**-ja*
the shepherd *wool-Poss.3Sg*
'the shepherd's *wool*'

b. a ház *tet**e**-je*
the house *roof-Poss.3Sg*
'*the roof* of the house'

b'. János *tető-je*
János *roof-Poss.3Sg*
'János's *roof*'

The examples in (211) show that the argument of the relational noun can have certain operator functions (even if it appears within the noun phrase instead of being extracted), while other operator functions are not available to such an argument, at least if it is expressed as an unmarked possessor.

(211) ● Arguments of relational nouns in operator functions

a. *Csak Mari nagyap-ja* telefonált.
only Mari grandfather-Poss.3Sg phone.Past.3Sg
'*ONLY MARI'S GRANDFATHER* called here.'

b. *Mindkét lány nagyap-ja* telefonált.
both girl grandfather-Poss.3Sg phone.Past.3Sg
'*Both girls's grandfathers* called here.'

c. **Mari is nagyap-ja* telefonált.
Mari also grandfather-Poss.3Sg phone.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'A man called here who is *the grandfather of Mari, too*.'

In section 1.3 we will return to the question of what kinds of positions operators can occur in within the noun phrase and what meanings are associated with the acceptable variants. As section 1.3 is devoted to the discussion of deverbal nouns, the results concerning relational nouns will be compared to the corresponding results concerning deverbal nouns. In this way the reader can obtain a complete picture of similarities and differences between deverbal and non-deverbal nouns with respect to their capability of accommodating operators phrase-internally.

Members of the group of *story/picture* nouns also take complements, just like relational and derived nouns (see also 2.1.2). We demonstrate below the Hungarian counterparts of the kinds of complements listed in *SoD-NP* (see example (462) on page 276). The examples are *kép* 'painting' (212) and *könyv* 'book' (213).

(212) ● Complements of *picture* nouns

a. egy korai kép *at-tól a híres festő-től*
an early picture *that-Abl the famous painter-Abl*
'an early painting *by that famous painter*'

a'. egy korai képe *an-nak a híres festő-nek*
an early picture.Poss.3Sg *that-Dat the famous painter-Dat*
'an early painting *of that famous painter*'

b. egy lenyűgöző kép *ar-ról a szépséges hercegnő-ről*
an imposing picture *that-Del the beautiful princess-Del*
'an imposing painting *about that beautiful princess*'

b'. egy lenyűgöző képe *an-nak a szépséges hercegnő-nek*
an imposing picture.Poss.3Sg *that-Dat the beautiful princess-Dat*
'an imposing painting *of that beautiful princess*'

b". *egy lenyűgöző festménye *an-nak a szépséges hercegnő-nek*
an imposing painting.Poss.3Sg *that-Dat the beautiful princess-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'an imposing painting *of that beautiful princess*'

c. egy értékes képe *an-nak a gazdag gyűjtőnek*
a valuable picture.Poss.3Sg *that-Dat the rich collector-Dat*
'a valuable painting *of that rich collector*'

d. a kedvenc képe *az egyik barát-om-nak*
the favorite picture.Poss.3Sg *the one_of friend-Poss.1Sg-Dat*
'the favorite painting *of one of my friends*'

The *picture* noun *kép* (meaning 'picture' in general but understood in these examples as meaning 'painting') can take an Agent, who is the creator of the painting (212a-a'). This complement can be expressed either as an ablative case-marked noun phrase (212a) or as a NAK possessor (212a'). It can also take a Theme, who/which is the subject matter of the painting (212b-b'). This complement can be expressed either as a delative case-marked noun phrase (212b) or, again, as a NAK possessor (212b'). Note in passing that there are picture nouns the Themes of which cannot be expressed as a NAK possessor (212b"). Furthermore, a NAK possessor can also express the owner of the painting (212c), or practically anyone who has to do with the painting in any way (212d).

The *story* noun *könyv* 'book' shows a highly similar pattern of complementation. It can take an Agent, who is the creator (writer) of the book (213a-a'). This complement can be expressed either as an ablative case-marked noun phrase (213a) or as a NAK possessor (213a'). It can also take a Theme, who/which is the subject matter of the book. This complement can be expressed as a delative case-marked noun phrase (213b). As for the possibility for expressing the Theme as a NAK possessor, there are two subclasses of *story* nouns (213b-b"), similar to picture nouns (212b'-b"). Furthermore, a NAK possessor can also express the owner of the book (213c), or practically anyone who has to do with the book in any way (213d).

(213) ● Complements of *story* nouns

a. egy jelentős könyv *at-tól a híres nyelvész-től*
a significant book *that-Abl the famous linguist-Abl*
'a significant book *by that famous linguist*'

a'. egy jelentős könyve *an-nak a híres nyelvész-nek*
a significant book.Poss.3Sg *that-Dat the famous linguist-Dat*
'a significant book *of that famous linguist*'

b. egy jelentős könyv *a főnev-ek-ről*
a significant book *the noun-Pl-Del*
'a significant book *on nouns*'

b'. *egy jelentős könyve *a főnev-ek-nek*
a significant book.Poss.3Sg *the noun-Pl-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'a significant book *on nouns*'

b". az igaz története *az egyik nagyapá-m-nak*
a true story.Poss.3Sg *the one_of grandfather-Poss.1Sg-Dat*
'the true story *about one of my grandfathers*'

c. egy értékes könyve *an-nak a gazdag gyűjtő-nek*
a valueable book.Poss.3Sg *that-Dat the rich collector-Dat*
'a valueable book *of that rich collector*'

d. a kedvenc könyve *az egyik barát-om-nak*
the favorite book.Poss.3Sg *the one_of friend-Poss.1Sg-Dat*
'the favorite book *of one of my friends*'

Note in passing that the participants expressed as NAK possessors in the complement zones listed in (212-213) can occupy, within the structure of the noun phrase, all (further) positions available to possessor-type arguments, as presented in (130) in subsection 1.1.3.1. As for the corresponding non-possessor complements, the picture is not so clear.

The examples in (214) show that the argument of a *story/picture* noun can also have certain operator functions (even if it appears within the noun phrase instead of being extracted) (cf. (211)), while other operator functions are not available to such an argument, at least if it is expressed as an unmarked possessor.

(214) ● Arguments of *story/picture* nouns in operator functions

a. *Csak Mari cikk-e* / *kép-e* tetszik.
only Mari paper-Poss.3Sg / *picture-Poss.3Sg* please.3Sg
'I like *only Mari's paper / painting*.'

b. *Mindkét lány cikk-e* / *kép-e* tetszik.
both girl paper-Poss.3Sg / *picture-Poss.3Sg* please.3Sg
'I like *both girls' papers / paintings*.'

c. **Mari is cikk-e* / *kép-e* tetszik.
Mari also *paper-Poss.3Sg* / *picture-Poss.3Sg* please.3Sg

In section 1.3 we will return to the question of in what kinds of positions operators can occur within the noun phrase and what meanings are associated with the acceptable variants in the case of deverbal nouns compared to relational nouns and *story/picture* nouns.

1.3. Derivation of nouns *(Gábor Alberti and Judit Farkas)*

Like verbs and adjectives, nouns form an open syntactic class that can be extended by means of various word formation processes, some of which are fully productive, while others are only partially productive or non-productive. This section discusses the most important derivational processes in the formation of nouns; compounding and other methods of word formation will be discussed in section 1.4. This section is organized according to the category of the input word. We will discuss derivation based on a verb (1.3.1), an adjective (1.3.2) and a noun (1.3.3). Our discussion is chiefly based on the morphology volume (Kiefer 2000a) of the series *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan.*

Let us make a general comment pertaining to most of our translations given in section 1.3. Since we aim at unambiguous translations, we generally provide more artificial but unambiguous ones, instead of their more natural but ambiguous counterparts which translators would choose, sometimes even at the cost of giving up "structure-reflecting". Referring to a *megmentő* in Table 22 in the introduction to 1.3.1, for instance, as 'the one who has rescued someone' instead of simply using the word 'rescuer' is a long-winded solution but serves better our purpose to show the relevant classification of the given word as an "occasional, and not professional, rescuer".

1.3.1. Deverbal nouns

This subsection deals with the derivation of deverbal nouns. We will start in 1.3.1.1 with a short discussion of the general properties of nominalization.

Subsection 1.3.1.2 deals with the most productive process in which deverbal nouns are formed by means of the derivational suffix *-Ás* (ÁS-nouns), as is illustrated in the first row of Table 22 below. This derivation results in nouns that denote the same state of affairs as denoted by the input verb.

Subsection 1.3.1.3 is devoted to the discussion of the *-Ó* suffix, which productively derives nouns in different ways (Ó-nouns). The derived nouns can denote persons, instruments and places, and in the first two cases even the input argument structure may be inherited. The suffix *-Ó* also has non-productive uses (e.g., when the resulting deverbal nominal denotes the state of affairs itself or its result).

We have decided to discuss the suffix *-(Vt)t* in spite of its somewhat archaic character and limited productivity (1.3.1.4). This is because it also derives nouns in different ways (T-nouns). The derived nouns can denote states of affairs in an argument-retaining way, or persons, with a certain extent of productivity.

Subsection 1.3.1.5 deals with the derivational suffix *-hAtnék*, which is productive but the resulting constructions (HATNÉK-nouns) can be used only in limited contexts.

Subsection 1.3.1.6 discusses further deverbal derivational suffixes.

Finally, subsection 1.3.1.7 summarizes the main points.

Table 22: Nominalization types

TYPE	EXAMPLE	SUBSECTION
ÁS-nominalization	[Péter *meghív-ás-a* a koncertre] hiba volt. Péter *invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* the concert.Sub mistake be.Past.3Sg 'Péter's invitation to the concert was a mistake.'	1.3.1.2
Ó-nominalization	Péter volt [Mari *megment-ő-je* a sárkánytól]. Péter be.Past.3Sg Mari *rescue-Ó-Poss.3Sg* the dragon.Ela 'Péter was the one who has rescued Mari from the dragon.'	1.3.1.3
T-nominalization	(?)[Amerika *felfedez-t-é-vel*] új korszak kezdődött. America *discover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins* new age begin.Past.3Sg '*With* America *having been discovered,* a new age has begun.' Dóri volt [Péter *felfedez-ett-je*]. Dóri be.Past.3Sg Péter *discover-T-Poss.3Sg* 'Dóri was *the one discovered* by Péter.'	1.3.1.4
HATNÉK-nominalization	[*Énekel-hetnék-em*] van. *sing-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg* be.3Sg '*I* have *the desire to sing*.'	1.3.1.5
other kinds of nominalization	*te-endő / ir-omány / bizonyít-vány* *do-ANDÓ / write-MÁNY / certify-VÁNY* '*[what to do] / [writing (document)] / certificate*'	1.3.1.6

Note in passing that in the course of discussing the derivation of the different kinds of deverbal nouns, we often provide the verbal basis of the particular derivation; see, for instance, the (a)-examples in (282-289) in subsection 1.3.1.2.3. This

practice serves the purpose of enabling the reader to identify the denotatum, that is, the precise (pragmatico-)semantics, of the complex event used as the input of the derivation.

The identification of a complex event requires the comprehensive providing of not only a verb (stem), but also its arguments and certain preverb-like satellites as well as freer dependents, together with their semantically significant input positions. It is exactly for these tiny semantic factors that we provide the verbal basis and we "monitor" each dependent in the course of the derivation, without committing ourselves to some transformational approach (or any other particular approach). That is, in harmony with our theory-independent perspective, we precisely specify (primarily the semantic content of) the input verbal construction and (all relevant features of) the output deverbal nominal construction while intending to claim nothing about the technical details of the derivational process that realizes the relationship between them in some way.

By the expressions 'input' and 'output', thus, we never mean the two ends of syntactic transformations (in the sense used in the sixties' generative linguistics). Nevertheless, we often consider it useful to have recourse to such *metaphors* as 'the input object appears in the output nominal construction as a possessor' or 'the verbal modifier left-adjacent to the verb stem retains its prehead status in the course of the derivation.'

Another terminological question, which concerns the concept of (scopal) *ambiguity* of deverbal nominal expressions as is used in subsection 1.3.1, also requires a general comment at this point. Certain sentences will be said to be "ambiguous" (solely) on the basis of the fact that the written strings of their words can be associated with two (or more) meanings (due to different scope distributions) while the associated meaning pairs are not realized with the same stress pattern (see the relevant comment on (406b-b') in subsection 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VII). Therefore, such sentences cannot be called ambiguous in a strict sense. They can be called ambiguous only in the above, loose, sense. Nevertheless, for the sake of simplicity, the term *ambiguous* will often be used in the subsections on noun-phrase-internal information structure in 1.3.1, also given the circumstance that the formal description of the intonational differences of scopally different sentences is still in its infancy (but see, for instance, Hunyadi (2002); also see M4 and M9).

1.3.1.1. General properties of nominalization

This subsection will briefly introduce four aspects that will be discussed in the following subsections for all types of nominalization in Table 22. Furthermore, in order to avoid unnecessary redundancy we will discuss a number of general restrictions on the types of verbs that can be used as input to nominalization.

I. The form of the derived noun

The subsections devoted to the morphological properties of derived nouns briefly discuss the suffixes used and the distribution and productivity of the morphological processes by which they are derived.

II. The relation of the derived noun to the base verb

The subsections on the relation between the derived noun and the base verb are mainly concerned with the effects of the derivational process, in particular concerning the inheritance of arguments (with the same or with different case-marking) and the semantic roles and information-structural functions of these arguments. The discussions in this subsection will be continued in 2.1.

In (215) below we provide the smallest inventory of verb types which are typically investigated as potential inputs to nominalization. For a more detailed classification of verbs, see V2.

(215) ● Basic verb types as inputs to nominalization

A. VERBS WITHOUT ARGUMENTS

a. Havazik.
snow.3Sg
'It is snowing.'

B. INTRANSITIVE VERBS

b. UNERGATIVE VERBS
[Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ kirándul.
Ili hike
'Ili is hiking.'

b'. UNACCUSATIVE VERBS
Eltűnt [a kulcs-om]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
disappear.Past.3Sg the key-Poss.1Sg
'My key has disappeared.'

C. TRANSITIVE VERBS

c. [Ili]$_{\text{Agent}}$ épített [egy ház-at]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Ili build.Past.3Sg a house-Acc
'Ili built a house.'

D. VERBS WITH OBLIQUE ARGUMENTS

d. A labda beesett a lyuk-ba.
the ball fall.Past.3Sg the hole-Ill
'The ball fell into the hole.'

d'. Péter beszélgetett Ili-vel Juli-ról.
Péter talk.Past.3Sg Ili-Ins Juli-Del
'Péter has talked with Ili about Juli.'

d''. A boszorkány béká-vá változtatja a herceg-et.
the witch frog-TrE transform.DefObj.3Sg the prince-Acc
'The witch turns the prince into a frog.'

III. Restrictions on the derivational process

None of the nominalization processes in Table 22 is fully productive in the sense that it can take any (type of) verb as input. Restrictions on the nominalization process relate to the type of input verb and, in some cases, to the thematic role(s) of the argument(s). It will be shown that the different types of deverbal nouns impose different restrictions on the types of the input verbs they allow. For instance, whereas ÁS-nominalizations are almost fully productive, the process of Ó-

nominalization is much more restricted, both in terms of type of input verb and in terms of the thematic role of the subject of the input verb. The same holds for T-nominalization to an even greater extent.

There also exist (cross-linguistically) a number of general restrictions on the input verbs that are common to all types of nominalizations. These deviant types (see, e.g., Kenesei 2000: 108–111) are summarized here in (216).

(216) ● Deviant verb types as inputs to nominalization

A. Types of *VAN* 'BE'

a. COPULAR USE
Péter [bűnös (volt)] / [iskolá-ban van / volt].
Péter guilty be.Past.3Sg / school-Ine be.3Sg / be.Past.3Sg
'Péter is/was guilty.' / 'Péter is/was at school.'

a'. EXISTENTIAL USE
Van sör a hűtő-ben.
be.3Sg beer the fridge-Ine
'There is some beer in the fridge.'

a". POSSESSIVE USE
Péter-nek van kutyá-ja.
Péter-Dat be.3Sg dog-Poss.3Sg
'Péter has a dog (or more dogs).'

B. AUXILIARY VERBS

b. Péter kirándulni fog.
Péter hike.Inf will.3Sg
'Péter will hike.'

C. MODAL VERBS

c. Péter tud főzni.
Péter can.3Sg cook.Inf
'Péter can cook.'

c'. Péter-nek főzni(e) kell.
Péter-Dat cook.Inf(3Sg) must
'Péter must cook.'

D. RAISING VERBS

d. Péter beteg-nek tűnik.
Péter ill-Dat seem.3Sg
'Péter seems to be ill.'

E. PSYCH-VERBS

e. [Péter]$_{\text{Experiencer}}$ szereti [ez-t a zené-t]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Péter like.DefObj.3Sg this-Acc the music-Acc
'Péter likes this music.'

e'. [Péter]$_{\text{Experiencer}}$ rajong [ez-ért a zené-ért]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Péter be_keen_on.3Sg this-Cau the music-Cau
'Péter is keen on this music.'

e". [Péter-t]$_{\text{Experiencer}}$ zavarja [ez a zene]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Péter-Acc disturb.DefObj.3Sg this the music
'This music disturbs Péter.'

e'''. [Péter-nek]$_{\text{Experiencer}}$ tetszik [ez a zene]$_{\text{Theme}}$.
Péter-Dat please.3Sg this the music
'This music pleases Péter.'

IV. The degree of verbalness/nominalness of the nominalization

Nominalization results in forms that have the syntactic distribution of nouns. However, these forms retain a number of the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the input verb. They are in a sense a hybrid category, partly nominal and partly verbal. For each type of nominalization, we will discuss the degree of verbalness/nominalness partly on the basis of the universal (and not Dutch-specific) features listed in *SoD-NP* (see Table 8 on page 53) and partly on the basis of Hungarian-specific (in italics) and further relevant universal features.

Table 23: Verbal and nominal characteristics of nominalizations

VERBAL PROPERTIES	tense and mood
	several person/number paradigms of conjugation
	separability of preverb / verbal modifier
	presence / obligatoriness of arguments
	accusative case-marked argument
	adverbial modification
	information structure (internal scopes)
NOMINAL PROPERTIES	pluralization
	possessive argument
	case marking
	adjectival modification
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality
	quantification (and determination)

It will turn out that ÁS-nominalization and HATNÉK-nominalization produce forms which are significantly more verbal than Ó-nominalization and the less productive T-nominalization(s) do, but, also significantly, less verbal forms than infinitives do, in spite of the fact that both ÁS-nouns and infinitives denote states of affairs (see volume F). It must also be noted in advance that outputs of nominalizations can typically undergo a further, basically conversional, derivation, yielding lexicalized deverbal nominals which are much less verbal and, parallel to this, much more nominal than their inputs (i.e., outputs of the aforementioned "primary" nominalizations).

The overall picture of nominal and verbal characteristics of all types of deverbal nouns is presented in subsection 1.3.1.7.

1.3.1.2. ÁS-nominalization

ÁS-nominalization is characterized by the fact that it productively inherits the denotation (namely, state of affairs) and, at least partially, the argument structure and information structure of the input verb. The output ÁS-nouns can also be referred to as complex-event denoting nouns, following Laczkó (2000a). We also follow Laczkó (2000a) in assuming that this group of ÁS-nouns can productively

undergo a kind of conversion yielding nouns expressing simple events, the denotations of which are not particular states of affairs but (typical and/or institutionalized) kinds of states of affairs. This simple-event denoting group of nouns will be referred to as SED-nouns.

There are also nouns involving the suffix *-Ás* which may express result (217a), style (217b), place (217c), instrument (217d) or Agent (217e). These forms are also transparent (native speakers can identify the input verbs and take their meaning into account), but they cannot be regarded as results of any kind of (synchronically) productive derivation. Hence, they are not ÁS- or SED-nouns in the above-discussed rigorous (semantically specified) sense.

(217) ● Non-eventive *Ás*-nouns: non-productive kinds of derivation by means of the suffix *-Ás*

a. Tegnap *900 aláír-ás-t* nyújtottak át az elnöknek.
yesterday *900 sign-ÁS-Acc* hand.Past.3Pl over the president.Dat
'Yesterday *900 signatures* were handed over to the president.'

b. *Peti kiejt-és-e* tökéletes.
Peti pronounce-ÁS-Poss.3Sg perfect
'*Peti's enunciation* is perfect.'

c. Meg vagyunk elégedve *az új lak-ás-sal.*
perf be.1Pl satisfied *the new live-ÁS-Ins*
'We are satisfied *with the new flat*.'

d. Meg vagyunk elégedve *a csap új tömít-és-é-vel.*
perf be.1Pl satisfied *the tap new caulk-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'We are satisfied *with the new gasket of the tap*.'

e. Meg vagyunk elégedve *az új vezet-és-sel.*
perf be.1Pl satisfied *the new manage-ÁS-Ins*
'We are satisfied *with the new management*.'

In the subsections below, we will focus on the two productive types of nominalization: the primary ÁS-nominalization, yielding complex-event denoting nouns, and the conversion yielding (simple-event denoting) SED-nouns. We will discuss the form of the derived noun, its relation to the base verb and the restrictions on the derivational process; it will also be discussed which verbal and nominal properties they present of those mentioned in Table 23 above.

1.3.1.2.1. Form of the derived noun

Productive ÁS-nominalizations, yielding complex-event denoting nouns, constitute the most productive type of nominalization in Hungarian: virtually any basic verb (see (215) in 1.3.1.1, sub II) can be nominalized and thus can have the external distribution of a noun.

(218) ● The noun-like external distribution of ÁS-nouns

a. Ez most *a meghív-ás-om az esküvőre*,
this now *the invite-ÁS-Poss.1Sg the wedding.Poss.2Sg.Sub*
vagy csak *a tájékoztat-ás-om róla*?
or only *the inform-ÁS-Poss.1Sg Del.3Sg*
'Is it *inviting me to your wedding* or *only informing me about it?*'

b. *Peti meghív-ás-a az esküvőnkre* mindenkit meglepett.
Peti invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the wedding.Poss.1Pl.Sub everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Inviting Peti to our wedding* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. Végignéztük *az ejtőernyős leereszked-és-é-t a pályára.*
watch.Past.DefObj.1Pl *the parachutist descend-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc the court.Sub*
'We watched *the parachutist descending on the court*.'

d. Sokat beszéltek *az ejtőernyősnek a pályára való leereszked-és-é-ről.*
much.Acc talk.Past.3Pl *the parachutist.Dat the court.Sub be.Part descend-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Del*
'They talked a lot *about the parachutist's descending on the court*.'

In (218a), there are two ÁS-nouns used as primary predicates (NB: ÁS-nouns cannot serve as bare (primary) predicates, see (325d) 1.3.1.2.4.1 sub V). Example (218b) illustrates the case in which an ÁS-noun is used as a (nominative case-marked) subject. In example (218c), an ÁS-noun is used as an (accusative case-marked) object. Finally, in (218d), the ÁS-noun appears as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase.

As for the forms of the derived (complex-event denoting) ÁS-nouns, they involve the allomorph *-ás* (218a,b) or the allomorph *-és* (218c,d), according to vowel harmony (1.1.1.2). The primeless examples in (219) below provide further illustration.

As SED-nouns are derived by conversion from ÁS-nouns, they are also predicted to involve the suffix *-Ás*. This prediction is essentially borne out, as is shown in the primed examples in (219) below.

Note that Laczkó (2000a: 316–318), which goes back to Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992), provides an excellent formal criterion to distinguish ÁS-nouns from SED-nouns. This criterion relies on the specialty of Hungarian that postpositions can be attributivized by means of either the *-i* suffix, an adjectival derivational suffix—but it can only attach to the majority of postpositions—or the separate word *való*, one of the present participial counterparts of the copula *van* 'be'. This latter construction is claimed to unambiguously evoke the complex-event reading if (and only if) the former construction is also available.

This criterion is used in all the primeless examples in (219): *által* + *való* 'by + be.Part' is the characteristic alternative to the adjectival form *általi* 'by.Attr'. In the next subsection (1.3.1.2.2), we return to this phenomenon in order to distinguish homophonous ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns. In (224), for instance, further pairs of alternative forms will be applied in order to distinguish the different readings of such deverbal nouns as *simogat-ás* 'stroke-ÁS' and *meghív-ás* 'invite-ÁS'.

(219) ● Deriving SED-nouns I: *-Ás*

a. *A szerződésnek az elnök által való* ***alá****-ír-ás-a*
the contract.Dat the president by be.Part ***under****-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
ünnepélyes külsőségek között történt.
solemn circumstance.Pl between happen.Past.3Sg
'*The signing of the contract by the president* happened under solemn circumstances.'

a'. Az elnök ezt a tollat csak ***alá****-ír-ás-ra* használja.
the president this.Acc the pen.Acc only ***under****-write-ÁS-Sub* use.DefObj.3Sg
'The president uses this pen only *for signing*.'

b. *Mari éjfél után való telefonál-ás-a Jóskának*
Mari midnight after be.Part telephone-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Jóska.Dat
mindenkit megdöbbentett.
everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Mari's telephoning Jóska after midnight* shocked everyone.'

b'. *A telefonál-ás* nem bűn.
the telephone-ÁS not crime
'*Making a phone call* is not a crime.'

c. *A városnak az ellenség által való* ***el-****pusztít-ás-a*
the city.Dat the enemy by be.Part ***away****-destroy-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
mindenkit megdöbbentett.
everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*The destruction of the city by the enemy* shocked everyone.'

c'. Ez a gyerek csak *a pusztít-ás-ban* leli örömét.
this the kid only *the destroy-ÁS-Ine* find.DefObj.3Sg pleasure.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'This kid only takes pleasure *in destruction*.'

In the pairs of primed and primeless examples in (219) above, thus, a simple-event denoting (SED-) noun can be compared to the corresponding complex-event denoting ÁS-noun. As is pointed out by Laczkó (2000a: 314–316), preverbs of input verbs show a special behavior depending on their meaning. While an ÁS-noun always inherits the preverb of the input verb, as is shown in (219a,c), the corresponding SED-noun inherits the preverb in question only if this preverb contributes an essential additional meaning element to the meaning of the verb stem itself (219a'). That is, a preverb is typically omitted if its meaning contribution amounts to marking perfectivization (219c'). Note in passing that if the input verb has no preverb, the SED-noun is predicted to fully coincide (phonetically) with the corresponding ÁS-noun, due to the fact of their conversional relation. Examples (219b-b') illustrate this basic case.

It is worth noting at this point that there is a good test to distinguish (proper) ÁS-nouns from the group of (homophonous) non-eventive *Ás*-nouns denoting physical objects (Laczkó 1995: 101–110). The test relies on the fact that the copula *van* has two present participial forms: *való* and *levő/lévő*. The stem of the latter form is discernible, for instance, in the suppletive infinitival form *lenni* 'to be', which substitutes for the potential regular form **vanni* (but see also Nádas 2003: 217).

(220) ● Distinguishing ÁS-nouns from non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. *A szerződésnek a pontsor alatt való /*lévő alá-ír-ás-a*
the contract.Dat the series_of_dots under be.Part/ be.Part under-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
azt mutatja, hogy az elnök figyelmetlen volt.
that.Acc show.DefObj.3Sg that the president careless be.Past.3Sg
'*The fact of the signing of the contract under the line of dots* shows that the president was careless.'

a'. *A pontsor alatt *való /ˇlévő alá-ír-ás* teljesen elkenődött.
the series_of_dots under be.Part/ be.Part under-write-ÁS totally be_smeared.Past.3Sg
'*The signature under the line of dots* has been totally smeared.'

b. *A volt férjemnek a híd alatt való / *lévő lak-ás-a*
the ex husband.Poss.1Sg.Dat the bridge under be.Part/ be.Part live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
még engem is meglepett.
even me also surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that my ex-husband lived under the bridge* was a surprise even to me.'

b'. *A volt férjemnek a híd alatt *való / ˇlévő lak-ás-a*
the ex husband.Poss.1Sg.Dat the bridge under be.Part/ be.Part live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
egy szörnyű hely.
a horrible place
'*My ex-husband's flat under the bridge* is a horrible place.'

As is illustrated in (220) above, (proper) ÁS-nouns are only compatible with the *való*-construction (see the primeless examples) while non-eventive *Ás*-nouns denoting physical objects are only compatible with the *lévő* construction (see the primed examples). Examples (220a',b') illustrate two subtypes of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (217) instances of which typically denote physical objects: results and places, respectively.

As was discussed above, SED-nouns, due to their conversional derivation, are regularly homophonous with the corresponding ÁS-nouns. Several SED-nouns, however, do not coincide phonetically with the corresponding ÁS-nouns, but the "potential words" that the process of conversion would yield are blocked by idiosyncratic forms which already exist in the language (on lexical blocking, see Kiefer and Ladányi (2000a: 157) and Rainer (1988)). Note that complex-event denoting ÁS-nouns are never "blocked" by any kinds of idiosyncratic forms; that is, they are always derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-Ás*—compare the ÁS-nouns in the primeless examples to the SED-nouns in the primed examples in (221-223) below.

The morphological relation between the blocking idiosyncratic SED-noun forms and the corresponding input verbs shows a rather varied picture, the essential points of which the interested reader can review on the basis of the following three series of examples (221-223).

The first series (221) demonstrates, first of all, the derivational suffix *-At*, which numerous blocking SED-noun forms involve (221a'). This is very frequent since it used to be productive in the history of Hungarian; but it is claimed to no longer be productive in the synchronic state of the language (Laczkó 2000a: 335).

Example (221b') shows another typical, but (nowadays) less frequent, derivational suffix, the phonetic forms of which are *-alom* and *-elem.*

Example (221c') demonstrates an interesting case in which the otherwise productive derivational suffix *-sÁg* features. In its productive use, the suffix *-sÁg* derives abstract nouns from adjectives or nouns (1.3.2-1.3.3) while here in (221c') it is a non-productive suffix which a few blocking SED-noun forms involve.

(221) ● Deriving SED-nouns II: blocking forms (basic types)

a. *Az éjfél után való vadász-ás / *vadász-at arra a medvére*
the midnight after be.Part hunt-ÁS / hunt-T that.Sub the bear.Sub
izgalmas volt.
exciting be.Past.3Sg
'*Hunting for that bear after midnight* was exciting.'

a'. Ez volt *az idény legjobb *vadász-ás-a / ✓vadász-at-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the season best hunt-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / hunt-T-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the season's best hunting*.'

b. *Ili megszán-ás-a / *szán-alm-a a történtek után*
Ili feel_compassion-ÁS-Poss.3Sg/ feel_compassion-ALOM-Poss.3Sg the event after
mindenkit megdöbbentett.
everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Feeling compassion for Ili after what happened* shocked everyone.'

b'. *A *?(*meg)szán-ás / ✓szán-alom*
the (perf)feel_compassion-ÁS / feel_compassion-ALOM
senkin nem segít.
no-one not help.3Sg
'*Feeling compassion* does not help anyone.'

c. *Péter éjfél után való meg-gyilkol-ás-a / *gyilkos-ság-a*
Péter midnight after be.Part perf-kill-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / killer-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit megdöbbentett.
everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Killing Péter after midnight* shocked everyone.'

c'. Ez volt *az év legszörnyűbb *meg-gyilkol-ás-a / ✓gyilkos-ság-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_horrible perf-kill-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / killer-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most horrible killing*.'

Note in passing that there is a quite big group of irregularly derived (blocking) SED-nouns which are also to be regarded as irregular *Ó*-nouns, due to their derivational suffix *-Ó* (see (333a) in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.3, and example (432) in 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub VI). Some examples are *találkozó* 'meet.Ó' ('meeting'), *esküvő* 'swear.Ó' ('wedding'), *kézfogó* 'hand.catch.Ó' ('betrothal'), *háztűznéző* 'house.fire.watch.Ó' ('coming courting').

The next series of examples (222) shows an even more interesting type of blocking SED-noun form. Here the input verbs (*ostrom-ol* and *csatá-zik*) are derived from nouns (*ostrom* 'siege' and *csata* 'battle') by means of productive verbal derivational suffixes (*-(V)l* and *-(V)z(ik)*), and their SED-noun variants are not the words further derived from the derived verbs in any way but the original input noun stems (222a',b'). Note that the further derived words serve as the corresponding complex-event denoting ÁS-nouns (222a,b).

(222) ● Deriving SED-nouns III: blocking forms (noun stems)

a. *A városnak a megállapodás ellenére való ostroml-ás-a /*
the city.Dat the agreement in_spite_of be.Part besiege-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /
**ostrom-a* mindenkit megdöbbentett.
siege-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Besieging the city in spite of the agreement* shocked everyone.'

a'. Ez volt *a háború legszörnyűbb *ostroml-ás-a / ✓ostrom-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the war most_horrible besiege-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / siege-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the war's most horrible siege*.'

b. *Az éjfél után való csatáz-ás / *csata* mindenkit megdöbbentett.
the midnight after be.Part do_battle-ÁS / battle everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Doing battle after midnight* shocked everyone.'

b'. Ez volt *a háború legszörnyűbb* **csatáz-ás-a* / ✓*csatá-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the war most_horrible do_battle-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / battle-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the war's most horrible battle*.'

Our last series of examples illustrates the case of blocking SED-noun forms in which native speakers are aware of the foreign, Latin (223a') or French (223b'), origin not only in the case of the complete loan nouns (*operáció* 'operation', *szabotázs* 'sabotage') but also in the case of the derivational suffixes (*-ció*, *-ázs*), presumably due to the great number of such analogous examples as *illusztráció* 'illustration', *kasztráció* 'castration', *spekuláció* 'speculation', *blamázs* 'disgrace', *masszázs* 'massage'. Here, thus, the blocking SED-noun forms are the (complete and possibly "hunglicized") original loan nouns. Note in passing, however, that the method of associating potential regularly derived SED-noun forms with existing blocking forms (e.g., *operálás* and *operáció*) has nothing to do with the factual development in the history of the language of these blocking forms (and other members of the family of words related to them).

(223) ● Deriving SED-nouns IV: blocking forms ("foreign words")

a. *Ili éjfél után való* ?(✓*meg)operál-ás-a* / **operáció-ja*
Ili midnight after be.Part (perf)operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / operation-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit megdöbbentett.
everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Operating on Ili after midnight* shocked everyone.'

a'. Ez volt *a hónap legemlékezetesebb* **operál-ás-a* / ✓*operáció-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the month most_memorable operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / operation-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the month's most memorable operation*.'

b. *A nemzetközi rádióállomások szabotál-ás-a* / **szabotázs-a*
the international radio_station.Pl sabotage-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / sabotage-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit megdöbbentett.
everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Sabotaging the international radio stations* shocked everyone.'

b'. Ez volt a gyár történetében
this be.Past.3Sg the factory history.Poss.3Sg.Ine
a legemlékezetesebb **szabotál-ás* / ✓*szabotázs.*
the most_memorable sabotage-ÁS / sabotage
'This was *the most memorable sabotage* in the history of the factory.'

As for the corresponding complex-event denoting ÁS-nouns, they are derived from the relevant verb forms by means of the suffix *-Ás*, as was predicted above (223a,b).

1.3.1.2.2. Relation to the base verb

This subsection reviews to what extent such verbal properties as argument structure (1.3.1.2.2.1) and information structure (1.3.1.2.2.2) are inherited in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns; and how the type of the input verb affects this inheritance (1.3.1.2.2.3).

1.3.1.2.2.1. Argument-structure inheritance

ÁS-nominalizations inherit the argument structure of the input verb, in harmony with the defining property that they express complex events, similar to the corresponding input verbs (Laczkó 2000a).

Apart from the change in syntactic category (from V to ÁS-noun), the argument structure of the verb remains unaffected by the derivational process: the number, the obligatory or optional character, the thematic function and the information-structural function of the arguments remain essentially the same. Only the (non-oblique) syntactic functions change, due to the change in syntactic category: the input object, for instance, appears as a possessor (224a,b), and the case marking and obligatoriness of the input subject also undergo some change.

SED-nouns, however, only partially inherit the argument structure of the input verb: they inherit the oblique arguments (together with their obligatory or optional character).

Recall (see (219) in 1.3.1.2.1) that homophonous ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns can be distinguished by means of the [postposition+*való*] test, proposed by Laczkó (2000a: 316–318). The *előtt való* 'before be.Part' construction, used as an alternative to the adjectival form *előtti* 'before.Attr' (224a'), unambiguously evokes the complex-event reading in (224a). The same holds for the alternative forms *nélkül való* 'without be.Part' (224b) and *nélküli* 'without.Attr' (224b').

(224) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns

a. *Az oroszlán evés előtt való simogat-ás-a* mindenkit megdöbbentett.
the lion eating before be.Part stroke-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*Stroking the lion before it started to eat* shocked everyone.'

a'. *Az oroszlán evés előtti simogat-ás-a* mindenkit megdöbbentett.
the lion eating before.Attr stroke-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*The stroke of the lion before it started to eat* shocked everyone.'

b. Ilit váratlanul érte
Ili.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Mari előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való meghív-ás-a.
Mari previous agreement without be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*Inviting Mari without any previous agreement* caught Ili unawares.'

b'. Ilit váratlanul érte
Ili.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Mari előzetes egyeztetés nélküli meghív-ás-a.
Mari previous agreement without.Attr invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*Mari's invitation without any previous agreement* caught Ili unawares.'

As for the possessor of the output SED-noun, it does not necessarily correspond to a certain (or any) argument of the input verb. As is shown in the primed examples in (224) above, the possessor can be interpreted either as the Agent or as the Theme of the input transitive verb, in contrast to ÁS-nouns (224a,b), where the possessor is obligatorily interpreted as its Theme (see also (223a)).

Moreover, in the case of a SED-noun ((225a-e); see also (223a')), the possessor can be interpreted not only as the Agent (225a) or as the Theme (225b) of the input verb, but also as such participants which are in a loose semantic relation to the

SED-noun (225c-d). The actual interpretation depends on our world knowledge. Moreover, even if the input verb is transitive, it is not obligatory for a SED-noun to have any possessor (225e), in contrast to an ÁS-noun (225e'), which obligatorily requires the expression of the input object as a possessor (see also (223a)).

(225) ● Possessors of SED-nouns

a. *Dr. Bárdossy operáció-ja* jól sikerült.
Dr. Bárdossy operation-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*Doctor Bárdossy's operation* was successful.'

b. *Péter bácsi operáció-ja* jól sikerült.
Péter uncle operation-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*Uncle Péter's operation* was successful.'

c. Ez volt *a hét legemlékezetesebb operáció-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the week most_memorable operation-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the week's most memorable operation.*'

d. Idén ez volt *a diákok kedvenc operáció-ja.*
this_year this be.Past.3Sg *the student.Pl favorite operation-Poss.3Sg*
'This *year this was the students' most favorite operation.*'

e. *Az operáció* jól sikerült.
the operation well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*The operation* was succeessful.'

e'. **A meg-operál-ás* jól sikerült.
the perf-operate-ÁS well succeed.Past.3Sg

Let us return to the case of oblique arguments. Laczkó (2000a) observes that SED-nouns share with ÁS-nouns the property of inheriting from the input verb the oblique arguments together with their obligatory or optional character. The series of examples in (226) below provides a somewhat more differentiated picture.

(226) ● The inheritance of obligatory oblique arguments in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. Péter fokozatosan csalódik **(a barátai-ban).*
Péter gradually be_disappointed.3Sg *the friend.Poss.Pl.3Sg-Ine*
'Péter is gradually getting disappointed *(in his friends).*'

b. *Péter fokozatos csalód-ás-a *(a barátai-ban)*
Péter gradual be_disappointed-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the friend.Poss.Pl.3Sg-Ine
mindenkit váratlanul ért.
everyone.Acc unacceptadly catch.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Péter is gradually getting disappointed (in his friends)* caught everyone unawares.'

b'. *Péternek a *(barátaiban való) fokozatos csalód-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the friend.Poss.Pl.3Sg-Ine be.Part gradual be_disappointed-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit váratlanul ért.
everyone.Acc unacceptadly catch.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Péter is gradually getting disappointed (in his friends)* caught everyone unawares.'

c. *A* ?*(barátok-ban való) csalód-ás* mindig fájdalmas folyamat.
the friend.Pl-Ine be.Part be_disappointed-ÁS always painful process
'*Getting disappointed (in friends)* is always a painful process.'

d. *A (*?barátok-ban való) / ✓(barátok okozta) csalódás* keserű érzés.
the friend.Pl-Ine be.Part / friend.Pl caused disappointment bitter feeling
'*Disappointment (caused by friends)* is a bitter feeling.'

The obligatory inessive case-marked argument in the input verbal construction (226a) remains definitely obligatory beside the derived ÁS-noun construction—and is to be placed either in the postnominal complement zone (226b) or (in an attributivized form) in the prenominal modifier zone (226b')—while it is somewhat optional beside the corresponding SED-noun variant (226c). SED-nouns occupy an in-between position on the scale with the group of verbs at one end and—at the other—the group of nouns we dubbed non-eventive *Ás*-nouns in the title of the series of examples reviewing their subtypes in (217) in 1.3.1.2. The oblique case-marked argument in question is not merely optional beside the variant in (226d), which denotes an "abstract result", but is in fact definitely prohibited.

As for the argument-structure inheritance of the group of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, Laczkó (2000a: 332) claims that they do not inherit the argument structure of the input verb. The 'style' subtype (217b) is the only potential counterexample; they might belong to SED-nouns (Laczkó 2000a: 336). The primed examples in (227) below, compared to their primeless verbal counterparts, show that the possessor of the output noun, whose style is referred to, corresponds to the agentive subject of the input verb. Note further that, if the input verb has a verbal modifier (227b,c), it appears as a prenominal complement ((227b',c'); see 1.1.2.1). The investigation of the exact properties of this kind of style-denoting nouns remains for future research.

(227) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns denoting style

a. Kati éjjelente internetezik.
Kati at_night surf_the_net.3Sg
'Kati surfs the net at night.'

a'. *Kati internetez-és-e* még hagy kívánnivalót maga után.
Kati surf_the_net-ÁS-Poss.3Sg still leave.3Sg to_be_desired.Acc itself after
'*Kati's net-surfing* still leaves something to be desired.'

b. Kati éjjelente level-et ír.
Kati at_night letter-Acc write.3Sg
'Kati writes letters at night.'

b'. *Kati levél-ír-ás-a* még hagy kívánnivalót maga után.
Kati letter-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg still leave.3Sg to_be_desired.Acc itself after
'*Kati's letter-writing* still leaves something to be desired.'

c. A rokonaim nyaranta Pécs-re látogatnak.
the relative.Poss.Pl.1Sg in_the_summer Pécs-Sub visit.3Pl
'My relatives come to Pécs in summers.'

c'. *A rokonaim Pécsre látogat-ás-a*
the relative.Poss.Pl.1Sg Pécs.Sub visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindig a sáskajárást juttatja eszembe.
always the locust_invasion.Acc bring.DefObj.3Sg mind.Poss.1Sg.Ill
'*My relatives coming to Pécs* always reminds me of a locust invasion.'

1.3.1.2.2.2. Information-structure inheritance

Let us now turn to the question of the inheritance of information-structural functions from arguments of input verbs (see also 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII). We claim on the basis of the data in (228-231) below that ÁS-nouns inherit information structure (in a sense to be explained below) while SED-nouns only partially do so. This difference can obviously be attributed to the fact that the possessor of a SED-noun, in contrast to that of an ÁS-noun, is not (necessarily) an "inherited" argument (i.e., one corresponding to a designated thematic argument of the input verb) but a freely chosen dependent of the noun head (see the comments on (224) and (225) in 1.3.1.2.2.1). Scope of non-possessor arguments is inherited in both types of *Ás*-nouns due to their inheritedness, so arguments are inherited together with the scope they take in the information structure of the input verb.

Let us investigate the details. In our first series of tests on information-structure inheritance, we will use the ambiguous noun *meghívás*, which can be interpreted either as an ÁS-noun ('inviting') or as a SED-noun ('invitation'). As was pointed out in connection with the minimal pair of examples in (224b-b'), this choice depends on the relation of the possessor to the arguments of the input verb. It is certain that *meghívás* cannot be interpreted as an ÁS-noun unless the possessor corresponds to the object (the Theme) of the input verb.

In variant (228a), thus, where the possessor is taken to play the role of the Agent of the input verb *meghív* 'invite', the output noun *meghívás* is inevitably interpreted as a SED-noun. It can be observed that this sentence variant is unambiguous. This unambiguity is meant "scope-hierarchically", compared to the scope-hierarchically ambiguous alternative variant in (228b) below, where *meghívás* qualifies as an ÁS-noun in harmony with the (input) Theme role of the possessor. The (potential) readings are provided through both the translations and the scope-hierarchy representing formulas in square brackets ('[X>Y>Z]').

Hence, the SED-noun interpretation is associated with scopal unambiguity while the ÁS-noun interpretation comes with an ambiguity (in the loose sense discussed in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1; see also the relevant comment on (406b-b') in subsection 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VII).

In order to check the second part of this theorem, we have replaced the ambiguous form *meghívás* with an unquestionable ÁS-noun with the same meaning, *meg-invitál-ás* 'inviting', which consists of the exclusively perfectivizing preverb *meg*, a verb stem of a foreign origin (*invit(ál)*), and the suffix *-Ás* (see (219c) and (223) in 1.3.1.2.1). The resulting variant, demonstrated in (228b'), shows the predicted scopal ambiguity, indeed. The sentence in (228b") is also ambiguous, where the ÁS-noun interpretation is guaranteed by the [postposition + *való*] construction (in addition, see (224)).

(228) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns

I. Quantified possessor

Imit váratlanul érte...
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg

a. ... [[*mindkét húgom*]$_{\text{Agent}}$ meghív-ás-a a koncertre].
both *sister.Poss.1Sg* invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_SISTERS > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught Imi unawares that *both of my sisters* had invited him to the concert.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SISTERS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'In the case of *both of my sisters*, it caught Imi unawares that *she* had invited him to the concert.'

a'. ... [*mindkét meghív-ás*].
both *invite-ÁS*
'*Both invitations* caught Imi unawares.'

b. ...[[*mindkét húgom*]$_{\text{Theme}}$ meghív-ás-a a koncertre].
both *sister.Poss.1Sg* invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
narrow-scope reading: [CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_SISTERS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *both of my sisters* had been invited to the concert.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SISTERS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'In the case of *both of my sisters*, it caught Imi unawares that *she* had been invited to the concert.'

b'. ...[[*mindkét húgom*]$_{\text{Theme}}$ **meg-invitál-ás-a** a koncertre].
both *sister.Poss.1Sg* **perf-invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg** the concert.Sub
narrow-scope reading: [CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_SISTERS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *both of my sisters* had been invited to the concert.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SISTERS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'In the case of *both of my sisters*, it caught Imi unawares that *she* had been invited to the concert.'

b''. ...[[*mindkét húgom*]$_{\text{Theme}}$ előzetes egyeztetés **nélkül** **való** meghív-ás-a
both *sister.Poss.1Sg* previous agreement **without** **be.Part** invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
a koncertre].
the concert.Sub
narrow-scope reading: [CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_SISTERS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *both of my sisters* had been invited to the concert without any previous agreement.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SISTERS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'In the case of *both of my sisters*, it caught Imi unawares that *she* had been invited to the concert without any previous agreement.'

Why do we consider the observed ambiguity to be a symptom of information-structure inheritance?

What is referred to as a wide-scope reading in the examples of (228) above is an interpretation where the quantifying capacity pertains to the matrix verb (*(váratlanul) ér* 'catch unawares'), instead of the input verb (*meghív* 'invite') of the SED-noun or ÁS-noun. That is, this wide-scope reading is as though the quantifier-determiner *mindkét* 'both' directly belonged to the noun phrase of the head *meghívás*, as in example (228a'). The language seems to follow the strategy of interpreting an operator embedded somewhere inside a noun phrase as one belonging to the whole noun phrase. It is as if there are two invitations (according to the wide-scope reading), which can be subject to different circumstances in

different cases: two sisters inviting someone to the concert in (228a) and two sisters being invited in (228b-b").

In (228a), thus, the quantifier that syntactically belongs to the possessor of a noun (phrase) semantically counts as a quantifier that belongs directly to this noun (phrase), providing a quantifier interpretation to this noun (phrase) in the information structure of the matrix verb of the sentence. Hence, the potential quantifier interpretation within the original information structure of the input verb *meghív* 'invite', which can be referred to as a narrow-scope reading, is suppressed here. SED-nouns with freely chosen possessors serving as quantifiers prove not to permit this narrow-scope reading, which can be attributed exactly to the fact that the possessor in question is not interpreted relative to the input verb any longer (as a thematic argument) but is interpreted in some mental lexical network in which possessive constructions are generally interpreted (as a conceptual argument, see (665e') in 2.1.1.2.2).

It is an interesting question, however, whether a free possessor of a SED-noun can take internal scope when it happens to correspond to the designated thematic argument (of the corresponding ÁS-noun), that is, in the case of transitive input verbs, to the Theme (cf. (225b) in 1.3.1.2.2.1).

As is exemplified by the fully acceptable narrow-scope reading which can be associated with (229b), it is possible for the SED-noun possessor special in the above sense to take internal scope. By 'free possessor (of a SED-noun)', thus, we mean only such possessor which does not coincide with the 'designated thematic possessor' of the corresponding complex-event-related (ÁS-)noun construction.

(229) ● Quantified free possessors of SED-nouns

Miért van mindig éppen rám bízva...
why be.3Sg always just Sub.1Sg trust.Conv

a. ... [[*mindkét* *kedvezményezett*] meg-operál-ás-a]?
both *beneficiary* perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [LEAVE > BOTH_BENEFICIARIES > OPERATE]
'Why is it always exactly me that operating *on both beneficiaries* is left to?' [context: due to a foundation, there are always two patients in the given hospital who are operated on free of charge; they are referred to as the 'beneficiaries']

b. ... [[*mindkét* *kedvezményezett*] operáció-ja]?
both *beneficiary* operation-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [LEAVE > BOTH_BENEFICIARIES > OPERATE]
'Why is it always exactly me that operations of *both beneficiaries* are left to?' [context: see the (a)-example]

The synonymous ÁS-noun construction presented in (229a), which is also fully acceptable, raises several questions, left to future research. First, how is it possible for a formally undoubtedly ÁS-noun construction to appear in a (scenario-like) context in which undoubtedly SED-noun constructions are expected? Second, what is the precise difference between the two deverbal nominal constructions compared with each other in (229a-b), and how syntactic theories can account for this difference? It can be observed, for instance, that in (229a), the speaker is inevitably understood as the surgeon who operate the beneficiaries while in (229b), the speaker can also be understood as any other person responsible for the organization

of the operations in question in any sense—which is a difference standing in harmony with what is thought about the difference between ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions with respect to meaning.

Let us now turn to the question of information-structure inheritance in the case of non-possessor arguments.

As is exemplified below, a non-possessor argument can take internal (narrow) scope (which is relevant to information-structure inheritance) both in the case of ÁS-noun constructions (230a) and in the case of SED-noun constructions (230b). This presumably has to do with the fact that oblique case-marked arguments are inherited in both types of *Ás*-noun constructions.

(230) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns
II. Quantified non-possessor

a. Váratlan volt [Ili meg-kérdez-és-e [*mindkét ügyben*]].
unexpected be.Past.3Sg Ili perf-ask-ÁS-Poss.3Sg *both case.Ine*
narrow-scope reading: [UNEXPECTED > BOTH_CASES > CONSULT]
'It was unexpected that they consulted Ili *in both cases*.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_CASES > UNEXPECTED > CONSULT]
'In the case of *both cases*, it was unexpected that they consulted Ili in either of them.'

b. Csak a legnagyobb pártoknak reális cél
only the largest party.Pl.Dat realistic goal
[a jelölt-állít-ás [*minden körzetben*]].
the candidate-nominate-ÁS *every district.Ine*
narrow-scope reading: [GOAL > EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]
'It is a realistic goal only for the largest parties to nominate a candidate *in every district*.'
wide-scope reading: (?)[EACH_DISTRICT > GOAL > NOMINATE]
'*In the case of every district,* it is a realistic goal only for the largest parties to nominate a candidate in either of them.'

As for external-scope taking, a non-possessor argument can also take wide scope both in the case of ÁS-noun constructions and in the case of SED-noun constructions, at least if the given non-possessor argument appears postnominally, as in (230a-b) above, and not prenominally as part of a *való*-construction, as in (231a-b) below. The prohibition of the given wide-scope readings in (231) has to do with the phonetic realization of the definite article of the noun head (immediately left-adjacent to the quantifier-determiner *mindkét* 'both'); the question will be returned to in subsection 2.2.1.1.2.3 (where it is examplified that there are also *való*-constructions containing non-possessor arguments serving as wide-scope taking quantifiers). What is more relevant to information-structure inheritance, however, a non-possessor argument can also take internal scope "embedded" in a *való*-construction both in the case of ÁS-noun constructions (231a) and in the case of SED-noun constructions (231b).

(231) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns
III. Quantifier in *való*-construction

a. Váratlan volt [a [*mindkét ügyben való*] meg-kérdez-és-ed].
unexpected be.Past.3Sg the *both* *case.Ine* *be.Part* perf-ask-ÁS-Poss.2Sg
narrow-scope reading: [UNEXPECTED > BOTH_CASES > CONSULT]
'It was unexpected that they consulted you *in both cases*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[BOTH_CASES > UNEXPECTED > CONSULT]
Intended meaning: 'In the case of *both cases*, it was unexpected that they consulted you in either of them.'

b. Csak a legnagyobb pártoknak reális cél
only the largest party.Pl.Dat realistic goal
[a [*minden körzetben való*] jelölt-állít-ás].
the *every* *district.Ine* *be.Part* candidate-nominate-ÁS
narrow-scope reading: [GOAL > EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]
'It is a realistic goal only for the largest parties to nominate a candidate *in every district*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[EACH_DISTRICT > GOAL > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: '*In the case of every district,* it is a realistic goal only for the largest parties to nominate a candidate in either of them.'

If the idea of the association of internal-scope taking with argument inheritance is on the right track, then the possessor types below—those of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (232a-a') and non-deverbal nouns (232b-d)—cannot behave as internal-scope takers.

(232) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns and non-deverbal nouns
Imi kedveli...
Imi like.3Sg

a. ... [[*mindkét húga*] lak-ás-á-t].
both *sister.Poss.3Sg* live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[LIKE > BOTH_SISTERS > (SHARED) FLAT]
Intended meaning: 'Imi likes the flat owned by *both of his sisters*. (NB: there are also flats separately owned by Imi's two sisters.)'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SISTERS > LIKE > FLAT]
'In the case of *both of his sisters*, Imi likes her flat.'

a'. ... [[*mindkét húga*] fordít-ás-a-i-t].
both *sister.Poss.3Sg* translate-ÁS-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[LIKE > BOTH_SISTERS > (SHARED) TRANSLATIONS]
Intended meaning: 'Imi likes the translations created by his two sisters together. (NB: there are also translations separately created by Imi's two sisters.)'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SISTERS > LIKE > TRANSLATIONS]
'In the case of *both of his sisters*, Imi likes her translations.'

b. ... [[*mindkét unokahúga*] nagyszül-e-i-t].
both *niece.Poss.3Sg* grandparent-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[LIKE > BOTH_NIECES > (COMMON) GRANDPARENTS]
Intended meaning: 'Imi likes the grandparents who happen to be the common grandparents of *both of his nieces*.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_NIECES > LIKE > GRANDPARENTS]
'In the case of *both of his nieces*, Imi likes her grandparents.'

c. ...[[*mindkét kollégája*] cikk-e-i-t a főnevekről].
both colleague.Poss.3Sg paper-Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc the noun.Pl.Del
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[LIKE > BOTH_COLLEAGUES > (COMMON) PAPERS]
Intended meaning: 'Imi likes the papers which his colleagues have written together as coauthors'.
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_COLLEAGUES > LIKE > PAPERS]
'In the case of *both of his colleagues*, Imi likes her papers.'

d. ...[[*mindkét húga*] kedvenc popsztár-ja-i-t.
both sister.Poss.3Sg favorite pop_star-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[LIKE > BOTH_SISTERS > (COMMON) POP_STARS]
Intended meaning: 'Imi likes the pop stars that *both of his sisters* are keen on. (NB: there are also pop stars that only one of his sisters is keen on.)'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SISTERS > LIKE > POP_STARS]
'In the case of *both of his sisters*, Imi likes her favorite pop stars.'

The aforementioned expectation concerning "control groups" is exhaustively borne out: all the non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (232a-a'), the relational (232b) and the *story/picture* (232c) nouns (1.2.3), and the representative of the group of the "simplest" (prototypical) nouns (232d) definitely present the scope-hierarchical pattern observed in the case of the (free) possessor of SED-nouns (228-231), and not that observed in the case of the (designated thematic) possessor of ÁS-nouns. Namely, they do not permit narrow-scope readings. As for non-possessor arguments, their scope taking properties are discussed in subsections 2.1.1.4, 2.1.2.1, and 2.1.2.2.

1.3.1.2.2.3. Basic types of input verbs

This subsection is devoted to a type-by-type overview of input verbs with different argument structures. Essentially, we continue to follow Laczkó's classification of the data (Laczkó 2000a: 337–344). We examine the basic verb types listed in (215) in subsection 1.3.1.1, sub II.

I. Input verbs without arguments

How can an argument structure be inherited if the input verb has no arguments? That is the first question we need to investigate.

The data in (233a-a',c-c') below show that the noun phrases derived from atelic argumentless verbs only have SED-noun interpretation. The results of the [postposition+*való*] test (see (219) in 1.3.1.2.1) in the primeless examples exclude the 'complex event' interpretation while the test based on the application of temporal possessors, illustrated in the primed examples, supports the 'simple event' interpretation. Recall that the possessor of an ÁS-noun corresponds to a certain argument of the input verb; and here we are dealing with input verbs with no arguments. The appearance of a possessor, thus, is unambiguous evidence against the ÁS-noun interpretation, and the temporal character of the possessor proves the SED-noun interpretation.

As for the noun phrase derived from a telic argumentless verb, its SED-noun interpretation is also perfect (233b'). Its ÁS-noun interpretation, however, is neither perfect nor fully unacceptable (233b). Its marginal acceptability can presumably be attributed to the more dynamic (telic) character of the potential complex event.

(233) ● Input verbs without arguments

a. *A tegnapi vihar *[után való] / ˇ[utáni] havaz-ás*
the yesterday.Adj storm after be.Part / after.Attr snow-ÁS
több falut elzárt a külvilágtól.
several village.Acc close.Past.3Sg the outside_world.Abl
'*The snowing after yesterday's storm* close several villages from the outside world.'

a'. Ez volt *az évtized leghevesebb havaz-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_intense snow-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most intense snowing*.'

b. *A hosszú tél* ??*[után való] / ˇ[utáni] gyors ki-tavaszod-ás*
the long winter after be.Part / after.Attr fast out-come_the_spring-ÁS
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fast coming of spring after the long winter* was a surprise to everyone.'

b'. Ez volt *az évtized leggyorsabb ki-tavaszod-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade fastest out-come_the_spring-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was the decade's fastest coming of spring.'

c. *A sötét éjszaka *[után való] / ˇ[utáni] *pirkad-ás / ˇpirkad-at*
the dark night after be.Part / after.Attr dawn-ÁS / dawn-T
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The unexpected coming of dawn after the dark night* was a surprise to everyone.'

c'. Ez volt *a nyár legszebb *pirkad-ás-a / ˇpirkad-at-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the summer most_beautiful dawn-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / dawn-T-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the summer's most beautiful dawn*.'

Note in passing that the SED-noun interpretation in (233c-c') above is also supported by the fact that the blocking effect discussed in (221-223) in subsection 1.3.1.2.1 can be observed here, which is typical of SED-nouns and claimed to never occur in the case of ÁS-nouns.

II. Unergative intransitive verbs as input verbs

The series of data in (234) below illustrates that the noun phrases derived from the unergative group of intransitive verbs can have both an ÁS-noun interpretation (234a,b) and a SED-noun interpretation (234a',b'), independent of the atelic (234a-a') or telic (234b-b') character of the input verbs. Recall that the possessor of an ÁS-noun unambiguously and obligatorily corresponds to a certain argument of the input verb; here, this argument is the (typically agentive) subject (234a,b). In the case of SED-nouns, the possessor can express a range of semantic relations (234a',b').

(234) ● Unergative input verbs

a. Idegesített
make_nervous.Past.3Sg
a fiúknak az óra alatt való pofátlan kiabál-ás-a.
the boy.Pl.Dat the lesson under be.Part unashamed scream-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*The boys' unashamed screaming during the lesson* made me nervous.'

a'. Ez volt *az év leghangosabb kiabál-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year loudest scream-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's loudest screaming*.'

b. *Péternek az ebéd után való haza-rohan-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the lunch after be.Part home-rush-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's rushing home after the lunch* was a surprise to everyone.'

b'. Ez tűnt *az utóbbi idők legindokolatlanabb haza-rohan-ás-á-nak.*
this seem.Past.3Sg *the last time.Pl most_unjustifiable home-rush-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
'This seemed to be *the most unjustifiable rushing home recently*.'

We will separately discuss here the case of reflexive (235), reciprocal (236) and bodily/sound emission (237) verbs as input verbs, because their only syntactic argument is Agent-like to a considerable extent (witnessed by the poor acceptability of their past participial forms; see Alberti (2006) and volume F), but also shows some Theme-like properties (see also Rákosi 2008).

Indeed, the data in (235) below show that the noun phrases derived from the reflexive group of intransitive verbs present the same behavior as was observed in the basic case of unergative input verbs, reviewed in (234) above. Namely, they can have both the ÁS-noun interpretation (235a,b) and the SED-noun interpretation (235a',b'), independently of the atelic (235a-a') or telic (235b-b') character of the input verbs; and the possessor of the ÁS-nouns obligatorily corresponds to the subject of the input verbs (235a,b), in contrast to SED-nouns with their fairly freely selectable possessors (235a',b').

(235) ● Reflexive input verbs

a. Marit idegesítette
Mari.Acc make_nervous.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Jánosnak a film alatt való hosszadalmas borotválkoz-ás-a.
János.Dat the film under be.Part lengthy shave_oneself-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*János's lengthy shaving during the film* made Mari nervous.'

a'. Ez volt *az év leghosszadalmasabb borotválkoz-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year lenghtiest shave_oneself-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's lengthiest shaving*.'

b. Marit kiborította
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Jánosnak az ebéd után való meg-borotválkoz-ás-a.
János.Dat the lunch after be.Part perf-shave_oneself-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*János's shaving after the lunch* made Mari angry.'

b'. Ez tűnt *az utóbbi idők legindokolatlanabb (*?meg-)borotválkoz-ás-á-nak.*
this seem.Past.3Sg *the last time.Pl most_unjustifiable (perf-)shave_oneself-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
'This seemed to be *the most unjustifiable shaving recently*.'

Example (235b') requires a short comment. As was mentioned in connection with the examples in (219) in subsection 1.3.1.2.1, exclusively perfectivizing preverbs cannot appear in SED-noun forms; that is why the preverb *meg* must be omitted here.

The data in (236) below show that noun phrases derived from reciprocal verbs can also have both ÁS-noun interpretation (236a,b) and SED-noun interpretation (236a',b'), independent of the atelic (236a-a') or telic (236b-b') character of the input verbs; and the possessor of the ÁS-nouns corresponds to the subject of the input verbs (236a,b), in contrast to SED-nouns with their varied possessors (236a',b').

(236) ● Reciprocal input verbs

a. Marit idegesítette
Mari.Acc make_nervous.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Jánosnak és Nórinak a film alatt való hosszadalmas veszeked-és-e.
János.Dat and Nóri.Dat the film under be.Part lenghty quarrel-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*János and Nóri's lengthy quarreling during the film* made Mari nervous.'

a'. Ez volt *az év leghosszadalmasabb veszeked-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year lenghtiest quarrel-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's lengthiest quarreling*.'

b. Marit kiborította
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Jánosnak és Nórinak az ebéd után való össze-vesz-és-e.
János.Dat and Nóri.Dat the lunch after be.Part together-lose-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*The fact that János and Nóri had a row after the lunch* made Mari angry.'

b'. Ez tűnt *az utóbbi idők legindokolatlanabb (*össze-)vesz-és-é-nek.*
this seem.Past.3Sg *the last time.Pl most_unjustifiable (together-)lose-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
'This seemed to be *the most unjustifiable quarrel recently*.'

Note that the preverb *össze* 'together' cannot be omitted in (236b') above, which is due to its not exclusively perfectivizing semantic contribution.

Noun phrases derived from bodily/sound emission verbs can also have both the ÁS-noun interpretation (237a,b) and the SED-noun interpretation (237a',b'), independent of the atelic (237a-a') or telic (237b-b') character of the input verbs; and the possessor of the ÁS-nouns corresponds to the subject of the input verbs (237a,b), in contrast to SED-nouns with their quite freely selectable possessors (237a',b').

(237) ● Bodily/sound emission input verbs

a. Marit idegesítette
Mari.Acc make_nervous.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Jánosnak a film alatt való folyamatos tüsszög-és-e.
János.Dat the film under be.Part continuous keep_sneezing-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*János's continuous sneezing during the film* made Mari nervous.'

a'. Ez volt *az év leghosszadalmasabb tüsszög-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year lenghtiest keep_sneezing-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's lengthiest sneezing*.'

b. Marit kiborította
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Jánosnak az ebéd után való tüsszent-és-e.
János.Dat the lunch after be.Part sneeze-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*The fact that János sneezed after the lunch* made Mari angry.'

b'. Ez tűnt *az utóbbi idők legbotrányosabb tüsszent-és-é-nek.*
this seem.Past.3Sg *the last time.Pl most_scandalous sneeze-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
'This seemed recently to be *the most scandalous case when someone sneezed*.'

Laczkó (2000a: 337–338) points out the somewhat exceptional behavior of ÁS-nouns derived from atelic verbs which do not present their continuous and/or repetitive character (238a) morphologically. As is shown in (238a'), the problem does not have to do with any kind of incompatibility between the verb stem and the derivational suffix *-Ás*, since the given verb stem with a preverb provides an input (but transitive) verb from which a fully acceptable ÁS-noun can be derived. In the case of a verb like *dolgozik* 'work', it is often preferable to use (as the base of ÁS-noun derivation) a morphological variant that contains a frequentative derivational suffix which makes the continuous and/or repetitive character explicit (238b).

Such nouns as *dolgozás* 'working', *írás* 'writing', *játszás* 'playing', *ülés* 'sitting', thus, sound somewhat clumsy as ÁS-nouns. Thus, instead it is preferred to use such morphological variants as *dolgoz-gat-ás* 'work-Freq-ÁS' (238b), *ír-ogat-ás / ir-kál-ás* 'write-Freq-ÁS', *játsz-adoz-ás* 'play-Freq-ÁS', *ü-csörg-és* / *ül-dögél-és* 'sit-Freq-ÁS' unless the inherent diminutive connotation of the frequentative derivational suffixes distorts the intended meaning to an undesirable extent.

Note in passing that the morphological appearance of an overt frequentative/repetitive derivational suffix is not inevitable. The slang words *melózás* / *robotolás* 'working' (238c), for instance, can serve as adequate substitutes for the clumsy form *dolgozás* 'working'—unless their additional meaning factors and special connotations (partly due to their slang character) distort the intended meaning to an undesirable extent.

(238) ● An exceptional type of unergative input verbs
Marit kiborította...
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg

a. ?... *Jánosnak a vasárnapi ebéd után való dolgoz-ás-a.*
János.Dat the Sunday.Adj lunch after be.Part work-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*János's working after the Sunday lunch* made Mari angry.'

a'. ... *az anyagnak az előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való feldolgoz-ás-a.*
the material.Dat the previous agreement without be.Part process-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*Processing the material without any previous agreement* made Mari angry.'

b. ... *Jánosnak a vasárnapi ebéd után való dolgoz-**gat**-ás-a.*
*János.Dat the Sunday.Adj lunch after be.Part work-**Freq**-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'*János's working after the Sunday lunch* made Mari angry.'

c. ... *Jánosnak a vasárnapi ebéd után való melóz-ás-a / robotol-ás-a.*
János.Dat the Sunday.Adj lunch after be.Part work-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / work-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*János's working after the Sunday lunch* made Mari angry.'

d. ??... *Jánosnak a vasárnapi ebéd után való munká-ja.*
János.Dat the Sunday.Adj lunch after be.Part work-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*János's working after the Sunday lunch* made Mari angry.'

The final example in (238d) above demonstrates a further kind of attempt to replace the clumsy form *dolgozás* 'working'. Here the non-deverbal form *munka* 'work' is tested as if it were an ÁS-noun, and it proves to be better than it would otherwise

have been (cf. (221-223) in 1.3.1.2.1) but still somewhat less acceptable than the variant presented in (238a).

III. Unaccusative intransitive verbs as input verbs

The noun phrases derived from the unaccusative group of intransitive verbs can have the ÁS-noun interpretation (239), independent of the atelic (239a,c) or telic (239b,d) character of the input verbs. In such cases the possessor corresponds to the (Theme-like) subject of the input verb.

(239) ● Unaccusative input verbs: ÁS-nouns

a. Ilit váratlanul érte
Ili.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a leveleknek az ősz beköszönte előtt való folyamatos hull-ás-a.
the leaf.Pl.Dat the autumn coming before be.Part continuous fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*The continuous falling of the leaves before the coming of autumn* caught Ili unawares.'

b. Ilit váratlanul érte
Ili.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a leveleknek az ősz beköszönte előtt való le-hull-ás-a.
the leaf.Pl.Dat the autumn coming before be.Part down-fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It caught Ili unawares *that the leaves had fallen before the coming of autumn*.'

c. Marit kiborította
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Jánosnak a karácsony és újév között való betegesked-és-e.
János.Dat the Christmas and New_Year between be.Part ail-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*János's being ill between Christman Day and New Year's Day* made Mari angry.'

d. Ilit váratlanul érte
Ili.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Péternek a munkaidő alatt való le-részeged-és-e.
Péter.Dat the working_time under be.Part down-get_drunk-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*Péter's getting drunk during working hours* caught Ili unawares.'

Let us now check the corresponding SED-noun interpretations by replacing, in the position of the possessor, the (Theme-like) input subject with a temporal expression. The question is what happens to the input Theme?

The data below suggest that the SED-noun variants in question can be produced in some way (240a',b',c,d) which does not depend on the atelic (240a',c) or telic (240b',d) character of the input verb but on the [–HUMAN] (240a',b') or [+HUMAN] (240c,d) feature of the input Theme.

(240) ● Unaccusative input verbs: SED-nouns

a. *Ez volt *az év legszínpompásabb hull-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_colorful fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*

a'. Ez volt *az év legszínpompásabb levél-hull-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_colorful leaf-fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most colorful leaf-falling*.'

b. *Ez volt *az évtized legkorábbi le-hull-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade earliest down-fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*

b'. Ez volt *az évtized legkorábbi levél-(*?le-)hull-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade earliest leaf-(down-)fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's earliest falling of leaves*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized leghosszadalmasabb betegesked-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade lenghtiest being_ill-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's lengthiest ailing*.'

c'. *?Ez volt *az évtized leghosszadalmasabb tanár-betegesked-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade lenghtiest being_ill-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's lengthiest period when a teacher was ill*.'

d. Ez volt *az év legcsúnyább le-részeged-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year ugliest down-get_drunk-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's ugliest getting drunk*.'

d'. *Ez volt *az év legcsúnyább vendég-(le-)részeged-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year ugliest guest-(down-)get_drunk-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the year's ugliest event when a guest got drunk*.'

As is shown in (240a-b'), the [–HUMAN] input Theme must appear in the phrase of the SED-noun. As the possessor position is not available to it, the special prenominal complement position can serve as a last resort. This is the position in the borderline zone between syntax and morphology discussed in 1.1.2.1. The input preverb, if there is one, cannot appear (240b'). Note in passing that this omission of the perfectivizing preverb (and its replacement with the input Theme) typically results in the coincidence of the SED-noun forms derived from preverbed telic (240b') and preverbless atelic (240a') input verb variants. We have attempted to present this slight semantic difference by choosing different temporal expressions and adjectives in (240a',b').

In the case of a [+HUMAN] input subject (240c-d'), however, its syntactic appearance (240c,d) is dispensed with in the derived SED-noun. The primed examples (240c',d') show that here the prenominal complement position is definitely prohibited to any expression that corresponds to the input subject. As for the input preverb, should there be any, it is to appear in the prenominal complement position (240d).

IV. Transitive verbs as input verbs

The noun phrases derived from transitive verbs can have ÁS-noun interpretations (241), independent of the atelic (241a,c) or telic (241b,d) character of the input verbs. In such cases the possessor corresponds to the (Theme-like) object of the input verb. The (agentive) input subject does not obligatorily appear in the phrase of the output ÁS-noun. Nevertheless, it can appear in a postpositional *által* 'by' phrase, which is as free as other *való* phrases (241a-d), but its appearance is somewhat dispreferred. The *által* 'by' phrase may be regarded either as an optional argument, or as a free adjunct, or as another type of (freer) lexical-semantic dependent of the noun head that can be called a "conceptual argument", an element of Laczkó's (2000a: 293–303) *fogalmi keret* 'conceptual frame' (see also 2.1.1.2.2). Here we do not intend to commit ourselves to one of these classifications.

(241) ● Transitive input verbs: ÁS-nouns

a. A tanárt váratlanul érte *a papírrepülőknek*
the teacher.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the paper_plane.Pl.Dat*
a (?)[*gyerekek által*] / ✓[*tanóra alatt*] *való*) *folyamatos dobál-ás-a.*
the child.Pl by / lesson under be.Part continuous throw-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*The continuous throwing of (the) paper planes ([by the children] / [during the lesson])* caught the teacher unawares.'

b. A benszülöttet kiborította *a régi bumerángjának*
the aboriginal.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the old boomerang.Poss.3Sg.Dat*
a (?)[*felesége által*] / ✓ [*vadászat után*] *való*) *ki-dob-ás-a.*
the wife.Poss.3Sg by / hunting after be.Part out-throw-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It made the aboriginal angry *that his old boomerang had been thrown away ([by his wife] / [after the hunting])*.'

c. Pétert kiborította *a foglyoknak*
Péter.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the prisoner.Pl.Dat*
a (?)[*börtönőrök által*] /✓[*lármázás miatt*] *való*) *folyamatos kínz-ás-a.*
the jailer by / rowdiness because be.Part continuous torture-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*The prisoners' continuous torturing ([by the jailers] / [because of the rowdiness])* made Péter angry.'

d. Pétert kiborította *a fogolynak*
Péter.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the prisoner.Dat*
a (?)[*börtönőrök által*] / ✓[*betört ablak miatt*] *való*) *meg-kínz-ás-a.*
the jailer by / broken window because be.Part perf-torture-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*It* made Péter angry *that the prisoner had been tortured ([by the jailers] / [because of the broken window])*.'

Let us now check the corresponding SED-noun interpretations by replacing, in the position of the possessor, the (Theme-like) input object with a temporal expression. The question is, as previously, what happens to the input Theme?

The series of examples in (242) below shows the tendency that the [–HUMAN] input Theme obligatorily appears in the phrase of the SED-noun. As the possessor position is not available to it, the special prenominal complement position can serve as a last resort. This is the same position as in the previous case and discussed in 1.1.2.1. Note that the input Theme loses its Accusative case marking in the prenominal complement position of the output noun phrase—in this respect, thus, even this position does not differ from other argument positions that belong to noun heads (for a counterexample, see example (259) in subsection VI). The appearance of the input preverb, if any, depends on the semantic content of the preverb. The preverb must be omitted if its meaning contribution amounts to marking perfectivization, as in the case of *meg*, demonstrated in (242c-c'). The preverb must not be omitted, however, if it provides additional aspects of meaning (242b').

Note in passing that the resulting complex word *bumerángkidobás* 'discarding of boomerang', presented in (242b'), belongs to the strange group of expressions consisting of a noun head (*dobás* 'throwing') immediately preceded by two words (the preverb *ki* 'out' and the bare noun *bumeráng* 'boomerang') in the syntactic zone we have termed the prenominal complement zone of the corresponding noun phrase in 1.1.2.1 (see (102b)). Hundreds of such examples can be found or generated on the basis of the pattern demonstrated by those listed in (242b") below.

(242) ● Transitive input verbs: SED-nouns with [–HUMAN] input Theme

a. ??Ez volt *a tanév legarcátlanabb dobál-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the scholl_year most_arrogant throw-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
appr. 'This was *the school year's most arrogant throwing*.'

a'. Ez volt *a tanév legarcátlanabb papírrepülő-dobál-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the scholl_year most_arrogant paper_plane-throw-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the school year's most arrogant throwing of paper planes*.'

b. *Ez volt *az évtized legnehézkesebb ki-dob-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_cumbersome out-throw-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*

b'. Ez volt *az évtized legnehézkesebb bumeráng-*(ˇ*ki-)dob-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_cumbersome boomerang-(out-)throw-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most cumbersome discarding of a boomerang*.'

b''. *adat-*(ˇ*fel-)dolgoz-ás*, *terep-*(ˇ*elő-)készít-és*, *pénz-*(ˇ*be-/ki-)dob-ás*
item-(up-)work-ÁS ground-(pre-)make-ÁS money-(into-/out-)throw-ÁS
'*data processing, preparation of ground, insertion of money, waste of money*'

c. Ez volt *a hét leggyorsabb* ??*(*meg-)pucol-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the week fastest (perf-)peel-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
appr. 'This was *the week's fastest peeling*.'

c'. Ez volt *a hét leggyorsabb krumpli-(*meg-)pucol-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the week fastest potato-(perf-)peel-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the week's fastest potato peeling*.'

As is shown in (243) below, the [+HUMAN] input Theme can appear freely in the phrase of the SED-noun (cf. the primed and primeless examples), in contrast to the case of SED-nouns based on input verbs with [–HUMAN] Themes (242). As the possessor position, occupied by a temporal expression, is not available to the input Theme, the special prenominal complement position of the SED-noun can serve as a last resort (again). The appearance of any input preverb depends on the semantic content of the preverb. In this respect, thus, the group of SED-nouns under discussion (with [+HUMAN] input Themes) is similar to the group of SED-nouns based on input verbs with [–HUMAN] Themes (242). Namely, the preverb must be omitted if its sole meaning contribution amounts to marking perfectivization (243c-c') while it must not be omitted if it provides additional aspects of meaning (243b'-b'').

Note that in the latter case (243b'-b'') we should face complex words of the same strange structure (with a two-element prenominal complement zone) as was discussed in connection with the examples in (242b'-b'').

(243) ● Transitive input verbs: SED-nouns with [+HUMAN] input Theme

a. Ez volt *az évtized leghosszadalmasabb kínz-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade lenghtiest torture-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's lengthiest torturing*.'

a'. Ez volt *az évtized leghosszadalmasabb fogoly-kínz-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade lenghtiest prisoner-torture-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's lengthiest torturing of a prisoner*.'

b. Ez volt *az év legbotrányosabb *(ˇle-)hallgat-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_scandalous (down-)listen-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most scandalous politician bugging*.'

b'. Ez volt *az év legbotrányosabb politikus-*(ˇle-)hallgat-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_scandalous politician-(down-)listen-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most scandalous politician bugging*.'

b''. *munkás-*(ˇel-)bocsát-ás / színész-*(ˇmeg-)hallgat-ás*
worker-(away-)allow-ÁS / actor-(perf-)listen-ÁS
'*[dismissal of workers] / [casting of actors]*'

c. Ez volt *az év legrövidebb idő alatt lezajlott (*meg-)kínz-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year shortest time under take_place.Part perf-torture-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's shortest event when someone's torture had taken place*.'

c'. Ez volt *az év legrövidebb idő alatt lezajlott fogoly-(*meg-)kínz-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year shortest time under take_place.Part prisoner-(perf-)torture-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's shortest event when a prisoner's torture had taken place*.'

V. Verbs with oblique arguments as input verbs

This subsection discusses the impact of the appearance of oblique arguments in the argument structure of input verbs on ÁS- and SED-nominalization.

The *a priori* hypothesis is that the appearance of oblique arguments tends to have no impact on the acceptability of the derived nouns. This has to do with the fact that the corresponding nouns inherit the oblique arguments together with their oblique case marking and obligatory or optional character (Laczkó 2000a) and, hence, they do not appear as output possessors. Subsections I-IV of 1.3.1.2.2.3, however, showed that the decisive factor of ÁS- and SED-nominalization is exactly the possessor position. More precisely, a slight worsening of grammaticality judgments is predictable, since the output noun phrases will be overloaded with the many kinds of dependents of the derived noun heads. This especially holds for examples in which, in order to verify the ÁS-noun or SED-noun reading of the output noun phrase, we try to apply the [postposition+*való*] test (see (219) in 1.3.1.2.1) or the test based on the insertion of a temporal possessor (see the primed variants in (233) in subsection I), respectively.

This hypothesis determines the structure of this fifth subsection in the following way: we will investigate the different kinds of input verb types on the basis of the presence and thematic character of input subjects and objects in the same order as the corresponding types were investigated in subsections I-IV.

According to this strategy, we will start the discussion with the type of input verb that has no subject or object (see 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub I). The argument structures of the verbs to be investigated here, thus, consist of one or more oblique arguments.

The data below show that the potential noun phrase (244b) derived from an atelic verb with an argument structure that consists of an obligatory and an optional oblique case-marked argument (244a) is essentially unacceptable.

Even the input oblique arguments as possessors in the output noun phrase (244b'-b'') are fully unacceptable, in harmony with the aforementioned generalization that input oblique arguments retain their case marking instead of becoming possessors. Example (244b') requires some comment: Although the

suffix *-nAk* can serve in Hungarian not only as the marker of certain oblique arguments (which do not agree with their head (244a-b)) but also as a possible marker of the possessor (in which case it agrees in person and number with their head (244b')), this coincidence in case marker does not make possible a kind of derivation in which the ("agreeing") output possessor would correspond to the ("non-agreeing") input dative case-marked argument.

(244) ● Input verbs which have only oblique arguments: atelic verbs

a. (Karácsony után) (Juli-nak) maradt a bor-ból.
Christmas after Juli-Dat remain.Past.3Sg the wine-Ela
'There was some wine left (for Juli) (after Christmas).'

b. a bor-ból *?(*Juli-nak) való marad-ás *?(*Juli-nak)
the wine-Ela Juli-Dat be.Part remain-ÁS Juli-Dat
'remaining of wine'

b'. *Juli-nak a marad-ás-a a bor-ból
Juli-Dat the remain-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the wine-Ela

b". *a bor-nak a marad-ás-a Juli-nak
the wine-Dat the remain-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Juli-Dat

c. Kevés esély van *a bor-ból* *?*(*karácsony után) való marad-ás-ra.*
few chance be.3Sg *the wine-Ela Christmas after be.Part remain-ÁS-Sub*
'There is little chance *that there remains any wine (after Christmas)*.'

d. *Ez volt *az év legmeglepőbb bor-ból való marad-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_surprising wine-Ela be.Part remain-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the year's most surprising case when there was some wine left*.'

Examples (244c-d) illustrate the fact that the application of the two aforementioned diagnostics, which contain a [postposition+*való*] unit or a temporal possessor, makes the investigated phrases of ÁS-nouns or SED-nouns (even more) unacceptable. This is not surprising because the insertion of the test expressions have made these phrases even more overloaded.

Let us compare the fully unacceptable examples in (244c-d) to the corresponding examples in (233a-a') in subsection I, where only the ÁS-noun interpretation was unacceptable. The unacceptability of the SED-noun interpretation in (244d), thus, does not follow from the main part of our *a priori* hypothesis. As for the supplementary part of the hypothesis, according to which the appearance of "further" dependents in the derived noun phrases makes them "overloaded", the question is whether the (obligatory) insertion of the elative case-marked obligatory argument may provide an explanation for the grammaticality judgment '*?' or we should look for another explanation. This question remains for future research.

Let us now turn to the case in which the investigated input verb still has no subject or object beside its oblique argument but it is telic (245a). The variant in (245b) should be compared to the examples in (233b-b') in subsection I, which showed a perfect SED-noun interpretation and an ÁS-noun interpretation of an "intermediate or unclear status" ('??'). We may say that the result of this comparison is in total accordance with our hypothesis, at least if we attribute the almost full acceptability in (245b) unambiguously to a SED-noun interpretation, and

not to an ÁS-noun interpretation, the "intermediate or unclear status" ('??') of which is indicated in (245c) below.

The only problem with this argumentation is that we get the same "intermediate or unclear status" ('??') in (245c'), in which the SED-noun test based on temporal possessors has been applied for disambiguation. This problem, however, may be solved by attributing the worsening in grammaticality judgments to what is stated in the supplementary part of the hypothesis. That is, the intermediate grammaticality status of (245c') is to be attributed exactly to the insertion of the temporal possessor, yielding a relatively overloaded internal noun-phrase structure.

(245) ● Input verbs which have only oblique arguments: telic verbs

a. Rá-esteledett a kiránduló csapat-ra.
onto-night_fall.Past.3Sg the hiking team-Sub
'Night fell when the team was still hiking outside.'

b. (?)Ilit váratlanul érte
Ili.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a csapat-ra való rá-esteledés.
the team-Sub be.Part onto-night_fall-ÁS
'It caught Ili unawares *that night fell when the team was still hiking outside*.'

c. ??Ilit váratlanul érte
Ili.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
(a csapat-ra) a csúcs elérése után való rá-esteled-és (a csapat-ra).
the team-Sub the peak reaching.Poss.3Sg after be.Part onto-night_fall-ÁS the team-Sub
'It caught Ili unawares *that night fell just after the team had reached the peak*.'

c'. ??Ez volt *az év legváratlanabb rá-esteled-és-e a csapat-ra.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_unexpectable onto-night_fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the team-Sub*
'This was *the year's most unexpected case in which night fell when the team was still hiking outside*.'

It seems to be a common lesson learned from the SED-noun interpretations (of nouns derived from verbs with argument structures consisting exclusively of oblique arguments) in (244-245) that the output noun-phrase structures can easily become "overloaded" compared to such examples as the one in (243b') above, for instance. This difference in "loadedness" may presumably be due to the proportion of oblique and non-oblique case-marked constituents in the derived noun phrases, and not to the absolute number of (oblique case-marked) constituents. A final answer to such questions remains for future research.

Let us now turn to ÁS- and SED-nouns derived from unergative verbs the argument structure of which contain oblique arguments as well (246). This type should be compared to that discussed in subsection II, where the basic set of data was demonstrated in (234). As presented below, here the comparison totally verifies the hypothesis that the organization of this subsection relies on: namely, the derived noun phrases in question can have both the ÁS-noun interpretation (246b,d) and the SED-noun interpretation (246b',d'), independent of the atelic (246a) or telic (246c) character of the input verbs. Recall that the possessor of an ÁS-noun unambiguously corresponds to a certain argument of the input verb, and here this argument is the (typically agentive) subject (246b,d). Recall also that in the case of SED-nouns, the

possessor can be chosen to be a temporal expression (246b',d'), which is our best device for verifying the SED-noun interpretation.

(246) ● Unergative input verbs with oblique arguments

a. Péter órákon át beszélgetett Ili-vel a politiká-ról.
Péter hour.Pl.Sup through talk.Past.3Sg Ili-Ins the politics-Del
'Péter talked with Ili about politics for hours.'

b. *Péternek a (vasárnapi ebéd után való) beszélget-és-e Ili-vel a politiká-ról*
Péter.Dat the Sunday.Adj lunch after be.Part talk-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili-Ins the politics-Del
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's talking with Ili about politics after the Sunday lunch* was a surprise to everyone.'

b'. Ez volt *az év legjobb beszélget-és-e (Ili-vel) (a politiká-ról).*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year best talk-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili-Ins the politics-Del*
'This was *the year's best talking (with Ili) (about politics).*'

c. Péter megállapodott Ili-vel a feltétel-ek-ről.
Péter agree.Past.3Sg Ili-Ins the condition-Pl-Del
'Péter has agreed on the conditions with Ili.'

d. *Péternek a (tárgyalás után való) meg-állapod-ás-a Ili-vel a feltétel-ek-ről*
Péter.Dat the negotiation after be.Part perf-agree-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili-Ins the condition-Pl-Del
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's agreeing with Ili about the conditions (after the meeting)* was a surprise to everyone.'

d'. Ez volt *az év leggyorsabb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year fastest*
(Ili-vel / kötbérfeltétel-ek-ről való) meg-állapod-ás-a.
Ili-Ins / penalty_condition-Pl-Del be.Part perf-agree-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the year's fastest agreement (with Ili / on the conditions on penalties).*'

Note that, in contrast to the case of input verbs with no subjects or objects (244-245), here (246) the appearance of oblique arguments does not result in any worsening in grammaticality judgments, corroborating the main part of our initial hypothesis on the inefficiency of the appearance of oblique arguments (in the relevant respect). That is, the resulting output noun phrases do not become "overloaded"; which may presumably be due to the presence of a subject in the input argument structure.

Example (246d') above requires a short comment, to be compared with our note on (235b') in subsection II. Here, in contrast to (235b'), the preverb *meg* cannot be omitted, since its meaning contribution does not merely amount to marking perfectivization (as there is no verb like *állapodik* in Hungarian, as compared to the existing verb *megállapodik* 'agree').

Let us now turn to ÁS-nouns (247a',b',c') and SED-nouns (248) derived from unaccusative verbs, the argument structure of which contains oblique arguments as well (247a,b,c). This type should be compared to the type discussed in subsection III, where the data concerning ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns were demonstrated in (239) and (240), respectively.

The comparison will essentially verify the initial hypothesis that the organization of this subsection relies on (according to which the appearance of

oblique arguments in input argument structures has no significant impact on ÁS- and SED-nominalization), including the fact that the same semantic features count in the corresponding tests (namely, the animacy feature of the input Theme). A slight, but straightforwardly explicable, difference will emerge in connection with the output presence of input preverbs.

Let us consider the details. The noun phrases in question can have an ÁS-noun interpretation (247a',b',c'), independent of the atelic (247a',b') or telic (247c') character of the input verbs. In such cases the possessor corresponds to the (Theme-like) subject of the input verb, see the comparable examples in (239) in subsection III.

(247) ● Unaccusative input verbs with oblique arguments: ÁS-nouns

a. A meteor közeledik a Föld-höz.
the meteor approach.Past.3Sg the Earth-All
'The meteor is approaching the Earth.'

a'. *A meteornak a (várakozások szerint való) közeled-és-e*
the meteor.Dat the expectation.Pl according_to be.Part approach-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
a Föld-höz mindenkit rettegéssel töltött el.
the Earth-All everyone.Acc dread.Ins fill.Past.3Sg away
'*The meteor's approaching the Earth (according to expectations)* filled everyone with dread.'

b. Péter szenved a hőség-től.
Péter suffer.3Sg the heat-Abl
'Péter is suffering from the heat.'

b'. *Péternek a (rövid séta után való) szenved-és-e a hőség-től*
Péter.Dat the short walk after be.Part suffer-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the heat-Abl
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's suffering from the heat (after the short walk)* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. [Peti] / [A csomag] le-esett a szekér-ről.
Peti / the package down-fall.Past.3Sg the cart-Del
'[Peti] / [The package] fell off the cart.'

c'. *[Petinek] / [A csomagnak] a (bukkanó után való)*
Peti.Dat / the package.Dat the bump after be.Part
le-es-és-e a szekér-ről mindenkit megnevettetett.
down-fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the cart-Del everyone.Acc make_laugh.Past.3Sg
'*[Peti's falling off the cart] / [The falling of the package off the cart] (after the bump)* made everyone laugh.'

The series of examples in (248) below is devoted to the demonstration of the SED-noun interpretation of the same noun phrases in (247) above. Just as with (240) in subsection III, we have replaced the (Theme-like) input subject in the possessor position with a temporal expression, in order to trigger the SED-noun interpretation. The most interesting question is, again, what happens to the input Theme.

The data below suggest, similar to (240) in subsection III, that the SED-noun variants in question can be produced in some way (248), which depends not on the atelic (248a-b) or telic (248c) character of the input verb but on the [–HUMAN] (248a,c) or [+HUMAN] (248b-c) feature of the input Theme. The comparison, thus,

verifies the initial hypothesis on the inefficiency of the appearance of oblique arguments in input argument structures.

(248) ● Unaccusative input verbs with oblique arguments: SED-nouns

a. Ez volt *az évszázad legfélelmetesebb *(?meteor-)közeled-és-e a Föld-höz.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the cenutry most_dreadful (meteor-)approach-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the Earth-All*
'This was *the century's most dreadful case when a meteor was approaching the Earth.*'

b. Ez volt *az év legindokolatlanabb hőség-től való (*vendég-)szenved-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_unjustifiable heat-Abl be.Part (guest-) suffer-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most unjustifiable suffering from the heat (when one or more guests have suffered)* .'

c. Ez volt *az év legmulatságosabb szekér-ről való*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year funniest cart-Del be.Part*
*(*utas-/??csomag-)le-es-és-e.*
(passanger-/package-)down-fall-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the year's funniest case when someone / [a package] fell off the cart.*'

Let us consider the details. As is shown in (248a,c) above, the [–HUMAN] input Theme must appear in the phrase of the SED-noun (cf. (240a-b')). As the possessor position is not available to it, the special prenominal complement position can serve as a last resort. Note that the variant of example (248c) with no overt Theme is not ill-formed but in this case it should unambiguously be interpreted with a [+HUMAN] Theme.

The input preverb must appear in (248c) above, in contrast to what was observed in the corresponding example in (240b'). The difference can be attributed to the typical inherent connection of the preverb with the oblique argument, which can be illustrated with such (further) examples as ***ki**-esik a fészek-**ből*** '**out**-fall the nest-**Ela**', ***rá**-esik a tető-**re*** '**onto**-fall the roof-**Sub**', ***be**-esik a vödör-**be*** '**into**-fall the bucket-**Ill**', ***át**-esik a gyökér-**en*** '**through**-fall the root-**Sup**'.

In the case of a [+HUMAN] input subject (248b-c), however, its syntactic appearance is dispensed with in the derived SED-noun, as with the corresponding examples in (240c-d'). Here the prenominal complement position is definitely prohibited to any expression that corresponds to the input subject. As for the input preverb, if any, it is to appear in the prenominal complement position (248b-c), which is another analogy with the corresponding example (240d).

Let us now turn to ÁS-nouns (see the primed examples in (249) below) and SED-nouns (250) derived from transitive verbs that the argument structure of which contains oblique arguments as well (see the primeless examples in (249) below). This type should be compared to the type discussed in subsection IV, where the data concerning ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns were demonstrated in (241) and (242-243), respectively.

The comparison will essentially verify the initial hypothesis (according to which the appearance of oblique arguments in input argument structures has no significant impact on ÁS- and SED-nominalization), including the fact that the same semantic features count in the corresponding tests (namely, the animacy feature of the input Theme). A difference in SED-nominalization, however, will emerge in connection with the output presence of input preverbs.

Let us examine the details. The noun phrases in question can have the ÁS-noun interpretation, independent of the atelic (249a',c') or telic (249b',d') character of the input verbs. In such cases the possessor corresponds to the (Theme-like) object of the input verb, similar to the corresponding examples in (241) in subsection IV.

As can be observed in the same examples (241), the (agentive) input subject does not obligatorily appear in the phrase of the output ÁS-noun. Nevertheless, it can appear in a postpositional *által* 'by' phrase, which is as free as other *való* phrases (see the primed examples in (249) below). Example (249c') is a partial exception: here the insertion of the *által* 'by' phrase yields a marked variant (i.e., a not completely acceptable or disfavored form). This grammaticality judgment might be due to the fact that *zaklat* 'harass' expresses a somewhat emotional (and not entirely physical) impact on the Theme (perhaps also in correlation with the atelicity of the expression). This also weakens the subject's agentive character, which the *által* 'by' phrase is obviously sensitive to.

(249) ● Transitive input verbs with oblique arguments: ÁS-nouns

a. A mexikóiak évek óta szállítják a traktorok-at Kanadá-ba.
the Mexican.Pl year.Pl for transport.DefObj.3Pl the tractor.Pl-Acc Canada-Ill
'The Mexicans have been transporting tractors to Canada for years.'

a'. *A traktoroknak a* (?)[*mexikóiak által*] / ✓[*válság alatt*] *való*)
the tractor.Pl.Dat the Mexican.Pl by / crisis under be.Part
folyamatos szállít-ás-a Kanadá-ba mindenkit meglepett.
continuous transport-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Canada-Ill everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'The continuous transportation of tractors to Canada ([by the Mexicans] / [during the crisis]) was a surprise to everyone.'

b. Juli rá-önti a tejföl-t a krumpli-ra.
Juli onto-pour.DefObj.3Sg the sour_cream-Acc the potato-Sub
'Juli will pour the sour cream onto the potato.'

b'. *A tejfölnek a* (?)[*Juli által*] / ✓[*vendégség alatt*] *való*)
the sour_cream.Dat the Juli by / party under be.Part
rá-önt-és-e a krumpli-ra mindenkit meglepett.
onto-pour-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the potato-Sub everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'Pouring the sour cream onto the potatoes ([by Juli] / [during the party]) was a surprise to everyone.'

c. Péter állandóan zaklatja Mari-t a házasság-gal.
Péter continuously harass.DefObj.3Sg Mari-Acc the marriage-Ins
'Péter harasses Mari continuously with the marriage.'

c'. *Marinak a* (?[*Péter által*] / ✓[*tanóra alatt*] *való*)
Mari.Dat the Péter by / lesson under be.Part
zaklat-ás-a a házasság-gal mindenkit meglepett.
harass-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the marriage-Ins everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'Harassing Mari with the marriage ([by Péter] / [during the lesson]) was a surprise to everyone.'

d. A rendőrök ki-toloncolták Juli-t Kanadá-ból.
the policeman.Pl out-deport.Past.DefObj.3Pl Juli-Acc Canada-Ela
'The policemen deported Juli from Canada.'

d'. *Julinak a* (?)[*rendőrök által*] / ˇ[*tüntetés után*] *való*)
Juli.Dat the policemen by / demonstration after be.Part
ki-toloncol-ás-a Kanadá-ból mindenkit meglepett.
out-deport-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Canada-Ela everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The deporting of Juli from Canada ([by policemen] / [after the demonstration])* was a surprise to everyone.'

The series of data in (250) below is devoted to the demonstration of the SED-noun interpretation of the same noun phrases as in the primed examples in (249) above. Just like in (242) and (243) in subsection IV, we have replaced, in the position of the possessor, the (Theme-like) input subject with a temporal expression, in order to trigger the SED-noun interpretation. The most interesting question, again, concerns what happens to the input Theme.

The data below suggest, similar to (242-243) in subsection IV, that the SED-noun variants in question can be produced in some way (250), which way depends not on the atelic (250a,c) or telic (250b,b',d) character of the input verb but on the [–HUMAN] (250a-b') or [+HUMAN] (250c-d) feature of the input Theme. The comparison, thus, essentially verifies the initial hypothesis on the inefficiency of the appearance of oblique arguments in input argument structures. However, the behavior of preverbs is somewhat unclear.

As is shown in (250a-b') below, the [–HUMAN] input Theme tends to obligatorily appear in the phrase of the SED-noun. As the possessor position is not available to it, the special prenominal complement position can serve as a last resort, as was observed in every case where the input verb was unaccusative or transitive (with or without oblique arguments).

As for the appearance of the input preverb (250b-b'), here two opposite strategies seem to compete with each other.

One strategy is what was observed in connection with example (248c): the inherent connection of the preverb with the oblique argument triggers the simultaneous presence of the preverb and the oblique argument. The other strategy relies on the avoidance of redundancy: In the presence of the oblique argument, the preverb—which provides essentially the same meaning component—is to be omitted unless the additional aspects of meaning of the preverb seem to be significantly important to the speaker. Another factor that prefers the latter strategy is the avoidance of doubly filling the prenominal complement zone that belongs to the noun head. It has turned out in connection with the many corresponding examples (based on obliqueless transitive input argument structures), shown in (242b'-b"), that the double filling of the prenominal complement zone is not at all prohibited.

The "intermediate or unclear" ('??') (and speaker- and context-dependent) grammaticality judgments in (250b-b'), thus, might be due to the tension between these two strategies.

(250) ● Transitive input verbs with oblique arguments: SED-nouns

a. Ez volt *az évtized legnagyobb* ??*(*ˇtraktor-)szállít-ás-a Kanadá-ba.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade greatest (tractor-)transport-Poss.3Sg Canada-Ill*
'This was *the decade's greatest transport (of tractors) to Canada*.'

b. Ez volt *az év legemlékezetesebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_memorable*
**(ˇtejföl-)??(??rá-)önt-és-e a krumpli-ra.*
(sour_cream-)(onto)pour-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the potato-Sub
'This was *the year's most memorable pouring (of sour cream) onto the potatoes*.'

b'. Ez volt *az év leggyorsabb *(ˇmazsola-)??(??ki-)csen-és-e a süti-ből.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year fastest (raisin-)(out-)steal-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the cake-Ela*
'This was *the year's fastest theft (of raisins) from the cake*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legrémesebb (házasság-gal való) (?tanár-)zaklat-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_terrible marriage-Ins be.Part (teacher-)harass-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most terrible harassment (of a teacher) (with marriage)*.'

d. Ez volt *az év legbotrányosabb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_scandalous*
(vendégmunkás-)(ˇki-)toloncol-ás-a Kanadá-ból.*
(migrant_worker-)(out-)deport-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Canada-Ela
'This was *the year's most scandalous deportation (of migrant workers) from Canada*.'

d'. Ez volt *az év legbotrányosabb (veréssel való)*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_scandalous beating.Ins be.Part*
*(diák-)(*meg-)fegyelmez-és-e.*
(pupil-)(perf-)disciple-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the year's most scandalous discipline (of pupils) (with beating)*.'

The [+HUMAN] input Theme can appear in the phrase of the SED-noun (250c-d) (depending on the extent of the institutionalized status of resulting forms) quite freely, in contrast to the case of SED-nouns based on input verbs with [–HUMAN] Themes (250a-b'). As the possessor position, occupied by a temporal expression, is not available to the input Theme, the special prenominal complement position of the SED-noun can serve as a last resort (again). The appearance of the input preverb, if any, depends on the semantic content of the preverb. In this respect, thus, the group of SED-nouns under discussion is similar to the group of SED-nouns based on transitive obliqueless input verbs (242-243). The preverb must be omitted if its meaning contribution merely amounts to marking perfectivization (cf. (250d'), on the one hand, and (242c') and (243c-c'), on the other), while it must not be omitted if it provides additional aspects of meaning (cf. (250d), on the one hand, and (242b'-b") and (243b'-b"), on the other).

Note that in the latter case (250d) we get complex words of the two-element prenominal complement zone again.

VI. Verbs with verbal modifiers as input verbs

This subsection (1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI) is devoted to the discussion of special types of argument: namely, those that appear as verbal modifiers (in the position left-adjacent to the verb stem, at least in neutral sentences). As has been seen in subsection 1.1.1.3.4 (see also M6), this is a special position in Hungarian because it typically hosts expressions of lower levels of referentiality (and specificity).

In the course of the overview of the relevant cases, several factors should be taken into consideration. A usual factor is the case marking of the noun phrase in the position in question (Nominative, Accusative, Oblique). Another factor that has

been relevant so far is the telic or atelic character of the input verb. The fact that the noun phrases in the given position are typically of a lower level of referentiality (and specificity) suggests that the countable or uncountable character of the noun phrase may also matter, captured as a [+SHAPE]/[–SHAPE] difference in subsection 1.2.2.1. Therefore we will compare (shaped) individual or collective nouns with (shapeless) substance nouns as verbal modifiers.

Let us start with the case in which a bare noun phrase with a nominative case-marked substance noun as its head is used as a verbal modifier of an atelic input verb (251a).

As this type—due to the Theme role of the investigated verbal modifier—is similar to the unaccusative type, discussed in subsection III, it is predicted that this Theme will appear as the possessor of the output ÁS-noun (251b). The possessor position is similar to argument positions of verbs (1.1.1.3.4) in that it cannot host bare noun phrases. Since substance nouns cannot appear in indefinite constructions (see 1.2.2.2.1, sub I), the input bare noun phrase necessarily appears as a definite noun phrase in the corresponding ÁS-noun construction.

Note that here the application of the definite noun-phrase construction as a counterpart of the "contextually new" *gáz* 'gas' in (251a) is acceptable because in Hungarian the appearance of a substance noun in a formally definite noun phrase is not necessary to interpret as "contextually given". In the sentence *a gáz gyúlékony* 'the gas [is] flammable', for instance, it is not (necessarily) a contextually given portion of gas that is referred to, but the sentence is generic. Hence, one of the meanings of the sentence variant in (251a') coincides with the meaning of sentence (251a). Therefore, as a matter of fact, the acceptable variant of (251b) is rather to be derived from the argument structure variant shown in (251a') but the meaning does not help us decide the question.

(251) ● Atelic input verb with a subject as a verbal modifier:
substance noun, dynamic meaning

a. *Gáz* szivárog a főcső-ből.
gas leak.3Sg the main_line-Ela
'*Gas* is leaking from the main line.'

a'. Szivárog *a gáz* a főcső-ből.
leak.3Sg *the gas* the main_line-Ela
'*Gas* is leaking from the main line.'

b. Marit kiborította
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
**(a) gáznak a (szerelés után való) szivárg-ás-a a főcső-ből*
the gas.Dat the mending after be.Part leak-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the main_line-Ela
'*The leaking of gas from the main line (after the mending)* made Mari angry.'

b'. Marit kiborította
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a (szerelés után való) gáz-szivárg-ás a főcső-ből.
the mending after be.Part gas-leak-ÁS the main_line-Ela
'*The leaking of gas from the main line (after the mending)* made Mari angry.'

c. Ez volt *az év legbosszantóbb* ?(✓*gáz-)szivárg-ás-a a főcső-ből.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_annoying (gas-)leak-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the main_line-Ela*
'This was *the year's most annoying gas leak from the main line*.'

A straightforward alternative to the construction illustrated in (251b) above is shown in (251b'). Here the input verbal modifier appears in the prenominal complement position within the output phrase of the ÁS-noun, left-adjacent to the noun stem, which can obviously be regarded as the NP-internal counterpart of the corresponding input preverbal position, left-adjacent to the verb stem. Note that this special NP-internal position is exactly the same as the one often proved to serve as "a last resort" for output Themes in the case of SED-nouns in subsections III-V. The novel element is that here, as the grammaticality judgments demonstrate in (251b') above, this is an appropriate position of the Theme in the phrase of the output ÁS-noun in spite of the fact that the potential possessor position is not occupied. Moreover, it is exactly this prenominal complement position that is to be regarded as the ideal target of the input verbal modifier since in this way the bare noun status can be retained, guaranteeing the preservation of the special meaning factor typical of bare noun phrases (see the second half of subsection 1.1.2.2 on the semantics of noun phrases, and especially Remark 6 within that subsection).

Example (251c) above illustrates the case of the output SED-noun. As in cases like this, in harmony with our practice so far, the possessor position is occupied by a temporal expression, the Theme in question is to appear in the prenominal complement position left-adjacent to the output noun head. This is also what was observed in subsections III-V. The novel aspect here is that the Theme appears as a bare noun not only in the output but also in the input.

Note in passing that the variant in which the Theme is not mentioned is not so unacceptable as its counterpart in (240a) in subsection III. This might be due to the facts that, on the one hand, the quality of the leaking material is easy to predict, and, on the other, no misunderstanding may emerge since the absent Theme of *szivárgás* 'leaking' cannot be interpreted as [+HUMAN] (cf. (248c) in subsection V).

The series of examples in (252) below demonstrates the test of another atelic verb with a subject that appears as a verbal modifier. Neither the two kinds of ÁS-noun constructions (252b) nor the usual SED-noun construction (252c) are sufficiently acceptable (neither with the singular nor with the plural form of the noun *ikon* 'icon' in the prenominal complement position; see (5b) in 1.1.1.3.1). The reasons for this might be due to properties such as the individual (countable) character of the Theme, or the static, and not dynamic, character of the meaning of the input verb (cf. the corresponding test examples in (251) above). Exploring the exact reasons, however, goes far beyond the scope of this book.

(252) ● Atelic input verb with a subject as a verbal modifier:
individual noun, static meaning

a. A szomszéd-ban *ikonok* lógnak a fal-on.
the neighborhood.Ine *icon.Pl* hang.3Pl the wall-Sup
'In the neighborhood there hang *icons* on the wall.'

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[*(??)az ikonoknak a lóg-ás-a] / *[az ikon(-ok)-lóg-ás] a fal-on.
the icon.Pl.Dat the hang-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / the icon(-Pl)-hang-ÁS the wall-Sup
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that there hang icons on the wall.*'

c. *Ez volt az év legváratlanabb fal-on való (ikon(-ok)-)lóg-ás-a.
this be.Past.3Sg the year most_unexpected wall-Sup be.Part (icon(-Pl)-)hang-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'This was *the year's most unexpected case when there hung icons on walls.*'

Now let us test an input telic verb with a subject that appears as a verbal modifier (253a). The Theme in question is a bare noun phrase headed by a ([+SHAPE]) collective noun, the interpretation of which can be characterized by an underspecified number feature ('one or more'; see the second half of subsection 1.1.2.2 on the semantics of noun phrases, and especially Remark 6 within that subsection). Our world knowledge, nevertheless, seems to provide preference for the singular reading. That is, the formation of a single choir is likely to be referred to in (253a). Hence, the highly preferred reading of sentence (253a) practically coincides with the meaning of the unambiguous sentence demonstrated in (253a') below.

This observation is important for the discussion of the three potential ÁS-noun constructions with the Theme expressed in the possessor position of the output noun phrase; see (253b). As was mentioned above in connection with example (251b), possessor positions do not accept bare nouns or bare noun phrases. Further, in contrast to (251b), about which it was claimed that the denotatum of a substance noun in a formally definite noun phrase is not necessarily to be interpreted as "contextually given", here in (253b) the definite noun phrase *a kórusnak* 'the choir.Dat' inevitably refers to a contextually given choir.

Therefore, the remaining third variant is the most acceptable: to use an indefinite noun phrase in the possessor position. This choice as an output ÁS-noun construction that adequately corresponds to the input argument structure demonstrated in (253a)—with its bare noun used as a verbal modifier—is more or less acceptable. Its acceptability, however, relies on the aforementioned essential coincidence of the meaning of sentence (253a') with that of sentence (253a). In other words, the only somewhat acceptable variant in (253b) ultimately shows the output variant of the argument structure presented in (253a'), and not the intended argument structure in (253a).

As the straightforward NP-internal counterpart of the verbal modifier, left-adjacent to the verb stem, is the prenominal complement position within the output phrase of the ÁS-noun, left-adjacent to the noun stem, the variant of ÁS-noun constructions shown in (253b') can be predicted to serve as the most acceptable candidate. As our grammaticality judgment ('(?)') suggests (253b'), we think that this expectation is essentially borne out. The reason why the sentence in question is not fully acceptable is presumably to be sought in the fact that choirs do not emerge spontaneously, but they are formed volitionally. Sentence (253b'), thus, as well as sentence (253c), is somewhat clumsy since the unaccusative input verb *alakul* '$form_{intr}$', in contrast to its transitive counterpart *alakít* '$form_{tr}$' (257), for instance, suggests the spontaneous character of the event in question.

(253) ● Telic input verb with a subject as a verbal modifier:
collective noun

a. *Kórus* alakult az iskolá-ban.
choir get_formed.Past.3Sg the school-Ine
'There got formed *one or more choirs* in the school.'

a'. Alakult egy kórus az iskolá-ban.
get_formed.Past.3Sg a choir the school-Ine
'There got formed a choir in the school.'

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
**a /ʔegy/ *∅ kórusnak az alakul-ás-a az iskolá-ban.*
the /a / ∅ choir.Dat the form-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the school-Ine
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that there were one or more choirs formed in the school after the ceremony.*'

b'. (?)Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
az (ünnepség után való) kórus-alakul-ás az iskolá-ban.
the ceremony after be.Part choir-get_formed-ÁS the school-Ine
'It caught Mari unawares *that there were one or more choirs formed in the school (after the ceremony)*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized leggyorsabb *((?)kórus-)alakul-ás-a az iskolá-ban.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade fastest (choir-)get_formed-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the school-Ine*
'This was *the decade's fastest case when there were one or more choirs formed in the school.*'

The SED-noun construction shown in (253c) above presents the regular behavior as was described in connection with the corresponding example in (240a) in subsection III, based on an input verb with a [–HUMAN] Theme: this Theme can and must appear in the prenominal complement position in the form of a bare noun. A choir, thus, tends to qualify as a [–HUMAN] expression, at least in the relevant respect. That is, its group-like character prevails, masking the fact that the group consists of [+HUMAN] entities.

The series of examples in (254) demonstrates the same test of ÁS-nominalization and SED-noun derivation with another input telic verb with a nominative case-marked verbal modifier. The novel aspect relative to test (253) is that the Theme is a substance noun, which suggests that the results of this test should (also) be compared to those of test (251). In contrast to tests (251) and (253), which yielded both more or less acceptable ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions, here we get neither acceptable ÁS-noun nor SED-noun constructions. This case (telic input verb, substance noun as Theme), thus, is similar with respect to grammaticality judgments to the case illustrated in (252) above (atelic input verb, individual noun as Theme).

(254) ● Telic input verb with a subject as a verbal modifier:
substance noun

a. *Víz* ment a szemem-be.
water go.Past.3Sg the eye.Poss.1Sg-Ill
'There was *some water* that got into my eyes.'

b. *Váratlanul ért
unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
a /egy/∅ víznek a men-és-e a szemem-be.
the /a /∅ water.Dat the go-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the eye.Poss.1Sg-Ill
Intended meaning: 'It caught me unawares *that there was some water that got into my eyes*.'

b'. *Váratlanul ért *a víz-men-és a szemem-be.*
unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg *the water-go-ÁS the eye.Poss.1Sg-Ill*
Intended meaning: 'It caught me unawares *that some water got into my eyes*.'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legváratlanabb (víz-)men-és-e a szemem-be.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_unexpected (water-)go-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the eye.Poss.1Sg-Ill*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most unexpected case when there was some water that got into my eyes*.'

d. Ez volt *az évtized legváratlanabb *(✓bolt-ba) men-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_unexpected (shop-Ill) go-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most unexpected case when someone went shopping*.'

The negative results, thus, can be attributed neither to the telic or dynamic character of the input verb (cf. (253)), nor to the choice of the Theme as a substance noun phrase (cf. (251)), nor to any kind of morphological incompatibility between the suffix *-Ás* and the verb stem *men-* 'go' (254d), nor to some potential unfillability of the prenominal complement position of the given ÁS-noun (see *boltba menés* 'shop.Ill go.ÁS' in (254d), nor to the facts themselves that this Theme serves as a verbal modifier in the input argument structure and is expressed in the form of a nominative case-marked bare noun phrase. Exploring the reasons for this remains for future research.

All in all, the four input argument structures discussed so far in subsection VI belong to four different types with respect to ÁS-noun and SED-noun derivation, and there might be further types in the relevant domain (input verbs with nominative case-marked verbal modifiers). What can be learned from this? Our tentative generalization is as follows: The fact that there is a very small group of marginal verbs in an area indicates that they will each behave in an idiosyncratic way. That is, the small marginal group will be divided into numerous subtypes.

Let us continue with the case in which a bare noun phrase with an accusative case-marked substance noun as its head is used as a verbal modifier of an atelic input verb (see (255a) below). This type—due to the Theme role of the verbal modifier—is similar to the transitive type, discussed in subsection IV. Thus a potential position in which the Theme may appear is the possessor position of the output ÁS-noun (255b). As was mentioned in connection with the related example in (251b), the possessor position cannot host bare noun phrases. The input bare noun phrase, thus, may potentially appear either as a definite or as an indefinite noun phrase in the phrase of the corresponding ÁS-noun.

As substance nouns prototypically cannot appear in indefinite constructions (1.2.2.2.1, sub I), the latter alternative seems to be excluded. Nevertheless, it would have been acceptable—namely, as a non-prototypical use in which a culturally determined portion of the given material is referred to (cf. (199) in 1.2.2.2.2). However, as is indicated by the grammaticality judgment in (255b) below, the indefinite alternative is almost fully unacceptable. This is due to the fact that the

possessor position requires a filler that is not only referential but also (clearly) specific, similar to the sentential topic position in this respect (see example (10) in 1.1.1.3.4); and a specific reading would require the *meg-iszik* 'perf-drink' variant of the input verb.

The "definite alternative" is not acceptable, either (255b), in contrast to what was observed in the case of the related example in (251b). The exploration of the ultimate reason for this is left to future research, but the following observation seems to serve as a good starting point: while in (255a') the denotatum of the noun phrase *a kávét* 'the coffee.Acc' is necessarily understood as a contextually given portion of coffee (which is in no way the intended meaning in (255b) below), in (251a') *a gáz* 'the gas' could be understood as referring to something that is not given contextually.

(255) ● Atelic input verb with an object as a verbal modifier:
substance noun

a. Péter *kávé-t* iszik.
Péter *coffee-Acc* drink.3Sg
'Péter is drinking *coffee*.'

a'. Péter issza a kávé-t.
Péter drink.DefObj.3Sg the coffee-Acc
'Péter is drinking the coffee.'

a". Péter iszik.
Péter drink.3Sg
'Péter is drinking.'

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
?a /?egy / *∅ kávénak az (éjjel tíz után való) iv-ás-a.*
the / a / ∅ coffee.Dat the night ten after be.Part drink-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that coffee was drunk (after ten o'clock at night)*.'

b'. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
az (éjjel tíz után való) kávé-iv-ás.
the night ten after be.Part coffee-drink-ÁS
'It caught Mari unawares *that coffee was drunk (after ten o'clock at night)*.'

c. Ez volt *a nap legutolsó* #(✓*kávé-)iv-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the day last (coffee-)drink-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the day's last event when coffee was drunk*.'

A straightforward alternative to the construction illustrated in (255b) above is shown in (255b'). Here the input verbal modifier appears (obligatorily having lost its input Accusative case marking) in the prenominal complement position within the output phrase of the ÁS-noun, left-adjacent to the noun stem (cf. (259)). Note that it is an ideal position for the input verbal modifier since here the bare noun status can be retained, guaranteeing the preservation of the special meaning factor typical of bare noun phrases (see also (251b')).

Example (255c) above illustrates the case of the output SED-noun. The Theme in question has to appear, again, in the prenominal complement position left-adjacent to the output noun head (not only because the possessor position is

occupied by a temporal expression, but also because, as has often been observed in this subsection, this is the ideal target of a Theme expressed in the form of a bare noun (phrase)).

Note in passing that we have marked the variant in which the Theme is not mentioned with a '#' ("unacceptable under intended reading"). This is why we attribute the acceptability of this variant to the assumption that this "Themeless" variant is derived from the (unergative) intransitive input verb presented in (255a") above, and not from the transitive input verb under investigation shown in (255a). What counts here, thus, is not the intermediate or unclear grammaticality-judgment status observed in (242a) in subsection IV, in which the case of transitive input verbs was discussed, but the judgment 'fully acceptable' observed in (234a') in subsection II, which is devoted to the investigation of the case of (unergative) intransitive input verbs.

The series of examples in (256) below demonstrates the test of another atelic verb with an object that appears as a verbal modifier, which is now headed by an individual (countable) noun. Results of this test should be compared, due to their similar "input" properties, to those of test (252), in which we considered an atelic input verb with a subject that appeared as a verbal modifier headed by an individual noun. The resulting grammaticality judgments, however, are radically different: here there is a fully acceptable ÁS-noun construction (256b") as well as an almost fully acceptable SED-noun construction (256c). This radical difference is likely to be due to the marginal status of the input verb type tested in (252), compared to the input verb type tested here. The former type is called marginal because its only non-oblique argument in its argument structure can be characterized by "partial argumenthood" in the borderline zone between syntax and morphology (discussed in 1.1.2.1), while the argument structure of the latter type contains a "fully-fledged" subject, combined with the "degenerate" (incorporated) object.

(256) ● Atelic input verb with an object as a verbal modifier:
individual noun

a. Péter *csincsillá-t* tart a garázs mögött.
Péter *chinchilla-Acc* keep.3Sg the garage behind
'Péter keeps *(one or more) chinchillas* behind the garage.'

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
#*a* /#*egy*/ *∅ *csincsillának a garázs mögött való tart-ás-a.*
the / a / ∅ chinchilla.Dat the garage behind be.Part keep-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that (one or more) chinchillas were kept behind the garage*.'

b'. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
#*a* /*∅ *csincsilláknak a garázs mögött való tart-ás-a.*
the / ∅ chinchilla.Pl.Dat the garage behind be.Part keep-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that (one or more) chinchillas were kept behind the garage*.'

b”. Marinak elege van
Mari.Dat enough.Poss.3Sg be.3Sg
a garázs mögött való csincsilla-tart-ás-ból.
the garage behind be.Part chinchilla-keep-ÁS-Ela
‘Mari is fed up *with keeping (one or more) chinchillas behind the garage*.’

c. Ez volt
this be.Past.3Sg
*az évtized legsikeresebb garázs mögötti *(?)csincsilla-)tart-ás-a.*
the decade most_successful garage behind.Attr (chinchilla-)keep-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
‘This was *the decade’s most successful case when (one or more) chinchillas were kept behind a garage*.’

Examples (256b-b’) are devoted to the investigation of the potential alternative method of ÁS-nominalization in which it is a possessor that corresponds to the input “degenerate” object. The resulting grammaticality judgments confirm our observations so far, according to which the possessor position, exactly due to its “full-blown” character, can serve as a much less adequate output counterpart of the “degenerate” verbal modifier than the prenominal complement position of the noun head, also “degenerate” in the same respect. The five grammaticality judgments in (256b-b’) above verify this generalization in two ways. There are ill-formed variants with a bare noun (phrase), which cannot occupy the “referential” possessor position; and there are variants marked with the ‘#’ symbol (“unacceptable under intended reading”). In the latter case, the problem is that the underspecified semantic content (‘numberlessness’) of the verbal modifier is lost, inevitably substituted for such “over specified” semantic contents as ‘definiteness’ or ‘specific-indefiniteness’.

The same obviously holds for any attempt when an input verbal modifier is tried to be replaced with a possessor in the corresponding output noun phrase, with the additional note that in certain cases the semantic difference happens to disappear or to become undetectably obscure (251b) but, even in such cases, the ideal substitution of a “degenerate” (verbal modifier) position for a “degenerate” (prenominal complement) position is still available. Hence, from now on, we will no longer test the potential possibility of the substitution of the input verbal modifier for an output possessor.

Let us continue, in harmony with our practice so far, with a telic input verb (257a). This still has an object that appears as a verbal modifier, and the given Theme is a bare noun phrase headed by a [+SHAPE] noun, namely a collective one. Both the ÁS-noun constructions (257b-b’) and the SED-noun construction (257c) are perfect, with the output counterpart of the input Theme placed in the prenominal complement position. This result could be predicted on the basis of the acceptable analogous unaccusative examples in (253b’,c), on the one hand, and the also acceptable examples based on transitive input verbs (255-256), on the other hand.

(257) ● Telic input verb with an object as a verbal modifier:
collective noun

a. A lányok *kórus-t* alakítottak az iskolá-ban.
the girl.Pl *choir-Acc* form.Past.3Sg the school-Ine
‘The girls have formed *one or more choirs* in the school.’

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
az (*ünnepség után való*) *kórus-alakít-ás az iskolá-ban.*
the ceremony after be.Part choir-form-ÁS the school-Ine
'It caught Mari unawares *that one or more choirs had been formed in the school after the ceremony*.'

b'. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a lányoknak az (*ünnepség után való*) *kórus-alakít-ás-a az iskolá-ban.*
the girl.Pl.Dat the ceremony after be.Part choir-form-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the school-Ine
'It caught Mari unawares *that one or more choirs had been formed by the girls in the school after the ceremony*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized leggyorsabb *(✓kórus-)alakít-ás-a az iskolá-ban.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade fastest (choir-)form-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the school-Ine*
'This was *the decade's fastest case when one or more choirs were formed in the school*.'

As was discussed in connection with the analogous unaccusative example shown in (253c), the obligatory presence of the counterpart of the input Theme in the output SED-noun construction (257c) can be attributed to the status of the noun phrase referring to a choir as a [–HUMAN] expression, which, the [–HUMAN] Themes, proved to occur obligatorily in such constructions (see subsections III-V). The slight difference between the grammaticality judgments associated with these analogous examples ((253c) and (257c)) is also explained there.

The test shown in (258) below provides exactly the same results as the previous test (257): both a fully acceptable ÁS-noun construction (258b) and also a fully acceptable SED-noun construction (258c), with an obligatorily overt Theme in the prenominal complement position, can be derived. Thus the difference in the type of the head noun in the phrase of the input Theme ([–SHAPE]/[+SHAPE]) is irrelevant in this case (where the input verbs do not belong to marginal types).

(258) ● Telic input verb with an object as a verbal modifier:
substance noun

a. Péter *rum-ot* öntött a teá-ba.
Péter *rum-Acc* pour.Past.3Sg the tea-Ill
'Péter poured *some rum* into the tea.'

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a teá-ba való rum-önt-és.
the tea-Ill be.Part rum-pour-ÁS
'It caught Mari unawares *that some rum was poured into the tea*.'

c. Ez volt *az év legváratlanabb teá-ba való *(✓rum-)önt-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_unexpected tea-Ill be.Part (rum-)pour-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most unexpected case when some rum was poured into the tea*.'

To make the picture complete, let us conclude the discussion of input verbs with accusative case-marked verbal modifiers with an exceptional (but fully acceptable) ÁS-noun (259b) and SED-noun (259c) construction in which the input verbal modifier obligatorily retains its Accusative case marking (Laczkó 1995: 145; attr. to

Szabolcsi 1994), in contrast to all of our examples with transitive input verbs demonstrated in subsections IV-VI.

(259) ● Telic input verb with an object as a verbal modifier:
an exceptional case

a. Az ejtőernyős *föld-et* ért.
the parachutist *land-Acc* reach.Past.3Sg
'The parachutist landed.'

a'. Az ejtőernyős nem ért *föld-et.*
the parachutist not reach.Past.3Sg *land-Acc*
'The parachutist has not landed.'

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
az ejtőernyősnek a (pajta mellett való) föld(ˇ-et) ér-és-e.*
the parachutist.Dat the barn next_to be.Part land(-Acc) reach-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It caught Mari unawares *that the parachutist landed next to the barn*.'

c. Ez volt *az év leglátványosabb *(ˇföld-et)/ *(*föld) ér-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_spectacular (land-Acc) / (land) reach-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most spectacular landing*.'

The aforementioned authors attribute the exceptional behavior to the "fully lexicalized" status of the idiom-like expression *földet ér* 'land.Acc reach'. The precise content of this "fully lexicalized" status, however, is somewhat obscure, as regards the compositional character of the expression (it is indeed claimed that someone reaches the land; also see *partot ér* 'reach shore'). Note in passing that the modifiability of the word order presented in (259a') cannot be regarded as unquestionable evidence for the non-idiomatic status of the given expression, because in Hungarian even unquestionably idiomatic expressions behave in the same way as normal [verbal modifier + verb stem] constructions, that is, a [*nem* 'not' + verb stem + verbal modifier] order emerges, as is demonstrated in the (a')-examples in tests (260-262) below (cf. M5.1 and M6).

Let us consider how true idioms (260-262) behave in the relevant respect under discussion—whether the input Accusative case marking is omitted or retained—and how they behave generally in the course of ÁS-nominalization and SED-noun derivation.

The picture is varied. There are at least three types of behavior, as will be shown in what follows.

The first type, presented in (260), seems to show the regular behavior in that the input Accusative case marking is not retained in the course of ÁS-nominalization or SED-noun derivation. More precisely, ÁS-nominalization fails in the case of this idiom, as is definitely shown by the [postposition+*való*] test in (260b). The same example also demonstrates the radical difference between the aforementioned impossible ÁS-noun interpretation and the fully acceptable SED-noun interpretation; the adjectival form derived from the postposition is to be regarded as unquestionable evidence for the appearance of this latter interpretation. The (c)-example in (260) is our usual test of the SED-noun interpretation. As can be predicted on the basis of (260b), the SED-noun variant (without Accusative case marking) is fully acceptable.

(260) ● Idioms with an object as a verbal modifier:
I. Regular behavior (with the loss of the input Accusative case marking)

a. Péter *bak-ot* lőtt.
Péter *billy_goat-Acc* shoot.Past.3Sg
'Péter made a big mistake.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter shot *a billy goat*.')

a'. Péter nem lőtt *bak-ot.*
Péter not shoot.Past.3Sg *billy_goat-Acc*
'Péter did not make a mistake.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter did not shoot *a billy goat*.')

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Péternek a ([gyűlés után való] /#[gyűlés utáni]) bak-(*-ot)lövés-e.*
Péter.Dat the meeting after be.Part / meeting after.Attr billy_goat-(-Acc)shoot-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that Péter made a big mistake (after the meeting)*.'
(Literal reading: 'It caught Mari unawares *that Péter shot a billy goat (after the meeting)*.')

c. Ez volt *az év leglátványosabb bak-(*-ot)lövés-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_spectacular billy_goat-(-Acc)shoot-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most spectacular mistake*.'
(Literal reading: 'This was *the year's most spectacular shooting of a billy goat*.')

The second type of true idiom (261) behaves like the idiom-like expression *földet ér* 'land.Acc reach', demonstrated in (259), at least in that the input Accusative case marking is obligatorily retained. Note that in the case of this idiom it is the ÁS-noun interpretation that is reasonably acceptable (261b), in contrast to the less acceptable SED-noun variant (261c). Note in passing that the application of the [postposition+*való*] construction (261b) makes the acceptability of the ÁS-noun variant definitely better (cf. (261b')), presumably due to the highlighting of the verbal character via this construction in correlation with the complex-event denoting property of ÁS-nouns (NB: the appearance of the "unambiguously verbal" Accusative case marking may also help the complex-event interpretation).

(261) ● Idioms with an object as a verbal modifier:
II. Irregular behavior (with the input Accusative case marking retained)

a. Péter *csőd-öt* mondott.
Péter *bankruptcy-Acc* say.Past.3Sg
'Péter failed.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter said *bankruptcy*.')

a'. Péter nem mondott *csőd-öt.*
Péter not say.Past.3Sg *bankruptcy-Acc*
'Péter did not fail.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter did not say *bankruptcy*.')

b. Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Péternek a gyűlés után való csőd-(?-öt) mond-ás-a.*
Péter.Dat the meeting after be.Part bankruptcy(-Acc) say-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It caught Mari unawares *that Péter failed after the meeting*.'
(Literal reading: 'It caught Mari unawares *that Péter said bankruptcy after the meeting*.')

b'. ??Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Péternek a csőd-öt mond-ás-a.
Péter.Dat the bankruptcy-Acc say-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that Péter failed*.'

c. Ez volt *az év leglátványosabb csőd-*(??-öt) mond-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_spectacular bankruptcy(-Acc) say-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most spectacular failure*.'
(Literal reading: 'This was *the year's most spectacular event when someone said bankruptcy*.')

The third type to be considered can be regarded as showing the behavior that idioms can be expected to show due to their essentially unbreakable internal integrity (probably also in connection with the presence of an oblique-case-marked idiom component): they tend to resist undergoing any kind of derivation. The input idiom *rossz fát tesz a tűzre* 'bad log.Acc put the fire.Sub', presented in (262a) below, behaves in this way: it has neither an ÁS-noun variant (262b) nor a SED-noun variant (262c), neither with retained Accusative case marking nor without it. Note in passing that the appearance of an attributive (*rossz* 'bad') may also be the source of this resistence.

(262) ● Idioms with an object as a verbal modifier:
III. No derived ÁS-noun or SED-noun

a. Péter *rossz fá-t* tett a tűz-re.
Péter *bad log-Acc* put.Past.3Sg the fire-Sub
'Péter did something wrong.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter put *bad logs* on the fire.')

a'. Péter nem tett *rossz fá-t* a tűz-re.
Péter not put.Past.3Sg *bad log-Acc* the fire-Sub
'Péter did not do anything wrong.'
(Literal reading: 'Péter put no *bad logs* on the fire.')

b. *Marit váratlanul érte
Mari.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
Péternek a (gyűlés után való) rossz fa- / fá-t tev-és-e a tűz-re.
Péter.Dat the meeting after be.Part bad log / log-Acc put-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the fire-Sub
Intended meaning: 'It caught Mari unawares *that Péter did something wrong (after the meeting)*.'
(Literal reading: 'It caught Mari unawares *that Péter put bad logs on the fire (after the meeting)*.')

c. *Ez volt *az év legbotrányosabb rossz fa- / fá-t tev-és-e a tűz-re.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_scandalous bad log / log-Acc put-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the fire-Sub*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the year's most scandalous misdemeanor*.'
(Literal reading: 'This was *the year's most scandalous event when someone put bad logs on the fire*.')

All in all, we have obtained exactly what is predictable on the basis of the tension between the principle of the retainment of the (formal) internal integrity typical of idioms, on the one hand, and the prohibition of the Accusative case marking on immediate dependents of noun heads, on the other. The former principle either predicts that the input Accusative case marking is to be retained (261) or directly predicts that no derivation is possible at all (262), while the latter principle suggests the loss of the input Accusative case marking (260).

A tension like this typically predicts intermediate, unclear and highly speaker-dependent grammaticality judgments as well as an unpredictable difference between the acceptability of the corresponding ÁS-noun and SED-noun variants. And this has been demonstrated by our illustrations. As for a systematic survey of the inventory of idioms, it far goes beyond the scope of this book, and requires much future research. This concerns all aspects of the problem of derivation with idioms as input forms; here we have only concentrated on the most spectacular aspect of the problem, the retainment or loss of the input Accusative case marking.

Finally, let us review cases in which a bare noun phrase with an oblique case-marked noun as its head is used as a verbal modifier of atelic (263-264) and telic (265-266) input verbs. Two input verbs in the test will be transitive (264-265), one will be unergative (263), and one unaccusative (266). It remains for future research to carry out an even more exhaustive examination of possible types in which such distinctions are also systematically cross-classified as the distinction between predicative (265) and non-predicative (263, 264, 266) bare nouns / noun phrases, that between [+HUMAN] (263) and [–HUMAN] (264-266) ones, as well as that between individual (263, 265), and substance nouns (264, 266). Verbal modifiers of further degrees of referentiality—the special type of definite ones, for instance (*Londonban lakik* 'London.Ine live' ('live in London'))—should also be considered in the future, as well as plural verbal modifiers (*lányokat futtat* 'girl.Pl.Acc run' ('run girls')).

First, let us consider the case in which the verbal modifier of an atelic (unergative) verb is headed by an individual noun (263a). In this type there are more or less acceptable ÁS-noun constructions (263b-b') as well as SED-noun constructions (263c-c').

(263) ● Atelic input verb with an oblique argument as a verbal modifier:
individual noun

a. Péter *pszichológus-hoz* jár.
Péter *psychologist-All* go.3Sg
'Péter is seeing one or more psychologists.'

b. (?)*Péternek a (válása után való) pszichológus-hoz ját-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the divorce.Poss.3Sg after be.Part psychologist-All go-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's seeing (one or more) psychologists (after his divorce)* was a surprise to everyone.'

b'. ?*Péter(nek a) pszichológus-hoz való ját-ás-a*
Péter(Dat the) psychologist-All be.Part go-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's seeing (one or more) psychologists* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. (?)Ez volt *az évtized legindokoltabb pszichológus-hoz ját-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_reasonable psychologist-All go-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most reasonable case when someone was seeing (one or more) psychologists*.'

c'. ?Ez volt *az évtized legindokoltabb pszichológus-hoz való ját-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_reasonable psychologist-All be.Part go-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most reasonable case when someone was seeing (one or more) psychologists*.'

In (263b-c') above, we have tested alternatives in which the input verbal modifier appears either in the prenominal complement position of the output noun phrase (see the primeless examples) or in a *való*-construction (see the primed examples).

The former alternative (263b,c) is better, in harmony with what we have observed in all cases with input verbal modifiers so far in this sixth subsection: it is exactly the prenominal complement position that is the straightforward counterpart of the verbal modifier position. Recall that these two positions share the property that they can host bare noun phrases (or single nouns), which guarantees the retainment of the special feature of "numberlessness" in the case of individual nouns. Nevertheless, this alternative is not fully acceptable. The reason is likely to have to do with the difference between the so far discussed (regular) prenominal-complement constructions, where the nominal head was immediately preceded by a morphologically unmarked prenominal complement, and this prenominal-complement construction in which the prenominal complement is overtly case marked. As the presence of the overt case marker makes the latter construction less compound-word-like, its application provides less acceptable ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions (263b,c).

Let us return to the case where a *való*-construction hosts the input verbal modifier (263b',c'), which was observed (in subsection V) to host the oblique case-marked arguments of input verbs. This position, in contrast to the possessor position(s), can host bare noun phrases (which guarantees the retainment of "numberlessness"), as is also presented in (263b',c'). The marked status of these examples is presumably due to the following fact: It is difficult to interpret the output noun *járás* 'go.ÁS' appropriately without filling its prenominal complement position. Exactly the presence of an appropriate filler (e.g., *pszichológushoz* 'psychologist.All') is the best trigger of the meaning component 'see a doctor'.

In our second series of examples (264), the verbal modifier of an atelic transitive verb is headed by a substance noun (264a). In this type both aforementioned ÁS-noun constructions (264b-b') are essentially acceptable. The preference for the *való*-construction, compared to the analogous case shown in (263b'), is presumably due to the fact that *hígít* 'dilute' does not strongly require the presence of its input verbal modifier, because it means the same with or without it (the oblique case-marked expression *vízzel* 'water.Ins'). The slight problem with the acceptability of example (264b) is certainly the same as with the analogous example in (263b): the overt case marking of the prenominal complement.

(264) ● Atelic input verb with an oblique argument as a verbal modifier:
substance noun

a. A kocsmáros *víz-zel* hígítja a bort.
the bartender *water-Ins* dilute.DefObj.3Sg the wine.Acc
'The bartender dilutes the wine *with water*.'

b. (?)*A bornak a (helyi szokás szerint való) víz-zel hígít-ás-a*
the wine.Dat the local custom according_to be.Part water-Ins dilute-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit felháborított.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'*Diluting the wine with water (according to local customs)* made everyone angry.'

b'. *A bor(nak a) víz-zel való hígít-ás-a*
the wine(Dat the) water-Ins be.Part dilute-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit felháborított.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'*Diluting the wine with water* made everyone angry.'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legbotrányosabb bor-vízzel-hígít-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_scandalous wine-water.Ins-dilute-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most scandalous case when someone diluted wine with water.*'

c'. Ez volt *az évtized legbotrányosabb víz-zel* $^{*?}$*(*bor-)hígít-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_scandalous water-Ins (wine-)dilute-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most scandalous case when someone diluted (wine) with water.*'

c''. Ez volt *az évtized legbotrányosabb víz-zel való* $^{??}$*(*$^{(?)}$*bor-)hígít-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_scandalous water-Ins be.Part (wine-)dilute-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most scandalous case when someone was diluting (wine) with water.*'

As for the potential SED-noun variants (264c-c''), the only acceptable alternative is the one where the input verbal modifier appears in a *való*-construction, enabling the input object to occupy the prenominal complement position (264c''). This latter choice is in total harmony with what has been observed in connection with [–HUMAN] Themes, which should appear in some way while the possessor position is occupied by a temporal expression (see subsections III-IV). That is why the two alternatives in which the input object does not appear are not acceptable (264c',c''). The fourth and the fifth alternatives in (264c,c') with a doubly filled prenominal complement zone are fully unacceptable.

It is worth mentioning in connection with this last observation that several examples can be found with a doubly-filled-prenominal-complement-zone pattern (see (242b'') in subsection IV). There is a significant difference, however: this acceptable variant of the pattern (the one illustrated in (242b'')) consists of an unmarked noun and a preverb. The problem with the variants illustrated in (264c,c'), thus, has to do with the appearance of an overtly case-marked noun in the prenominal complement zone and/or with the co-occurrence of two nouns (in any order) in the zone in question.

The following series of examples illustrates the case in which the verbal modifier of a telic transitive verb is headed by an individual noun (265a). In this type the "ordinary" ÁS-noun constructions (265b-b') are (more or less) acceptable. Recall that the coexistence of acceptable alternatives is due to the fact that both the prenominal complement position and the *való*-construction can host the bare ("numberless") input verbal modifiers.

Note in passing that the *való*-construction in (265b') can be made fully acceptable by inserting a preverb (namely, *át* 'through') in the prenominal complement position, which otherwise seems to "lack" some counterpart of the preverbal position, as is indicated by the grammaticality judgment '?' in the given example. This preverb-containing variant, however, is better taken to correspond to the similarly preverb-containing input argument structure, demonstrated in (265a'); the meaning of which, otherwise, entirely coincides with that of the one shown in (265a).

(265) ● Telic input verb with an oblique argument as a verbal modifier: individual noun

a. A boszorkány *béká-vá* változtatja a herceg-et.
the witch *frog-TrE* transform.DefObj.3Sg the prince-Acc
'The witch will turn the prince *into a frog*.'

a'. A boszorkány át-változtatja a herceg-et béká-vá.
the witch through-transform.DefObj.3Sg the prince-Acc frog-TrE
'The witch will turn the prince into a frog.'

b. *A herceg(nek a (bál után való)) béká-vá változtat-ás-a*
the prince.Dat the ball after be.Part frog-TrE transform-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The prince's turning into a frog (after the ball)* was a surprise to everyone.'

b'. *A hercegnek a béká-vá való* ?(✓*át-)változtat-ás-a*
the prince.Dat the frog-TrE be.Part (through-)transform-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The prince's turning into a frog* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized utolsó* (?)(*?*herceg) *béká-vá változtat-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade last (prince) frog-TrE transform-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's last case when a prince (or someone) was turned into a frog*.'

c'. *Ez volt *az évtized utolsó béká-vá herceg-változtat-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade last frog-TrE prince-transform-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's last case when a prince was turned into a frog*.'

c". Ez volt *az évtized utolsó béká-vá való* ??*(herceg-)változtat-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade last frog-TrE be.Part (prince-)transform-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's last case when a prince (or someone) was turned into a frog*.'

d. Ez volt *az évtized utolsó béká-vá való* ??(?*át-)változtat-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade last frog-TrE be.Part (through-)transform-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's last case when someone was turned into a frog*.'

As for the potential SED-noun variants (265c-d), the most acceptable alternative is the one where the input verbal modifier appears in the prenominal complement position and the input Theme does not appear at all (265c). The absence of the Theme is in total harmony with what has been observed in connection with [+HUMAN] Themes, which need not appear while the possessor position is occupied by a temporal expression (see subsections III-V). Note that here the use of "need not" practically means "must not" (265c,c'); the potential reasons are the same as were mentioned in connection with (264c-c"): the prenominal complement zone cannot host (in either order) two nouns, one of which, moreover, is overtly case-marked.

Example (265c") illustrates the variants in which the input verbal modifier appears in a *való*-construction. We attribute our grammaticality judgments to the following circumstances: The [+HUMAN] input Theme can be omitted (as was often observed in subsections III-V), yielding, nevertheless, a variant the acceptability of which is intermediate, unclear and highly speaker-dependent. This grammaticality judgment ('??') may be due to the fact that the prenominal

complement zone has become empty, which can be regarded as the violation of some kind of uniformity principle between the input complement structure (with a verbal modifier immediately left-adjacent to the verb head) and the (empty) prenominal complement structure in the output. In other words, the output noun "lacks" the counterpart of the input verbal modifier, the oblique case-marked expression; and it seems that it does not "accept" the counterpart of another input argument in the given position ('*'), in spite of the fact that the Theme, otherwise, is an excellent filler of this position (265c").

Another potential filler of this prenominal complement position is a preverb, see (265b'). The example shown in (265d) demonstrates that this option is also available in the case of SED-noun constructions. The slight difference in grammaticality judgments between (265d) and the analogous (265b'), at the expense of the former, might be attributed to the less verbal character of SED-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns. In other words, "too much" seems to have been inherited from the input verbal construction, which is, moreover, actually another input verbal construction (265a').

We conclude subsection VI and the whole subsection with the case in which the verbal modifier of a telic verb (now an unaccusative one) is headed by a substance noun (266a). In this type the "structure-preserving" variants, in which the input verbal modifier appears in the prenominal complement position, are fully acceptable in both the ÁS-noun (266b) and the SED-noun types (266c).

(266) ● Telic input verb with an oblique argument as a verbal modifier:
substance noun

a. Péter *víz-be* fulladt.
Péter *water-Ill* drown.Past.3Sg
'Péter drowned.'

a'. Péter bele-fulladt a víz-be.
Péter into-drown.Past.3Sg the water-Ill
'Péter drowned.'

b. *Péternek a (bál után való) víz-be fullad-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the ball after be.Part water-Ill drown-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's drowning (after the ball)* was a surprise to everyone.'

b'. *Péternek a víz-be való* $^{*?}$*(*$^{\checkmark}$*bele-)fullad-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the water-Ill be.Part (into-)drown-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
''*Péter's drowning* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legszörnyűbb víz-be fullad-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_terrible water-Ill drown-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most terrible drowning*.'

c'. Ez volt *az évtized legszörnyűbb víz-be való* $^{*?}$*(*$^{??}$*bele-)fullad-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_terrible water-Ill be.Part (into-)drown-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most terrible drowning*.'

As for the variants in which the input verbal modifier is placed in a *való*-construction, the insertion of a preverb (*bele* 'into') in the "vacant" prenominal complement position, in both the ÁS-noun type (266b') and the SED-noun type (266c'), is practically obligatory. This can be regarded as a clear manifestation of the "supplementary" effect we have observed in all examples illustrating the cases in which the input verbal modifier is oblique case-marked (263-265). The preverbed alternative, however, is actually to be derived from another input argument structure, which is given in (266a') above.

1.3.1.2.3. Restrictions on the derivational process

As all derivational processes, ÁS-nominalization is also only partially productive in spite of the fact that it is the most productive method of nominalization.

Among the verbs that do not allow ÁS-nominalization, the group of verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can' (267a) should be mentioned (Laczkó 2000a: 359). This restriction is not surprising in the light of the fact that, in contrast to traditional grammars (Keszler 2000: 315–318), in modern (basically generative) grammars, this suffix is considered to be not a derivational suffix but an inflectional one (Kenesei 1996, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a: 162), partly exactly because of its failing to undergo derivational processes (267b). All potential counterexamples are obviously lexicalized items (267c).

(267) ● Input verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can'

a. Ki-dob-hat-t-ák a bumeráng-ot.
out-throw-Mod-Past-DefObj.3Pl the boomerang-Acc
deontic meaning: 'The boomerang was allowed to be thrown away.'
epistemic meaning: 'The boomerang may have been thrown away.'

b. *A benszülöttet kiborította *a régi bumeráng ki-dob-hat-ás-a.*
the aboriginal.Acc make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the old boomerang out-throw-Mod-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meanings:
potential deontic meaning: '*It* made the aboriginal angry *that the old boomerang had been allowed to be thrown away*.'
potential epistemic meaning: '*It* made the aboriginal angry *that the old boomerang may have been thrown away*.'

c. Péter ragaszkodott a *lát-hat-ás* jogához.
Péter insist_on.Past.3Sg the *see-Mod-ÁS* right.Poss.3Sg.All
'Péter insisted on the right of *access*.'

In what follows, we will be investigating whether the deviant types of verbs summarized in (216) in 1.3.1.2, sub III allow ÁS-nominalization and SED-noun derivation.

I. Types of VAN *'BE'*

Subsection I discusses eight cases of different verbal constructions with *van* 'be' (see also (141) in 1.1.3.3): copular (268-272), existential (273) and possessive (274-275) constructions. It must be noted, first of all, that *vanás*, the potential regular ÁS-noun form of *van* 'be', does not exist. Does this imply that the different verbal constructions with *van* 'be' defy ÁS-nominalization?

As the discussion below will show, a positive answer would be highly oversimplified. If we consider certain intended meanings as our starting points, at least three supplementary forms will appear, in addition to certain kinds of "empty" form, in competition with each other.

Two supplementary forms are derived from *lesz* 'will be', which can be regarded as the posterior variant of *van* 'be': these are the form *lev-és* '(will_)be-ÁS', regularly derived from *lesz*, and *lé-t* '(will_)be.T', which can be construed as a blocking alternative to the regular form. Note that, as the derivatives *levés* és *lét* are not associated with the posterior meaning factor associated with the verb form *lesz*, the glosses we provide contain no reference to the semantic factor 'will'.

A third supplementary form has to do with *volt* 'be.Past, the anterior counterpart of *van* 'be', which will appear in the special possessive form *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' (on the role of the deverbal nominalizer '*-(Vt)t*' in *volta* and *lét*, see also 1.3.1.4.3). As for the construction mentioned above, in which no overt form corresponding to *van* 'be' is present, it will be referred to as a "*van*-free" construction.

It also should be mentioned in advance that here the two tests applied so far in order to distinguish ÁS-nouns from SED-nouns (and to distinguish these two groups from non-eventive *Ás*-nouns) will not be applicable (see the (b)- and (c)-examples below). The reason is likely to have to do with the static and/or modal (i.e., not sufficiently event-like?) character of the meaning of the "deviant" input verbs discussed in this subsection as well as in all subsections of 1.3.1.2.3. We could have drawn the conclusion on the basis of such data that "deviant" input verbs defy ÁS-nominalization and SED-noun derivation. We have not done that, however, because only the positive results of these tests can be considered as conclusive.

We continue to follow Laczkó (2000a) in assuming that, in the case of an expression, the positive result of the [postposition + *való*] test is conclusive evidence in favor of its ÁS-noun interpretation, and the positive result of the temporal-possessor test in favor of its SED-noun interpretation. The negative results, however, may come from pragmatico-semantic incompatibilities whose source is as yet unclear, but may have to do with the fact that, in contrast to atelic or "at least" dynamic eventualities, static and modal states of affairs are not sufficiently "multifarious" and/or "delimited" (cf. 1.3.3.1.1).

Our primed examples, thus, serve the purpose of providing alternative constructions (as discussed in subsection I, for instance, with the nominal forms of *van* 'be' and certain "empty" constructions) to express the corresponding ÁS-noun or SED-noun readings, mainly on the basis of using as a fixed starting point the English translations (containing such expressions as 'the fact that...'). In the absence of formal definitions of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns, however, the status of these alternatives as "blocking" forms cannot be unambiguously rejected or verified. Nor can it be conclusively decided in the case of certain constructions (due to their genuinely obscure event character) if they should be treated as a complex-event denoting ÁS-noun, an event-type denoting SED-noun, or an abstract-result denoting non-eventive *Ás*-noun. We present these data as a starting point for future research in this area.

Let us now turn to details. The first five series of examples (268-272) provide the tests of the copular use of *van* 'be' as an input verb with verbal modifiers of different categories. The copular use means that it is not the verb but the accompanying verbal modifier that supplies the semantic content of the verbal construction, shown in the corresponding (a)-examples. Presumably due to this fact, in two (very frequent) of the five copular constructions, the third-person present indicative form of this verbal construction appears without any overt phonetic realization of *van* 'be', as is shown in the (a)-examples in (268-269). That is why we are also going to take into account potential ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions in which no phonetic realization of any derivative of the copula *van* 'be' appears but only some derived form of the input verbal modifier "materializes".

Note that the non-appearance of *van* 'be' can be understood (at least) in the following two ways. According to one possible approach, this verbal element is present in syntax and available to semantics but happens to have an empty phonetic form, referred to as a 'hidden copula' (*rejtett létige*) in É. Kiss (1999: 38). According to the opposite view, "when the copula is not spelled out, it is not merely phonologically null but is absent altogether", according to another book by the same author (É. Kiss 2002: 73). In order to retain our theory-independent perspective, we intend to commit ourselves to neither of these alternatives, by simply stating that the relevant sentences lack a phonetically overt realization of *van* 'be'.

In (268), the verbal modifier in the input copular construction is (the simplex phrase of) an adjective. As was mentioned, the third person present indicative form of this verbal construction comes without any overt phonetic realization of *van* 'be' (268a); while in other persons, tenses and/or moods, the copula is used in its appropriately inflected, phonetically overt form. To illustrate, the past tense form is (also) shown in (268a).

As anticipated above, here the [postposition + *való*] test of ÁS-nominalization does not yield positive grammaticality judgments with either the suppletive form *levés* '(will_)be.ÁS' or with the alternative supplementary constructions (268b) (but see 1.3.2.1.1). In subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3, we accepted Laczkó's (2000a) assumption according to which no blocking forms can be used as real ÁS-nouns (only as SED-nouns). It seems, however, that in the case of "deviant" verbs, irregular or exceptional supplementary mechanisms work, yielding constructions which may be regarded as "blocking forms" (even in the case of ÁS-nouns). That is what can be observed in (268b') below. Here the intended reading (which is unambiguously "fixed" by means of the given translation) undoubtedly indicates that the meaning of the sentence contains reference to a definite complex event, that is, reference to a particular case when Péter behaved in a cruel way.

The fully acceptable complex-event denoting noun phrase in (268b') below (the first one in square brackets) consists of the input verbal modifier and the possessive form of the variant *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' of *van* 'be', in the annotation of which the 'T' refers to the derivational suffix of T-nouns, which will be discussed in 1.3.1.4 more thoroughly.

The other quite acceptable complex-event denoting noun phrase in (268b') below (the second one in square brackets) consists of a single noun derived from the adjective used as the verbal modifier in the input verbal construction by means of

the derivational suffix *-sÁg* (to which the whole of subsection 1.3.2.1 is devoted). Recall that we have argued for accepting certain constructions with no (phonetically overt) derivatives of the copula *van* 'be' as potential nominalized counterparts of input copular constructions.

Note that in this subsection, from now on, we follow the convention of not featuring the ill-formed variants ('*'/ '*?') in the primed examples (because of their potentially high number). According to this strategy, thus, the lack of two potential constructions in (268b'), namely, *gonosz levése* 'cruel be.ÁS.Poss.3Sg' and *gonosz léte* 'cruel be.T.Poss.3Sg', which are also mentioned in (268b), means that the sentence variants with these expressions are fully unacceptable in (268b'), at least in the intended meaning. We will exemplify all more or less acceptable variants (those with grammaticality judgments from '(?)' to '??'), besides the fully acceptable variants.

(268) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': I. Adjectival verbal modifier

a. Péter gonosz. / Péter gonosz volt.
Péter cruel / Péter cruel be.Past.3Sg
'Péter is (being) cruel.' / 'Péter was (being) cruel.'

b. *Péternek a Mari szerint való *[gonosz lev-és-e] /*
Péter.Dat the Mari according_to be.Part cruel be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /
**[gonosz lé-t-e] / *?[gonosz vol-t-a] / *?[gonosz-ság-a]*
cruel be-T-Poss.3Sg / cruel be-T-Poss.3Sg / cruel-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was being cruel according to Mari*.'

b'. *Péternek a [gonosz vol-t-a] /?[gonosz-ság-a]* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the cruel be-T-Poss.3Sg/ cruel-SÁG-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was being cruel*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legkirívóbb *[gonosz lev-és-e] /*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_exceptional cruel be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /*
**[gonosz lé-t-e] /*[gonosz vol-t-a] /?[gonosz-ság-a].*
cruel be-T-Poss.3Sg / cruel be-T-Poss.3Sg / cruel-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most exceptional case when someone was being cruel*.'

c'. *Péternek a ?[gonosz vol-t-a] /*[gonosz-ság-a]* mindig mindenkit meglep.
Péter.Dat the cruel be-T-Poss.3Sg/cruel-SÁG-Poss.3Sg always everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg
'It is always a surprise to everyone *that Péter is cruel*.'

c''. (?)*A gonosz-ság* manapság nem kifizetődő.
the cruel-SÁG nowadays not pay_off
'*Being cruel* does not pay off nowadays.'

As for the corresponding SED-noun variants, the temporal-possessor test yields one quite acceptable construction: the one that consists of a single noun derived from the input adjectival verbal modifier *gonosz* 'cruel' by means of the derivational suffix *-sÁg* (268c).

As is shown in (268c'), this "*van*-free" construction can be fully acceptable with a SED-noun interpretation in other types of sentences, in which the *volta*-construction is also more or less acceptable.

Note in passing that example (268c') seems to illustrate a different type of SED-noun interpretation from example (268c), in which the temporal-possessor test has been applied. What is common in the two types is that a prototypical stage-level (Kratzer 1995) complex-event denoting interpretation is diverged from. The difference is based on the way of divergence: while the temporal-possessor test explicitly triggers an interpretation in which complex events are quantified over (268c), in the other type an individual-level interpretation (Kratzer 1995) appears as a generalization over default stages of individuals (268c'). Example (268c") presents a further way of generalization: generalization over individuals. This interpretation is only compatible with the "*van*-free" construction. The corresponding translations are intended to illustrate the difference.

It is postponed to future research, however, to clarify the semantic background of the differences between the ÁS-noun interpretation and the SED-noun interpretation, on the one hand, and versions of SED-noun interpretations from each other and from the abstract-result non-eventive-ÁS-noun interpretation, on the other (NB: it is also not easy to distinguish between the event 'being cruel' and the result-like paraphrase 'malfeasance', for instance).

It is also worth comparing the two primed examples in (268). It can be observed that the same two potential nominalized copular constructions are acceptable (to a certain extent) both as ÁS-nouns and as SED-nouns but in the opposite order on the scale of grammaticality judgments. This slight difference may be attributed to the morphologically coded temporal anteriority of the *volta*-construction due to the suffix *-(Vt)t* in it (*volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg'), compared to the "*van*-free" construction (*gonoszság* 'cruel.SÁG'), which, in the absence of any derivative of the copula, can be regarded as "tenseless", and hence expressing temporal simultaneity as a default. A potential explanation (the details of which remain to future research) can be based on this difference in temporal character as follows: The prototypical context of referring to particular complex events—which is the task of ÁS-nouns *per definitionem*—is such in which the given events have already taken place, that is, can be anchored to particular moments in the past. If a *type* of event should be referred to, however, which is the task of SED-nouns, one should abstract from particular moments, which is in correlation with tenselessness or simultaneity.

All in all, the anteriority morphologically coded in *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' or the posteriority morphologically coded in the stem of *levés* and *lét* (both derived from *lesz* 'will_be') might potentially manifest itself in the choice between competing nominalized copular constructions, but this effect is so slight, as was illustrated above, that it is scarcely detectable; and the semantic background is also so complicated and obscure that its more thorough investigation would go far beyond the scope of this book.

Let us now turn to the test where the input verbal construction (269a) is the unit of a copula and a verbal modifier which is a noun (or simplex noun phrase).

As is shown in (269b) below, the [postposition + *való*] test of ÁS-nominalization does not provide positive grammaticality judgments with either the suppletive form *levés* '(will_)be.ÁS' or with the three other supplementary constructions. In this respect, thus, the copular predicative construction with a noun is similar to the copular predicative construction with an adjective (268b). As for

the (b')-examples, they show a radical difference compared to the variants presented in (268b') (but not to those presented in (269b)): in (269b'), both the *volta*-construction and the "*van*-free" construction are practically unacceptable. This can be attributed to the fact that *gonosz* 'cruel' can be interpreted as a stage-level predicate significantly more readily than *tanár* 'teacher'.

(269) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': II. Nominal verbal modifier

a. Péter tanár. / Péter tanár volt.
Péter teacher / Péter teacher be.Past.3Sg
'Péter is (being) a teacher.' / 'Péter was (being) a teacher.'

b. **Péternek a két világháború között való [tanár lev-és-e] /*
Péter.Dat the two world_war between be.Part teacher be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /
[tanár lé-t-e] /[tanár vol-t-a] /[tanár-ság-a] mindenkit meglepett.
teacher be-T-Poss.3Sg/ teacher be-T-Poss.3Sg / teacher-SÁG-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was a teacher between the two world wars*.'

b'. *?*Péternek a [tanár vol-t-a] /[tanár-ság-a]* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the teacher be-T-Poss.3Sg / teacher-SÁG-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was being a teacher*.'

c. *Ez volt *az évszázad legszörnyűbb [tanár lev-és-e] /*
this be.Past.3Sg *the century most_terrible teacher be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg/*
[tanár lé-t-e] / [tanár vol-t-a] /[tanár-ság-a].
teacher be-T-Poss.3Sg / teacher be-T-Poss.3Sg / teacher-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'This was *the century's most terrible case when someone was being a teacher*.'

c'. *Péternek a* (?)*[tanár vol-t-a] /*??*[tanár-ság-a]* mindig mindenkit meglep.
Péter.Dat the teacher be-T-Poss.3Sg / teacher-SÁG-Poss.3Sg always everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg
'It is always a surprise to everyone *that Péter is teacher*.'

c''. A ?*[tanár lé-t] /* (?)*[tanár-ság]* manapság nem kifizetődő.
the *teacher be-T / teacher-SÁG* nowadays not pay_off
'*Being a teacher* does not pay nowadays.'

Let us compare the results of test (269) to those of test (268). In (269c), the temporal-possessor test yields no positive grammaticality judgments. The difference may be due to the fact that, in the case of *gonoszság* 'cruel.SÁG' (268c), the simple-event interpretation practically coincides with an abstract-result interpretation, which can be referred to by means of the expression 'malfeasance'; while the construction *tanárság* 'teacher.SÁG' (269c) is not associated with any analogous abstract-result interpretation.

As for the potential alternative SED-noun types (269c'-c''), the "copula-free" variant is available but it sounds quite artificial. An interesting difference between the (c')-type and the more abstract (c'')-type is that the former type also hosts the *volta*-construction while the latter type hosts a "new" construction (as compared to test (268)): the *lét*-construction. Note that the potential expression *gonosz lét* 'cruel be.T' is fully unacceptable, hence its omission in (268c'').

The test shown in (270) below is also worth comparing to test (268) since in both cases the input verbal construction contains an adjectival verbal modifier (see the (a)-examples). There is a significant difference, however: in (268a), the

adjective serves as a predicate which makes a statement about the (topic-like) subject of the sentence, while in (270a), the sentence structure contains no topic-like subject. This latter type, thus, is similar to the subjectless type of such verbs as *havazik* 'it snows' (see (215) in 1.3.1.1, sub II).

The [postposition + *való*] test, demonstrated in (270b) below, provides no positive grammaticality judgments. None of the proposed four nominalized copular constructions is acceptable in this sentence type.

As is apparent from (270b'), however, the crucial problem is the appearance of the expression *való* 'be.Part' itself, which seems to require more "dynamism". By replacing the [postposition + *való*] construction with the adjectival phrase headed by the word *alatti* 'under.Attr', we can obtain a fully acceptable variant. The internal structure of this variant can be characterized as follows: it belongs to the "*van*-free" type of nominalized input copular construction but the noun head is derived not by means of the derivational suffix *-sÁg* but via conversion. The evidence for this analysis that assumes conversion is the fact that the word *hideg* 'cold' accepts adjectives in (270b'), instead of adverbs (270a).

(270) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': III. Adjectival/nominal verbal modifier

a. Nagyon hideg van / volt a szünidő alatt.
very cold be.3Sg / be.Past.3Sg the holidays under
'It is/was very cold during the holidays.'

b. **A szünidő alatt való nagy(-on) [hideg(-ség) (lev-és-e)] /*
the holidays under be.Part big(-Adv) cold(-SÁG) be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg/
[hideg lé-t-e] / [hideg vol-t-a] mindenkit meglepett.
cold be-T-Poss.3S / cold be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that it was very cold during the holidays*.'

b'. *A szünidő alatti nagy hideg* mindenkit meglepett.
the holidays under.Attr big cold everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that it was very cold during the holidays*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legszörnyűbb *[hideg lev-és-e] /*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_terrible cold be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /*
**[hideg lé-t-e] /*[hideg vol-t-a] /ˇ[hideg-e].*
cold be-T-Poss.3Sg / cold be-T-Poss.3Sg / cold-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most terrible cold weather*.'

c'. Mindenkit meglep *az örökös karácsony körüli nagy hideg.*
everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg *the continual Christmas around.Attr big cold*
'It is a surprise to everyone *that it is always very cold around Christmas*.'

It is to be pointed out that the full acceptability of example (270b') above, compared to the unacceptability of all variants shown in (270b), raises a serious theoretical problem with the [postposition + *való*] test itself, which seemed to be a reliable test of the ÁS-noun interpretation in subsection 1.3.1.2.2. What questions the reliability of this test is the fact that the meaning of the sentence in (270b') is the same as the intended meaning of the unacceptable variants in (270b). The common meaning undoubtedly contains reference to a definite event: to a particular case when it was very cold.

Shall we say that the event referred to in (270b') is not a "complex event", in spite of the fact that the "*van*-free" noun phrase refers to the same state of affairs as

the input verbal construction in (270a)? An approach like this might be argued for by claiming that the state of affairs referred to by the input verbal construction itself is so "simple" or "degenerate" (obviously because of its subjectlessness) that it cannot be construed as a "complex event", but only as a "simple event". Moreover, the [postposition + *való*] test is sensitive to this degeneration, yielding a correct result in this approach. Alternatively, we might claim that in an extreme case like this, the two event types collapse, and the negative result of the [postposition + *való*] test should be taken to be an accurate indication of a simple-event interpretation (independently of the simultaneous emergence of the complex-event interpretation).

A further possibility would be to claim that the [postposition + *való*] test can only be applied if (and only if) the meaning of the input verbal construction is "sufficiently" dynamic.

All these approaches enable us to retain the [postposition + *való*] test—albeit at the cost of such problems as defining dynamism of events and capturing the degenerate character of certain events. These semantic questions, however, remain to future research.

Let us consider the examples in (270c) above, where the temporal-possessor test is applied. The "*van*-free" construction headed by the input adjective *hideg* 'cold' re-interpreted as a noun via conversion, and only this variant, can be accepted as the phrase of a SED-noun. It is also this construction that proves acceptable in another ideal context for SED-nouns, demonstrated in (270c').

All in all, the difference between the non-predicative verbal modifier, shown in (270) above, and the predicative verbal modifiers, shown in (268-269), results in radical differences in the distribution of the grammaticality status of the three nominalized constructions that contain some kind of derivative of the copula *van* 'be' and the two "*van*-free" constructions (derived by means of the derivational suffix *-sÁg* and via conversion).

The fourth test of the nominalization of input copular constructions pertains to the case in which the verbal modifier is an adverb (271a). In the light of the results of the first three tests, it seems to be a relevant factor that no immediate derivational process can produce a noun from an adverb. It is presumably due to this fact that no "copula-free" construction is available now as an alternative to the three proposed nominalized copular constructions (with some overt derivative of the copula). As for these three constructions, all of them are more or less acceptable on the relevant readings, depending on not easily detectable factors.

Let us discuss the details.

The [postposition + *való*] test, the results of which are demonstrated in (271b) below, indicates a "competition between equal forces". All the three competing constructions are more or less acceptable but far from being perfect. A potential explanation may be that, in the absence of the regular form *vanás* 'be.ÁS', there is no unambiguously preferred ÁS-noun form of the copula.

What may be considered the suppletive form, *levés* '(will_)be.ÁS', sounds very artificial ('??') in the relevant context (perhaps due to its morphologically coded temporal posteriority). As for the two alternative variants, their not fully acceptable grammaticality status might have to do with the fact that the [postposition + *való*]

test of ÁS-nominalization definitely prefers nouns actually ending with *-Ás* (1.3.1.2.1). The grammaticality judgments in (271b') corroborate this hypothesis: if the *való*-construction is not present, the "blocking" alternative *léte* to the official suppletive form *levés* is fully acceptable while *levés* itself is almost fully unacceptable (presumably due to the existence of a perfect alternative in the given context). As for the *volta*-construction, similar to the *léte*-construction, it sounds better if the *való*-construction is not present, as is demonstrated by the comparison between (271b) and (271b').

(271) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': IV. Adverbial verbal modifier

a. Péter otthon volt.
Péter home be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was at home.'

b. *Péternek az ünnepek alatt való*
Péter.Dat the holiday.Pl under be.Part
otthon ??*lev-és-e* /?*lé-t-e* /??*vol-t-a* mindenkit meglepett.
home be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was at home during the holidays*.'

b'. *Péternek az otthon* *?*)*lev-és-e* /✓*lé-t-e* /?*vol-t-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the home be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was at home*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legunalmasabb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_boring*
otthon *?*)*lev-és-e* / ??*lé-t-e* / **vol-t-a.*
home be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most terrible case when someone was (being) at home*.'

c'. *Péternek az örökös otthon* ??*lev-és-e* /✓*lé-t-e* mindenkit meglep.
Péter.Dat the continual home be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg
'*Péter's continual being at home* is a surprise to everyone.'

c''. Az *otthon* ??*lev-és/*(?)*lé-t* manapság nem kifizetődő.
the *home be-ÁS / be-T* nowadays not pay_off
'Being at home does not pay nowadays.'

The temporal-possessor test of SED-nouns, the results of which are shown in (271c) above, does not seem to tolerate the "extremely static" eventuality (Bach 1981) that the competing nominalized copular constructions are intended to refer to. In other types of sentences in which SED-nouns are involved (witnessed by the given translations), it is easier to evaluate the "competition" between the three proposed nominalized copular constructions (271c'-c'').

One way or another, the *levés*-construction sounds very artificial. It is not surprising in the light of our observations shown in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3 that the construction headed by the "blocking" form *léte* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' is the preferred possibility of expressing the SED-noun interpretation, which is definitely perfect in certain types of sentences (271c'). The *volta*-construction, however, is unacceptable as a SED-noun construction, at least in this type of input verbal construction, presumably due to the connection between temporal anteriority, morphologically coded in *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg', and definite reference to eventualities.

The fifth test of the nominalization of input copular constructions pertains to the case in which the verbal modifier is an oblique case-marked noun (272a). In the light of the results of the first four tests, it seems to be a relevant factor that no immediate derivational process can produce a noun from a case-marked noun; so no "*van*-free" construction is available now as an alternative to the three proposed nominalized copular constructions (with some overt derivative of the copula). The results of the test shown in (272) below, thus, are worth primarily comparing to the results of the test in (271).

Of the three "competing" nominalized copular constructions, now (272) only two can produce variants which can be qualified as acceptable to some extent. The *volta*-construction, which received the worst grammaticality judgments in (271), is sufficiently acceptable in neither examples in test (272), and the *léte*-construction also decisively "scores worse". The reason for this may have to do with the appearance of overt case marking (*-bAn* 'Ine') in the prenominal complement position that belongs to the noun head occupied by some derivative of the copula. Recall (see subsection VI in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3) that this—the appearance of case marking in prenominal complement position—is dispreferred. Note that this dispreference will prove to prevail in the case of the *léte-* and *volta*-construction to a greater extent than in the case of the *levés*-construction. This fact can be attributed to the higher degree of the verbalness of the deverbal noun *levés* '(will_)be.ÁS', compared to the "more nominal" deverbal nouns *léte* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' (which is the "blocking" form of *levés*) and *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg'. We assume the factor of nominalness to be relevant because the position of verbal modifiers in the verbal construction (left-adjacent to the verb head) does not exclude oblique case-marked constituents.

Let us consider the details.

The [postposition + *való*] test in (272b) below now provides an unambiguous preference to the *levés*-construction, which, nevertheless, can be regarded as artificial to the same extent as the *levés*-construction in (271b). That is, having compared the results of these two tests, the *levés*-construction has not become better but the two other constructions score much worse in (272b), yielding unacceptable variants.

As in (271b'), the *léte*-construction scores better if the [postposition + *való*] context is not present, "ousting" the "artificial" *levés*-construction, as is demonstrated in (272b'). Nevertheless, the difference remains between (272b-b') and (271b-b') in grammaticality judgments concerning the *léte*-construction, so the acceptability of even the *léte*-construction is quite poor in (272b').

(272) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': V. Oblique case-marked verbal modifier

a. Péter iskolá-ban volt.
Péter school-Ine be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was at school.'

b. *Péternek az ünnepek alatt való iskolá-ban* ??*lev-és-e / be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /*
Péter.Dat the holiday.Pl under be.Part school-Ine
/ be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was at school during the holidays*.'

b'. ??*Péternek az iskolá-ban lé-t-e* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the school-Ine be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was at school*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legunalmasabb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_boring*
iskolá-ban ??*lev-és-e* / **lé-t-e* / **vol-t-a.*
school-Ine be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most terrible case when someone was (being) at school*.'

c'. ??*Péternek az örökös iskolá-ban lev-és-e* mindig mindenkit meglep.
Péter.Dat the continual school-Ine be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg always everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg
'*Péter's continual being at school* is always a surprise to everyone.'

c''. ??Az *iskolá-ban lev-és* nem mindig biztonságos.
the *school-Ine be-ÁS* not always safe
'Being at school is not always safe.'

All the SED-noun contexts investigated in (272c-c'') above clearly exemplify the above-proposed dispreference for the "less verbal" nominalized copular constructions (the *léte-* and *volta*-construction). There remains, thus, the very artificial *levés*-construction as the only solution acceptable to some extent. Note in passing that in cases like this the same content can much more readily be expressed by means of a subordinate or relative clause or an infinitival construction.

Let us now turn to another type of *van*-construction, in which *van* 'be' is used existentially in the input verbal construction (273a). A noun phrase with no overt case marking (*sör* 'beer') is also an inevitable part of the construction, and some locative expression also frequently appears in it. In our test examples in (273) below, the role of the aforementioned locative expression is played by an inessive case-marked noun phrase (*a hűtőben* 'the fridge.Ine').

The construction under discussion is similar to the copular construction shown in (269) in containing a noun (phrase) with no overt case marking (*tanár* 'teacher' ~ *sör* 'beer'). It is a significant difference, however, that in the predicative construction in (269), *van* 'be' cannot appear in the third-person present-tense indicative-mood form of the construction, at least phonetically (see our relevant comment on example (268)). In the existential construction in (273a), however, the phonetic presence of *van* 'be' (in the same person, tense and mood) is definitely obligatory. Moreover, here *van* 'be' has to be stressed, which is a decisive difference between the existential construction and the copular construction demonstrated in (272). This latter construction also contains an overt but obligatorily unstressed variant of *van* 'be'.

A further difference of the existential construction (273) from the copular ones shown in (268-269, 271-272) is that the latter type makes the presence of a topic-like subject obligatory. In (269a), for instance, it is about this subject (*Péter*) that the above-mentioned noun (phrase) *tanár* 'teacher' makes a statement. This fact is relevant because in the existential construction (273a), similar to the (*hideg van* 'cold be') construction shown in (270), the nominal expression with no overt case marking (*sör* 'beer' ~ *hideg* 'cold') does not serve the purpose of making a statement about another (typically topicalized) participant of the sentence.

Let us now turn to how the existential construction can be nominalized. The meaning of this construction is similar to that of typical copular constructions in that neither dynamism nor explicit delimitedness are characteristic of it. Therefore, it is not surprising at all on the basis of our findings collected so far that the application of neither the [postposition + *való*] test (273b,b") nor the temporal-possessor test (273c) provide positive grammaticality judgments.

(273) ● Existential use of *van* 'be'

a. 'Van sör a hűtő-ben.
be.3Sg beer the fridge-Ine
'There is some beer in the fridge.'

b. Mindenkit meglepett *(??a) sörnek a karácsony után való
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg the beer.Dat the Christmas after be.Part
lev-és-e / lé-t-e / vol-t-a a hűtő-ben.
be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg the fridge-Ine
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that there was some beer in the fridge after Christmas*.'

b'. Kellemes meglepetés volt
pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
a (hideg) sör (??lé-t-e) a hűtő-ben.
the cold beer be-T-Poss.3Sg the fridge-Ine
'It was a pleasant surprise *that there was some cold beer in the fridge*.'

b". *Mindenkit meglepett
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
a karácsony után való sör-lev-és / sör-lé-t / sör-vol-t / sör a hűtő-ben.
the Christmas after be.Part beer-be-ÁS / beer- be-T / beer-be-T / beer the fridge-Ine
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that there was some beer in the fridge after Christmas*.'

c. Ez volt az évtized legmeglepőbb *[sör-lev-és-e] /
this be.Past.3Sg the decade most_surprising beer-be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /
*[sör-lé-t-e] / *[sör-vol-t-a] / *?[sör-e] a hűtő-ben.
beer- be-T-Poss.3Sg / beer- be-T-Poss.3Sg / beer-Poss.3Sg the fridge-Ine
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most surprising case when there was some beer in the fridge*.'

c'. Mindig kellemes meglepetés
always pleasant surprise
a (hideg) sör (??lé-t-e) a hűtő-ben.
the cold beer be-T-Poss.3Sg the fridge-Ine
'It is always a pleasant surprise when *there is some cold beer in the fridge*.'

d. 'Hajszál ˚van a leves-ben!
hair be.3Sg the soup-Ine
'There is a hair (or more hairs) in the soup!'

d'. [Mindenkit meglepett] / [Mindig kellemetlen meglepetés]
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg / always unpleasant surprise
a hajszál (*lé-t-e) a leves-ben.
the hair be-T-Poss.3Sg the soup-Ine
'It was a surprise to everyone that *there was a hair (or more hairs) in the soup*.' / 'It is always an unpleasant surprise when *there is a hair (or more hairs) in the soup*.'

d”. *Mindenkit meglepett
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
(a) hajszál-lev-és / hajszál-lé-t / hajszál-vol-t a leves-ben.
the hair-be-ÁS / hair-be-T / hair-be-T the soup-Ine
Intended meaning: ‘It was a surprise to everyone that *there was a hair (or more hairs) in the soup*.’

A detail to be commented on is that, in harmony with our earlier practice, we have tested (variants of) two potential nominalized versions of the existential construction in the [postposition + *való*] context (273b,b”).

Example (273b) above shows the case in which the non- (overtly) case-marked noun phrase (*sör* ‘beer’) in the input verbal structure appears as a possessor. As the possessor position has been observed to host specific noun phrases (see the relevant comment on (251b)), the input bare noun phrase does not fit into this position, as is indicated by the asterisk above. The variant with an added definite article (see also example (251b)), in spite of its significantly improved acceptability, is still unacceptable (‘*?’), as was anticipated.

It is worth interjecting at this point that, if the *való*-construction itself is not present, we obtain two more or less acceptable nominalized variants.

One is a *léte*-construction which sounds very artificial and/or comic (273b). Moreover, the hearer cannot get rid of the misleading feeling that, after (and due to) the (at least formally) definite possessor, the deverbal noun *léte* ‘be.T.Poss.3Sg’ should inevitably be construed as a semantically contentful element (with an existential interpretation).

There is also a fully acceptable nominalized variant: a “*van*-free” construction in which the input non- (overtly) case-marked noun phrase (*sör* ‘beer’) appears unchanged in the output. In this respect, thus, this type of derivation is similar to the derivation discussed in connection with the (*hideg van* ‘very cold be’) construction in (270), where the noun phrase (*nagy hideg* ‘great cold’) in the output construction was claimed to be the result of conversion. It is mentioned for the sake of comparison that, in the case of the copular constructions shown in (268-269), the non-verbal part of the input copular construction was nominalized by means of the derivational suffix *-sÁg*.

The sentence type in question (273b’) is obviously ambiguous: it can also be understood as a claim about (the surprise caused by certain factors of the quality of) some contextually given beer. According to this latter interpretation, the given beer itself was surprising, and not its existence. We are arguing, nevertheless, that it is possible (or at least it is not impossible) to attribute the existential meaning contribution to the sentence type in question. And this possibility can be explained in the way discussed above: by starting from the existential construction with *van* ‘be’ and appealing to the “*van*-free” nominalized construction.

Let us return to the discussion of the two potential versions of the application of the [postposition + *való*] test, demonstrated in (273b,b”) above. In (273b”), it is tested whether the non- (overtly) case-marked noun phrase (*sör* ‘beer’) in the input verbal structure can appear in the output prenominal complement position, which would make it possible for the noun phrase in question to preserve its bare noun form. As is presented above, the answer is unambiguously negative. This may have

to do with the fact that this case is different from the acceptable cases in which the bare noun (phrase) in the output prenominal complement position was related to the input verbal modifier left-adjacent to the—unstressed—verb (see subsection VI in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3). Here the bare noun phrase in the input verbal structure (*sör* 'beer') can be found on the other side of the—stressed—verb (273a).

Note in passing that there is, however, a semantically similar construction, shown in (273d) above, in which the word order together with its stress pattern coincides with the one mentioned in the previous paragraph in connection with subsection VI in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3. This construction, nevertheless, seems to behave with respect to ÁS-nominalization essentially in the same way as the existential construction: its single fully acceptable nominalized variant is the "*van*-free" construction (273d') while potential variants with the input bare noun in the output prenominal complement position are fully unacceptable (273d"). We attribute this similarity to the classification of this construction as belonging to existential constructions on the basis of their shared semantic feature, namely, that of existence: in sentence (273d), the existence of one or more hairs is definitely claimed. As for the special word order, compared to the one demonstrated in (273a) above, this peculiarity may be regarded as some kind of "markedness", which is responsible for an interpretation that is pejorative or loaded emotionally in some other way. The semantic aspect of this additive meaning contribution is that something incompatible or unexpected appears somewhere. Our last remark concerns the full unacceptability of a potential *léte*-construction, illustrated in (273d'), to be compared to (273b'): the originally very artificial appearance of the deverbal noun *léte* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' seems to have become even more unacceptable, presumably due to the fact that this form cannot be associated with the additional pragmatic and semantic factors discussed above.

As for potential SED-noun constructions, the temporal-possessor test yields no positive grammaticality judgments (273c), as was mentioned in advance. Here, in contrast to (273b,b"), we did not have to try out two versions since the possessor position is "occupied" (by a temporal expression, due to the essential property of this test). And the versions with the input non- (overtly) case-marked noun phrase (*sör* 'beer') appearing in the prenominal complement position of any *van*-derivative are all unacceptable (273c), similar to the potential ÁS-noun variants demonstrated in (273b) above.

It is also a similarity to the corresponding ÁS-noun variants that, if the temporal construction is not present, there is a fully acceptable SED-noun construction, which is the "copula-free" one (273c'), and there is a very artificial *léte*-construction as well (see also (273c')).

The next *van*-construction to be discussed is the basic possessive sentence type in Hungarian (274). Note that Hungarian, like other Uralic languages, expresses possession with the one-argument verb 'be', instead of a *have*-like two-argument verb. The possessive construction is claimed (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992: 231–234) to rely on the existential construction with a possessive construction (*Péternek ... kocsija* 'Péter.Dat ... car.Poss.3Sg') in its subject(-like) grammatical function (cf. the bare noun phrase subject *sör* 'beer' in (273a)). The possessor

typically appears as the topic of the possessive sentence, split from its possessee, which (the possessee) is preceded by the verb, as is illustrated in (274a).

The grammaticality judgments in test (274) below seem to be exhaustively explicable on the basis of this relation of the possessive construction to the existential one, with slight differences which can be motivated. Therefore, it is not surprising that the application of neither the [postposition + *való*] test (274b,b") nor the temporal-possessor test (274c) provide positive grammaticality judgments. The reasons, again, are presumably due to the absence of sufficient dynamism and delimitedness in the eventual structure of the states of affairs denoted by the construction in question.

(274) ● Possessive use of *van* 'be'

a. Péter-nek van kocsi-ja.
Péter-Dat be.3Sg car-Poss.3Sg
'Péter has a car or more cars.'

b. *Mindenkit meglepett *Péter kocsijának a baleset után való*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter car.Poss.3Sg.Dat the accident after be.Part*
lev-és-e / lé-t-e / vol-t-a.
be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter has a car or more cars after the accident*.'

b'. ??Mindenkit meglepett *[Péter kocsija] / [Péter kocsijának a lé-t-e].*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter car.Poss.3Sg/ Péter car.Poss.3Sg.Dat the be-T-Poss.3Sg*
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter has a car*.'

b". *Mindenkit meglepett *Péternek a baleset után való*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter.Dat the accident after be.Part*
kocsi(ja)- (lev-és-e / lé-t-e / vol-t-a).
car.Poss.3Sg be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter has a car or more cars after the accident*.'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising*
kocsi(-ja) (lev-és-e / lé-t-e / vol-t-a).
car(Poss.3Sg) be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was the decade's most surprising case when someone *had a car (or more cars)*.'

c'. *?Mindig meglep minket
always surprise.3Sg we.Acc
[Péter(nek a) kocsija] / [Péter kocsijának a lé-t-e].
Péter(Dat the car.Poss.3Sg / Péter car.Poss.3Sg.Dat the be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It always surprises us *that Péter has a car*.'

Here, too, we have tested (variants of) two potential nominalized versions of the existential construction in the [postposition + *való*] context (274b,b").

Example (274b) above shows the case in which the possessee in the input verbal structure, inevitably completed with the possessor in the output construction, appears there as a possessor of the potential derivatives of *van* 'be'. As the possessor position has been observed to host specific noun phrases (see the relevant

comment on (251b)), the output counterpart of the input ("numberless") bare noun phrase is to be inevitably interpreted as a singular expression (with the following meaning component: 'Péter has a car'). The resulting variants, however, are fully unacceptable, associated with either (or any other) meaning version.

In (274b"), it is tested whether the possessee in the input verbal structure can appear in the output prenominal complement position, which would make it possible for the noun phrase in question to preserve its bare noun form. As is presented above, the answer is unambiguously negative. Possibly, the main reason is the same as was stated in connection with the analogous example shown in (273b"): This case is different from the acceptable cases in which the bare noun (phrase) in the output prenominal complement position was related to the input verbal modifier left-adjacent to the—unstressed—verb (see subsection VI in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3). Here the bare possessee in the input verbal structure (*kocsija* 'car.Poss.3Sg') can be found on the other side of the—stressed—verb (274a).

Note in passing that there is another type of possessive construction in which the word order together with its stress pattern coincides with the one mentioned in the previous paragraph in connection with subsection VI in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3. This construction will be discussed in (275) below.

In harmony with our earlier practice, let us investigate what grammaticality judgments can be obtained if the *való*-construction itself is not present. We obtain two nominalized variants which are not unacceptable but quite difficult to judge (274b'). Further, it holds for both variants that the "numberless" interpretation of the possessee (in which more possessed cars are also permitted) is not available in the output nominalized construction any more. The bare noun phrase, thus, is to be inevitably interpreted as a singular expression—as if Péter only had one car.

One of these is a *léte*-construction which sounds almost perfect to certain speakers, at least in the "non-numberless" interpretation. Other speakers, however, find it very artificial. They might not be able to get rid of the misleading feeling that, after (and due to) the (at least formally) definite possessor, the deverbal noun *léte* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' is inevitably to be construed as semantically contentful.

The other variant is a "*van*-free" construction. Here the input possessive construction (*Péternek ... kocsija* 'Péter.Dat ... car.Poss.3Sg') appears as a singular and virtually definite expression. Further, it preferably appears as one constituent, as is demonstrated in (274b') above (NB: the potential splitting of the possessive construction is irrelevant to our discussion here).

As for the grammaticality of this variant, after giving up the "numberless" interpretation, it is very difficult, at least for certain speakers, to evoke the existential meaning factor discussed in the relevant comment on the analogous example in (273b'). The following straightforward problems emerge: the aforementioned "virtual" definiteness, the total absence of any derivative of the existential verb *van* 'be', and the distortion of such decisive formal features of the input as the peculiar word order and stress pattern. To some speakers, thus, the (hypothetical) derivability of the "*van*-free" construction in (274b') from (274a) is insufficient, compared to the preferred alternative interpretation according to which it is some property of Péter's contextually given car that was a surprise.

As for potential SED-noun constructions, the temporal-possessor test yields no positive grammaticality judgments (274c), as was mentioned. Beyond the potential formal problems with (274b) (and with the analogous existential example in (273c)), there is another serious problem: the original possessive meaning (273a) cannot be reconstructed because of the interfering effect of the appearance of the temporal possessor. Due to this semantic problem, even the "*van*-free" construction shown in (274c) is impossible to interpret. That is, it is simply impossible to reconstruct the special intended meaning according to which such cases are referred to where unnamed persons possessed cars.

Due to essentially the same reasons concerning semantic reconstruction, even if the temporal construction is not present (274c'), there is no sufficiently acceptable SED-noun construction, in contrast to the corresponding ÁS-noun variants. Neither the "*van*-free" construction nor the *léte*-construction can express the intended simple-event denoting (i.e., habitual) interpretation (cf. (273c')). The crucial reason may be the fact that there is not enough grammatical clue for realizing that the reference to Péter's car ought to be understood here as reference to newer and newer situations in which he has a new car. Note in passing that the (quite strange) alternative interpretation according to which there is a fixed car possessed by Péter again and again (or possessed by him forever with this fact being a surprise to us again and again) is an ÁS-noun interpretation with respect to the point of possession, relevant to us (cf. (273b')).

We conclude with the discussion of a special possessive construction (275): formally, it (the input in (275a)) seems to be based on a possessive relation, but semantically, nothing is possessed (in the literal sense). This verbal construction—in contrast to the (true) possessive construction, demonstrated in (274) above—can be characterized by the same stress pattern and word order as the constructions discussed in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI can. Namely, an unstressed verb is immediately preceded by a stressed verbal modifier in this type of construction.

Recall that the existential construction (273a-c')—which the true possessive construction (274) relies on in Hungarian— also had an alternative version like this, demonstrated in (273d-d"). Because of this multilateral analogy, it is worth comparing the grammaticality judgments of test (275) below to the results presented in (273d-d").

It can be observed below that here, just like in (273d'-d"), all potential nominalized constructions are fully unacceptable which contain any (overt) derivative of *van* 'be', either in the presence of a [postposition + *való*] context (275b,b") or of a temporal possessor (275c), or even if these are not present (275b',c'). In the case of test (273d-d"), we attributed these extremely negative grammaticality judgments to the great loss of the input information, coded not only by means of the words themselves but their peculiar order and stress pattern. We think that the same holds in this case (275), as well. Nevertheless, certain details of this general explanation call for further research.

(275) ● Abstract possessive use of *van* 'be'

a. Péter-nek 'meleg-e ˚van.
Péter-Dat hot-Poss.3Sg be.3Sg
'Péter is hot.'

b. *Mindenkit meglepett *Péter melegének a jeges fürdő után való*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter hot.Poss.3Sg.Dat the icy bath after be.Part*
lev-és-e / lé-t-e / vol-t-a.
be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was hot after having an icy bath*.'

b'. *Mindenkit meglepett *[Péter melege] / [Péter melegének a lé-t-e].*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter hot.Poss.3Sg/ Péter hot.Poss.3Sg.Dat the be-T-Poss.3Sg*
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter is hot*.'

b''. *Mindenkit meglepett *Péternek a jeges fürdő után való*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter.Dat the icy bath after be.Part*
meleg(e)- (lev-és-e / lé-t-e / vol-t-a).
hot.Poss.3Sg be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was hot after having an icy bath*.'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising*
meleg(e)- (lev-és-e / lé-t-e / vol-t-a).
hot(Poss.3Sg) be-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was the decade's most surprising case when someone *was hot*.'

c'. *Mindig meglep minket
always surprise.3Sg we.Acc
[Péter(nek a) melege] / [Péter melegének a lé-t-e].
Péter(Dat the hot.Poss.3Sg / Péter hot.Poss.3Sg.Dat the be-T-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It always surprises us *that Péter is hot*.'

In contrast to (273d'-d"), however, none of the potential "*van*-free" variants are acceptable, as is shown in (275b'-c'). A potential explanation can also essentially be based on information loss. Specifically, the output presents a possessive noun phrase (e.g., *Péter(nek a) melege* 'Péter(Dat the) hot.Poss.3Sg'), as to which the hearer cannot abandon the misleading feeling that (s)he faces true possessive relation, even if an interpretation like this is nonsensical.

II. Auxiliary verbs

This subsection discusses whether Hungarian auxiliaries can be nominalized. According to Kenesei (2000: 108–111), it is exactly a criterial property of auxiliaries (in Hungarian) that they cannot be nominalized.

In what follows, we are going to illustrate this fact—see the unacceptable (b)-examples in (276-277) below—in the case of the two classic auxiliaries *fog* 'will' (276a) and *szokott* 'used to (habitual present)' (277a). Note in passing that there are only three true auxiliaries in Hungarian according to (the tests proposed by) Kenesei (2000: 110). The third one is the quite rare and emotionally highly loaded *talál* 'happen to', which also defies ÁS-nominalization.

Since *fog* 'will' (276a) is predestined to refer to a (future) complex event and *szokott* 'used to' (277a) to a (customary or habitual) event type, the two classic auxiliaries immediately pertain to exactly the aspects of meaning which are decisive in distinguishing the ÁS-noun interpretation from the SED-noun interpretation. Therefore, it seems to be impossible to carry out the cross-classification we have applied so far: *fog* 'will' cannot be combined with the SED-noun interpretation while *szokott* 'used to' with the ÁS-noun interpretation.

It is also noteworthy that the auxiliary *szokott* 'used to' is always tensed: it is the past tense form of a non-existing verb *szokik*, in the case of which only such preverbed variants exist in the present tense as *rászokik* (a dohányzásra) 'begin (smoking)', or *leszokik* (a dohányzásról) 'give up (smoking)'.

Note in passing that the phonetic form *szokás* 'used_to.ÁS' does exist but it is used only as a non-eventive *Ás*-noun with the meaning 'habit' or 'custom'. The derivative suffix *-Ás* can also be added to the phonetic form *fog*; the resulting form *fogás* has several meanings (e.g., 'catch', 'trick', 'grasp', 'dish') but they are all based on such non-auxiliary uses of *fog* as 'catch' or 'hold'.

(276) ● Auxiliary verbs as input verbs: I. *fog* 'will'

a. Munka után Péter vásárolni fog.
work after Péter go_shopping.Inf will.3Sg
'Péter will go shopping after work.'

a'. Péter munka után (be-)vásárol.
Péter work after (into-)go_shopping.3Sg
'Péter will go shopping after work.'

b. *Mari örül *Péter (munka után való) vásárolni fog-ás-á-nak.*
Mari be_pleased.3Sg *Péter work after be.Part go_shopping.Inf will-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'Mari is pleased that *Péter will go shopping (after work).*'

c. ?Mari örül *Péter munka utáni vásárl-ás-á-nak.*
Mari be_pleased.3Sg *Péter work after.Attr go_shopping-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
'Mari is pleased that *Péter will go shopping after work.*'

We could not resist the temptation to try out constructions which can be regarded as analogous to the "*van*-free" constructions in subsection I in containing no (phonetically overt) derivative of the input verb. Without any strong commitment to an analysis like this, we would simply like to call the readers' attention to the fact that the (coinciding) (c)-variants in (276-277) can be assigned the corresponding intended meanings in appropriately specific contexts. That is, the pragmatico-semantic content of auxiliaries can be expressed in the "implicit" way investigated. This observation may have to do with the fact that both the future tense and habituality can be expressed without any overt auxiliary in Hungarian, as is demonstrated in the (a')-examples in (276-277).

(277) ● Auxiliary verbs as input verbs: II. *szokott* 'used_to'

a. Munka után Péter vásárolni szokott.
work after Péter go_shopping.Inf used_to.Past.3Sg
'Péter (usually) goes shopping after work.'

a'. Péter munka után (be-)vásárol.
Péter work after (into-)go_shopping.3Sg
'Péter goes shopping after work.'

b. *Mari örül *Péter (munka után való) vásárolni szok-ás-á-nak.*
Mari be_pleased.3Sg *Péter work after be.Part go_shopping.Inf used_to-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'Mari is pleased that *Péter (usually)goes shopping (after work).*'

c. ?Mari örül *Péter munka utáni vásárl-ás-á-nak.*
Mari be_pleased.3Sg *Péter work after.Attr go_shopping-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
'Mari is pleased that *Péter goes shopping after work.*'

III. Modal verbs

We move on to discuss whether Hungarian modal verbs can be nominalized. Two frequent modal verbs, *tud* 'can' (278) and *kell* 'must' (279) will be studied here.

Let us start with the modal verb *tud* 'can', which has two kinds of meanings: one meaning has to do with some possibility and/or permission (278a) while the other meaning with some ability (278a').

The former meaning seems to be predestined to refer to complex events (permitted or facilitated); that is why we have applied to it the [postposition + *való*] test (278b), in order to try out the ÁS-noun interpretation. The grammaticality judgment, however, shows that this modal verb (in this sense) defies ÁS-nominalization, even if the [postposition + *való*] context itself is not present.

(278) ● Modal verbs as input verbs: I. *tud* 'can'

a. Péter tudott zongorázni az ünnepek alatt,
Péter can.Past.3Sg play_the_piano.Inf the holiday.Pl under
mert kapott egy zongorát karácsonyra.
because get.Past.3Sg a piano.Acc Christmas.Sub
'Péter could play the piano during the holidays because he got a piano for Christmas.'

a'. Péter tud zongorázni; ő Kocsis egyik legjobb tanítványa.
Péter can.3Sg play_the_piano.Inf (s)he Kocsis one_of best student
'Péter can play the piano; he is one of the best students of Kocsis.'

b. *?*Péternek az (ünnepek alatt való) zongorázni tud-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the holiday.Pl under be.Part play_the_piano.Inf can-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
örömmel töltött el minket.
pleasure.Ins fill.Past.3Sg away us
Intended meaning: 'We were pleased *that Péter could play the piano (during the holidays)*.'

c. ??Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb zongorázni tud-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising play_the_piano.Inf can-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone (turned out to) have the ability to play the piano*.'

c'. (?)*Péternek a zongorázni tud-ás-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the play_the_piano.Inf can-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Péter can play the piano* was a surprise to everyone.'

The latter meaning ('ability') obviously has to do with event type (which someone is capable of); that is why we have applied to it the temporal-possessor test (278c), in order to try out the SED-noun interpretation. The resulting nominalized construction is not fully unacceptable but sounds very artificial. The variant in (278c'), however (where the test context itself is not present), is almost perfect; but it is hard to judge here whether this variant is to be considered a SED-noun, or rather an abstract-result denoting non-eventive *Ás*-noun.

In contrast to the case of *tudás*, which we have just discussed, the possible phonetic form *kellés* 'must.ÁS' simply does not exist (279b-d). Below we attempt to demonstrate the potential intended meanings, which, thus, cannot be expressed by constructions headed by ÁS-nouns (279b) or SED-nouns (279c) derived from *kell* 'must'. The input of these intended meanings is the deontic version of *kell* 'must', in which some obligation is referred to (279a). In (279d), the intended meaning is based on the epistemic version of *kell* 'must', illustrated in (279a'), in which the

strong necessity of a state of affairs is claimed. Here, we do not attempt to decide whether the non-existing form should be associated with an ÁS-noun interpretation or a SED-noun interpretation if it were to exist.

(279) ● Modal verbs as input verbs: II. *kell* 'must'

a. Péternek zongorázni(a) kellett az ünnepek alatt,
Péter.Dat play_the_piano.Inf(3Sg) must.Past.3Sg the holiday.Pl under
mert januárban vizsgája volt.
because January.Ine exam.Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg
'Péter had to play the piano during the holidays because he had an exam in January.'

a'. Péternek zongoráznia kellett; mert koszosak a billentyűk.
Péter.Dat play_the_piano.Inf.3Sg must.Past.3Sg because dirty.Pl the key.Pl
'Péter must have played the piano because the keys are dirty.'

b. **Péternek az (ünnepek alatt való) zongorázni kell-és-e*
Péter.Dat the holiday.Pl under be.Part play_the_piano.Inf must-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
elszomorított minket.
make_sad.Past.3Sg us
Intended meaning: 'It made us sad *that Péter had to play the piano (during the holidays)*.'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legkimerítőbb zongorázni kell-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_exhausting play_the_piano.Inf must-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most exhausting case when someone had to play the piano*.'

d. **Péternek a zongorázni kell-és-e* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the play_the_piano.Inf must-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter must have played the piano*.'

Note in passing that in Hungarian the deontic *versus* epistemic dichotomy which is associated with the modal verb *kell* 'must' is also associated with the suffix *-hAt* 'can', but not with the modal verb *tud* 'can'. As for this suffix, we established in the introduction to this subsection (1.3.1.2.3), following Laczkó (2000a: 359), that the group of verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can' defies ÁS-nominalization (267), independently of its deontic (permission) or epistemic (weak necessity) interpretation.

IV. Raising verbs

This subsection is devoted to the question of whether raising verbs can be nominalized in Hungarian. We will be investigating a subject-raising verb (280), and then an object-raising one (281).

The verb *tűnik* 'seem' (280a) illustrates the behavior of the subject-raising type. The application of the [postposition + *való*] test, demonstrated in (280b) below, seems to show that raising verbs do not categorically defy ÁS-nominalization. The resulting grammaticality judgment ('??') can be improved if we can get rid of the two dative case-marked constituents (and the cumbersome *való*-construction) imposed on us by the test context itself. This fact is presented in (280b').

(280) ● Subject-raising verbs as input verbs: *tűnik* 'seem'

a. Péter ártatlan-nak tűnt a tárgyalás előtt.
Péter innocent-Dat seem.Past.3Sg the trial before
'Péter seemed to be innocent before the trial.'

b. ??*Péternek a tárgyalás előtt való ártatlannak tűn-és-e*
Péter.Dat the trial before be.Part innocent.Dat seem-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter seemed to be innocent before the trial*.'

b'. ?*Péter ártatlannak tűn-és-e* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat innocent.Dat seem-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter seemed to be innocent*.'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb ártatlannak tűn-és-e.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising innocent.Dat seem-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone seemed to be innocent*.'

c'. *?*Az ártatlannak tűn-és* gyakori a gyerekeknél.
the innocent.Dat seem-ÁS frequent the child.Pl.Ade
Intended meaning: 'It is usual with children *that they seem to be innocent*.'

As is shown in (280c-c') above, however, the SED-noun interpretation is not available to subject-raising verbs. This may have to do with some component of the interpretation of raising verbs: it is probably a specific state of affairs which the subjective viewpoint expressed by most raising verbs pertains to.

This claim is independent of the factor whether the raising verb in question is subject- or object-raising. Object-raising verbs, hence, are also predicted to defy SED-noun derivation; which is borne out by (281c-c') below.

(281) ● Object-raising verbs as input verbs: *tart* 'consider'

a. Ili ártatlan-nak tartotta Péter-t a tárgyalás előtt.
Ili innocent-Dat consider.Past.DefObj.3Sg Péter-Acc the trial before
'Ili considered Péter to be innocent before the trial.'

b. ?*Péternek a tárgyalás előtt való ártatlannak tart-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the trial before be.Part innocent.Dat consider-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was considered to be innocent before the trial*.'

b'. (?)*Péter ártatlannak tart-ás-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat innocent.Dat consider-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was considered to be innocent*.'

c. *?Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb ártatlannak tart-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising innocent.Dat consider-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone was considered to be innocent*.'

c'. *?*Az ártatlannak tart-ás* gyakori a gyerekeknél.
the innocent.Dat consider-ÁS frequent the child.Pl.Ade
Intended meaning: 'It is usual with children *that they are considered to be innocent*.'

As for ÁS-nominalization, in this respect, too, object-raising verbs behave essentially in the same way as the subject-raising group. Only a slight difference can be observed in (281b-b') above, compared to the analogous examples in (280b-b'): according to the relevant grammaticality judgments, the variants based on object-raising input verbs are somewhat more acceptable. This tendency is

presumably the same tendency as was observed in connection with the (b')-examples in (253) and (257) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI: transitive verbs tend to be somewhat easier to nominalize than intransitive ones with similar meaning.

V. Psych-verbs

We conclude this subsection by investigating whether psych-verbs can undergo ÁS-nominalization and SED-noun derivation.

Hungarian psych-verbs can be divided into four basic groups with respect to the assignment of grammatical functions (object or oblique, besides subject) to the two relevant thematic roles, Experiencer and Theme (see (216E) in 1.3.1.1, sub III). Hence, eight types of input verbs will be considered, since the atelic *versus* telic distinction that has often turned out to be significant in our systematic investigation of non-deviant verb types (1.3.1.2.2.3), is relevant here, too, according to Laczkó (2000a: 340).

In the first basic group, the Experiencer and the Theme of the input verb appear as the subject and the object of the sentence, respectively; and, first, an atelic representative of the group will be tested (282).

Let us start with the question of ÁS-nominalization, as usual (282b-b"). We have applied the [postposition + *való*] test in two different ways.

In (282b) below, the input subject has been placed in a postpositional phrase, headed by the postposition *által* 'by'. The *által*-phrase is the default alternative to the expression of the subject of an input transitive argument structure in the case of derivations following the pattern of passivization (see the relevant comment on (241) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub IV). By this we mean that the input subject cannot be expressed in a non-oblique grammatical function any more. As is mentioned by Laczkó (2000a: 339), Experiencers are not acceptable expressed by an *által*-phrase, at least to many speakers of Hungarian, including the authors of this subsection, as is indicated with our grammaticality judgment '*?' in (282b) below. The reason is straightforward: the postposition *által* 'by' has a definite agentive meaning factor *per definitionem* (Laczkó 2000a: 339), which is incompatible (or only partially compatible) with the Experiencer role.

Even if the *által*-phrase is ignored in (282b), we obtain a very artificial variant with a nominalized construction headed by the ÁS-noun *szeretés* 'like.ÁS'. We might attribute this poor acceptability to the non-dynamic character of the eventualities denoted by atelic psych-verbs; nevertheless, this is not the whole picture, as is pointed out by Laczkó (2000a: 340).

Laczkó made the following surprising observation, illustrated in (282b') below: The blocking form *szeretet* 'like.T' can appear as a complex-event denoting ÁS-noun, at least to a certain extent ('?'). And this observation also holds for a whole group of nouns derived from atelic psych-verbs typically by means of the non-productive suffix *-At* (e.g., *gyűlölet* 'hatred', *utálat* 'disgust', *imádat* 'adoration', *tisztelet* 'respect'). This was thought to be surprising in the light of what was observed in subsection 1.3.1.2.1: Complex-event denoting ÁS-nouns are never "blocked" by any kind of idiosyncratic forms. That is, they are always derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-Ás* (see examples (221-223)).

Note in passing that in a variant like this (which is based on a blocking form), the presence of the *való*-construction is definitely obligatory, as is presented in (282b"). Obviously, the reason for this is that, without a *való*-construction, the blocking form can only be interpreted as a SED-noun. This means in the particular case that the example shown in (282b") can be regarded as a perfect sentence, but with a SED-noun interpretation according to which the boss likes others (instead of being liked). Note that this meaning will also appear in (282c').

(282) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: I. {Subject$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Object$_{\text{Theme}}$}atelic

a. Péter szereti a főnök-öt.
Péter like.DefObj.3Sg the boss-Acc
'Péter likes the boss.'

b. *A főnöknek a (*?Péter által való) ??szeret-és-e*
the boss.Dat the Péter by be.Part like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that the boss was liked (by Péter)*.'

b'. *A főnöknek a feltétel nélkül való ??szeret-és-e / ?szeret-et-e*
the boss.Dat the condition without be.Part like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / like-T-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that the boss was liked unconditionally*.'

b". **A főnöknek a szeret-et-e* mindenkit meglepett.
the boss.Dat the like-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that the boss was liked*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising*
**(??főnök-)szeret-és-e / *?(*főnök-)szeret-et-e.*
(boss-)like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / (boss-)like-T-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone (/a boss) was liked*.'

c'. *A főnöknek a feltétel nélküli *szeret-és-e /✓szeret-et-e*
the boss.Dat the condition without.Attr like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / like-T-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that the boss liked someone without conditions*.'

c". *A főnök iránti *szeret-és /✓szeret-et* manapság ritka.
the boss towards.Attr like-ÁS / like-T nowadays rare
'It is rare nowadays *that the boss is liked*.'

As for SED-noun variants, we recall our findings based on examples (221-223) in subsection 1.3.1.2.1: the SED-noun interpretation is strongly associated with the blocking form (if any). This is shown in (282c'-c") above, since the temporal-possessor test itself provides no fully acceptable variants (282c). Note in passing, nevertheless, that the blocking form *szeretet* 'like.T' can also be regarded as an abstract-result expressing noun. The problem is general: it is unclear how to distinguish the abstract-result interpretation from the simple-event interpretation in the case of state of affairs with a vaguely delimited homogeneous (atelic) event structure.

It is worth scrutinizing the four competing variants demonstrated in (282c), of which the only more or less acceptable (but extremely artificial) variant is the combination of the regular ÁS-noun form (*szeretés* 'like.ÁS') with the input object (*főnök* 'boss') in the prenominal complement position. Two independent factors seem to play some role in a potential explanation of the grammaticality judgments. The overt presence of the input object is practically unavoidable; which may be attributed to the fact that the argument position in question is not inherently [+HUMAN] (since one may also like jazz or a piece of furniture). The other factor is as follows: if its prenominal complement position is occupied, the given noun should be considered as a part of a compound word, which (the noun head itself) cannot be replaced with a blocking form anymore.

The following series of examples, where the telic version *megszeret* 'perf.like' of the input verb *szeret* 'like' is tested, also clearly demonstrates this latter factor: the blocking form *szeretet* 'like.T' yields no acceptable construction with the input preverb *meg* 'perf' in the output prenominal complement position. This is illustrated in examples (283b-c") below. Due to the general validity of this observation, we will not test this potential version in what follows.

As for ÁS-nominalization, it is worth comparing examples (283b-b') below to the analogous examples demonstrated in (282b-b') above. It is a decisive tendency that all grammaticality judgments have improved here, yielding even fully acceptable variants; which is undoubtedly to be attributed to the dynamic event structure of *megszeret* 'perf.like'. The tendency also affects the appearance of the Experiencer in an *által*-phrase (283b), at least to a very slight extent; it seems that there might be a certain correlation between telicity and volitionality coded in language, in spite of the theoretical independence of these two semantic factors.

(283) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: II. {Subject$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Object$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic

a. Péter meg-szerette a főnök-öt.
Péter perf-like.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss-Acc
'Péter got to like the boss.'

b. *A főnöknek a (??Péter által való) meg-szeret-és-e / *meg-szeret-et-e*
the boss.Dat the Péter by be.Part perf-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / perf-like-T-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that the boss got to be liked (by Péter)*.'

b'. *A főnöknek a történtek után való*
the boss.Dat the what_happened after be.Part
*meg-szeret-és-e / *meg-szeret-et-e* mindenkit meglepett.
perf-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / perf-like-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that someone got to like the boss after what had happened*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising*
**(??főnök-)meg-szeret-és-e / *(*főnök-)meg-szeret-et-e.*
(boss-)perf-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / (boss-)perf-like-T-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone (/a boss) got to be liked*.'

c'. **A főnöknek a történtek utáni meg-szeret-és-e / meg-szeret-et-e*
the boss.Dat the what_happened after.Adj perf-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / perf-like-T-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that the boss got to like someone after what had happened*.'

c''. *A főnök* ?*meg-szeret-és-e / *meg-szeret-et-e* manapság ritka.
the boss perf-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / perf-like-T-Poss.3Sg nowadays rare
'It is rare nowadays *that the boss gets to be liked*.'

In the case of the potential SED-noun variants, it is also worth comparing the examples in (283c-c") to the corresponding ones in (282c-c"). Here, in contrast to the "improved" ÁS-noun variants, some worsening can be observed, obviously due to the aforementioned "loss" of the blocking form.

As for the remaining form *megszeretés* 'perf.like.ÁS', quite artificial, but more or less acceptable SED-noun constructions can be based on it (283c,c") in which the (output) possessor (283c") or the nominal filler of the prenominal complement zone (283c) is understood to express the input object (i.e., the Theme). Such a potential SED-noun interpretation is fully excluded, however, in which the output possessor is understood to express the input subject (i.e., the Experiencer); see (283c') above. A probable explanation can also be based on the lack of a form like *megszeretet* 'perf.like.T', which could serve (on the basis of analogy) as the optimal candidate to capture the intended SED-noun interpretation.

Let us now turn to the second group of psych-verbs, where the Experiencer still appears as a subject but the Theme appears as an oblique case-marked argument. First, again, an atelic representative of the group will be tested (284). The results of this test are worth comparing to those of the test in (282), which also involves an atelic input psych-verb.

All grammaticality judgments tend to be significantly better here (284): both the [postposition + *való*] test (284b) and the temporal-possessor test (284c) can provide (sufficiently) acceptable variants. This is, however, not necessarily to be attributed to the difference in input argument structure between (284a) and (282a), but the following independent factors seem to play a role.

First, high intensity seems to be a relevant meaning component of the verb *rajong* 'be_keen_on'. There might be a certain correlation between intensity and dynamicity (i.e., some sort of "event-complexity") coded in language, in spite of the theoretical independence of these two semantic factors. Recall that dynamic input verbs always tend to undergo both ÁS-nominalization and SED-noun derivation more easily.

The second factor pertains to a formal property: *rajongás* 'be_keen_on.ÁS ' has no blocking form. Recall that this factor is relevant in (282-283).

Thus, such input verbs as *fél valakitől* 'be_afraid_of someone.Abl' and *bízik valakiben* 'trust_in someone.Ine' pattern with *szeret* 'like' (282) rather than *rajong* 'keen_on' (284) with respect to the acceptability of potential ÁS-noun and SED-noun variants. They do have blocking forms (*fél**elem*** 'fear$_N$', *biz**alom*** 'trust$_N$') and their meaning lacks the feature of intensity. The verb *retteg* 'dread', however,

shows the same grammatical behavior in the relevant respect as *rajong* 'keen_on' (284), obviously due to its high intensity and the fact that it has no blocking form.

(284) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: I. {Subject$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Oblique$_{\text{Theme}}$} atelic

a. Péter rajong a főnök-ért.
Péter be_keen_on.3Sg the boss-Cau
'Péter is keen on the boss.'

b. *Péternek a feltétel nélkül való rajong-ás-a a főnökért*
Péter.Dat the condition without be.Part be_keen_on-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the boss.Cau
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was unconditionally keen on the boss*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising*
?(?[főnökért való] /?[főnök iránti]) rajong-ás-a.*
(boss.Cau be.Part / boss towards) be_keen_on-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone was keen on (the boss)*.'

c'. *A [főnökért való] /[főnök iránti] rajong-ás* manapság ritka.
the boss.Cau be.Part / boss towards.Attr be_keen_on-ÁS nowadays rare
'It is rare nowadays *that someone is keen on the boss*.'

Our last comment on this test pertains to the appearance of the postpositional phrase headed by *iránt* 'towards' in the potential SED-noun variants (284c-c'). We have already observed the appearance of an *iránt*-phrase in (282c"); where this form could express the input object since accusative case-marked constituents (which could have truly reflected the input argument structure) cannot occur beside noun heads.

The *iránt*-phrase is the typical way of expressing the Theme argument of nominalized psych-verbs in Hungarian. The novel observation here is that this statement also seems to hold for cases in which the *iránt*-phrase cannot be regarded as obligatorily required given the fact that the Theme appears in an oblique case-marked form in the input argument structure (284c'). We conjecture that this synonymy between the variant in which the input argument structure is truly reflected (*főnök**ért** való* 'boss.**Cau** be.Part') and the one in which the *iránt*-phrase is applied (*főnök **iránt**i* 'boss **towards**.Attr') may serve the purpose of distinguishing a SED-noun interpretation from an abstract-result expressing interpretation, respectively. The testing of this hypothesis, however, is left for future research.

As *rajong* 'be keen on' has no telic counterpart, the group of the psych-verbs where the Theme appears as an oblique case-marked argument will be represented by a non-transitive version of *szeret* 'like': namely, *beleszeret* 'into.like' (285a).

Results of this test are worth comparing to those of the test in (283), which also involves a telic input psych-verb; moreover, a version of the same verb (*szeret* 'like') with another preverb (*bele* 'into'). The corresponding grammaticality judgments, thus, are practically the same: the ÁS-noun variant (285b) and the SED-noun variant without the temporal-possessor context (285c') are essentially acceptable while the SED-noun variant placed in the temporal-possessor context (285c) is very artificial. This latter fact has to do with the lack of a form like

beleszeretet 'into.like.T', which could serve as the optimal candidate for capturing the intended SED-noun interpretation (see the relevant comment on (283c-c")).

Note in passing that the only interesting difference between (283) and (285), namely that here there is no object in the input argument structure, only counts to the extent that there is no need for investigating *által*-phrases.

(285) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: II. {Subject$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Oblique$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic

a. Ili bele-szeretett a főnök-be.
Ili into-like.Past.3Sg the boss-Ill
'Ili fell in love with the boss.'

b. $^{(?)}$*Ilinek a történtek után való bele-szeret-és-e a főnökbe*
Ili.Dat the what_happened after be.Part into-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the boss.Ill
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *after what had happened that Ili fell in love with the boss.*'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising*
$^{??}$*[bele-szeret-és-e egy főnökbe] /* $^{??}$*[főnökbe való bele-szeret-és-e].*
into-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg a boss.Ill / boss.Ill be.Part into-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone fell in love with a boss.*'

c'. $^{?}$*A főnökbe való bele-szeret-és* manapság ritka.
the boss.Ill be.Part into-like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg nowadays rare
'It is rare nowadays *that someone falls in love with the boss.*'

Results of test (285) are also worth comparing to those of test (284). What can be observed is against the general tendency that input verbs with a dynamic meaning more readily undergo the two kinds of nominalization under discussion than those with less dynamic meaning. It seems that the factors that *rajong* 'keen on' has an "intensive meaning", on the one hand, and has no "interfering" (potential) blocking form, on the other hand, outweigh this general tendency.

Let us now turn to our third group of psych-verbs, where the Experiencer appears as an object, leaving the subject grammatical function to the Theme. First, as usual, an atelic representative of the group will be tested, namely, *zavar* 'disturb' (286a). Note, first of all, that this verb has no blocking form, which could serve as an alternative to the regular form *zavarás* 'disturb.ÁS'.

It can be observed, nevertheless, that the input argument structure can undergo neither ÁS-nominalization (286b-b') nor SED-noun derivation (286c-c'), at least in the intended meaning in which it is not implied that someone disturbed Péter with the noise mentioned or something else. What could the problem be here? There are two cases to be investigated.

One of the cases is where the input subject does not appear in the output nominalized phrase (286b-c'), at least overtly. In this case, the nominalized phrase is necessarily interpreted as if the input argument structure (i.e., the input to nominalization) had contained an Agent in the subject grammatical function (with the Theme appearing as an oblique case-marked expression). We will be illustrating and evaluating this alternative interpretation in (287) below.

The other case is where we attempt to display the input subject in some phonetically overt form. We have tested three solutions that emerge in certain parts

of Hungarian grammar related to either the input grammatical function or the thematic role of the expression in question (*a zaj* 'the noise'). The phrase headed by the postposition *által* 'by', which is the typical alternative expression of arguments otherwise expressed as subjects, is excluded here. The reason for this (ill-formedness) obviously has to do with the inherently agentive (semantic) feature of this postposition, which is incompatible with the Theme thematic role. The instrumental case-marked alternative is excluded because it triggers the non-intended reading discussed in the previous paragraph. And the ablative case-marked alternative, which often appears in Hungarian in the case of Natural Forces, seems to require an input argument structure which contains the argument in question in the same ablative case-marked form. All in all, neither these alternatives nor the alternative in which the input subject is not displayed provide acceptable variants in (286b,c').

(286) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs:

I.a. {$\text{Object}_{\text{Experiencer}}$, $\text{Subject}_{\text{Theme}}$}atelic

a. Péter-t zavarta a zaj.
Péter-Acc disturb.Past.DefObj.3Sg the noise
'The noise disturbed Péter.'

b. **Péternek a ([zaj által] / zajjal / zajtól való) zavar-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the noise by / noise.Ins / noise.Abl be.Part disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit váratlanul ért.
everyone.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught everyone unawares *that something (/the noise) disturbed Péter.*'

b'. **Péternek az előadás alatt való zavar-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the lecture under be.Part disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit váratlanul ért.
everyone.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught everyone unawares *that something disturbed Péter during the lecture.*'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb (előadó-)zavar-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising (lecturer-)disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most surprising case when something disturbed someone (/a lecturer).*'

c'. **Az előadó ([zaj általi] / [zajjal való] / [zajtól való]) zavar-ás-a*
the lecturer noise by.Attr / noise.Ins be.Part / noise.Abl be.Part disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
manapság gyakori.
nowadays usual
Intended meaning: 'It is usual nowadays *that something (/some noise) disturbs the lecturer.*'

As was promised, we will re-evaluate all the potential sentences in (286) above according to the alternative input argument structure illustrated in (287a). It is also worth comparing the corresponding translations. Note that the Theme *a zaj* 'the noise' (286) has been replaced with *a kiabálás* 'the shouting' (287) in order to make the potential sentence variants optimal according to the corresponding intended meanings.

The observations can be summarized as follows.

First of all, all "reasonable" output variants are more or less acceptable here (287b-c").

The least acceptable variants are those in which the input Agent appears in the output nominalized phrase in the only possible form, namely, in an *által*-phrase (287b,c'). At first glance, this observation might be surprising since we have attributed the Agent thematic role to the input subject in the argument structure shown in (287a). The incompatibility mentioned previously seems to indicate that this participant is not a prototypical Agent: it is not included in the meaning given in (287a) whether Mari disturbed Péter deliberately or not. The unambiguously deliberate character coded by the postposition *által* 'by', thus, seems to be in conflict with the inherently underspecified semantics of *zavar* 'disturb'.

(287) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs:
I.b. {Subject$_{Agent}$, Object$_{Experiencer}$, Oblique$_{Theme}$} atelic

a. Mari zavarta Péter-t a kiabálásá-val.
Mari disturb.Past.DefObj.3Sg Péter-Acc the shouting.Poss.3Sg-Ins
'Mari disturbed Péter with her shouting.'

b. *Péternek a ?(*?[Mari által való] / [(?)kiabálással való]) zavar-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the Mari by be.Part / shouting.Ins be.Part disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit felbőszített.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'It made everyone angry *that someone (/Mari) disturbed Péter (with her shouting)*.'

b'. *Péternek az előadás alatt való ?(?)folyamatos) zavar-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the lecture under be.Part continuous disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit felbőszített.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'It made everyone angry *that someone (continuously) disturbed Péter during the lecture*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legfelháborítóbb ??(?előadó-)zavar-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_scandalous (lecturer-)disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most scandalous case when someone disturbed someone (/a lecturer)*.'

c'. *Az előadónak a ?(??diákok általi) folyamatos zavar-ás-a*
the lecturer.Dat the student.Pl by.Attr continuous disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
manapság gyakori.
nowadays usual
'It is usual nowadays *that someone (/the students) continuously disturb(s) the lecturer*.'

c". *Az előadó (folyamatos kiabálással való) zavar-ás-a* manapság gyakori.
the lecturer continuous shouting.Ins be.Part disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg nowadays usual
'It is usual nowadays *that someone disturbs the lecturer (with shouting continuously)*.'

As is presented in (287b,c") above, the overt appearance of the Theme in the output nominalized phrase—as an instrumental case-marked expression—makes the corresponding variants more acceptable, which means perfect (287c") or almost perfect (287b) variants. This is presumably due to the fact that the overt presence of the instrumental case-marked expression makes it unambiguous that the input to nominalization is the argument structure version given in (287a), and not the earlier one given in (286a).

It can also be observed that both in the case of ÁS-nouns (287b') and in the case of SED-nouns (287c'), better variants can be obtained if the atelic character of the

input meaning is made explicit by means of an adjective like *folyamatos* 'continuous' (even if the Theme is not present).

As the atelic *zavar* 'disturb' has a telic counterpart *megzavar* 'perf.disturb', we can continue our investigation of the ÁS-nominalization of psych-verbs with this latter verb (288a). The results of the test shown in (288) below is worth comparing to the results shown in (286), in which the input subject also plays the role of a Theme. The same observation can be made: all potential variants are fully unacceptable. The reasons are also the same. First, there is no way to (overtly) express the input Theme subject (*a zaj* 'the noise'). Second, if this participant remains implicit in the output nominalized constructions, these constructions are necessarily interpreted as if the input argument structure (i.e., the input to nominalization) had contained an Agent in the subject grammatical function (with the Theme appearing as an oblique case-marked expression). We will be illustrating and evaluating this alternative interpretation in (289) below.

(288) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs:

II.a. {Object$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Subject$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic

a. Péter-t meg-zavarta a zaj.
Péter-Acc perf-disturb.Past.DefObj.3Sg the noise
'The noise distracted Péter.'

b. **Péternek a ([zaj által] / zajjal / zajtól való) meg-zavar-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the noise by / noise.Ins / noise.Abl be.Part perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit váratlanul ért.
everyone.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught everyone unawares *that something (/the noise) distracted Péter.*'

b'. **Péternek az előadás alatt való meg-zavar-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the lecture under be.Part perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit váratlanul ért.
everyone.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught everyone unawares *that something distracted Péter during the lecture.*'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb (előadó-)meg-zavar-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising (lecturer-)perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most surprising case when something distracted someone (/a lecturer).*'

c'. **Az előadó ([zaj általi] / [zajjal való] / [zajtól való]) meg-zavar-ás-a*
the lecturer noise by.Attr / noise.Ins be.Part / noise.Abl be.Part perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
manapság gyakori.
nowadays usual
Intended meaning: 'It is usual nowadays *that something (/some noise) distracts the lecturer.*'

Thus, the fact that more dynamic telic variants (288b-c') have been investigated in spite of the earlier atelic variants (286b-c') has not improved grammaticality judgments one iota, since the problem is that the intended interpretations are "suppressed" by alternative ones.

Let us consider these "suppressing" interpretations, the basis of which is the input argument structure version given in (289a) below. Results of the test

demonstrated in (289) are obviously worth comparing to those of the earlier test shown in (287), in addition to those of the test shown in (288).

The observations can be summarized as follows.

First of all, the difference between (289) and (288) is what might be expected: all "reasonable" output variants are more or less acceptable in (289b-c"), compared to the uniformly unacceptable variants in (288b-c'); moreover, examples (289b-c") are somewhat more acceptable than the corresponding examples in (287), presumably due to the more dynamic character coming from telicity.

As in (287), the least acceptable variants are those in which the input Agent appears in the output nominalized phrase in the only possible form, namely, in an *által*-phrase (289b,c'). Here, too, this observation can be attributed to some conflict between the unambiguously volitional character coded in the postposition *által* 'by' and the semantics of *megzavar* 'perf.disturb' which is inherently underspecified in this respect.

(289) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs:

II.b. {Subject$_{\text{Agent}}$, Object$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Oblique$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic

a. Mari meg-zavarta Péter-t a kiabálásá-val.
Mari perf-disturb.Past.DefObj.3Sg Péter-Acc the shouting.Poss.3Sg-Ins
'Mari distracted Péter by shouting.'

b. *Péternek a (??[Mari által való]/ˇ[kiabálással való])*
Péter.Dat the Mari by be.Part / shouting.Ins be.Part
meg-zavar-ás-a mindenkit felbőszített.
perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'It made everyone angry *that someone (/Mari) distracted Péter (by shouting)*.'

b'. *Péternek az előadás alatt való meg-zavar-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the lecture under be.Part perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit felbőszített.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'It made everyone angry *that someone distracted Péter during the lecture*.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legfelháborítóbb *(?előadó-)meg-zavar-ás-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_scandalous (lecturer-)perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most scandalous case when someone distracted someone (/a lecturer)*.'

c'. *Az előadónak a (?)(??diákok általi) meg-zavar-ás-a*
the lecturer.Dat the student.Pl by.Attr disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
manapság gyakori.
nowadays usual
'It is usual nowadays *that someone (/the students)continuously disturb(s) the lecturer*.'

c". *Az előadó kiabálással való meg-zavar-ás-a* manapság gyakori.
the lecturer shouting.Ins be.Part perf-disturb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg nowadays usual
'It is usual nowadays *that someone distracts the lecturer by shouting*.'

As is presented in (289b,c") above, the overt appearance of the Theme in the output nominalized phrase—as an instrumental case-marked expression—makes the corresponding variants fully acceptable. This is presumably due to the fact (in addition to telicity) that the overt presence of the instrumental case-marked expression makes it unambiguous that the input to nominalization is the argument structure version given in (289a), and not the one given in (288a).

As for the cases in which the Theme is not present, it is worth comparing the primed examples in (289) and (287). We can discover from (287) that more acceptable variants can be constructed through making the atelic character explicit by means of appropriate adjectives. It seems that here (289b',c') the presence of the perfectivizing preverb *meg* is enough for sufficiently displaying the telic semantic character, and it is obligatory if we insist on displaying this telic character. Note in passing that in this sense the deviant psych-verbs seem to behave differently from the basic verb types, discussed in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3, where SED-nouns were strictly prevented from retaining input preverbs with a mere perfectivizing role (Laczkó 2000a: 315).

The temporal-possessor test (289c), as also in (287c), provides variants which sound artificial and are not easy to evaluate. It seems that in (289c) the presence of the input object is practically obligatory. This is another interesting observation in the case of telic Experiencer-object psych-verbs in the light of the fact that the [+HUMAN] Theme was observed to be omissible (1.3.1.2.2.3). As here the input object is not a Theme but an Experiencer, the difference can be attributed to this difference in thematic roles.

The observation above can be generalized on the whole group of telic Experiencer-object psych-verbs, as is illustrated in (290):

(290) ● Telic Experiencer-object verbs in SED-noun derivation:

a. Ez volt *az évtized legmulatságosabb...*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade funniest*
'This was *the decade's funniest case when...*'

b. ...*(?)*főnök-)fel-bosszant-ás-a*.
(boss-)up-annoy-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*...someone got on someone's (/a boss's) nerves*.'

c. ...*(?)*főnök-)fel-ingerl-és-e*.
(boss-)up-irritate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*...someone irritated someone (/a boss)*.'

d. ...*(?)*főnök-)fel-idegesít-és-e*.
(boss-)up-make_nervous-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*...someone made someone (/a boss) nervous*.'

e. ...*(?)*főnök-)le-csillapít-ás-a*.
(boss-)down-appease-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*...someone calmed down someone (/a boss)*.'

f. ...*(?)*főnök-)fel-vidít-ás-a*.
(boss-)up-cheer-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*...someone cheered someone (/a boss) up*.'

Note in passing that each verb above has an atelic counterpart with no preverb. Presumably for this reason, the presence of the preverbs is obligatory in this group of psych-verbs if we insist on the intended (telic) meaning. If there is no preverb, we obtain less acceptable variants with an undoubtedly atelic meaning (see (287c)).

Let us conclude the subordinate subsection as well as the whole subsection 1.3.1.2.3 with our fourth (and last) group of psych-verbs, where the Experiencer appears as an oblique case-marked noun phrase, leaving the subject grammatical function to the Theme. We are going to demonstrate an atelic representative of the

group, namely, *tetszik* 'please' (291a), and then its telic counterpart *megtetszik* 'perf.please' (292a). It is worth noting that these verbs have no blocking forms, which could serve as alternatives to the regular forms *(meg)tetszés* '(perf)please.ÁS'.

(291) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: I. {Oblique$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Subject$_{\text{Theme}}$} atelic

a. Ili-nek tetszik az új főnök.
Ili-Dat please.3Sg the new boss
'Ili is pleased by the new boss.'

b. *?*Az új főnöknek a (humora miatt való)*
the new boss.Dat the humor.Poss.3Sg because_of be.Part
tetsz-és-e Ilinek mindenkit váratlanul ért.
please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat everyone.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It caught everyone unawares *that Ili was pleased by the new boss (because of his humor)*.'

b'. *?*Az új főnök tetsz-és-e Ilinek* mindenkit meglepett.
the new boss please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It was a surprise to everyone *that Ili was pleased by the new boss*.'

b''. *??Az új főnök Ilinek való tetsz-és-e* mindenkit meglepett.
the new boss Ili.Da be.Part please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Ili liked the new boss*.'

c. *Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb (főnök-)tetsz-és-e egy beosztottnak.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising (boss-)please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg a subordinate.Dat*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most surprising case when someone (/a boss) was liked by a subordinate*.'

c'. *??A főnök tetsz-és-e egy beosztottnak* manapság ritka.
the boss please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg a subordinate.Dat nowadays rare
'It is rare nowadays *that a subordinate likes the boss*.'

It is a shared property of grammaticality judgments in the two series of examples that neither the [postposition + *való*] test (see the (b)-examples in (291-292)) nor the temporal-possessor test (see the (c)-examples in (291-292)) provide sufficiently acceptable variants. If the test contexts themselves are not present, we can try out the potential variants in less complicated grammatical contexts; which shows that the more dynamic telic examples are already "rather acceptable" (292b',b'',c') while their atelic counterparts remain "rather unacceptable" (291b',b'',c').

(292) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: II. {Oblique$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Subject$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic

a. Ili-nek meg-tetszett az új főnök.
Ili-Dat perf- please.Past.3Sg the new boss
'The new boss struck Ili's fancy.'

b. *Az új főnöknek a *?(??humora miatt való)*
the new boss.Dat the humor.Poss.3Sg because_of be.Part
meg-tetsz-és-e Ilinek mindenkit váratlanul ért.
perf-please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat everyone.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
'It caught everyone unawares *that the new boss struck Ili's fancy (because of his humor)*.'

b'. *(?)Az új főnök meg-tetsz-és-e Ilinek* mindenkit meglepett.
the new boss perf-please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that the new boss stroke Ili's fancy*.'

b”. ?*Az új főnök Ilinek való meg-tetsz-és-e* mindenkit meglepett.
the new boss Ili.Da be.Part perf-please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
‘It was a surprise to everyone *that the new boss struck Ili’s fancy*.’

c. Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising*
**(?*főnök-)meg-tetsz-és-e egy beosztottnak.*
(boss-)perf-please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg a subordinate.Dat
‘This was *the decade’s most surprising case when someone (/a boss) struck a subordinate’s fancy*.’

c’. ?*A főnök meg-tetsz-és-e egy beosztottnak* manapság ritka.
the boss perf-please-ÁS-Poss.3Sg a subordinate.Dat nowadays rare
‘It is rare nowadays *that a boss strikes a subordinate’s fancy*.’

This difference between telic and atelic input verbs is in total harmony with our earlier findings. How can we explain the facts that, on the one hand, even the most acceptable variants are not perfect but, on the other hand, there are quite great differences between grammaticality judgments depending on the particular grammatical contexts? A potential answer might be sought exactly in the grammatical complexity discussed above, a salient factor of which is the dative case marking of the Experiencer in the input (as well as in the output) argument structure. This case marking can interfere with the possessor, an important component of nominalized constructions, potentially marked by means of the same case suffix. Note in passing that in cases like this the same content can much more readily be expressed by means of a subordinate clause (in a similar way to the corresponding translations).

1.3.1.2.4. Nominal and verbal properties

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of the verbal and nominal properties of the ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns on the basis of Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV). Subsection 1.3.1.2.4.1 discusses the verbal properties, and subsection 1.3.1.2.4.2 the nominal ones. We will conclude this topic in a separate subsection (1.3.1.2.4.3) with a short summary of the observations and generalizations.

1.3.1.2.4.1. Verbal properties

Let us start with the verbal properties listed in Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV).

I. Tense and mood

Hungarian verbs can express tense and mood, prototypically, in a morphological way (see (293a) and (294a,b)), or, in the case of the future tense, by means of an analytic construction containing an auxiliary, which is optional, as is demonstrated in (293b) below. How can the semantic meaning contribution of tense and mood be retained in the course of ÁS-nominalization?

In harmony with the fact that tense and mood morphemes are inflectional, and not derivational, suffixes, simply there is no morphological way of attaching the derivational suffix *-Ás* to the appropriately inflected verb forms. The intended tense can only be figured out on the basis of such subsidiary grammatical clues as the

presence of preverbs and such temporal adjectives as *tegnapi* ‘yesterday.Adj’ (293a’) and *holnapi* ‘tomorrow.Adj’ (293b’), for instance.

Recall that the “implicit” expression of the future tense, both in verbal constructions (293b) and in constructions headed by ÁS-nouns (293b’), was also illustrated in (276) in 1.3.1.2.3, sub II.

(293) ● ÁS-nominalization of tensed verbs

a. Péter tegnap haza-érkez-ett.
Péter yesterday home-arrive-Past.3Sg
‘Yesterday Péter arrived home.’

a’. Örültünk *Péter tegnapi haza-érkez-és-é-nek.*
be_pleased.Past.1Pl *Péter yesterday.Adj home-arrive-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat*
‘We were pleased *that Péter arrived home yesterday*.’

b. Péter holnap [haza fog érkezni] / [haza-érkezik].
Péter tomorrow home will.3Sg arrive.Inf / home-arrive.3Sg
‘Tomorrow Péter will arrive home.’

b’. Örömmel várjuk *Péter holnapi haza-érkez-és-é-t.*
joy.Ins wait.DefObj.1Pl *Péter tomorrow.Adj home-arrive-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
‘We are looking forward to *Péter arriving home tomorrow*.’

As for expressing mood, again, there is no morphological way of simply attaching the derivational suffix *-Ás* to the appropriately inflected verb forms. Instead, such separate words as *utasítás* ‘instruction’ (294a’), *szándék* ‘intention’ (294b’) and *vágy* ‘desire’ (294c’) can be used to contribute semantic features related to mood (see the corresponding primeless examples).

(294) ● ÁS-nominalization of verbs in different moods

a. Péter, kísér-d haza Mari-t!
Péter accompany-Subj.DefObj.2Sg home Mari-Acc
‘Péter, walk Mari home!’

a’. Mindenkit meglepett Péter utasítása *Mari haza-kísér-és-é-re.*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg Péter instruct.Poss.3Sg *Mari home-accompany-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
‘It was a surprise to everyone that Péter was instructed *to walk Mari home*.’

b. Haza-kísér-né-m Mari-t.
home-accompany-Cond-DefObj.1Sg Mari-Acc
‘I would walk Mari home.’

b’. Mindenkit meglepett Péter szándéka *Mari haza-kísér-és-é-re.*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg Péter intention.Poss.3Sg *Mari home-accompany-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
‘It was a surprise to everyone that Péter intended *to walk Mari home*.’

c. Állandóan lottóz-né-k.
permanently play_the_lottery-Cond-1Sg
‘I would play the lottery on a permanent basis.’

c’. Kiborítasz *az állandó lottóz-ás-i vágyaddal.*
make_angry.2Sg *the permanent play_the_lottery-ÁS-Adj desire.Poss.2Sg.Ins*
‘You make me angry *with your permanent desire to play the lottery*.’

c”. Kiborítasz *az állandó lottóz-hat-né-k-od-dal.*
make_angry.2Sg *the permanent play_the_lottery-Mod-Cond-[1/3]Sg-Poss.2Sg-Ins*
‘You make me angry *with your permanent desire to play the lottery*.’

c”’.*Kiborítasz *az állandó lottóz-hat-ná-l-od-dal.*
make_angry.2Sg *the permanent play_the_lottery-Mod-Cond-2Sg-Poss.2Sg-Ins*
Intended meaning: ‘You make me angry *with your permanent desire to play the lottery*.’

Note in passing that the potential for exploiting—in some way—the input conditional inflection of the verb form in nominalization seems to occur in the special construction illustrated here in (294c”) above. This strange method of nominalization will be discussed in detail in subsection 1.3.1.5. It must be noted here, however, that this construction is not simply the result of the free application of a conversional derivation to arbitrary conditional verb forms (as is exemplified in (294c”’)), but a fixed inseparable derivational suffix *-hAtnék* is attached to the input verb (294c”). Our annotation above presents the diachronic analysis of this derivational suffix, which also contains such obligatory components as the modal suffix *-hAt* ‘can’ and an element *-k*, the exact origin of which is uncertain; it used to refer to the first or, in certain cases, to the third person (Tompa 1959: 482).

Returning to ÁS-nominalization and SED-noun derivation, we can establish that the verbal property of morphologically expressing tense and mood is not characteristic of the resulting constructions.

II. Several paradigms of conjugation

As was discussed in subsections 1.1.1.4.1-1.1.1.4.2, in Hungarian, both verbs and nouns can be provided with suffixes referring to person and number. However, there is a significant difference.

In the case of verbs, “more than two” paradigms are used. First of all, the verb agrees with the subject in number and person. Second, the coexistence of the different paradigms comes from the fact that the verb also encodes such features of the object as its definiteness (1.1.1.4.1) and person (1.1.1.4.2). In the case of nouns, however, there is only one paradigm: the noun head, that is, the possessee, agrees only with the possessor (in number and person). It must be noted, however, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, that the single nominal paradigm does not coincide with either of the verbal paradigms with respect to morphological form. Its certain elements, in the synchronic state of the language, essentially coincide with those of the non-definite paradigm (‘1Pl’ and ‘2Pl’) while others with those of the definite one (‘1Sg’, ‘2Sg’, ‘3Sg’); see subsection 1.1.1.4.1). Entering into diachronic details, however, would far go beyond the scope of this book.

This “one-dimensional” system of agreement may have to do with the fact that, beside a noun head, the possessor is the only “distinguished” dependent, in contrast to the two distinguished dependents of the verb, namely, the subject and the object. The series of examples in (295) below illustrates what happens in the case of ÁS-nominalization (see (295b’) and meaning1 in (295c”)) and SED-noun derivation (see meaning2 in (295c”)): in the output noun phrase only one of the—one (295b) or two (295c-c’)—arguments being “distinguished” in the input argument structures can retain its “distinguished” status (as a possessor). Note that we have taken advantage of the ambiguity of the verb *hallgat* ‘be or remain silent’ / ‘listen to’.

(295) ● Several paradigms of conjugation in the case of verbs *versus* only one paradigm of inflection in the case of nouns

a. Mindenkit kifárasztott...
everyone-Acc make_tired.Past.3Sg
'It has made everyone tired...'

b. ...az, hogy makacsul hallgat-ok / hallgat-sz / hallgat /
that that stubbornly be_silent-1Sg / be_silent-2Sg/ be_silent-3Sg /
hallgat-unk / hallgat-tok / hallgat-nak.
be_silent-1Pl / be_silent-2Pl / be_silent-3Pl
'...that I / you_{Sg} / (s)he / we / you_{Pl} / they remain(s) silent.'

b'. *...a makacs hallgat-ás-om / hallgat-ás-od / hallgat-ás-a /*
the stubborn be_silent-ÁS-Poss.1Sg / be_silent-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / be_silent-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /
hallgat-ás-unk / hallgat-ás-otok / hallgat-ás-uk.
be_silent-ÁS-Poss.1Pl / be_silent-ÁS-Poss.2Pl / be_silent-ÁS-Poss.3Pl
'*...that I / you_{Sg} / (s)he / we / you_{Pl} / they remain(s) silent.*'

c. ...az, hogy engem / téged / mink-et / titek-et figyelmesen hallgasson.
that that I.Acc / you_{Sg}.Acc/ we-Acc / you_{Pl}-Acc attentively listen_to.Subj.3Sg
'...to attentively listen to me / you_{Sg} / us / you_{Pl}.'

c'. ...az, hogy ő-t / ők-et figyelmesen hallgassa.
that that (s)he-Acc / they-Acc attentively listen_to.Subj.DefObj.3Sg
'...to attentively listen to [him/her] / them.'

c". *...a figyelmes hallgat-ás-om / hallgat-ás-od / hallgat-ás-a /*
the attentive listen_to-ÁS-Poss.1Sg / listen_to-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / listen_to-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /
hallgat-ás-unk / hallgat-ás-otok / hallgat-ás-uk.
listen_to-ÁS-Poss.1Pl / listen_to-ÁS-Poss.2Pl / listen_to-ÁS-Poss.3Pl
Meaning1: '*...to attentively listen to me / you_{Sg} / [him/her] / us / you_{Pl} / them.*'
Meaning2: '*...that I / you_{Sg} / (s)he / we / you_{Pl} / they attentively listen(s) to them.*'

On the basis of the data above, we can establish that the Hungarian verbal property of having a "multi-dimensional" system of agreement paradigms is not characteristic of ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions.

III. Separability of verbal modifier

In certain verbal constructions in Hungarian, the verbal modifier can occupy other positions than its usual immediate left-adjacent position to the stem of the verb. At least two positions are involved. First, the verbal modifier can appear after the verb; see the (a)-examples in (296-297). Second, the verbal modifier can remain before the verb but an element can be inserted between them; see the (a)-examples in (298-299). Subsection III is devoted to the question of whether these word-order patterns with a verbal modifier separated from the head are inherited by the corresponding ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions.

Let us start with the Hungarian focus construction, famous for the "inverse" word order with the verb stem preceding the verbal modifier (296a). As is clearly presented in (296b-c) below, neither the ÁS-noun construction (296b) nor the SED-noun construction (296c) can retain this input word-order pattern. Instead, the verbal modifier must occupy the immediate left-adjacent position to the output noun head, that is, the usual prenominal complement position.

(296) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns:
I. Focus construction

a. Csak a határidő után írták *alá* a szerződést.
only the deadline after write.Past.DefObj.3Pl *under* the contract.Acc
'They have signed the contract only AFTER THE DEADLINE!'

b. Na például *a szerződésnek a csak a határidő után való*
well for_instance *the contract.Dat the only the deadline after be.Part*
**[ír-ás-a alá] / ✓[alá-ír-ás-a]*, az nem tetszett.
write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg under / under-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg that not please.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that the contract was signed only AFTER THE DEADLINE,* I did not like that.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized első kizárólagosan online*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade first exclusively online*
**[(szerződés-)ír-ás-a alá] / [*?(✓szerződés-)alá-ír-ás-a].*
(contract-)write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg under / (contract-)under-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It was *the decade's first case when something (/a contract) was signed exclusively ONLINE.*'

Note in passing that the only well-formed SED-noun variant (296c) is the one with a doubly filled prenominal complement zone: the input Theme, due to its [–HUMAN] feature, must also appear explicitly in the SED-noun construction. Here, similar to the examples shown in (242b'-b") in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub IV, the input Theme cannot occupy the immediate left-adjacent position to the output deverbal noun head, obligatorily occupied by the input verbal modifier, but should appear immediately left-adjacent to the sequence formed by these latter two elements, that is, the [verbal modifier + noun] unit.

Remark 7. Progressive aspect also triggers a [verb + preverb] order (cf. (296-297)), as is illustrated in (i) below. If the verbal construction that serves as the basis of ÁS-nominalization is progressive (cf. (486b-b') in 1.3.1.5.1), the preverb should remain postverbally in the output construction, too, in order to express the given aspect. As can be seen in (ii), this requirement can scarcely be satisfied in the case of such preverb-like verbal modifiers as *haza* 'home' ('??') while cannot be satisfied ('*?') in the case of such "less adverbial" old preverbs as *be* 'into'. The intended progressive reading can be expressed at the cost of "(re-)adverbializing" the preverbs or preverb-like verbal modifiers in question by means of *-felé* 'towards' (see (ii) again).

(i) Tavaly ilyenkor Napóleon éppen
last_year this_time Napoleon just
[masírozott *be(felé)* Párizsba] / [utazott *haza(felé)*].
march.Past.3Sg *into(towards)* Paris.Ill / travel.Past.3Sg *home(towards)*
'This time last year Napoleon was just [mak*ing* his *entry* into Paris] / [travel*ing home*].'

(ii) Na például *Napóleon [masíroz-ás-a be*?(?)felé) Párizsba] /*
well for_instance *Napoleon march-ÁS-Poss.3Sg into(towards) Paris.Ill /*
[utaz-ás-a haza??(?felé)] tavaly ilyenkor, az meglepett.
travel-ÁS-Poss.3Sg home(towards) last_year this_time that surprise.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that Napoleon was [just making his entry into Paris] / [traveling home]* this time last year, that was a surprise to me.'

(iii) Na például *Napóleon [be*(?)felé) való masíroz-ás-a Párizsba] /*
well for_instance *Napoleon into(towards) be.Part march-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Paris.Ill /*
[haza(?)felé) való utaz-ás-a] tavaly ilyenkor,*
home(towards) be.Part travel-ÁS-Poss.3Sg last_year this_time
az meglepett.
that surprise.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that Napoleon was [just making his entry into Paris] / [traveling home] this time last year,* that was a surprise to me.'

Another possibility of expressing progressive aspect in an ÁS-noun construction is to place the given adverbialized preverbs into a (prenominal) *való*-construction, as is exemplified in (iii) above. Note that in this position, the original preverb-like form is fully unacceptable (see (iii) again).

Next we will investigate another verbal construction with this "inverse" word-order pattern: the construction of Hungarian sentential negation, illustrated in (297a) below.

It also holds for this case that the verbal modifier cannot appear after the deverbal noun head either in the corresponding output ÁS-noun construction (297b) or in potential SED-noun constructions (297c-c'). We have also attempted to investigate the case of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, exploiting the fact that *aláírás* 'under.write.ÁS' also has a result-denoting interpretation. Here the "inverse" word order is not possible either, as is shown in (297d) below.

(297) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns:
II. Sentential negation

a. Péter nem írta *alá* a szerződést.
Péter not write.Cond.DefObj.3Sg *under* the contract.Acc
'Péter did not sign the contract.'

b. *A szerződésnek a hosszas tárgyalás után való *[nem ír-ás-a alá]/*
the contract.Dat the lenghty negotiation after be.Part not write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg under/
**[nem alá-ír-ás-a] /✓[alá nem ír-ás-a]* mindenkit felháborított.
not under-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / under not write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'It made everyone angry *that the contract has not been signed after the lengthy negotiation.*'

c. Ez volt *az évtized legmeglepőbb *[(szerződés)-nem-ír-ás-a-alá] /*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_surprising (contract)-not-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-under/*
[?(?szerződés-)alá-nem-ír-ás-a] / *?[(szerződés)-nem-alá-ír-ás-a].*
(contract-)under-not-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / (contract)-not-under-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It was *the decade's most surprising case when something (/a contract) has not been signed.*'

c'. Meglepően gyakori manapság *a gondosan előkészített szerződések*
surprisingly frequent nowadays *the carefully arrange.Part contract.Pl*
**[nem ír-ás-a alá] /✓[alá nem ír-ás-a] /??[nem alá-ír-ás-a].*
not write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg under / under not write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / not under-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'*Not signing the carefully arranged contracts* is nowadays surprisingly frequent.'

d. Ez *[nem egy tipikus alá-ír-ás] /*[egy tipikus alá nem ír-ás]*
this *not a typical under-write-ÁS / a typical under not write-ÁS*
**[egy tipikus nem ír-ás alá].*
a typical not write-ÁS under
'This is *not a typical signature.*'

As for the optimal output order of the negative particle (*nem* 'not'), the verbal modifier (*alá* 'under') and the deverbal noun head (*írás* 'write.ÁS'), the three types of nominalized forms behave differently from (297b) to (297d). This observation may be attributed to their decreasing degree of verbalness, on the basis of the following reasons and facts.

In verbal constructions, the word of sentential negation necessarily occupies the immediately left-adjacent position to the verb stem, which can be carried out in two ways. One of the ways, illustrated above in (297a), is the placement of the verbal modifier after the verb stem. There is another way, however, illustrated below in (298), in which the verbal modifier remains before the verb stem, with the negative particle inserted between them. In the case of finite verbs, this pattern serves the purpose of expressing a special emphatic form of negation.

It seems that in the case of ÁS-nominalization (297b), we have to have recourse to this latter pattern (without associating the emphatic meaning contribution with the resulting construction).

In the case of SED-noun derivation, it is also this pattern that provides the optimal solution, the acceptability of which, as usual, depends on the placement of the input object. If the input object can appear as a possessor (297c'), a fully acceptable variant can be obtained. If the application of the temporal-possessor test forces us to place the input object in a (doubly filled) prenominal complement zone (297c), no fully acceptable variants can be obtained.

There is an alternative word-order pattern with the verbal modifier immediately preceding the output deverbal noun head and preceded by the negative particle. This pattern seems to be not fully unacceptable in the case of SED-nouns (297c-c'), in contrast to the case of ÁS-nouns (297b). In the case of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (297d), however, it is exactly this pattern that can provide an acceptable word-order variant. Here the input verbal modifier cannot be detached from the immediate left-adjacent position to the stem; neither via placing the verbal modifier after the stem nor separating them by inserting the negative particle between them.

(298) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns:
III. Emphatic negation

Péter	*alá*	**nem**	írná	a	szerződést!
Péter	*under*	**not**	write.Cond.DefObj.3Sg	the	contract.Acc

'Péter would not (be willing to) sign the contract!'

We conclude subsection III with another verbal construction with an inserted grammatical element between the verbal modifier and the verb stem (299a). The element in question is a special, "emphatic", version of *is* 'also'. Note in passing that the more intensively studied quantifying use of *is* 'also' (illustrated, for instance, in (13) in 1.1.1.3.4) does not show the "discontinuous" word-order pattern in question.

Note, further, that the *is* 'also' in (299b) below in the variant marked by '#' can be interpreted only in this latter, now non-intended, meaning. The intended meaning with the emphatic interpretation of *is* 'also' cannot be expressed in any kind of ÁS-noun construction (299b). That is, the exact method of referring to an input state of affairs simply cannot be carried out by means of a nominalized construction. Given that the discussed *is*-construction seems to be strictly bound to particular complex

events, we have not attempted to construct examples for potential SED-noun variants.

(299) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns:
IV. Construction with an inserted *is* 'also'

a. Határidőn belül elkészítették,
deadline.Sup within prepare.Past.DefObj.3Pl
sőt az ünnepek előtt *alá* **is** írták a szerződést!
moreover the holiday.Pl before *under* **also** write.Past.DefObj.3Pl the contract.Acc
'The contract had been prepared within the deadline, and, moreover, it had even been signed before the holidays!'

b. Örülök *a szerződés határidőn belül való*
be_pleased.1Sg *the contract deadline.Sup within be.Part*
**[alá is ír-ás-á-nak] / #[alá-ír-ás-á-nak is].*
under also write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat / under-write-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Dat also
Intended meaning: 'I am pleased *that the contract has (even) been signed within the deadline*.'

We can establish on the basis of the data above that the separability of verbal modifiers from heads, characteristic of certain verbal constructions, is characteristic of ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions only to a low degree (rejecting the "inverse" word-order pattern, for instance), with a quite slight difference between these two nominalized constructions. As for non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, they are so "irreversibly nominal" that their input components cannot be separated any more.

IV. Presence and obligatoriness of arguments

In this subsection we give a global picture of the observations concerning argument-structure inheritance in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns. The main points were given in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.1, and subsections 1.3.1.2.2.3 and 1.3.1.2.3 provided several further details.

The group of ÁS-nouns can essentially be characterized by the "as complete as possible" retainment of the argument structure of the input verb in harmony with the defining property that they are intended to express the same complex events as the corresponding input verbs (Laczkó 2000a).

The oblique arguments retain their syntactic functions and obligatory or optional status. Verbal modifiers also retain their syntactic positions in the sense that their output counterparts appear immediately left-adjacent to the (noun) head.

The non-oblique arguments must undergo some change parallel with the change in category from V to ÁS-noun, since nouns have a single "distinguished" syntactic function, namely the possessor, instead of the two "distinguished" syntactic functions at the disposal of the verb. The group of ÁS-nouns can be characterized by an unambiguously predictable calculation of the filler of the possessor position, out of the input subject and object, depending on the type of the input argument structure, as was reviewed in detail in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3. The crucial rule is that, if the input argument structure contains an object, it will occupy the output possessor position, rendering the input subject optional ("at best"); otherwise, the possessor will correspond to the input subject, which remains obligatory (or reconstructable), in harmony with the tendency to retain the denotatum, that is, the complex event the input verb with its argument structure refers to.

SED-nouns, however, only partially inherit the argument structure of the input verb. They basically inherit the oblique arguments, but with a decreasing degree of obligatoriness (that is, originally optional oblique arguments remain optional arguments while certain obligatory arguments turn into optional ones). Verbal modifiers also basically retain their syntactic positions in the sense that their output counterparts also appear immediately left-adjacent to the (noun) head. Preverbs with only perfectivizing function are the exceptions: they typically must be omitted.

As for the "distinguished" arguments in the input argument structure (namely, the subject and the object), their appearance in the output SED-noun construction is basically free, in harmony with the fact that SED-nouns refer to types of events, instead of fully specified complex events. Nevertheless, [–HUMAN] Themes, for instance, in contrast to [+HUMAN] ones, must appear in the output SED-noun construction (presumably in order to make the event type "sufficiently defined" in a somewhat obscure sense). This is typically possible in two ways: they can appear in the possessor position or in the prenominal complement zone of the SED-noun head. This latter possibility can lead to doubly filled prenominal zones, which (somewhat surprisingly) is permissible depending on the type of the input argument structure.

The same can be formulated as follows with respect to the output possessor, if any at all (NB: the possessor is not obligatory in the case of SED-nouns): The possessor may be interpreted as the Theme of the input verb, or as the Agent, or also as such participants which are in a loose semantic relation with the SED-noun.

A further argument in favor of regarding the group of SED-nouns (and ÁS-nouns, too, to a certain extent) as "less verbal" with respect to argument-structure inheritance is as follows: we have observed input argument structures which are so complex that they do not tolerate SED-noun derivation (or ÁS-nominalization). There are two particular reasons for this incompatibility. First, the output construction ought to satisfy too many formal requirements to be reconciled (see (264c-c") in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI, for instance). Second, the intricate output construction does not make it possible to reconstruct relevant components of the input meaning (see (274b-c') in subsection I and (288b-c') in subsection V, both in subsection 1.3.1.2.3).

As for argument-structure inheritance in the group of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, Laczkó (2000a: 332) claims that they do not inherit the argument structure of the input verb (with sporadic exceptions).

SED-nouns, thus, not surprisingly, occupy an in-between position on the scale with the group of verbs at one end, from which the group of ÁS-nouns is not very far, and—at the other end—the group of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, which are not different from "normal" (non-deverbal) nouns in the relevant respect.

V. Accusative case-marked arguments

In contrast to verbs (and such non-finite verb-like categories as participles, converbs and infinitives), nouns can be characterized by the prohibition against Accusative case marking on their immediate dependents. In this respect, ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns unambiguously belong to the family of nouns. The input object appears in

these constructions either as a possessor or as a prenominal complement without any overt case marking.

As was illustrated in examples (259) and (261) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI, sporadic counterexamples can be found only if certain idioms and idiom-like expressions are nominalized. In such cases, some straightforward tension emerges between the principle of the retainment of the (formal) internal integrity typical of idioms, on the one hand, and the prohibition of the Accusative case marking beside nouns, on the other hand. Nevertheless, only in the case of a small minority of idioms does the former principle prevail, since there are two further "solutions" to the tension (i.e., the latter principle prevails, or no well-formed ÁS-noun or SED-noun constructions are obtained). We have also observed in connection with example (261) that the "more verbal" ÁS-nouns tolerate the appearance of the Accusative case marking, at least to a somewhat greater extent (especially in the presence of the [postposition + *való*] context) than the "more nominal" SED-nouns.

VI. Adverbial modification

In contrast to verbs (and such non-finite verb-like categories as participles, converbs and infinitives), nouns can be characterized by the prohibition against adverbial modification belonging immediately to the noun head. In this respect, ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns unambiguously belong to the family of nouns. The input adverbs appear as adjectives in these constructions (see 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub IV).

Sporadic counterexamples can be found only in cases in which the adverb appears as a verbal modifier in the input verbal construction (300-301). In such cases, some tension emerges between a "faithfulness" requirement according to which the precise input form of verbal modifiers is preferred (similar to oblique case-marked arguments; see examples (263-266) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI), on the one hand, and the prohibition of adverbial modification, on the other hand.

Theoretically, there are three solutions to this tension.

The first possibility is when the latter principle prevails, and the deverbal nominal can be modified only by adjectives (and not by adverbs). This case will be elaborated in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub IV, which is devoted to the discussion of adjectival modification.

The second possibility is when the former principle prevails, which requires the faithful retainment of the input. Let us consider the examples in (300) below. The input adverb *jól* 'well' (300a) is not replaced with its adjectival counterpart *jó* 'good' either in the ÁS-noun construction (300a') or in the SED-noun construction (300a"). The same holds for the input converb *nyitva* 'open.Conv' (300b): it is replaced with its participial counterpart *nyitott* 'open.Part' neither in the ÁS-noun construction (300b') nor in the SED-noun construction (300b"). Note in passing, nevertheless, that, in contrast to adverbs used as verbal modifiers in the input verbal construction (see 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub IV), a converb is never replaced with a corresponding participle or adjective (or anything else) in the course of ÁS-nominalization or SED-noun derivation (see also (100f") in 1.1.2.1).

(300) ● Potential adverbial modification of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns I.

a. Mari *jól* tartja Pétert az ünnepek alatt.
Mari *well* keep.DefObj.3Sg Péter.Acc the holiday.Pl under
'Mari takes every care of Péter during the holidays.'

a'. *Péternek az ünnepek alatt való *jó /ˇjól tart-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the holiday.Pl under be.Part good / well keep-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
sokba kerül Marinak.
much.Ill cost.3Sg Mari.Dat
'*Taking every care of Péter during the holidays* costs a lot for Mari.'

a''. *Egy rokonnak az ünnepek alatti *jó /ˇjól tart-ás-a*
a relative.Dat the holiday.Pl under.Attr good / well keep-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindig sokba kerül.
always much.Ill cost.3Sg
'*Taking every care of a relative during the holidays* always costs a lot.'

b. A bolt *nyit-va* tartott az ünnepek alatt.
the shop *open-Conv* keep.Past.3Sg the holiday.Pl under
'The shop was open during the holidays.'

b'. *A boltnak az ünnepek alatt való *nyit-ott /ˇnyit-va tart-ás-a*
the shop.Dat the holiday.Pl under be.Part open-Part / open-Conv keep-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
sokba kerül Marinak.
much.Ill cost.3Sg Mari.Dat
'*Keeping the shop open during the holidays* costs a lot to Mari.'

b''. *Egy boltnak az ünnepek alatti *nyitott /ˇnyitva tart-ás-a*
a shop.Dat the holiday.Pl under.Attr opened / open keep-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindig sokba kerül.
always much.Ill cost.3Sg
'*Keeping a shop open during the holidays* always costs a lot.'

The potential third "solution of the language" to the tension between "faithful mapping" and "excluded adverbs" is when there is no solution at all, in the sense that the input verbal construction in question does not readily undergo nominalization. Example (301) illustrates this case.

(301) ● Potential adverbial modification of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns II.

a. Péter *udvarias-an* bánik a vendégekkel az ünnepek alatt.
Péter *polite-Adv* treat.3Sg the guest.Pl.Ins the holiday.Pl under
'Péter treated the guests *politely* during the holidays.'

a'. *Péternek az ünnepek alatt való [udvarias*?(?-an) bán-ás-a] /*
Péter.Dat the holiday.Pl under be.Part polite(-Adv) treat-ÁS-Poss.3Sg /
[udvarias??(-an) bán-ás-mód-ja] a vendégekkel* mindenkit meglepett.
polite(-Adv) treat-ÁS-manner-Poss.3Sg the guest.Pl.Ins everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter treated the guests politely during the holidays*.'

a''. *A vendégekkel való [udvarias*?(??-an) bán-ás] /*
the guest.Dat be.Part polite(-Adv) treat-ÁS /
[udvarias(?)(-an) bán-ás-mód]* manapság ritka.
polite(-Adv) treat-ÁS-manner nowadays rare
'It is rare nowadays *that guests are treated politely*.'

As the grammaticality judgments above demonstrate, neither the input adverb (301a) in its original form (*udvariasan* 'polite.Adv') nor its adjectival counterpart (*udvarias* 'polite') provide fully acceptable ÁS-noun and SED-noun variants (301a'-a").

Note in passing that a possible way out of this situation is to have recourse to the compound noun *bánásmód* 'treat.ÁS.manner' (see also (100f') in 1.1.2.1). Primarily, this is to be classified as an abstract (style-denoting) non-eventive *Ás*-noun, which seems to serve here as a "blocking" form. As ÁS-nouns cannot be blocked (as a rule, with sporadic counterexamples amongst deviant input verbal constructions; see example (282) in 1.3.1.2.3, sub V), the compound noun in question provides more acceptable variants in SED-noun constructions (301a") than in ÁS-noun constructions (301a').

VII. Information structure

This long subsection is devoted to the question of the inheritance of the Hungarian information structure typical of verbal constructions by ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, in the light of the fact that the logical, pragmatic and formal aspects of this system are highly complex and extremely sophisticated.

The basic issue then is whether this intricate complexity can be accommodated in the noun phrase structure, which is simpler, or at least complex in another way. It will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapters, for instance, which position inside the Hungarian noun phrase structure can readily host which particular operator—since it will turn out that different operators are hosted in different positions (see Tables 69 and 70 in 2.2.1.4). This restrictive factor is to be considered together with the restriction on which different kinds of arguments—namely, possessors *versus* non-possessors—are hosted in different positions (illustrated in examples (129-130) in 1.1.3.1). The combined effect of these two independent restrictions obviously forms a major obstacle to information-structure inheritance.

Let us start the overview of information-structure inheritance with the determiner *mind* 'every', by means of which we obtained valuable data in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.2 to distinguish ÁS-nouns from SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns. This distinction has been made on the basis of the observation that ÁS-nouns are capable of inheriting information structure, SED-nouns are capable of this only partially (only in the case of non-possessor arguments (306-307)), while non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (similar to "normal" nouns) are incapable of doing so.

The series of examples shown in (302) below presents the difference between the three types of noun as follows.

The "quantified" state of affairs denoted by the argument structure shown in (302a) can also be denoted by the ÁS-noun construction in (302a'), which can be regarded as the narrow-scope reading of the sentence in question. This sentence (302a'), nevertheless, is ambiguous: it has another reading, which can be called its wide-scope reading. The corresponding translation is intended to elucidate the "wide" scope of the quantifier: something is claimed to be true inside the information structure that belongs to the matrix verbal construction *váratlanul ér* 'catch unawares'. The meaning, thus, is not that both girls were invited (together) but that something caught Imi unawares in the case of both girls (namely, two

different invitations, or more precisely, two invitations which are not necessarily regarded as the same).

Let us now turn to the SED-noun construction demonstrated in (302b'). Recall that the criterion on the basis of which something is to be regarded as a SED-noun construction is the identification of the possessor with the Agent of the input argument structure (302b), and not the Theme (302a'), discussed in subsection IV, among others. This difference in the distribution of roles between (302b') and (302a') cannot prevent us from constructing readings analogous to the narrow-scope and the wide-scope ones in (302a'). The corresponding translations given in (302b') show the perfect, completely realistic, potential readings. The sentence in (302b'), however, is unambiguous. It can be associated only with the wide-scope reading, and the narrow-scope interpretation of the sentence in (302b') is not available.

This observation can be construed as follows: *meghívás* 'invitation', as a SED-noun, does not function as a predicate on which we can build an internal-scope taking possessor serving as a quantifier. The quantifier can only be construed as hosted in the information structure of the matrix verb. In contrast to this SED-noun variant, however, the ÁS-noun variant was capable of hosting the possessor in its own information structure, due to its inherited thematic character, yielding the narrow-scope reading discussed in connection with (302a').

(302) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns: I. Quantifier *mind* 'every'

a. Mindkét lányt meghívták a koncertre.
both girl.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl the concert.Sub
[BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'They invited both girls to the concert.'

a'. Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[mindkét lánynak]$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
both girl.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
narrow-scope reading: [CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *both girls had been invited to the concert*.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_GIRLS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'*In the case of both girls*, it caught Imi unawares that *they had been invited to the concert*.'

b. Mindkét lány meghívta Imit a koncertre.
both girl invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc the concert.Sub
[BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'Both girls invited Imi to the concert.'

b'. Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[mindkét lánynak]$_{\text{Agent}}$ *a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
both girl.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught Imi unawares that *both girls had invited him to the concert*.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_GIRLS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'*In the case of both girls*, it caught Imi unawares that *they had invited him to the concert*.'

c. Imi megvenné *[mindkét lánynak] a lak-ás-á-t.*
Imi buy.Cond.DefObj.3Sg *both girl.Dat the live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[WOULD_BUY > BOTH_GIRLS > FLAT]
Intended meaning: 'Imi would buy *the flat owned by the two girls together*. (NB: there are also flats separately owned by the girls)'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_GIRLS > WOULD_BUY > FLAT]
'*In the case of both girls*, Imi would buy *the flat owned by them*.'

We can also raise the theoretical possibility of constructing a wide-scope and a narrow-scope reading in the case of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns as well (302c), by analogy with the investigated ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions. According to the potential narrow-scope reading, the word *lakás* 'flat' should be regarded as a predicate on which an "own" information structure has been built to host the corresponding quantifier. The resulting potential interpretation is not irrealistic at all: the two girls possess many flats, together as well as separately, and here such a flat is referred to as is possessed by the two girls together.

Not surprisingly, however, the (free) possessor of the non-eventive *Ás*-noun construction (302c) behaves in the same way as that of the SED-noun construction (302b): in both cases, the narrow-scope reading is totally excluded. The sentence in question (302c) is unambiguous. The only interpretation is the one in which the quantification immediately belonging to the possessor of the non-eventive *Ás*-noun pertains to the whole noun phrase headed by the non-eventive *Ás*-noun and, hence, to be interpreted on the level of the finite verb, that is, inside the information structure that can be built on the verb. Compared to the above-discussed reading, this latter one can be construed as a wide-scope reading; though no-one would call it such, since the potential narrow-scope reading, systematically, does not exist.

What happens if the input verbal construction in the test is chosen to have an information structure that contains a focus instead of the above-discussed quantifier? Will we obtain the same distinctive difference between the three types of noun?

The "focused" state of affairs denoted by the argument structure shown in (303a) can also be denoted by the ÁS-noun construction in (303a'), which can be regarded as the narrow-scope reading of the sentence in question. For this sentence (303a'), we can also construct a potential wide-scope reading, in which the focus would belong not to an information structure built on (the ÁS-noun-predicate variant of) *meghívás* 'invitation' but to an information structure built on the matrix verb (see the corresponding translations). Here, however, the sentence in question (303a') is unambiguous (cf. (302a')). This is due to the "explicitness" of the Hungarian focus: the focused constituent cannot be interpreted in any other way than that which the word order suggests. Here, therefore, the wide-scope reading is excluded.

The same holds for the case in which the deverbal noun *meghívás* 'invitation' is regarded as a SED-noun, and the possessor is identified with the Agent in the input argument structure (303b). It is predicted, thus, that there is no wide-scope reading available. It is also predicted, however, that there is no narrow-scope reading available, on the basis of our observation above that the free possessor of a SED-noun is incapable of taking internal scope. These two generalizations correctly

predict that example (303b') simply cannot be associated with any meaning, and it is an ill-formed sequence of words.

(303) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns: II. Focus

a. Csak Marit hívták meg a koncertre.
only Mari.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf the concert.Sub
[ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'They invited only MARI to the concert.'

a'. Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[csak Marinak]$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
only Mari.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
narrow-scope reading: [CATCH_UNAWARES > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *only MARI had been invited to the concert*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ONLY_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: '*It is only in the case of MARI* that it caught Imi unawares that *she had been invited to the concert*.'

b. Csak Mari hívta meg Imit a koncertre.
only Mari invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Imi.Acc the concert.Sub
[ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'Only MARI invited Imi to the concert.'

b'. *Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[csak Marinak]$_{\textit{Agent}}$ *a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
only Mari.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught Imi unawares that *it was only MARI who had invited him to the concert*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ONLY_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: '*It is only in the case of MARI* that it caught Imi unawares that *she had invited him to the concert*.'

c. *Imi megvenné *[csak Marinak] a lak-ás-á-t.*
Imi buy.Cond.DefObj.3Sg *only Mari.Dat the live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[WOULD_BUY > ONLY_MARI > FLAT]
Intended meaning: 'Imi would buy *the flat owned by only MARI*. (NB: there is also a flat owned by Mari and others together.)'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ONLY_MARI > WOULD_BUY > FLAT]
Intended meaning: '*It is only in the case of MARI* whom Imi would buy *the flat owned by her*.'

Here, again, let us scrutinize the theoretical possibility of constructing a wide-scope and a narrow-scope reading in the case of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns as well (303c), by analogy with the corresponding ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions. The potential narrow-scope reading would contain reference to a flat owned by Mari alone, out of flats owned, say, by Mari and others. This reading is perfectly realistic: Imi would only buy flats owned by a single person, instead of obscure groups of possessors.

We obtain exactly what is predicted: the non-eventive *Ás*-noun construction (303c) behaves in the same way as the SED-noun construction (303b): in both cases, both the narrow-scope reading and the wide-scope reading are excluded; thus the example in (303c) is ill-formed (also see Farkas, Szabó and Alberti 2015).

To sum up at this point, the "inheritance" of a quantifier is different from that of a focus in the course of different kinds of nominalization; nevertheless, the difference between ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns manifests itself in the same way. Only ÁS-nouns are capable of inheriting information structure from the input verbal construction, given that now possessors are considered. Note that the unacceptability of the corresponding potential SED-noun (303b') and non-eventive *Ás*-noun (303c) constructions simply comes from the fact that their (free) possessors are not capable of inheriting information structure from the input verbal construction. Thus the reason for unacceptability does not have to do with the placement of the focus in the NAK possessor position, since this is the preferred "landing site" of foci, of the possible noun-phrase-internal positions (see Table 69 in 2.2.1.4). We claim (without further illustration) that the placement of the focused possessor in other noun-phrase-internal positions could not yield acceptable SED-noun and non-eventive *Ás*-noun constructions either.

Now let us run this kind of test in the case of another quantifier, the one containing the particle *is* 'also' (304). The ideal noun-phrase-internal context for an *is*-phrase is when it is hosted in the postnominal complement zone (see 2.1.1.4.2 and cf. Table 69 in 2.2.1.4), and hence it is worth inspecting in dislocated 'for instance'-constructions in order to avoid uncertainty about whether it actually occupies a complement position that belongs to the non-deverbal noun and not a complement position that belongs to the matrix verb itself (see (648) in subsection 2.1.1.1). This special placement, however, due to the definite delimitation of the 'for instance'-construction, excludes the possibility of the wide-scope reading, which renders the case of *is*-quantifiers (304) similar to that of focus (303), instead of the case of *mind*-quantifiers (302).

Hence, it is predicted that the ÁS-noun variant (304a') is unambiguous (having only the narrow-scope reading) while the potential SED-noun (304b') and non-eventive *Ás*-noun (304c) variants have no meaning at all. That is, examples (304b',c) are predicted to be ill-formed. Note in passing, for the sake of clarity, that in the (c)-example in this test, the potential narrow-scope reading characterizes Imi by his strange inclination towards preferably buying flats the possessors of which Mari belongs to, but not alone (304c).

As the grammaticality judgments below show, all these predictions on the difference between ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns in information-structure inheritance (with respect to possessors) is borne out entirely.

(304) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns: III. Quantifier *is* 'also'

a. Marit is meghívták a koncertre.
Mari.Acc also invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl the concert.Sub
[ALSO_MARI > INVITE]
'They also invited Mari to the concert.'

a'. Na például *a koncertre való meghív-ás-a [Marinak is]*$_{\text{Theme}}$,
well for_instance *the concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Mari.Dat also*
az váratlanul érte Imit.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
narrow-scope reading: [CATCH_UNAWARES > ALSO_MARI > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *in the case of Mari*, it caught Imi unawares that *she, too*, *had been invited to the concert (in addition to those who had already been known by Imi to have been invited)*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ALSO_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *also in the case of Mari (in addition to, say, Juli)*, it caught Imi unawares that *she had been invited to the concert*.'

b. Mari is meghívta Imit a koncertre.
Mari also invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc the concert.Sub
[ALSO_MARI > INVITE]
'Mari, too, invited Imi to the concert.'

b'. *Na például *a koncertre való meghív-ás-a [Marinak is]*$_{\text{Agent}}$,
well for_instance *the concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Mari.Dat also*
az váratlanul érte Imit.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > ALSO_MARI > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *in the case of Mari*, it caught Imi unawares that *she, too, had invited him to the concert (in addition to those who had already been known by Imi to have invited him)*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ALSO_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *also in the case of Mari (in addition to, say, Juli)*, it caught Imi unawares that *she had invited him to the concert*.'

c. *Na például *a lak-ás-át [Marinak is]*,
well for_instance *the live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc Mari.Dat also*
azt megvenné Imi.
that.Acc buy.Cond.DefObj.3Sg Imi
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[WOULD_BUY > ALSO_MARI > FLAT]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *in the case of Mari*, Imi would buy *the flat owned by her and others*. (NB: there is also a flat owned by Mari alone.)'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ALSO_MARI > WOULD_BUY > FLAT]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *in the case of Mari*, Imi would buy *her flat, too*.'

As was observed in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.2, even SED-noun constructions can be assigned narrow-scope readings, in the case of inherited non-possessor arguments (see examples (230b) and (231b) in 1.3.1.2.2.2 and subsections 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.2.1). In (306a), the temporal-possessor test verifies the SED-noun status, triggering an event-type interpretation due to (implicit) quantification over time, instead of the basic interpretation in which a particular complex event is referred to. In (307a), the general meaning with its implicit quantification over interested parties ("event type as abstract target") is intended to force the SED-noun interpretation.

Now let us test the three "input" operators (305) overviewed above in (302-304) in the case of derivations resulting in members of the group of SED-nouns (306-307). We are, thus, going to start with a verbal information structure containing the *mind*-quantifier (305a). Then verbal information structures with a focus construction (305b) and an *is*-quantifier (305c) will be presented, retaining the order of the investigation applied above in (302-304).

(305) ● Inheritance of information structure in the case of non-possessor arguments of SED-nouns: I. Input sentences

a. Minden körzetben állítottak jelöltet.
every district.Ine nominate.Past.3Pl candidate.Acc
[IN_EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]
'They nominated a candidate in every district.'

b. Csak a budapesti körzetekben állítottak jelöltet.
only the Budapest.Adj district.Pl.Ine nominate.Past.3Pl candidate.Acc
[ONLY_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_BP > NOMINATE]
'They nominated a candidate only IN THE DISTRICTS OF BUDAPEST.'

c. A kisvárosi körzetekben is állítottak jelöltet.
the small_town.Adj district.Pl.Ine also nominate.Past.3Pl candidate.Acc
[EVEN_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_ST'S > NOMINATE]
'They nominated a candidate even in the districts of small towns.'

Let us compare the grammaticality judgments associated with the SED-noun variants interpreted with a narrow scope (306b-c') to the grammaticality judgment associated with the example illustrating the case of the input *mind*-quantifier (306a).

Note, first of all, that (as was mentioned in connection with (304) above) *is*-quantifiers cannot easily find ideal positions inside noun phrases (see 2.2.1.4). The *való*-construction, for instance (306c), which has proved to readily host the SED-noun's non-possessor argument with an operator feature in (306a-b) below, is not suitable for hosting the *is*-quantifier, presumably due to the undesirable adjacency between the particle *is* 'also/even' and the participle *való* 'be.Part'. That is why, in the test, the input *is*-quantifier is used in the complement zone of the SED-noun, and the entire phrase is placed in a 'for instance'-construction, in order to guarantee the desired narrow-scope reading. Note that this delimited construction placed in the dislocated position makes the wide-scope reading impossible (NB: the study of the wide-scope reading is irrelevant here, since the inheritance of input information structure can be "discovered" in the output narrow-scope reading).

Apart from this, we can conclude that the group of SED-noun constructions in question (with non-possessor potential internal-scope takers) can essentially inherit any kind of input information structure (though the resulting variants are undoubtedly somewhat artificial). The quite acceptable narrow-scope readings in (306a,b,c') can serve as evidence for this generalization. As was mentioned above in connection with (306c'), the potential wide-scope readings, shown by the corresponding translations, are irrelevant for information-structure inheritance. Anyway, their unacceptable status, observed below (306a-c), has to do with the *való*-construction, which will be thoroughly discussed in subsections 2.2.1.1.1 and 2.2.1.1.2.

(306) ● Inheritance of information structure in the case of non-possessor arguments of SED-nouns: II. Temporal-possessor test

a. (?)A pártvezetőt büszkeséggel töltötte el
the party_leader.Acc pride.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away
az évtized első minden körzetben való jelölt-állít-ás-a.
the decade first every district.Ine be.Part candidate-nominate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [PROUD > IN_EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]
'The party leader felt proud of *the decade's first case when a candidate was nominated in every district*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[IN_EACH_DISTRICT > PROUD > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: '*In the case of every district*, the party leader felt proud of *the decade's first case when a candidate was nominated in that particular district*.'

b. (?)A pártvezető szerint súlyos kudarc *az évtized első*
the party_leader according_to serious failure *the decade first*
csak a budapesti körzetekben való jelölt-állít-ás-a.
only the Budapest.Adj district.Pl.Ine be.Part candidate-nominate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [FAILURE > ONLY_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_BP > NOMINATE]
'The party leader *thinks the decade's first case when a candidate was nominated only in the districts of Budapest* to be a serious failure.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ONLY_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_BP > FAILURE > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: 'The party leader thinks *the decade's first case when a candidate was nominated in certain districts* to be a serious failure. *These districts are only the districts of Budapest*.'

c. *?A pártvezetőt büszkeséggel töltötte el *az évtized első*
the party_leader.Acc pride.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away *the decade first*
a kisvárosi körzetekben is való jelölt-állít-ás-a.
the small_town.Adj district.Ine also be.Part candidate-nominate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *?[PROUD > EVEN_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_ST'S > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: 'The party leader felt proud of *the decade's first case when a candidate was nominated even in the districts of small towns*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[EVEN_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_ST'S > PROUD > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: '*Even in the case of the districts of small towns*, the party leader felt proud of *the first case in this decade when a candidate was nominated in that particular district*.'

c'. ?Na például *az évtized első jelölt-állít-ás-a a kisvárosi*
well for_instance *the decade first candidate-nominate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the small_town.Adj*
körzetekben is, az büszkeséggel töltötte el a pártvezetőt.
district.Pl.Ine also that pride.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away the party.Pl.Dat
narrow-scope reading: [PROUD > EVEN_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_ST'S > NOMINATE]
'Well for instance, *the decade's first case when a candidate was also nominated in the districts of small towns*, that is what the party leader felt proud of.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[EVEN_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_ST'S > PROUD > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *even in the case of the districts of small towns*, the party leader felt proud of *the fact that a candidate was nominated in such districts*.'

The other group of SED-nouns (also containing non-possessor potential internal-scope takers), which are constructed via ways of quantifying or generalizing other than over times, can also inherit any kind of input information structure, witnessed by the narrow-scope readings in (307a-c) below. Moreover, the resulting variants are practically perfect, presumably due to the elimination of the cumbersome temporal-possessor construction. Note in passing that the (irrelevant) wide-scope

readings (307a-c) are still impossible, for the same reasons hinted above in connection with (306a-c').

(307) ● Inheritance of information structure in the case of non-possessor arguments of SED-nouns: III. Examples quantified not temporally ("general aim")

a. *A minden körzetben való jelölt-állít-ás*
the every district.Ine be.Part candidate-nominate-ÁS
csak a legnagyobb pártoknak reális cél.
only the largest party.Pl.Dat realistic goal
narrow-scope reading: [GOAL > IN_EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]
'It is a realistic goal only for the largest parties *to nominate a candidate in every district*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[IN_EACH_DISTRICT > GOAL > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: '*In the case of every district*, it is a realistic goal only for the largest parties *to nominate a candidate in that particular district*.'

b. *A csak a budapesti körzetekben való jelölt-állít-ás*
the only the Budapest.Adj district.Pl.Ine be.Part candidate-nominate-ÁS
a kisebb pártoknak is reális cél.
the smaller party.Pl.Dat also realistic goal
narrow-scope reading: [GOAL > ONLY_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_BP > NOMINATE]
'It is a realistic goal even for the smaller parties *to nominate a candidate only IN THE DISTRICTS OF BUDAPEST*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ONLY_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_BP > GOAL > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: '*It is only in the case of the districts of Budapest* that it is a realistic goal even for the smaller parties to nominate a candidate in it.'

c. Na például *a jelölt-állít-ás a kisvárosi körzetekben is,*
well for_instance *the candidate-nominate-ÁS the small_town.Adj district.Pl.Ine also*
az csak a legnagyobb pártoknak reális cél.
that only the largest party.Pl.Dat realistic goal
narrow-scope reading: [GOAL > EVEN_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_ST'S > NOMINATE]
'Well for instance, *the districts of small towns*, it is a realistic goal only for the largest parties *to nominate a candidate even in such districts*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[EVEN_IN_DISTRICTS_OF_ST'S > GOAL > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *even in the case of districts of small towns*, it is a realistic goal only for the largest parties *to nominate a candidate in such districts*.'

In the following five series of examples (308-312), the inheritance of complex information structures will be tested. By this we mean that the input information structure contains (at least) two operators, the relative scope of which is unambiguously coded in Hungarian in the preverbal word order. The inheritance of these scope hierarchies is also worth testing.

In this subsection we will restrict ourselves to ÁS-nouns, with the comment that the group of SED-nouns with two non-possessor potential internal-scope takers (306-307) is theoretically as suitable for hosting complex information structures as ÁS-nouns; the above-discussed peculiarities of the internal structure of these SED-nouns, however, practically makes it so difficult for them to host intricate information structures that the resulting "artificial" variants are not worth studying separately (at least in this book).

Let us start with an input information structure that consists of a focus and a *mind*-quantifier in its scope (308a). It should also be considered that here, in (308a-a') below, the oblique case-marked Goal argument performs the information-

structural function of the focus while the Theme, expressed as an object in the input argument structure in (308a) and a possessor in the output structure in (308a'), plays the function of the *mind*-quantifier. These factors are all relevant because possessors and non-possessors are hosted in different noun-phrase-internal positions (illustrated in examples (129-130) in 1.1.3.1), and, independently of this, different operators also prefer different noun-phrase-internal positions, whilst their input scope hierarchy also needs to be retained in some way. These requirements are all to be reconciled, that is the task we face.

Note that in this subsection, where the question of information-structure inheritance itself is discussed as a "verbal property", we usually restrict ourselves to the investigation of the inheritance of fixed "intended meanings" (based on particular input scope hierarchies). Therefore, we do not investigate whether the resulting variants have other readings (based on other potential input scope hierarchies) than the intended one. The background for this comment is the fact that, especially when placed in the post-head zone, operators are likely to be interpreted ambiguously between a surface-scope reading and an inverse-scope reading (see (312)). This possibility, thus, can serve as a good means of expressing certain scope hierarchies. While we will not ignore this, we will not be scrutinizing the systematically emerging ambiguity in the case of the resulting sentence variants.

There is another problem with test sentences in which an operator is intended to be placed in the postnominal complement zone: it is not easy to decide whether the syntactic position of the given operator is inside the noun phrase in harmony with our intention, or whether it is in the complement zone of the matrix verb, outside the noun phrase. In order to avoid any uncertainty, such noun phrases with an operator after the noun head will be tested in the dislocated 'for instance'-construction, which surely holds the noun phrase together.

Our first task, then, is to attempt to place a non-possessor focus and a possessor *mind*-quantifier, in this scope order, in the internal structure of a noun phrase headed by an ÁS-noun. It seems to be a reasonable default strategy to use the two operators in a word order that reflects their scope order (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012). As is shown in (308a'), this strategy has proved successful in the case of the input information structure demonstrated in (308a). Let us scrutinize the details of the successful configuration.

First of all, it is the *való*-construction in the prenominal modifier zone that is available to (the output counterparts of) oblique case-marked (non-verbal-modifier-like input) arguments. Fortunately, this position can host foci as well. The focus in question, thus, needs to be placed here. Then, due to the fact that both prenominal possessor positions precede the *való*-construction, the *mind*-quantifier has to occupy a complement position. Recall that complement positions surround the head on both sides (see (95a) in 1.1.2.1), forming a prenominal and a postnominal complement zone. As the special prenominal complement position is available to verbal-modifier-like arguments, this position is not compatible with the *mind*-quantifier, due to its operator character. What remains, then, is the postnominal zone.

Note in passing, as was also pointed out above, that using a quantifier in a posthead zone, as opposed to the pre-head zone, can typically result in ambiguity with respect to scope hierarchy. Example (308a') is therefore ambiguous, in contrast

to the input sentence variant shown in (308a), in which the special placement of the quantifier before the preverb excludes the inverse-scope reading. That it is impossible to separate the preverb from the deverbal noun (see subsection III) means that the unambiguous nature of the input structure could not be retained in the course of the ÁS-nominalization. This aspect, however, is not important now. What is important is that a given scope hierarchy could be inherited in the course of ÁS-nominalization.

(308) ● The inheritance of complex information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns:
I. $\text{Focus}_{\text{Goal}}$ and *mind*-$\text{quantifier}_{\text{Theme}}$

a. (?)Csak a dzsesszkoncertre hívták mindkét lányt meg.
only the jazz_concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl both girl.Acc perf
[ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'It was only THE JAZZ CONCERT to which both girls had been invited.'

a'. (?)Na például *a csak a dzsesszkoncertre való meghív-ás-a*
well for_instance *the only the jazz_concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
mindkét lánynak, az váratlanul érte Imit.
both girl.Dat that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that it was only THE JAZZ CONCERT to which both girls had been invited,* that caught Imi unawares.'

b. Mindkét lányt csak a dzsesszkoncertre hívták meg.
both girl.Acc only the jazz_concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
[BOTH_GIRLS > ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > INVITE]
'In the case of both girls, it was only THE JAZZ CONCERT to which they had been invited.'

b'. Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
mindkét lány??*(*(?)*-nak a) csak a dzsesszkoncertre való meghív-ás-a.*
both girl(-Dat the) only the jazz_concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares *that in the case of both girls, it was only THE JAZZ CONCERT to which they had been invited.*'

In (308b), the same two operators associated with the same two arguments appear with an opposite scope order. Thus, a possessor *mind*-quantifier should precede a non-possessor focus. As both prenominal possessor positions precede the *való*-construction in noun phrases, now both operators can be placed prenominally in a scope-order reflecting way (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012). Of these two solutions, the one in which the NAK possessor hosts the *mind*-quantifier, is significantly preferred, as presented in (308b'). A potential explanation for this difference in grammaticality judgments is that in the better variant the definite article in the D head is phonetically overt. In the alternative variant, however, the definite article cannot appear in the word order immediately left-adjacent to the quantifier-determiner word *mind* 'every' (inside an unmarked possessor constituent).

Note in passing that in (308b-b') even the unambiguity can be bequeathed, due to the prenominal placement of both operators.

Now let us investigate the same pair of operators and the same pair of input arguments, though associated in the opposite way (309a,b). Thus, a possessor focus and a non-possessor *mind*-quantifier should be placed inside a noun phrase.

First, the input order [focus > *mind*-quantifier] is considered.

This seems to be the simpler task since the two prenominal possessor positions precede the place of the *való*-construction, which is suitable for hosting oblique case-marked dependents (309a'). Therefore, it is possible to place both operators in the prenominal zone and in either order, due to the two possessor positions. Of these two solutions, the one in which the focus appears as a NAK possessor is somewhat preferred but neither is fully acceptable, as the grammaticality judgments present in (309a') below. The explanation for the difference concerning the two kinds of possessors may be the same as the explanation given in connection with example (308b') above (i.e., the definite article should appear overtly).

As for the fact that the better variant in (309a') is somewhat less acceptable than that in (308b'), this may be because the [focus > quantifier] order (309a') is more "artificial" than the [quantifier > focus] order (308b'). In Hungarian, this generalization also holds for verbal constructions themselves, as demonstrated by the comparison of the grammaticality judgments given in (308b) and (309a).

Considering the quite poor acceptability of both variants tested in (309a'), it is also worth investigating an alternative solution to express the same [focus > quantifier] hierarchy. Instead of placing both operators in the prenominal zone, let us place the narrow-scope *mind*-quantifier in the postnominal complement zone (309a''). According to the authors' mother-tongue intuition, the detachment of the two operators pays off, since the resulting variant is almost perfect (independently of the additional factor of choosing between the NAK possessor and the unmarked possessor). The cost to pay is the usual ambiguity associated with placing operators in complement positions, which makes it quite difficult to decide whether a certain grammaticality judgment pertains to the intended meaning. Note in passing that very carefully executed stress patterns seem to help in disambiguation, but their precise description remains for future research.

(309) ● The inheritance of complex information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns:
II. $\text{Focus}_{\text{Theme}}$ and *mind*-$\text{quantifier}_{\text{Goal}}$

a. (?)Csak Marit hívták mindkét koncertre meg.
only Mari.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl both concert.Sub perf
[ONLY_MARI > BOTH_CONCERTS > INVITE]
'It was only MARI who had been invited to both concerts.'

a'. Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
csak Mari??(?)-nak a) mindkét koncertre való meghív-ás-a.
only Mari(Dat the) both concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[ONLY_MARI > BOTH_CONCERTS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares *that it was only MARI who had been invited to both concerts*.'

a''. (?)Na például *csak Mari(-nak a) meghív-ás-a mindkét koncertre,*
well for_instance *only Mari(Dat the) invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both concert.Sub*
az váratlanul érte Imit.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[ONLY_MARI > BOTH_CONCERTS > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that it is only MARI who had been invited to both concerts*, caught Imi unawares.'

b. Mindkét koncertre csak Marit hívták meg.
both concert.Sub only Mari.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
[BOTH_CONCERTS > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'In the case of both concerts, it was only MARI who had been invited to those.'

b'. ??Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
mindkét koncertre csak Marinak a meghív-ás-a.
both concert.Sub only Mari.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[BOTH_CONCERTS > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares *that in the case of both concerts, it was only MARI who had been invited to those*.'

b''. ?Na például *mindkét koncertre csak Marinak a meghív-ás-a,*
well for_instance *both concert.Sub only Mari.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az váratlanul érte Imit.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[BOTH_CONCERTS > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of both concerts, it was only MARI who had been invited to those,* caught Imi unawares.'

b'''.?Na például *a mindkét koncertre való meghív-ás-a*
well for_instance *the both concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
csak Marinak, az váratlanul érte Imit.
only Mari.Dat that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[BOTH_CONCERTS > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of both concerts, it was only MARI who had been invited to those,* caught Imi unawares.'

In the fourth input combination (309b), a non-possessor *mind*-quantifier should be paired with a possessor focus in the corresponding output ÁS-noun construction, in this intended scope order, which was said to be faithfully encoded by the word order as a default.

What makes this task hard has to do with the fact that the focus (typically) cannot be placed in the postnominal complement zone, since foci take their scope explicitly from the (surface) word order.

Foci, thus, tend to strongly prefer pre-head positions. Of the pre-head positions, the prenominal complement position is excluded due to the operator character of the argument under discussion. This argument, therefore, has to be placed in one of the possessor positions, as is illustrated in (309b') above.

And now where can the wide-scope *mind*-quantifier be placed? The *való*-construction (as well as postnominal placement) is excluded because of the requirement concerning scope-relation-reflecting word order. The only remaining solution is the exceptional one illustrated in example (129f') in subsection 1.1.3.1. Recall that in the analysis of this example, a noun-phrase-initial position was taken

in front of the NAK possessor. This position can be called exceptional since non-operators are not permitted to occupy it, that is, it seems that it is exactly the operator character that "legitimizes" its use.

The more or less acceptable variant demonstrated in (309b') can be regarded as evidence in favor of our thesis that ÁS-nominalization tends to make information-structure inheritance possible to the maximum extent.

What remains to be verified is whether the noun phrase in question is really one constituent. It is this purpose that the variant shown in (309b") above serves by means of the 'for instance'-construction. The obtained variant is not only quite acceptable but definitely better than the same noun-phrase structure without the 'for instance'-context (309b').

Moreover, as is shown in (309b'") above, the 'for instance'-construction even makes it possible to place the focus in the postnominal complement zone, 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 the operator character of a matrix construction lent some operator character to the whole embedded phrase, including its complement. Therefore, in the resulting variant (309b'"), the *mind*-quantifier can be placed in the *való*-construction, preceding in this way the focus in the postnominal complement zone.

In (310-311) below, compared to the cases tested in (308-309), an *is*-quantifier takes the place of the *mind*-quantifier. Since it is more difficult to place an *is*-quantifier inside a noun phrase (see 2.1.1.4.7, for instance) and there are many constraints to be satisfied simultaneously, one might expect that the corresponding information structures with two operators could scarcely be inherited. That is what we would like to try out here: information-structure inheritance—under unfavorable circumstances. It will turn out that the language seems to ensure some solution even in the most complicated cases. Let us review these "solutions" in detail.

Our first task is to attempt to place a non-possessor focus and a possessor *is*-quantifier, in this—somewhat marked—scope order (310a), in the internal structure of a noun phrase headed by an ÁS-noun. Let us insist on our default strategy of attempting to render the word order of the two operators to reflect their scope order (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012). As is shown in (310a'), this strategy has proved successful: the *való*-construction in the prenominal modifier zone serves as an ideal host of the focused oblique case-marked argument, which facilitates the *is*-quantifier's acceptance of a (later) position in the complement zone, considering the fact that both prenominal possessor positions precede the *való*-construction. The 'for instance'-construction in (310a') below guarantees that the *is*-quantifier can in no way be regarded as belonging to the matrix verb.

(310) ● The inheritance of complex information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns:
III. $\text{Focus}_{\text{Goal}}$ and *is*-$\text{quantifier}_{\text{Theme}}$

a. (?)Csak a dzsesszkoncertre hívták Marit is meg.
only the jazz_concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl Mari.Acc also perf
[ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > ALSO_MARI > INVITE]
'It was only THE JAZZ CONCERT to which also Mari had been invited.'

a'. (?)Na például *a csak a dzsesszkoncertre való meghív-ás-a*
well for_instance *the only the jazz_concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
Marinak is, az váratlanul érte Imit.
Mari.Dat also that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > ALSO_MARI > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that it was only THE JAZZ CONCERT to which Mari had also been invited,* caught Imi unawares.'

b. Marit is csak a dzsesszkoncertre hívták meg.
Mari.Acc also only the jazz_concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
[ALSO_MARI > ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > INVITE]
'In the case of Mari, too, it was only THE JAZZ CONCERT to which *she* had been invited.'

b'. (?)Na például *Marinak is a csak a dzsesszkoncertre való*
well for_instance *Mari.Dat also the only the jazz_concert.Sub be.Part*
meghív-ás-a, az váratlanul érte Imit.
invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[CATCH_UNAWARES > ALSO_MARI >ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > INVITE]
'Well for instance*, the fact that in the case of Mari, too, it was only the jazz concert to which they had been invited,* caught Imi unawares.'

b''. Na például ??*[Marinak is a meghív-ás-a] /*[(a) Mari is meghív-ás-a],*
well for_instance *Mari.Dat also the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / the Mari also invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az váratlanul érte Imit.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[CATCH_UNAWARES > ALSO_MARI >ONLY_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that even Mari was invited,* caught Imi unawares.'

In (310b), the same two operators associated with the same two arguments take the opposite scopes and therefore a possessor *is*-quantifier needs to precede a non-possessor focus, which can be hosted in a *való*-construction. Consequently, the *is*-quantifier should occupy one of the two prenominal possessor positions. As is shown in (310b'') above, however, both of these positions reject *is*-quantifiers. The degree of rejection is different but significant in both cases. What then is the solution within the language?

The grammaticality judgment in (310b') above shows the surprising fact that the *is*-quantifier is essentially allowed ('(?)') to occupy the NAK possessor position. The more complicated information-structure variant in (310b') thus is more acceptable than the simpler, focusless, variant in (310b''). It seems, therefore, that the language tends to provide extra opportunities as a last resort if there is no other chance to make information-structure inheritance possible in certain intricate cases.

The same holds for (311b'-b'') below, where a non-possessor *is*-quantifier and a possessor focus should be placed inside a noun phrase, in this order. As the latter operator can only occupy the NAK possessor position, the former practically has no preceding noun-phrase-internal position available. The language, however, seems to offer the noun-phrase-initial extra position mentioned above several times, which can be occupied only by operators as a last resort (cf. (309b'') above and (129f') in subsection 1.1.3.1).

Note in passing that in the case of the variant shown in (311b') it cannot be excluded that the *is*-quantifier might belong to the matrix verb. That is why we have had recourse to the 'for instance'-construction in (311b''). It turns out that this

"closed" construction has definitely improved the acceptability of the inherited information structure.

(311) ● The inheritance of complex information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns:
IV. $\text{Focus}_{\text{Theme}}$ and *is*-$\text{quantifier}_{\text{Goal}}$

a. Csak Marit hívták a dzsesszkoncertre is meg.
only Mari.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl the jazz_concert.Sub also perf
[ONLY_MARI > ALSO_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > INVITE]
'It was only MARI who had been invited also to the jazz concert.'

a'. [(?)]Na például *csak Marinak a meghív-ás-a*
well for_instance *only Mari.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
a dzsesszkoncertre is, az váratlanul érte Imit.
the jazz_concert.Sub also that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[ONLY_MARI > ALSO_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that it was only MARI who had been invited also to the jazz concert*, caught Imi unawares.'

b. A dzsesszkoncertre is csak Marit hívták meg.
the jazz_concert.Sub also only Mari.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
[ALSO_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'In the case of the jazz concert, too, it was only MARI who had been invited to it.'

b'. [??]Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a dzsesszkoncertre is csak Marinak a meghív-ás-a.
the jazz_concert.Sub also only Mari.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
[CATCH_UNAWARES > ALSO_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares *that in the case of the jazz concert, too, it was only MARI who had been invited to it.*'

b". [?]Na például *a dzsesszkoncertre is csak Marinak a meghív-ás-a,*
well for_instance *the jazz_concert.Sub also only Mari.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az váratlanul érte Imit.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc
[ALSO_TO_THE_JAZZ_CONCERT > ONLY_MARI > INVITE]
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of the jazz concert, too, it was only MARI who had been invited to it*, caught Imi unawares.'

As for the inheritance of the opposite scope order, shown in (311a) above, the reliable method of placing the *is*-quantifier in the complement zone (with the focus placed in the NAK possessor position) has proved acceptable again (311a').

A separate series of examples in (312) below is devoted to the question of whether scope ambiguity itself is, or may be, inherited. Without going into a detailed discussion of this topic, we can safely state that the input ambiguity whose source is the post-head position of an operator can be inherited by the output ÁS-noun construction if the operator in question is given a post-head position too. The two possible scope interpretations given in (312a) below, are shown to also be available in (312a'). It must be recalled at this point (see the introduction to 1.3.1), however, that both the sentence type in (312a) with its postverbal quantifier and the derived nominal expression type in (312a') can be called ambiguous only in the loose sense according to which the written strings of their words can be associated with two meanings (due to different scope distributions) but the associated meaning

pairs are not realized with the same stress pattern. What is shown to be inherited, therefore, is ambiguity in this loose sense.

(312) ● The inheritance of complex information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns:
V. Inherited scope ambiguity

a. Sok koncertre meghívták mindkét lányt.
many concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl both girl.Acc
Meaning1: [MANY_CONCERTS > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'In the case of many concerts, they invited both girls to them.'
Meaning2: [BOTH_GIRLS > MANY_CONCERTS > INVITE]
'In the case of both girls, they invited them to many concerts.'

a'. Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
a sok koncertre való meghív-ás-a mindkét lánynak.
the many concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both girl.Dat
Meaning1: [CATCH_UNAWARES > MANY_CONCERTS > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that, *in the case of many concerts, they invited both girls to them.*'
Meaning2: [CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_GIRLS > MANY_CONCERTS > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that, *in the case of both concerts, they invited them to many concerts.*'

In what follows, the inheritance of information structures with such special operators is investigated as (noun phrases containing) question words (313-316) and contrastive topics (317).

The data and the associated semantic analyses demonstrated in (313) below illustrate that neither ÁS-nouns (313a'-a"), nor SED-nouns (313b'-b"), nor non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (313c') are capable of inheriting information structures with question words. The crucial problem is not that noun phrases do not accommodate question words, as is demonstrated in (313a",b",c'): the focus position that belongs to the matrix verb readily hosts noun phrases containing question words. The problem has to do with the interpretations: the available readings of variants (313a",b",c') are not the intended narrow-scope interpretations, which would emerge as a result of the inheritance of the corresponding input information structures, but the wide-scope interpretations we have attempted to elucidate by the analytical translations below. The problem with narrow-scope interpretations presumably has to do with pragmatico-semantic factors: what caught someone unawares according to the intended interpretations (313a",b") has to be understood as having some kind of interrogative content. Such meaning, however, cannot be assigned to the sentences in question due to the meaning of the given matrix verb. Hence, they are unambiguous in the absence of any kind of narrow-scope reading, and their only meaning is the one based on the wide-scope interpretation (but see also subsection 2.1.1.4.6). Note in passing that the strings of words presented in (313a',b',c), with very special stress patterns, might be interpreted as echo questions, but such methods of overwriting the basic system of syntactic rules are outside the scope of this volume (but see M9).

(313) ● The inheritance of information structure with question words in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns:
I. Question words in possessor positions

a. Kit hívtak meg a koncertre?
who.Acc invite.Past.3Pl perf the concert.Sub
[WHOM > INVITE]
'Who was invited to the concert?'

a'. *Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[kinek]$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
who.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > WHOSE > INVITE]
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[WHOSE > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught Imi unawares that *someone had been invited to the concert. Who was that person*?'

a''. *[Kinek]*$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a (koncertre való) meghív-ás-a*
who.Dat the concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
wide-scope reading: [WHOSE > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *someone had been invited (to the concert). Who was that person?*'

b. Ki hívta meg Imit a koncertre?
who invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf Imi.Acc the concert.Sub
[WHO > INVITE]
'Who invited Imi to the concert?'

b'. *Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[kinek]$_{\text{Agent}}$ *a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
who.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > WHOSE > INVITE]
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[WHOSE > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught Imi unawares that *someone had invited him to the concert. Who was that person?*'

b''. *[Kinek]*$_{\text{Agent}}$ *a* $^{(?)}$*(*ˇ*koncertre való) meghív-ás-a*
who.Dat the concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
wide-scope reading: [WHOSE > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *someone had invited him (to the concert). Who was that person?*'

c. *Imi eladná *[kinek] a lak-ás-á-t.*
Imi sell.Cond.DefObj.3Sg *who.Dat the live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[WOULD_SELL > WHOSE > FLAT]
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[WHOSE >WOULD_SELL > FLAT]
Intended meaning: '[Imi would sell *someone's flat. Who is that person?*] = [*Whose flat would Imi sell?*]'

c'. *[Kinek] a lak-ás-á-t* adná el Imi?
who.Dat the live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc sell.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away Imi
wide-scope reading: [WHOSE >WOULD_SELL > FLAT]
'[Imi would sell *someone's flat. Who is that person?*] = [*Whose flat would Imi sell?*]'

All in all, with respect to inheritance of information structures with interrogative expressions, ÁS-nouns pattern with SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns: noun phrases cannot inherit such information structures. Yet, this does not mean that question words themselves are not permitted to appear inside the internal structure of noun phrases. They *are* permitted, at least under the special condition that these "pied-piped" noun phrases occupy focus positions, just like question words themselves in information structures that belong to verbs. In such a case, however, question words are to be interpreted with wide scope, in spite of their noun-phrase-internal positions.

The series of examples in (314) below corroborates this generalization. The difference between this test and the one above (313) is that here the question word pertains to an oblique case-marked (input) argument, which yields its output appearance in a *való*-construction. Although this position can be regarded as more deeply embedded than occupying a possessor position, the corresponding wide-scope readings are also (sufficiently) acceptable (314a",b",c'). Obviously, the condition that the "pied-piped" noun phrases occupy the focus position of the matrix verb (cf. (314a',b') and (314a",b")) is to be satisfied. There is no information-structure inheritance here either, as is presented by the lack of acceptable narrow-scope readings in (314a",b",c').

(314) ● The inheritance of information structure with question words in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns:
II. Question words in non-possessor positions

a. Melyik koncertre hívták meg Marit?
which concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf Mari.Acc
[WHICH_CONCERT > INVITE]
'Which concert did they invite Mari to?'

a'. *Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[Marinak]$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a melyik koncertre való meghív-ás-a.*
Mari.Dat the which concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > WHICH_CONCERT > INVITE]
Intended meaning: ? (probably: 'A question caught Imi unawares.')
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[WHICH_CONCERT > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught Imi unawares that *Mari had been invited to a concert. We are asking which concert that was.*'

a". *[Marinak]*$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a melyik koncertre való meghív-ás-a*
Mari.Dat the which concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
wide-scope reading: [WHICH_CONCERT > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *Mari had been invited to the concert. We are asking which concert that was.*'

b. Mari melyik koncertre hívta meg Imit?
Mari which concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf Imi.Acc
[WHICH_CONCERT > INVITE]
'Which concert did Mari invite Imi to?'

b'. *Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[Marinak]$_{\text{Agent}}$ *a melyik koncertre való meghív-ás-a.*
Mari.Dat the which concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > WHICH_CONCERT > INVITE]
Intended meaning: ? (probably: 'A question caught Imi unawares.')
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[WHICH_CONCERT > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught Imi unawares that *Mari had invited him to a concert. We are asking which concert that was.*'

b''. *[Marinak]*$_{\text{Agent}}$ *a melyik koncertre való meghív-ás-a*
Mari.Dat the which concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
wide-scope reading: [WHICH_CONCERT > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *Mari had invited him to a concert. We are asking which concert that was.*'

c. *Imit váratlanul érte
Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
[Marinak] a miről való hír-ad-ás-a.
Mari.Dat the what.Del be.Part news-give-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > ABOUT_WHICH > REPORT]
Intended meaning: ???
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[ABOUT_WHICH >CATCH_UNAWARES> REPORT]
Intended meaning: '*Mari's report about something* caught Imi unawares. *We are asking what topic that was.*'

c'. $^{(?)}$*[Marinak] a miről való hír-ad-ás-a*
Mari.Dat the what.Del be.Part news-give-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
wide-scope reading: [ABOUT_WHICH >CATCH_UNAWARES> REPORT]
'*Mari's report about something* caught Imi unawares. *We are asking what topic that was.*'

We can establish, thus, on the basis of our observations coming from tests (313-314), that information structures with question words are not inherited by ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns. Formally, however, the appearance of question words inside noun phrases is not excluded at all, yielding wide-scope readings. From now on, thus, we will not be searching inherited information structures, that is, narrow-scope readings. It is worth, however, investigating whether multiple question-word constructions can appear noun-phrase-internally, with special regard to the fact that multiple question-word constructions can be interpreted in two ways.

As is shown in the primeless and primed examples in (315-316) below, in the case of verbal information structures, the two interpretations can also be distinguished formally, on the basis of word order. The primeless examples illustrate the pair-list reading, according to which only the last question word (i.e., the one left-adjacent to the verb stem) is interpreted as an interrogative operator while the other question words are practically interpreted as *mind*-quantifiers. The primed examples illustrate the mirror-focus interpretation, in which practically a state of affairs is sought whose two (or more) participants are unknown while the

further participants are known. The translations provided in (315-316) below serve as a help to the reader (see also M8).

(315) ● More than one question word inside the phrase of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns:
I. Possessor > non-possessor, or mirror focus

a. Kit melyik koncertre hívtak meg?
who.Acc which concert.Sub invite.Past.3Pl perf
[WHOM > WHICH_CONCERT > INVITE]
'Who was invited to which concert? (Tell me, in the case of each relevant person, to which concert that person was invited.)'

a'. "Kit °hívtak °meg "melyik koncertre?
who.Acc invite.Past.3Pl perf which concert.Sub
[{WHOM; WHICH_CONCERT} > INVITE]
'Who was invited to which concert? (I am sure that there was a notable case when someone was invited to a concert, but I cannot recall the details. Tell me who was that person and which was that concert.)'

a''. *[Kinek]*$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a melyik koncertre való meghív-ás-a*
who.Dat the which concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
pair-list interpr.: ??[WHOSE > WHICH_CONCERT > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *certain persons had been invited to certain concerts. We are asking, for each person, to which concert that person had been invited.*'
mirror-F interpr.: ✓[{WHOSE; WHICH_CONCERT} >CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *someone had been invited to a concert. We are asking who had been invited to which concert.*'

b. Ki melyik koncertre hívta meg Imit?
who which concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Imi.Acc
[WHO > WHICH_CONCERT > INVITE]
'Who invited Imi to which concert? (Tell me, in the case of each relevant person, to which concert that person invited Imi.)'

b'. "Ki °hívta °meg °Imit "melyik koncertre?
who invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Imi.Acc which concert.Sub
[{WHO; WHICH_CONCERT} > INVITE]
'Who invited Imi to which concert? (I am sure that there was a famous case when someone invited Imi to a concert, but I cannot recall the details. Tell me who was that person and which was that concert.)'

b''. *[Kinek]*$_{\text{Agent}}$ *a melyik koncertre való meghív-ás-a*
who.Dat the which concert.Sub be.Part invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
pair-list interpr.: ??[WHOSE > WHICH_CONCERT > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *certain persons had invited him to certain concerts. We are asking, for each person, to which concert that person had invited Imi.*'
mirror-F interpr.: ✓[{WHOSE; WHICH_CONCERT} > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *someone had invited him to a concert. We are asking who had invited Imi to which concert.*'

The double primed examples are to be inspected in (315) and (316). They are assumed to be capable of expressing both the pair-list meaning and the mirror-focus

meaning in the case of both the ÁS-noun interpretation and the SED-noun interpretation, at least to certain extents. Our grammaticality judgments are assigned to the formulas demonstrating scope hierarchies.

The following tendencies seem to prevail.

First of all, note that even in the case of the input information structures, certain mirror-focus constructions (315a',b') are fully acceptable (at least if the mirror-focus stress pattern is carefully adhered to) while others are more (316b') or less (316a') awkward, depending on the "markedness" of the order of arguments. We can observe in these four cases that the corresponding ÁS-noun and SED-noun variants are acceptable to the same extent as their verbal counterparts (compare the grammaticality judgments associated with the relevant interpretations in the double primed examples to those associated with the corresponding primed examples). It must be noted, nevertheless, that the mirror-focus stress pattern has to be uttered very carefully in order to evoke the intended special mirror-focus interpretation.

As for the pair-list interpretations in the double primed examples in (315-316), we admit that our grammaticality judgments are not reliable, that is, it is unclear what is evaluated. The reason is the tricky character of the relevant examples. Recall that the pair-list reading means that the first question word has to be interpreted as a *mind*-quantifier, independently of the focus interpretation of the second question word. It is therefore theoretically impossible to place the complete noun phrase containing the two different operators in the focus of the matrix verb. Hence, it is impossible to avoid interpreting the first question word in such a way that it immediately belongs to the matrix verb. The 'for instance'-construction cannot help here since it is not the narrow-scope reading that is being considered in this case.

(316) ● More than one question word inside the phrase of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns:
II. Non-possessor > possessor, or mirror focus

a. (?)Melyik koncertre kit hívtak meg?
which concert.Sub who.Acc invite.Past.3Pl perf
[WHICH_CONCERT > WHOM > INVITE]
'To which concert was who invited? (Tell me, in the case of each relevant concert, which person was invited to that concert.)'

a'. ?"Melyik koncertre °hívtak °meg "kit?
which concert.Sub invite.Past.3Pl perf who.Acc
[{WHICH_CONCERT; WHOM} > INVITE]
'To which concert was who invited? (I am sure that there was a notable case when someone was invited to a concert, but I cannot recall the details. Tell me which was that concert and who was that person.)'

a''. *Melyik koncertre [kinek]*$_{\text{Theme}}$ *a meghív-ás-a*
which concert.Sub who.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
pair-list interpr.: ?[WHICH_CONCERT > WHOSE > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *certain persons had been invited to certain concerts. We are asking, for each concert, who had been invited to that concert.*'
mirror-F interpr.: ?[{WHICH_CONCERT; WHOSE} >CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares *that someone had been invited to a concert. We are asking who had been invited to which concert.*'

b. ?Melyik koncertre ki hívta meg Imit?
which concert.Sub who invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Imi.Acc
[WHICH_CONCERT > WHO > INVITE]
'To which concert was Imi invited by whom? (Tell me in the case of each relevant concert, who invited Imi to that concert.)'

b'. ??"Melyik koncertre °hívta °meg °Imit "ki?
which concert.Sub invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Imi.Acc who
[{WHICH_CONCERT; WHO} > INVITE]
'To which concert was Imi invited by whom? (I am sure that there was a famous case when someone invited Imi to a concert, but I cannot recall the details. Tell me which was that concert and who was that person.)'

b''. *Melyik koncertre [kinek]*$_{\text{Agent}}$ *a meghív-ás-a*
which concert.Sub who.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
érte Imit váratlanul?
catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc unexpectedly
pair-list interpr.: ?[WHICH_CONCERT >WHOSE > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *certain persons had invited him to certain concerts. We are asking, for each concert, who had invited Imi to that concert.*'
mirror-F interpr.: ??[{WHICH_CONCERT; WHOSE} > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'It caught Imi unawares that *someone had invited him to a concert. We are asking who had invited Imi to which concert.*'

All in all, the four relevant variants in the double primed examples with pair-list interpretations are quite acceptable, at least if they are provided with a carefully executed pair-list stress pattern. We feel, however, that it is an illegitimate trick to apply this stress pattern, since in this way we trigger a syntactic structure in which the question word with the *mind*-quantifier interpretation factually belongs to the matrix verb. However, if the entire noun phrase containing the wh-phrases is uttered as a single constituent, the resulting variants become unacceptable.

We conclude the investigation of the inheritance of information structures containing special operators with a series of examples (317) which is concerned with the inheritance of the contrastive topic. As the absence of narrow-scope interpretations presents below, the contrastive topic can be inherited neither by ÁS-nouns (317a'-a''), nor by SED-nouns (317b'-b''), nor by non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (317c-c'). We take the position that the acceptable variants (317a'',b'',c') have to be interpreted in a way that the formally noun-phrase-internal contrastive topic counts as the contrastive topic of the whole sentence, which is to be regarded as having a wide-scope reading.

Clarifying (and distinguishing) the precise logical and pragmatic details of the interpretation of "embedded" contrastive topics (Ürögdi 2012: 82), however, is a

task that requires much future research. It can also be observed on the basis of a comparison of the acceptable variants (317a'',b'',c') to the unacceptable ones (317a',b',c) that a noun-phrase-internal contrastive topic should pied-pipe its complete matrix noun phrase to the contrastive topic that belongs to the verb.

(317) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns: Contrastive topic

a. ***Marit*** (bezzeg) meghívták a koncertre.
Mari.Acc as_for invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl the concert.Sub
[AS_FOR_MARI > INVITE]
'***As for Mari***, she was invited to the concert.'

a'. *Váratlanul ért
unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
[Marinak]$_{\text{Theme}}$ *(bezzeg) a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
Mari.Dat *as_for the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub*
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > AS_FOR_MARI > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught me unawares that *Mari, in contrast to someone else, had been invited to the concert.*'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[AS_FOR_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: '***As for Mari***, it caught me unawares that *she, in contrast to someone else, had been invited to the concert.*'

a''. ***[Marinak]***$_{\text{Theme}}$ *(*bezzeg) a meghív-ás-a a koncertre,*
Mari.Dat *as_for the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub*
az váratlanul ért.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > AS_FOR_MARI > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught me unawares that *Mari, in contrast to someone else, had been invited to the concert.*'
wide-scope reading: [AS_FOR_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
'***As for Mari***, it caught me unawares that *she had been invited to the concert.*'

b. ***Mari*** (bezzeg) meghívta Imit a koncertre.
Mari as_for invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc the concert.Sub
[AS_FOR_MARI > INVITE]
'***As for Mari***, she invited Imi to the concert.'

b'. *Váratlanul ért
unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
[Marinak]$_{\text{Agent}}$ *(bezzeg) a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.*
Mari.Dat *as_for the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub*
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > AS_FOR_MARI > INVITE]
Intended meaning: 'It caught me unawares that *Mari, in contrast to someone else, had invited me to the concert.*'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[AS_FOR_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
Intended meaning: '***As for Mari***, it caught me unawares that *she, in contrast to someone else, had invited me to the concert.*'

b”. ***[Marinak]***$_{\text{Agent}}$ *(*bezzeg) a meghív-ás-a a koncertre,*
Mari.Dat *as_for the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub*
az váratlanul ért.
that unexpectedly catch.Past.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > AS_FOR_MARI > INVITE]
Intended meaning: ‘It caught me unawares that *Mari, in contrast to someone else, had invited me to the concert.*’
wide-scope reading: [AS_FOR_MARI > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
‘***As for Mari***, it caught me unawares that *she, in contrast to someone else, had invited me to the concert.*’

c. *Imi eladná ***[Marinak]*** *a lak-ás-á-t.*
Imi sell.Cond.DefObj.3Sg ***Mari.Dat*** *the live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[WOULD_SELL > AS_FOR_MARI > FLAT]
Intended meaning: ‘Imi would sell *the flat which is owned by Mari, in contrast to someone else.*’
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[AS_FOR_MARI >WOULD_SELL > FLAT]
Intended meaning: ‘***As for Mari***, Imi would sell *the flat owned by her, in contrast to the flat owned by someone else.*’

c’. ***[Marinak]*** *a lak-ás-á-t,* azt eladná Imi.
Mari.Dat *the live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc* that.Acc sell.Cond.DefObj.3Sg Imi
wide-scope reading: [AS_FOR_MARI >WOULD_SELL > FLAT]
‘***As for Mari***, Imi would sell *the flat owned by her, in contrast to the flat owned by someone else.*’

Note in passing that there is a special adverb or discourse particle (expressing reproach), *bezzeg* (appr. ‘as for’), which is not obligatory in sentences with a contrastive topic, but if it appears in a sentence, it can be regarded as an explicit indicator of the presence of a contrastive-topic constituent (317a,b). This indicator, however, is not allowed to appear inside noun phrases (317a’,a”,b’,b”), presumably due to the fact that there adjectives are to be used instead of adverbs, and the adverb in question neither has an adjectival form nor can appear in a *való*-construction (which, however, may be regarded as an argument against its adverbial categorization).

Finally, we can establish on the basis of the data provided in this subsection that the Hungarian verbal property of having a highly sophisticated information structure is not characteristic of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns but is characteristic of SED-nouns to a lesser extent and ÁS-nouns to a greater (almost complete) extent. In other words, SED-nouns have proved to inherit verbal information structure only through their “inherited” non-possessor arguments (while their free possessors cannot take internal scope). ÁS-nouns, however, seem to be capable of readily hosting even the most intricate information structures, sometimes at the cost of permitting extra devices. Instances of failure in information-structure inheritance could always be attributed to pragmatico-semantic reasons.

This generalization concerning ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns is in total harmony with the scale of verbalness that could also be predicted on the basis of other phenomena.

1.3.1.2.4.2. Nominal properties

This subsection discusses the nominal properties of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns summarized in Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV).

I. Pluralization

According to Laczkó (2000a), ÁS-nouns cannot be pluralized while SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns have plural forms.

The negative claim concerning ÁS-nouns can be regarded as a consequence of defining ÁS-nouns, relative to SED-nouns, as denoting more "complex events", where a "complex event" is to be regarded as an instance of a certain event type.

The series of examples in (318) below serves as an illustration of Laczkó's generalization.

In (318a), there are two unacceptable variants (depending on considering or ignoring the parentheses); the presence of the [postposition + *való*] construction and the exclusively perfectivizing preverb *meg* 'perf', and the fact that the possessor is to be understood as the Theme of *visit* all clearly demonstrate the impossibility of pluralizing an ÁS-noun. Note in passing that for certain speakers the tested variants are somewhat more acceptable; these speakers might be inclined to reanalyze the ÁS-noun in question as a SED-noun, ignoring all the grammatical clues typically (or "theoretically") triggering the ÁS-noun interpretation.

In (318b), a SED-noun is considered, as is shown by the facts that it lacks a preverb, which was obligatorily present in (318a), and that the possessor is almost obligatorily interpreted as the Agent. Also, the pluralized form is fully acceptable.

(318) ● Pluralization in the case of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. *?* *Péternek a(z előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való) meg-látogat-ás-a-i*
Péter.Dat the *previous agreement without be.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss-Pl.3Sg*
mindenkit felháborítottak.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*The occasions on which Péter was visited (without any previous agreement)* made everyone angry.'

b. *Péternek a(z előzetes egyeztetés nélküli) látogat-ás-a-i*
Péter.Dat the *previous agreement without.Attr visit-ÁS-Poss-Pl.3Sg*
mindenkit felháborítottak.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Pl
'*Péter's visits (without any previous agreement)* made everyone angry.'

c. *Péter lak-ás-a-i* mindig tiszták.
Péter live-ÁS-Poss-Pl.3Sg always clean.Pl
'*Péter's flats* are always clean.'

It goes without saying that non-eventive *Ás*-nouns can be freely pluralized (318c).

All this is in total harmony with the predicted degrees of nominalness: SED-nouns pattern with non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (and "normal" nouns) with respect to pluralization, while ÁS-nouns cannot be pluralized, similar to verbs, which have no plural forms to denote the multiple occurrence of a complex event (Laczkó 2000a: 319).

II. Possessive argument

ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns are all nominal from the point of view that they can have a possessor within the noun phrase they head, as is shown in (319) below. In this respect, thus, there is no difference in the degree of nominalness between the three groups. Nevertheless, there are differences in the

manner of possessor selection, which has already been discussed (e.g., in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.1) and which is also sketched below. However, this aspect of the verbalness/nominalness scale will be more thoroughly discussed in subsection IV in 1.3.1.2.4.1.

In the case of ÁS-nouns (319a), the possessor always corresponds to a certain argument (for instance, the input object has to appear as a possessor). As for the possessor of SED-nouns (319b-b') or non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (319c), however, it does not necessarily correspond to a certain (or any) argument of the input verb: the possessor can be interpreted either as the Agent or as the Theme of the input transitive verb (319b), or it can also be interpreted as a participant which is in a loose semantic relation with the SED-noun (319b-b') or the non-eventive *Ás*-noun (319c).

(319) ● Possessors of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. *Péter meg-operál-ás-a* jól sikerült.
Péter perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's*$_{Theme/*Agent}$ *operation* was successful.'

b. *Péter operáció-ja* jól sikerült.
Péter operation-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's*$_{Theme/Agent/...}$ *operation* was successful.'

b'. Ez volt *a hét legemlékezetesebb operáció-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the week most_memorable operation-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the week's most memorable operation*.'

c. *Péter kedvenc lak-ás-a* Ilinek is tetszik.
Péter favorite live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg Ili.Dat also please.3Sg
'Ili also likes *Péter's favorite flat* (i.e., the flat that Péter owns / rents / inhabits / has chosen in any way).'

Further examples are available in (224-225) in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.1.

III. Case marking

All the groups of ÁS-nouns (320), SED-nouns (321) and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (322) are completely nominal in the sense that they can occur with any kind of case marking. For the sake of theory-independence, we note that they can also occur with any kind of postposition, as is shown in the (d)-examples in (320-322).

As was also demonstrated in the case of ÁS-nouns in the introductory subsection 1.3.1.2.1 (see (218)), an ÁS-noun can be used as a nominative case-marked subject (320a), as an accusative case-marked object (320b) and as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (320c).

(320) ● The case marking of ÁS-nouns

a. *A szerződésnek az előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való aláír-ás-a*
the contract.Dat the previous agreement without be.Part sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*Signing the contract without any previous agreement* was a surprise to everyone.'

b. *A szerződés előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való aláír-ás-á-**t***
*the contract previous agreement without be.Part sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-**Acc***
felháborítónak tartom.
outrageous.Dat consider.DefObj.1Sg
'I consider it to be outrageous that *the contract was signed without any previous agreement*.'

c. *A szerződés előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való aláír-ás-á-**n***
*the contract previous agreement without be.Part sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-**Sup***
nagyon meglepődtem.
very.much surprise.Past.1Sg
'It was a great surprise to me that *the contract was signed without any previous agreement*.'

d. *A szerződés előzetes egyeztetés nélkül való aláír-ás-a **után***
*the contract previous agreement without be.Part sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg **after***
kirúgták a kollégámat.
be_fired.Past.DefObj.3Pl the colleague.Poss.1Sg.Acc
'My colleague was fired *after signing the contract without any previous agreement*.'

In (321-322) below we demonstrate that SED-nouns (321) and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (322) can also occur in all case forms and with postpositions.

(321) ● The case marking of SED-nouns

a. *Az aláír-ás* mindig ünnepélyes esemény.
the sign-ÁS always ceremonial event
'*Signing* is always a ceremonial event.'

b. Gyakorlom *az aláír-ás-**t**.*
practice.DefObj.1Sg *the sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-**Acc***
'I am practicing *how to sign*.'

c. *Ezt a tollat csak aláír-ás-**ra*** használom.
*this.Acc the pen.Acc only sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-**Sub*** use.DefObj.1Sg
'I use this pen only *for signing*.'

d. *Aláír-ás **után*** már nem módosítható egy szerződés.
*sign-ÁS **after*** already not modifiable a contract
'*After signing*, a contract cannot be modified anymore.'

(322) ● The case marking of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. A szerződésen elkenődött *az aláír-ás-od.*
the contract.Sup be_smeared.Past.3Sg *the sign-ÁS-Poss.2Sg*
'In the contract *your signature* was smeared.'

b. Tegnap *900 aláír-ás-**t*** nyújtottak át az elnöknek.
yesterday *900 sign-ÁS-**Acc*** hand.Past.3Pl over the president.Dat
'Yesterday *900 signatures* were handed over to the president.'

c. Még meg sem száradt a tinta *az aláír-ás-od-**on***!
yet perf either dry.Past.3Sg the ink *the sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-**Sup***
'The ink is not dry *on your signature* yet.'

d. Miért van pont *az aláír-ás-od **után***?
why be.3Sg dot the *sign-ÁS-Poss.2Sg **after***
'Why is there a dot *after your signature*?'

To sum up, ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns "already" present the maximum degree of nominalness with respect to case marking, that is, these two groups do not differ

from (the otherwise "more nominal") non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (and non-deverbal nouns) in this respect.

IV. Adjectival modification

This subsection can be regarded as the counterpart of subsection VI in 1.3.1.2.4.1 since there we discussed adverbial modification, typical of (finite and non-finite) verbs, while here we are going to review adjectival modification, which is held to be a nominal property.

As is shown in (323b) below, ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns present unambiguously nominal behavior, since adjectival expressions take the place of the input adverbs and such (adverbial-like) expressions as those in (323a) containing an oblique case-marked noun or a postposition (NB: the question of this correspondence will be more complicated in the case of derivations in which the denotatum of the input is different from that of the output; see 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub IV, for instance). This high degree of nominalness is in harmony with the general tendency of poor verbalness, which was observed in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VI. As for the morphological form of the adjectival expressions, they are derived through the following two methods. First, an adjectival derivational suffix *-i* or *-s* is added to an adverb or a postposition or the stem of an originally case-marked noun (after depriving it from its case marking). Second, if the input adverb has been derived from an adjective, this adjective is restored through depriving the input adverb of its adverbial derivational suffix.

(323) ● Adjectival modification of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns I.

a. Péter tegnap / állandó-an / idegesítő-en /
Péter yesterday / continuous-Adv / irritating-Adv /
Győr-ben / Pest-en / [a film alatt] / részeg-en / pizsamá-ban énekelgetett.
Győr-Ine / Pest-Sup / the film under / drunk-Adv / pyjamas-Ine sing.Past.3Sg
'Péter was singing yesterday / continuously / irritatingly / [in Győr] / [in Pest] / [during the film] / drunk / [in pyjamas].'

b. Nagyon zavart *Péternek a(z) tegnap-i / állandó / idegesítő/*
very.much disturb.Past.3Sg *Péter.Dat the yesterday-Adj / continuous / irritating /*
győr-i / pest-i / [film alatt-i] / ?részeg / ??pizsamá-s énekelget-és-e.
Győr-Adj/ Pest-Adj / film under-Attr / drunk / pyjamas-Adj sing-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It disturbed me very much that *Péter sang yesterday /continuously /irritatingly / [in Győr] / [in Pest] / [during the film] / drunk / [in pyjamas]*.'

c. Nagyon zavart *Péternek a Győr-ben / Pest-en / [film alatt] /*
very.much disturb.Past.3Sg *Péter.Dat the Győr-Ine / Pest-Sup / film under /*
részeg-en / pizsamá-ban való énekelget-és-e.
drunk-Adv / pyjamas-Ine be.Part sing-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It disturbed me very much that *Péter was singing [in Győr] / [in Pest] / [during the film] / drunk / [in pyjamas]*.'

c'. *Nagyon zavart *Péternek a(z) tegnap / állandó-an / idegesítő-en*
very.much disturb.Past.3Sg *Péter.Dat the yesterday / continuous-Adv/ irritating-Adv*
való énekelget-és-e.
be.Part sing-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'It disturbed me very much that *Péter sang yesterday /continuously/ irritatingly*.'

Another straightforward method of "attributivizing" input adverbs and adverbial-like expressions is placing the original expressions unchanged in the participial *való*-construction (323c). In this way, the viewpoint of retaining the original adverbial-like categories may be reconciled with the requirement of obtaining a position available only to attributive phrases. Note that this method, which one might consider to serve as a default solution exempt from morphological complications, does not work at all in certain cases (323c'), in the case of adverbs of manner and frequency, for instance.

In what follows, we attempt to evince some kind of difference between ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns with respect to adjectival (*versus* adverbial) modification. As was observed in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VI, potential instances of the retention of the input adverbial category are only worth seeking among verbal modifiers.

(324) ● Adjectival modification of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns II.

a. Péter jó-l viselkedik a tavaszi szünet alatt.
Péter good-Adv behave.3Sg the spring.Adj holiday under
'Péter behave well during the spring holiday.'

b. *Péternek a tavaszi szünet alatt való* $^{(?)}$*jó* / $^{*?}$*jó-l viselked-és-e*
Péter.Dat the spring.Adj holiday under be.Part good / good-Adv behave-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone that *Péter behaved well during the spring holiday*.'

b'. *A gyerekeknek a szünidők alatti jó /*jó-l viselked-és-e*
the child.Pl.Dat the holiday.Pl under.Attr good / good-Adv behave-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindig meglepi a szülőket.
always surprise.DefObj.3Sg the parent.Pl.Acc
'*The good behavior of children during holidays* always surprises the parents.'

What the grammaticality judgments demonstrated in (324b-b') above seem to suggest is a very slight difference between ÁS-nouns (324b) and SED-nouns (324b'). The ÁS-noun seems not to be fully unacceptable with the adverbial form of the input verbal modifier in its prenominal complement position, and, in harmony with this tendency, it seems not to be fully acceptable with the corresponding adjectival form (324b). The SED-noun in (324b'), however, behaves in a completely "nominal" way: it unambiguously accepts only the adjectival form of the input verbal modifier.

V. Definiteness and other degrees of referentiality

Nouns can be characterized as being capable of forming phrases that can refer to entities in a definite way. Nevertheless, nouns can also be characterized as being capable of forming phrases with a lower-degree referential potential. Let us review in this subsection all these degrees simultaneously: the (a)-examples will illustrate definite reference while the (b)-, (c)- and (d)-examples illustrate specific (but not definite), (non-specific) indefinite, and predicative degrees of referentiality, respectively.

As is demonstrated by the presence of the [postposition+*való*] construction and the exclusively perfectivizing preverb *meg* in the series of examples in (325) below, here ÁS-nouns are investigated. The definite reference to the state of affairs

expressed by the phrase of the ÁS-noun in (325a) is fully acceptable, in contrast to the three cases of non-definite reference (325b-d). This is in total harmony with Laczkó's (2000a: 333) similar generalization, which can be regarded as a theoretical consequence of the defining character of ÁS-nouns: they refer to particular complex events *per definitionem*, which is nothing else but "definite reference" in the nominal domain (in contrast to SED-nouns, which refer to types of events).

It can also be observed that the decreasing degree of referentiality of the ÁS-noun constructions from (325a) to (325d) is parallel with the decreasing degree of their acceptability. This observation can also be attributed to the defining character of ÁS-nouns, just mentioned. The—quite acceptable—specific reference in (325b), for instance, can be regarded as an "almost" definite reference (NB: specific reference can be held to mean a definite reference from the speaker's viewpoint simultaneously with an indefinite reference from the addressee's viewpoint (*SoD-NP*: 688)).

(325) ● Degree of referentiality of ÁS-nouns

a. A feleségem *a(z éjfél után való) meg-látogat-ás-od miatt*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *the midnight after be.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
hagyott el.
leave.Past.3Sg away
'My wife left me *because of the instance when I paid a visit to you (after midnight)*.'

b. A feleségem *egy* ??*(?)éjfél után való) meg-látogat-ás-od miatt*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *a midnight after be.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
hagyott el.
leave.Past.3Sg away
'(Last year I paid a visit to you six times (three of which were after midnight), and I went to a concert with you four times.) My wife left me *because of one of my (post-midnight) visits to you*.'

c. A feleségem *egy *(??éjfél után való) meg-látogat-ás-od miatt*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *a midnight after be.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
hagyott el.
leave.Past.3Sg away
Intended meaning: 'My wife left me *because I paid a visit to you (after midnight)*.'

d. *Ez ugye nem minősül *(éjfél után való) meg-látogat-ás-od-nak*?
this isn't_it not qualify.3Sg *midnight after be.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'This case does not qualify *as paying a visit to you (after midnight)*, (or) does it?'

Note in passing that we can also observe that the presence of the [postposition+*való*] context, compared to its absence, seems to improve grammaticality judgments in certain cases (325b-c). This is in spite of the fact that this context renders it explicit and unambiguous that the deverbal noun in question is used as an ÁS-noun. A potential explanation may have to do with the adjacency of the ÁS-noun to the expression *egy* 'a(n)', which is incompatible with it on the basis of what has been discussed. This immediate adjacency seems to count as a radical "warning" of this incompatibility while in the longer construction (with a long phrase inserted between *egy* 'a(n)' and the ÁS-noun), the incompatibility seems to be obscured, at least temporarily.

In (326) below, compared to the corresponding examples in (325) above, we are investigating the SED-noun variant derived from the same input verb in the same contexts. The following factors evince the SED-noun status of the deverbal noun in question. First, it does not contain the exclusively perfectivizing preverb *meg*. Second, its possessor, if any, does not correspond to the input Theme.

(326) ● Degree of referentiality of SED-nouns

a. A feleségem *a(z éjfél utáni) látogat-ás-od miatt*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *the midnight after.Attr visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
hagyott el.
leave.Past.3Sg away
'My wife left me *because you paid a visit to me (after midnight)*.'

b. A feleségem *egy* ?*(*✓*éjfél utáni) látogat-ás-od miatt*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *a midnight after.Attr visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
hagyott el.
leave.Past.3Sg away
'(Last year you paid a visit to me six times (three of which were after midnight), and I went to a concert with you four times.) My wife left me *because of one of your (post-midnight) visits to me*.'

c. A feleségem *egy* (?)*(*✓*éjfél utáni) látogat-ás miatt* hagyott el.
the wife.Poss.1Sg *a midnight after.Attr visit-ÁS because_of* leave.Past.3Sg away
'My wife left me *because of a visit (after midnight)*.'

d. Ez ugye nem minősül *(éjfél utáni) látogat-ás-nak*?
this isn't_it not qualify.3Sg *midnight after.Attr visit-ÁS-Dat*
'This case does not qualify *as paying a visit (after midnight)*, (or) does it?'

The SED-noun variants are compatible with all the four degrees of referentiality, with slight variation in grammaticality judgments, obviously depending on pragmatico-semantic complexity and/or contextual adequacy (326b-c).

The series of examples in (327) below provides a similar test of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, together with non-deverbal nouns used as a "control group". Not surprisingly, non-eventive *Ás*-nouns completely pattern with "ordinary" nouns.

(327) ● Degree of referentiality of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. Már jártam *a lak-ás-ban / ház-ban.*
already go.Past.1Sg *the live-ÁS-Ine / house-Ine*
'I have already been *in the flat / house*.'

b. (?)Már jártam *egy lak-ás-á-ban / ház-á-ban.*
already go.Past.1Sg *a live-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ine / house-Poss.3Sg-Ine*
'(She has flats / houses.) I have already been *in a flat / house of hers*.'

c. Keressünk *egy új lak-ás-t / ház-at!*
look_for.Subj.1Pl *a* new *live-ÁS-Acc / house-Acc*
'Let us look for *a new flat / house*!'

d. Ez *lak-ás-nak vagy ház-nak* minősül?
this *live-ÁS-Dat or house-Dat* qualify.3Sg
'Does this qualify *as a flat or a house*?'

All in all, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns completely pattern with "ordinary" nouns in that these kinds of nouns can form noun phrases with any

degree of referential potential. However, ÁS-nouns can be characterized by a strict distributional restriction, obviously due to their complex-event denoting property: their phrases are capable of "at least partially" definite (that is, specific) reference.

VI. Quantification and determination

This subsection can be regarded as an obvious continuation of the previous subsection in that the crucial question of whether quantification and determination produce more complex events, or whether they operate over an event type in the case of an ÁS-noun.

In (328a) below, for instance, the ÁS-noun *meglátogatásod* 'perf.visit.ÁS.Poss.2Sg', familiar from the previous subsection, is provided with a proximal and a distal demonstrative pronoun. One might think that in this way we can definitely refer to a specific state of affairs, which is the task of ÁS-nouns. That is not the case, however, as is demonstrated by the negative grammaticality judgment assigned to the variants in (328a).

Clearly, ÁS-nouns cannot be modified by demonstrative pronouns, which may be attributed to the fact that demonstrative pronouns operate over an event type in order to select a specific complex event from it. The problem is that ÁS-nouns do not denote event types, in contrast to SED-nouns. The fully acceptable analogous SED-noun construction in (329a) below adds support for this analysis.

(328) ● Quantification and determination of ÁS-nouns

a. *?A feleségem kiborult *a /e miatt a meg-látogat-ás-od miatt.*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *that /this because_of the perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
Intended meaning: 'My wife freaked out *about that / this case when I paid you a visit*.'

b. A feleségem kiborult *a(z) ?két /??tíz /??első /??második/*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *the two / ten / first / second /*
??tizedik /??utolsó meg-látogat-ás-od miatt.
tenth / last perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of
'My wife freaked out *about the two / ten / first / second / tenth / last time(s) that I paid you a visit*.'

c. A feleségem kiborult *(?)mindkét/(?)[mind a tíz]/?mindegyik/*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *both / every the ten / each /*
??minden /?sok /(?)néhány /?két /??tíz meg-látogat-ás-od miatt.
every / many / some / two / ten perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of
'(Last year I often paid a visit to you.) My wife freaked out *about both / [all the ten] / each / every / many / some / two / ten time(s) that I paid you a visit* .'

c'. *?Tavaly megúsztam *minden/ sok / néhány /*
last_year get_out_form.Past.1Sg *every / many / some /*
két / tíz / öt-hat meg-látogat-ás-od-at.
two / ten / five-six perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg-Acc
Intended meaning: 'Last year I managed to avoid *every / many / some / two / ten /[five or six] occasion(s) that my family paid you a visit*.'

d. *A feleségem *kevés / sok meg-látogat-ás-od miatt* borult ki.
the wife.Poss.1Sg *few / many perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of* freak_out.Past.3Sg out
Intended meaning: 'My wife freaked out *about few / many occasions that I paid you a visit*.'

e. A feleségem $^{(?)}$*egyik* / $^{?}$*semelyik*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *one_of / none_of*
meg-látogat-ás-od miatt sem borult ki.
perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of either freak_out.Past.3Sg out
'My wife freaked out *about neither occasions that I paid you a visit*.'

e'. $^{*?}$A feleségem soha *semmilyen*
the wife.Poss.1Sg never *no_kind*
meg-látogat-ás-od miatt nem borulna ki.
perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of not freak_out.Cond.3Sg out
Intended meaning: 'My wife would never freak out *about any occasion that I pay you a visit*.'

On the basis of the examples collected in (328b-e') and in (329b-e'), let us review which kinds of quantifiers and determiners are compatible with ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns, respectively.

The analogous (b)-examples illustrate that SED-nouns can readily appear in definite nominal constructions containing cardinal or ordinal numbers (329b), in contrast to ÁS-nouns, which seem to basically reject such contexts (328b). This difference suggests (on the basis of the assumptions set out at the beginning of this subsection) that the quantifier constructions in question work in the following way: This construction type can be characterized by the requirement that the deverbal noun in its center must denote an event type, which practically defines, or "collects", a set of "such" complex events. It is from this set that an ordinal number selects the appropriate complex event. Further, it is this set about which a cardinal numeral can make a cardinality statement.

The cardinal number *two* seems to present a somewhat different behavior, compared to *ten*, as the corresponding grammaticality judgments present in (328b) above. We claim that this observation is not in conflict with our general statement at all, but corroborates the generalization due to its exceptional character. By means of an expression containing *two* (or any other "small" number), 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. Such examples, nevertheless, are hard to judge, and there are significant speaker-dependent differences.

The examples in (328c) show that the strategy of immediately referring to more complex events by means of an appropriately quantified ÁS-noun is more or less possible in the case of certain *mind*-quantifiers and specifically understood numerals. Note that the difference between *minden* 'every' and the other *mind*-quantifiers in (328c) has to do precisely with the difference that the expression containing *minden* primarily refers to a non-specific set while the other expressions obligatorily refer to specific sets. The sufficiently acceptable variants in (328c), thus, are those which can readily be interpreted in a specific way, which was claimed to be "definite to the speaker" in subsection V (see (325b)). As native speakers of Hungarian, we "feel" that the specific *mind*-quantifier constructions, in connection with their strict distributive property, are factually to be interpreted as separately referring to each single specific complex event of a set of complex events.

Note in passing that the difference in grammaticality judgments between the variants in (328c) containing *két* 'two' and *néhány* 'some', on the one hand, and *tíz* 'ten' and *sok* 'many', on the other, can be attributed to the same choice between interpretational strategies as in the case of the difference between *two* and *ten* in (328b). This analogous variation in grammaticality judgments can be regarded as another argument for the assumption that the specific examples in (328c) are quite acceptable precisely due to their close relationship to the definite examples in (328b).

As for the corresponding SED-noun variants in (329c), it can be observed that they are almost fully acceptable, with the same slight variation in grammaticality judgments, which can simply be attributed to the same degrees of difficulties in evoking the intended specific readings as in the case of the corresponding ÁS-noun variants in (328c). SED-nouns, thus, can quite readily be quantified in all the ways generally available to common nouns, presumably due to a close relationship of event-type denoting to kind denoting. This also holds for all non-specific (329c'-d) and negative (329e-e') types of quantification.

ÁS-nouns, however, prove to realize an "at least" specific type of reference, as was also observed in subsection V. Further illustrations of this generalization are the unacceptable non-specific quantifier-constructions in (328c'), in which certain sets are referred to "out of the blue", and the also unacceptable focus constructions in (328d), in which a statement is made about the size of certain sets (without referring to their members).

The radical difference between the two kinds of negative constructions in (328e-e') also excellently evinces this generalization, since practically the same semantic content is expressed but by means of specific quantifier-determiners in (328e) and a non-specific one in (328e').

(329) ● Quantification and determination of SED-nouns

a. A feleségem kiborult *a / e miatt a látogat-ás-od miatt.*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *that / this because_of the visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
'My wife freaked out *about that / this occasion when you paid us a visit*.'

b. A feleségem kiborult *a(z) két / tíz / első / második / tizedik / utolsó látogat-ás-od miatt.*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *the two / ten / first / second / tenth / last visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
'My wife freaked out *about the two / ten / first / second / tenth / last occasion(s) that you paid us a visit*.'

c. A feleségem kiborult *mindkét / [mind a tíz] / mindegyik / (?)minden / (?)sok / ✓néhány / (?)két / ?tíz látogat-ás-od miatt.*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *both / every the ten / each / every / many / some / two / ten visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of*
'(Last year you often paid a visit to us.) My wife freaked out *about both / [all the ten] / each / every / many / some / two / ten occasion(s) that you paid us a visit*.'

c'. Tavaly megúsztam *minden /(?)sok /✓néhány /*
last_year get_out_from.Past.1Sg *every / many / some /*
✓két /✓tíz /✓öt-hat látogat-ás-od-at.
two / ten / five-six visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg-Acc
'Last year I managed to avoid *every / many / some / two / ten /[five or six] occasion(s) that you paid a visit to my family*.'

d. A feleségem *kevés /?sok látogat-ás-od miatt* borult ki.
the wife.Poss.1Sg *few / many visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of* freak_out.Past.3Sg out
'My wife freaked out *about few / many occasions that you paid us a visit*.'

e. A feleségem *egyik / semelyik*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *one_of / none_of*
látogat-ás-od miatt sem borult ki.
visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of either freak_out.Past.3Sg out
'My wife freaked out *about neither occasions that you paid us a visit*.'

e'. (?)A feleségem soha *semmilyen*
the wife.Poss.1Sg never *no_kind*
látogat-ás-od miatt nem borulna ki.
visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of not freak_out.Cond.3Sg out
'My wife would never freak *about any occasion that you paid us a visit*.'

What remains to be investigated in this subsection is whether non-eventive *Ás*-nouns pattern with "ordinary" common nouns with respect to determination and quantification. As SED-nouns have proved to essentially pattern with "ordinary" common nouns, the same is predictable concerning non-eventive *Ás*-nouns.

The comparison in (330) below between non-eventive *Ás*-nouns and "ordinary" common nouns completely verifies this prediction in every respect considered so far in this subsection.

(330) ● Quantification and determination of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. A feleségemnek tetszett *az / ez a(z) [ír-ás-od / cikk-ed].*
the wife.Poss.1Sg.Dat please.Past.3Sg *that / this the write-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / paper-Poss.2Sg*
'My wife liked *this / that [essay / paper] of yours*.'

b. A feleségemnek tetszett *a(z) két / tíz / első / második /*
the wife.Poss.1Sg.Dat please.Past.3Sg *the two / ten / first / second /*
tizedik / utolsó [ír-ás-od / cikk-ed].
tenth / last write-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / paper-Poss.2Sg
'My wife liked *the two / ten / first / second / tenth / last [essay(s) / paper(s)] of yours*.'

c. A feleségemnek nagyon tetszett *mindkét/ [mind a tíz] / mindegyik /*
the wife.Poss.1Sg.Dat very.much please.Past.3Sg *both / every the ten / each /*
(?)minden /(?)sok /✓néhány /✓két /(?)tíz [ír-ás-od / cikk-ed].
every / many / some / two / ten write-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / paper-Poss.2Sg
'(Last year we read your publications.) My wife liked *both / [all the ten] / each / every / many / some / two / ten [essay(s) / paper(s)] of yours* very much.'

c'. Tavaly elolvastam *minden /(?)sok /✓néhány /*
last_year read.Past.1Sg *every / many / some /*
✓két /✓tíz /✓öt-hat [ír-ás-od-at / cikk-ed-et].
two / ten / five-six write-ÁS-Poss.2Sg-Acc / paper-Poss.2Sg-Acc
'Last year I read *every / many / some / two / ten /[five or six] [essay(s) / paper(s)] of yours*.'

d. A feleségemnek *kevés / ?sok [ír-ás-od / cikk-ed]* tetszett.
the wife.Poss.1Sg.Dat *few / many write-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / paper-Poss.2Sg* please.Past.3Sg
''My wife liked *few / many [essays / papers] of yours*.'

e. A feleségemnek *egyik / semelyik*
the wife.Poss.1Sg.Dat *one_of / none_of*
[ír-ás-od / cikk-ed] sem tetszett.
write-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / paper-Poss.2Sg either please.Past.3Sg
'My wife liked *neither [essays / papers] of yours*.'

e'. A feleségemnek soha *semmilyen*
the wife.Poss.1Sg.Dat never *no_kind*
[ír-ás-od / cikk-ed] nem tetszik.
write-ÁS-Poss.2Sg / paper-Poss.2Sg not please.3Sg
'My wife never likes *any [essays / papers] of yours*.'

We conclude this subsection with the investigation of a phenomenon that resembles quantification, to which a few examples of Laczkó's (2000a: 319) have called our attention. The starting point in the relevant examples, as is shown in (331a) below, is a verbal construction with an adverb of frequency, from which an adjective can be derived (331b-c'). Hence, we have dubbed this possibility "adjectival quantification".

In contrast to the regular type of quantification (328b-e'), ÁS-nouns readily undergo adjectival quantification (331b). SED-nouns, however, show an extremely varied picture in this respect, as is demonstrated in (331c-c'). It seems that even the number feature of the SED-noun has some influence upon the acceptability of the variants. While in the case of *gyakran* 'often' and *ritkán* 'rarely', the corresponding nominal constructions are not really acceptable with the singular form of the SED-noun (331c), they are much more acceptable with the SED-noun in the plural (331c'). Recall (see subsection I) that in the case of ÁS-nouns using plural forms is not an option (331b).

In the case of *ötször* 'five times', however, the opposite tendency can be observed: the corresponding nominal construction is sufficiently acceptable in the singular (331c) while it is definitely fully unacceptable if the plural form of the SED-noun is used (331c'). A potential reason for this may have to do with the fact that in Hungarian cardinal numerals require the noun they belong to appear in the singular (e.g. *öt tű(*-k)* 'five needle(-Pl)').

(331) ● "Adjectival quantification" of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns

a. Tavaly Péter gyakran / ritkán / ötször látogatta meg Marit.
last_year Péter often / rarely / five_times visit.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Mari.Acc
'Last year Péter paid Mari a visit often / rarely / [five times].'

b. *Mari gyakori / ritka / ötszöri meg-látogat-ás-a(*-i)*
Mari often.Adj / rare / five_times.Adj perf-visit-ÁS-Poss(-Pl.3Sg)
háborította fel Ilit.
make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg up Ili.Acc
'It is *the fact that Mari was paid a visit often / rarely / [five times]* that made Ili angry.'

c. Péter *?gyakori / ??ritka / ?ötszöri látogat-ás-a*
Péter *often.Adj / rare / five_times.Adj visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
háborította fel Ilit.
make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg up Ili.Acc
'It is *the fact that Péter paid us a visit often / rarely / [five times]* that made Ili angry.'

c'. Péter *gyakori / ?ritka /*ötszöri látogat-ás-a-i*
Péter *often.Adj / rare / five_times.Adj visit-ÁS-Poss-Pl.3Sg*
háborították fel Ilit.
make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Pl up Ili.Acc
'It is *the fact that Péter paid us a visit often / rarely / [five times]* that made Ili angry.'

Non-eventive *Ás*-nouns completely reject adjectival quantification, with the noun head either in the singular (332b) or in the plural (332b'). This is in total harmony with their maximum degree of nominalness, due to which, however, they are fully compatible with the regular type of quantification (332c).

(332) ● "Adjectival quantification" of non-eventive *Ás*-nouns

a. Tavaly Péter gyakran / ritkán / ötször írt alá
last_year Péter often / rarely / five_times write.Past.3Sg under
fontos szerződéseket.
important contract.Pl.Acc
'Last year Péter signed important contracts often / rarely / [five times].'

b. **Péter gyakori / ritka / ötszöri [aláír-ás-a / kézjegy-e]*
Péter often.Adj / rare / five_times.Adj sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / signature-Poss.3Sg
kenődött el.
be_smeared.Past.3Sg away

b'. **Péter gyakori / ritka / ötszöri [aláír-ás-a-i / kézjegy-e-i]*
Péter often.Adj / rare / five_times.Adj sign-ÁS-Poss-Pl.3Sg / signature-Poss-Pl.3Sg
kenődtek el.
be_smeared.Past.3Sg away

c. *Péter sok / kevés / öt [aláír-ás-a / kézjegy-e]* kenődött el.
Péter many / few / five sign-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / signature-Poss.3Sg be_smeared.Past.3Sg away
'*Many / Few / Five of Péter's signatures* have been smeared.'

To sum up, non-eventive *Ás*-nouns completely pattern with ordinary common nouns in every respect of quantification and determination. SED-nouns also pattern with ordinary nouns in most respects of quantification and determination while ÁS-nouns mostly reject determination by demonstrative pronouns and the regular type of quantification. They prefer a special, "adjectival" type of quantification, which is available to SED-nouns only to a lesser degree and which is not available at all to non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (similar to ordinary common nouns).

1.3.1.2.4.3. Summary

We summarize our observations on verbal (1.3.1.2.4.1) and nominal (1.3.1.2.4.2) properties of ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns in Table 24.

As can be seen, all the three types of deverbal nouns discussed in subsection 1.3.1.2 are decidedly not verbal, but nominal. This is indicated by the asterisks ('*') and question marks ('*?'/'??') in the light cells in the upper part of the table, representing the verbal properties, and the check-marks ('✓') and parenthesized

question marks ('(?)') in the also light cells in the lower part of the table, representing the nominal properties. Thus, the lighter a cell is, the more nominal—and simultaneously the less verbal—the noun type is in the given respect.

Table 24: The degree of verbalness/nominalness of ÁS-nominalizations

PROPERTIES		ÁS-NOUN	SED-NOUN	NON-EVENTIVE *Ás*-NOUN
VERBAL	tense and mood	*	*	*
	two person/number paradigms of conjugation	*	*	*
	separability of preverb / verbal modifier	??	*?	*
	presence / obligatoriness of arguments	✓	?	*
	accusative case-marked argument	*?	*	*
	adverbial modification	*?	*?	*
	information structure (internal scopes)	(?)	?	*
NOMINAL	pluralization	*	✓	✓
	possessive argument	✓	✓	✓
	case marking	✓	✓	✓
	adjectival modification	✓	✓	✓
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality	??	(?)	✓
	quantification (and determination)	*?	(?)	✓

There are, however, significant differences between the three types. While non-eventive *Ás*-nouns are completely nominal—and simultaneously fully non-verbal—ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns retain a certain number of verbal properties, and, parallel to this, they show certain nominal properties to a proportionally lesser extent, if at all. This chiefly holds for ÁS-nouns: they practically inherit the argument and information structure of their verbal inputs, and, consequently, they cannot undergo pluralization and most forms of quantification, and they cannot form non-specific noun phrases. As for SED-nouns, they can be characterized by an in-between status: as for the aforementioned verbal properties, they retain them to a certain extent, but to a significantly lesser extent than ÁS-nouns (for instance, only non-possessor arguments "inherit" scope in the case of SED-nouns) and as for the nominal properties, however, SED-nouns almost completely pattern with non-eventive *Ás*-nouns, and hence ordinary common nouns.

1.3.1.3. Ó-nominalization

Results of Ó-nominalization, which will be referred to as Ó-nouns, can be characterized by the fact that they productively express one of the "active key participants" of the complex events expressed by the input verbs.

By this "active key participant" we mean the participant of the complex event to which the speaker attributes the successful completion of the input complex event. Not only Agents can play the role of the "active key participant" but also Instruments (or Experiencers in certain constructions); these nouns will be referred to as $Ó_{\theta}$-nouns: $Ó_{AG}$-nouns, $Ó_{INST}$-nouns, $Ó_{EXP}$-nouns (see (337) in 1.3.1.3.1).

Moreover, the location associated with the input complex event (typically expressed as a free adjunct) can also be the result of Ó-nominalization; such nouns will be referred to as $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns (see also (337) in 1.3.1.3.1). This seems to suggest that language encodes the wisdom that an ideal room or other kind of location can also be regarded as an important factor of making it possible to complete a task successfully. That is, the ideal place can practically be regarded as belonging to the set of instruments that the task requires.

It is worth clearly distinguishing the two types of nominalizations because this difference will be relevant in the course of the type-by-type investigation of input argument structures (1.3.1.3.2.3). We will refer to them as thematic Ó-nominalization and adjunctive Ó-nominalization.

The above-sketched approach to the intricate system of alternative (but related) ways of Ó-nominalization basically relies on Laczkó's corresponding subsection (Laczkó 2000a: subsection 6.2, pp. 372–405) in *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan 3*, edited by Kiefer (2000a). We mention in advance, nevertheless, that we have considered it necessary to complete Laczkó's account, for instance, with analyses where certain $Ó_{INST}$-nouns are derived via not thematic but adjunctive Ó-nominalization.

Presumably in connection with the fact that the input is a complex event, an Ó-noun inherits the argument structure (Laczkó 2000a: 379) and information structure of the input verb, but even more partially and with greater limits than was observed in the case of ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2).

We also follow Laczkó (2000a: 393) in assuming that Ó-nouns (similar to ÁS-nouns) can productively undergo a kind of conversion yielding nouns expressing the typical and/or institutionalized "active key participants" of event types (or "simple events"). This typical-participant denoting group of nouns will be referred to as TPD-nouns (TPD_{AG}-nouns, TPD_{INST}-nouns, TPD_{EXP}-nouns, TPD_{LOC}-nouns).

There are also some nouns (Laczkó 2000a: 390–391) involving the suffix *-Ó* which express simple events, which are typically social events (333a). We have found even a few examples where a Theme is referred to by means of a noun involving the suffix *-Ó* (333b-b'): the word *adó* 'give.Ó' ('tax'), for instance, instead of referring to the person who gives something, here refers to what is given. These forms shown in (333) are also transparent (native speakers can identify the input verbs and take their meaning into account), but they cannot be regarded as results of any kind of (synchronically) productive derivation. Hence, they are not Ó- or TPD-nouns in the above-discussed sense.

(333) ● Irregular *Ó*-nouns: non-productive kinds of derivation by means of the suffix *-Ó*

a. Jól sikerült *a tegnapi esküv-ő / találkoz-ó / vetélked-ő / szék-foglal-ó.*
well succeed.Past.3Sg *the yesterday.Adj marry-Ó / meet-Ó / compete-Ó / chair-occupy-Ó*
'*Yesterday's wedding / meeting / [quiz show] / inauguration* was a great success.'

b. Befizetem *az ad-ó-t.*
pay.DefObj.1Sg *the give-Ó-Acc*
'I will pay *the tax*.'

b'. Küldtek nekünk *egy kis kóstol-ó-t a levesből.*
pay.Past.3Pl we.Dat *a little taste-Ó-Acc the soup.Del*
'They sent us *a taste of the soup*.'

In the subsections below—similar to our practice in the previous subsection (1.3.1.2)—we will focus on the two productive types of nominalization: the primary Ó-nominalization, yielding Ó-nouns (denoting active key participants of the input complex events), and the conversion yielding TPD-nouns (denoting typical participants of the input event types). The description of these nouns will be totally parallel with that of ÁS-nouns in harmony with our assumption that Ó-nouns essentially pattern with ÁS-nouns in the morphosyntactic system of the Hungarian grammar (ÁS-nouns ~ Ó-nouns; SED-nouns ~ TPD-nouns; non-eventive ÁS-nouns ~ irregular *Ó*-nouns). In this subsection, thus, we will also discuss the form of the derived noun, its relation to the base verb and the restrictions on the derivational process; it will also be scrutinized which verbal and nominal properties they present of those mentioned in Table 23 in subsection 1.3.1.1.

It must be noted that there is another suffix *-Ó* in Hungarian grammar: it is the present / continuous / simultaneous participial derivational suffix (334c) (see volume F). The two constructions derived by means of the two different derivational suffixes can be distinguished on the basis of the following phenomena. First, the input object (e.g., *jelenség-et* 'phenomenon-Acc' in (334a)) must appear as a possessor beside deverbal nominals in harmony with the fact that nouns cannot have accusative case-marked dependents (334b), while it retains its accusative case marking beside Ó-participles (334c). Second, input adverbs (e.g., *sikeres-en* 'successful-Adv' in (334a)) must appear adjectivalized beside deverbal nominals (334b) while they remain unchanged beside participles (334c).

(334) ● Distinguishing the nominal derivational suffix *-Ó* from the participial derivational suffix *-Ó*

a. Péter írta le sikeres-en a jelenség-et.
Péter write.Past.DefObj.3Sg down successful-Adv the phenomenon-Acc
'It was Péter who described the phenomenon successfully.'

b. Kitüntették *a jelenség sikeres le-ír-ó-já-t.*
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the phenomenon successful down-write-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'*The person who described the phenomenon successfully* was honored.'

c. Kitüntették *a jelenség-et sikeres-en le-ír-ó nyelvész-t.*
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the phenomenon-Acc successful-Adv down-write-Ó linguist-Acc*
'*The linguist who described the phenomenon successfully* was honored.'

d. Melyik nyelvészt tüntették ki?
which linguist.Acc award.Past.DefObj.3Pl out
A jelenség-et sikeres-en le-ír-ó-t?
the phenomenon-Acc successful-Adv down-write-Ó-Acc
'Which linguist was honored? *Was it the one who described the phenomenon successfully?*'

d'. *?Kitüntették *a jelenség-et sikeres-en le-ír-ó-t.*
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the phenomenon-Acc successful-Adv down-write-Ó-Acc*
Intended meaning: '*The person who described the phenomenon successfully* was honored.'

Constructions derived by means of the participial derivational suffix *-Ó* are not necessarily associated with a phonetically overt nominal head. In a case like this, the nominal head must be recoverable. Since this requirement is satisfied in (334d), in which the first sentence contains an overt antecedent for the phonetically absent nominal head in the second sentence, the construction in question is well-formed.

The same construction in (334d'), however, in which the given sentence is meant to be interpreted "out of the blue", is ill-formed exactly because this requirement is not satisfied.

We will exploit the two differences in syntactic extendibility (with possessor/object and adjective/adverb) discussed above to distinguish Ó-nouns from Ó-participles.

There is a serious problem, however. As is shown in (335) below, the analogous plural forms of (334) are all fully acceptable. Even (335d') is well-formed, in contrast to (334d'), in spite of its intended out-of-the-blue interpretation. It is not clear why the plural form, in contrast to the singular form, makes it possible to neutralize the recoverability requirement or satisfy it via assuming some kind of default antecedent ("group of people"). Note in passing that the same phenomenon can also be observed in the case of adjectives: in (335d"), for instance, only the plural variant can be associated with a reasonable interpretation in an out-of-the-blue context.

(335) ● Plural constructions derived by means of the two different derivational suffixes *-Ó*

a. Péter-ék írták le sikeres-en a jelenség-et.
Péter-Apl write.Past.DefObj.3Pl down successful-Adv the phenomenon-Acc
'It was Péter and his colleagues who described the phenomenon successfully.'

b. Kitüntették *a jelenség sikeres le-ír-ó-i-t.*
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the phenomenon successful down-write-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc*
'*The people who described the phenomenon successfully* were honored.'

c. Kitüntették *a jelenség-et sikeres-en le-ír-ó nyelvész-ek-et.*
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the phenomenon-Acc successful-Adv down-write-ó linguist-Pl-Acc*
'*The linguists who described the phenomenon successfully* were honored.'

d. Mely nyelvészeket tüntették ki?
which linguist.Pl.Acc award.Past.DefObj.3Pl out
A jelenség-et sikeres-en le-ír-ó-k-at?
the phenomenon-Acc successful-Adv down-write-ó-Pl-Acc
'Which linguists were honored? *Were they those who described the phenomenon successfully?*'

d'. Kitüntették *a jelenség-et sikeres-en le-ír-ó-k-at.*
award.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the phenomenon-Acc successful-Adv down-write-ó-Pl-Acc*
'*The people who described the phenomenon successfully* were honored.'

d". Láttam *a* $^{*?}$*feketé-t* / $^{\checkmark}$*feketé-k-et.*
see.Past.1Sg *the black-Acc / black-Pl-Acc*
'I saw *the black person / people*.'

1.3.1.3.1. Form of the derived noun

Ó-nominalization is essentially productive in the types of basic verbs (see (215) in 1.3.1.1, sub II) where the input argument structures contain Agents or Instruments or can be completed with typical locations. By "essentially" we mean that the extent of productivity highly depends on the type of the ó-noun: $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization can be regarded as fully productive, while $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization—at the other end of the scale of productivity—provides potential forms which scarcely reach the borderline of acceptability (see the grammaticality judgments associated with the examples in

(337d) and (338d-d')). We consider $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization a productive way of derivation which, however, is highly influenced by the blocking effect of both the other kinds of Ó-nominalization and competing TPD-noun versions. The phonetic form of a TPD_{LOC}-noun, the word *söröző* 'beer house', for instance, can always be used as an $Ó_{AG}$-noun, but not *vice versa*, that is, (the phonetic form of) a TPD_{AG}-noun—e.g., the word *író* 'writer'—cannot be used as an $Ó_{LOC}$-noun.

Note that we consider $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization productive, in spite of these problems and doubts, in order to retain a uniform system of Ó-nominalizations, completed with a system of TPD-noun derivations consistently "carried out" by conversion. According to a reasonable alternative approach, there is no productive $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization in the synchronic Hungarian grammar; but there is a productive "immediate" TPD_{LOC}-nominalization, which derives TPD_{LOC}-nouns directly from verbs by means of the suffix *-Ó* (see (339d) below).

The Ó-nouns (independently of their subtypes) have the external distribution of a noun. The series of examples in (336) serves as an illustration of this (trivial) fact, by means of $Ó_{AG}$-nouns.

(336) ● The noun-like external distribution of Ó-nouns

a. Ő lesz *az ötödik fejezet meg-ír-ó-ja?*
(s)he will_be.3Sg *the fifth chapter perf-write-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Will he be *the writer of the fifth chapter [i.e., the one who will write the fifth chapter]?*'

b. *Az ötödik fejezet meg-ír-ó-ja* kitüntetést kapott.
the fifth chapter perf-write-Ó-Poss.3Sg award.Acc get.Past.3Sg
'*The writer of the fifth chapter [i.e., the one who wrote the fifth chapter]* was honored.'

c. Megdicsértük *az ötödik fejezet meg-szerkeszt-ő-jé-t.*
praise.Past.DefObj.1Pl *the fifth chapter perf-edit-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'We praised *the editor of the fifth chapter [i.e., the one who edited the fifth chapter].*'

d. Sokat beszéltek *az ötödik fejezet meg-szerkeszt-ő-jé-ről.*
much.Acc talk.Past.3Pl *the fifth chapter perf-edit-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Del*
'They talked a lot about *the editor of the fifth chapter [i.e., the one who edited the fifth chapter].*'

In (336a), there is an Ó-noun used as a primary predicate (NB: Ó-nouns cannot serve as bare (primary) predicates, see (427d) 1.3.1.3.4.2 sub V). Example (336b) illustrates the case in which an Ó-noun is used as a (nominative case-marked) subject. In example (336c), an Ó-noun is used as an (accusative case-marked) object. Finally, in (336d), the Ó-noun appears as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase.

As for the forms of the derived Ó-nouns, they involve the suffix *-ó* (336a,b) or *-ő* (336c,d), in accordance with vowel harmony conditions (1.1.1.2).

As was mentioned in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.3, Ó-nouns have four subtypes according to the (thematic) role of the participant of the input verbal construction which is referred to by the output Ó-noun (337).

(337) ● The subtypes of Ó-nouns

a. $Ó_{AG}$-nouns:
Ő lesz *az ötödik fejezet meg-ír-ó-ja?*
(s)he will_be.3Sg *the fifth chapter perf-write-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Will he be *the writer of the fifth chapter?*'

b. Ó$_{EXP}$-nouns:
Ez a férfi *Mari lelkes imád-ó-ja.*
this the man *Mari enthusiastic admire-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This man is *Mari's enthusiastic admirer*.'

c. Ó$_{INST}$-nouns:
Ez a szerkezet lesz ma *a kész termékek számlál-ó-ja?*
this the device will_be.3Sg today *the ready product.Pl count-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Will this device be *the counter of the prepared products* today?'

d. Ó$_{LOC}$-nouns:
??Ez a szoba volt *Ili tegnapi meggy-ki-magoz-ó-ja.*
this the room be.Past.3Sg *Ili yesterday.Adj sour_cherry-out-seed-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This room was *the place where Ili performed the pitting of sour cherries yesterday*.'

Examples (337a-d) illustrate Ó-nouns denoting the Agent, the Experiencer, the Instrument and the Location of the input verbal construction, respectively.

The test in (338) below, in which a nonsensical input verb (*gorpol*, which we will render as the similarly nonsensical English verb 'gorp') is applied, suggests that the four Ó-noun types do not show the same degree of productivity, at least in the course of their competition with each other.

Let us compare (338b) to (338a). The same word *gorpoló* 'gorper' is not equally readily interpreted as an Agent in (338a) and as an Experiencer in (338b). This radical difference in grammaticality (?) judgments can be attributed to the fact that native speakers cannot easily ignore in (338b) the (here non-intended) Agentive interpretation, which, however, also seems to prevail here (cf. (337b)). It is *ab ovo* a very hard methodological problem, however, to distinguish agentive and experiencer interpretations in the case of nonsensical words; even it is not clear whether the judgments mentioned above are indeed grammaticality judgments, or rather judgments concerning felicity conditions, or simply preferences among variants which are separately all acceptable.

(338) ● Nonsensical words as Ó-nouns

Ó$_{AG}$-nouns:
a. Tegnap kik voltak *a lelkes gorpol-ó-k?* Petiék?
yesterday who.Pl be.Past.3Pl *the enthusiastic gorp-Ó-Pl* Peti.Apl
'Who were *the enthusiastic gorpers* yesterday? Were they Peti and his colleagues?'

Ó$_{EXP}$-nouns:
b. ??Kik váltak *Mariék lelkes gorpol-ó-i-vá?* Petiék?
who.Pl become.Past.3Pl *Mari.Apl enthusiastic gorp-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-TrE* Peti.Apl
'Who have become *the enthusiastic gorpers of Mari and her friends*? Was it Peti and his friends?'

Ó$_{INST}$-nouns:
c. ?Tegnap mi volt *az a jó gorpol-ó?* A mixer?
yesterday what be.Past.3Sg *that the good gorp-Ó* the mixer
'What was *that good gorper* yesterday? Was it the mixer?'

c'. (?)Tegnap melyik kütyü volt *az a jó gorpol-ó?*
yesterday which thingy be.Past.3Sg *that the good gorp-Ó*
'Which thingy was *that good gorper* yesterday?'

$Ó_{Loc}$-nouns:

d. *?Tegnap mi volt *az a jó gorpol-ó?* A konyha?
yesterday what be.Past.3Sg *that the good gorp-ó* the kitchen
Intended meaning: 'What was *that good gorpery* yesterday? Was it the kitchen?'

d'. ??Tegnap melyik helyiség volt *az a jó gorpol-ó?*
yesterday which room be.Past.3Sg *that the good gorp-ó*
'Which room was *that good gorpery* yesterday?'

In examples (338c,d), a single question word *mi* 'what' is intended to evoke the instrumental or locative meaning of the nonsensical Ó-noun, in contrast to (338a,b), where the [+HUMAN] question word *ki* 'who' was used to evoke the agentive and the experiencer meaning of the same nonsensical Ó-noun, respectively.

A radical difference in grammaticality judgments can be observed here, too: while (338c) is almost acceptable, (338d) is definitely unacceptable. The instrumental meaning, thus, is undoubtedly preferred to the locative interpretation. Nevertheless, both interpretations can be triggered productively, as is demonstrated in (338c',d'), where [question word + classifier] constructions are used in order to "prime" the intended instrumental (338c') or locative (338d') interpretation. A certain difference in grammaticality judgments remains, however, also here, indicating the preference for the instrumental interpretation to the locative one.

All in all, Ó-nouns seem to denote Agents or Instruments preferably.

Let us now turn to the "typical (active-) participant denoting" TPD-nouns. The series of examples in (339) below illustrates that TPD_{AG}-nouns (339a), TPD_{INST}-nouns (339c) and TPD_{LOC}-nouns (339d) can be productively derived from the corresponding Ó-noun variants by means of conversion. This does not hold for TPD_{EXP}-nouns, as is illustrated by the grammaticality judgments in (339b). If we derive potential TPD-nouns from verbs which do not belong to standard Hungarian (see the second variants in examples (339a,b,c,d)) or from nonsensical verbs (see the third variants in the examples), the results will be unacceptable in the experiencer type (339b). Thus, there are no TPD_{EXP}-nouns, at least there are no lexicalized non-compound ones, probably due to the typically obligatory presence of the stimulus-Theme in the case of the corresponding verb type (NB: *író* 'writer' and *véső* 'chisel' are good examples of other types, in spite of the fact that writing and carving are activities in which Themes are assumed to be present). Nevertheless, the question requires further research, witnessed by the not fully unacceptable compounds presented in (339b').

Note in passing that it even occurs that the subject of the input verb is undoubtedly an Experiencer but the role played by the denotatum of the corresponding lexicalized TPD-noun can rather be characterized as a quite agentive role. Example (339b") illustrates this (lexicalized) case: a *szerető* 'lover' is not only a passive experiencer of an emotion, but much more than that. His or her status as a lover is based on a conscious and volitional decision and manifests itself in several agentive activities. This active and volitional participation characterizes a *szerető* 'lover' to a significantly greater extent than an *imádó* 'admirer'.

(339) ● The subtypes of TPD-nouns

a. TPD_{AG}-nouns:
Köztünk Péter *a legjobb ír-ó / smúzol-ó / gorpol-ó.*
among_1Pl Péter *the best write-ó / hobnob-ó / gorp-ó*
'Péter is *the best writer / hobnobber / gorper* among us.'

b. TPD_{EXP}-nouns:
*Köztünk Péter *a leglelkesebb imád-ó / komál-ó / gorpol-ó.*
among_1Pl Péter *the most_enthusiastic admire-ó / like-ó / gorp-ó*
Intended meaning (i.e., *gorp* is intended to be interpreted as a verb of emotion):' Péter is *the most enthisiastic admirer / liker / gorper* among us.'

b'. Köztünk Péter *a legfanatikusabb *(?orosz-)gyűlöl-ő / *(?pizza-)imád-ó.*
among_1Pl Péter *the most_fanatic (Russian-)hate-ó / (pizza-)admire-ó*
'Among us, Péter is *the one who most fanatically [hates Russians]/ [likes pizza]*.'

b''. Köztünk Péter *a legjobb szeret-ő.*
among_1Pl Péter *the best love-ó*
'Péter is *the best lover* among us.'

c. TPD_{INST}-nouns:
Add ide *azt a vés-ő-t / pucevál-ó-t / gorpol-ó-t!*
give.Subj.2Sg here *that.Acc the carve-ó-Acc / clean-ó-Acc / gorp-ó-Acc*
'Give me *that chisel / cleaner / gorper!*'

d. TPD_{LOC}-nouns:
Menjünk be *ebbe a söröz-ő-be / gyroszoz-ó-ba / gorpol-ó-ba!*
go.Subj.1Pl into *this.Ill the drink_beer-ó-Ill / eat_kebab-ó-Ill / gorp-ó-Ill*
'Let us go in *this [beer house] / [kebab restaurant] / gorpery!*'

As TPD_{EXP}-nouns do not exist as a productive subtype of TPD-noun, from now on only the other three subtypes of TPD-nouns will be investigated systematically (but see subsection 1.3.1.3.3, in which subsection V is devoted to the discussion of psych verbs).

As TPD-nouns are derived by conversion from Ó-nouns, they are also predicted to involve the suffix *-Ó*. This prediction is essentially borne out, as is shown in the primed examples in (340) below. As in the case of ÁS-nouns, the preverbs of input verbs are worth investigating also here (cf. (219) in 1.3.1.2.1). Do the "meaningless" (i.e., exclusively perfectivizing) input preverbs behave differently from the "meaningful" ones?

(340) ● Deriving TPD-nouns I: *-Ó*

a. *A lakás **el**-ad-ó-ja* nem volt azonos a tulajdonosával.
*the flat **away**-give-ó-Poss.3Sg* not be.Past.3Sg same the owner.Poss.3Sg.Ins
'*The seller of the flat* was not the same as the owner.'

a'. Péter *a legjobb **el**-ad-ó* a boltban.
Péter *the best **away**-give-ó* the shop.Ine
'Péter is *the best shop assistant* in the shop.'

b. Zsófi volt tegnap *az a lelkes teniszez-ő?*
Zsófi be.Past.3Sg yesterday *that the enthusiastic tennis_player-ó*
'Was it Zsófi *who played tennis enthusiastically* yesterday?'

b'. Federer *a kedvenc teniszez-ő-m.*
Federer *the favorite tennis_player-ó-Poss.1Sg*
'Federer is *my favorite tennis player*.'

c. Péter volt *[az ötödik fejezet* ?*(**le-**)fordít-ó-ja]* */*
Péter be.Past.3Sg *the fifth chapter* ***(down-)****translate-ó-Poss.3Sg* */*
[ennek az emailnek a ??*(**le-**)fordít-ó-ja]?*
this.Dat the email.Dat the ***(down-)****translate-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Was Péter *the person [who had translated the fifth chapter] / [who had translated this email]?*'

c'. Péter *a legjobb fordít-ó* Magyarországon.
Péter *the best translate-ó* Hungary.Sup
'Péter is *the best translator* in Hungary.'

In the pairs of primed and primeless examples in (340) above, a TPD-noun can be compared to the corresponding Ó-noun. In the trivial case in which the input verb has no preverb, the TPD-noun is predicted to fully coincide (phonetically) with the corresponding Ó-noun, due to their conversional relation. Examples (340b-b') illustrate this basic case. Otherwise, while an Ó-noun essentially inherits the preverb of the input verb (340a,c), the corresponding TPD-noun inherits the preverb only if it is "meaningful" (340a'). That is, a preverb is omitted in the case of a TPD-noun if its meaning contribution amounts to marking perfectivization (340c').

The difference between the "meaningful" and "meaningless" preverbs also manifests itself in the case of Ó-nouns (in contrast to ÁS-nouns; see (219a,c)): while the "meaningful" preverbs must be retained obligatorily (340a), the "meaningless" ones are only "preferably" to be retained (340c). The omissibility of the "meaningless" preverb, as is demonstrated by means of the different grammaticality judgments associated with the two variants given in (340c), seems to depend on such further factors as the character of the Theme of the input verb. The particular difference in (340c) might have to do with the fact that someone who has translated a lengthy text may be regarded as a *fordító* 'translator' (in some occasional sense) rather than someone who has translated only a short message.

As was discussed above, TPD-nouns, due to their conversional derivation, regularly are homophonous with the corresponding Ó-nouns. Several TPD-nouns, however, do not coincide phonetically with the corresponding Ó-nouns, as can be observed in the relation of SED-nouns and the corresponding ÁS-nouns; see (221-223) in subsection 1.3.1.2.1. In cases like this, the "potential words" that the process of conversion would yield are blocked by idiosyncratic forms which already exist in the language. The primed examples in (341-343) below illustrate this fact.

As for Ó-nouns, the derivational input to which are complex events, one might expect, on the basis of our observations concerning ÁS-nouns (see the primeless examples in (221-223) in subsection 1.3.1.2.1), that Ó-nouns are never "blocked" by any kind of idiosyncratic forms. Here, however, the picture is much more intricate. This generalization essentially holds only for $Ó_{AG}$-nouns—which are, indeed, derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-Ó* (341a,b)—while it holds for $Ó_{INST}$-nouns to a lesser degree (342a,b) and for $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns even less (343a,b). We are going to attribute this "defection", which prevails to three different degrees in the case of the three kinds of nominalizations, to the effect illustrated in (338) above: the competing Ó-nominalizations tend to block the productivity of each other, also

depending on their preference-order ($Ó_{AG}$-nominalization > $Ó_{INST}$- nominalization > $Ó_{LOC}$- nominalization). Note again that it is a reasonable alternative to assume that the less preferred $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization does not exist at all in the (synchronic) system of productive Hungarian derivations.

Let us consider some details, starting with the illustration of the blocking effects in the case of $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization (341a,b) and the TPD_{AG}-nouns (see the primed examples in (341)) which are different from the "potential words" derived regularly (341c,d,e,f).

As in the case of every kind of TPD_{θ}-nouns, the blocking TPD_{AG}-noun variants (see the primed examples in (341)) are all fully acceptable in the intended meaning (i.e., as typical Agents of given event types). Note that the competing (potential) $Ó_{AG}$-noun word forms in the place of the blocking TPD_{AG}-nouns do not necessarily result in ill-formed potential sentences. What the asterisks indicate (341a',b'), thus, is only that they are ill-formed with the intended (TPD-) meaning, but they can be associated with a meaning in which an occasional Agent of a complex event is referred to.

As for the $Ó_{AG}$-nouns demonstrated in (341a,b), in the "competition" of the regular potential Ó-noun word form with the blocking word form, it is the former that has been predicted to provide acceptable sentences (with the intended meaning). As is shown by the grammaticality judgments, however, the picture is not so black and white that a perfect regular Ó-noun would come with a fully unacceptable blocking word form in the examples (see also the comments on the series of examples in (381) in 1.3.1.3.3, sub I). This may be attributed to the additional factor that the productivity of $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization is affected by the two competing Ó-nominalizations to a certain degree. The phonetic form of the blocking TPD_{AG}-noun, thus, seems to offer a potential unambiguous alternative to the multiply ambiguous regular Ó-noun phonetic form.

The morphological relation between the blocking idiosyncratic TPD-noun forms and the corresponding input verbs shows a rather varied picture, the essential points of which the interested reader can review in the (c-f')-examples in (341) (as well as in (342-343) in the case of TPD_{INST}-nouns and TPD_{LOC}-nouns).

In (341c-c'), native derivational suffixes are illustrated. The word 'Hungarian' is to be interpreted compared to the forms of derivations demonstrated in (341f-f'), where native speakers are aware of the foreign origin not only in the case of the complete loan nouns (e.g., *menedzser* 'manager') but also in the case of the derivational suffixes (*-ista*, *-er*), presumably due to the great number of such analogous examples as *komponista* 'composer', *orgonista* 'organist', *tréner* 'trainer', *kontroller* 'controller'. Here, thus, the blocking TPD-noun forms are the (complete) original loan nouns.

(341) ● Deriving TPD_{AG}-nouns: blocking forms

a. Tegnap Zsófi volt *Morzsi lelkes* $^{(?)}$*idomít-ó-ja* / $^{?}$*idomár-ja.*
yesterday Zsófi be.Past.3Sg *Morzsi enthusiastic tame-ó-Poss.3Sg / tamer-Poss.3Sg*
'Yesterday Zsófi was *the kid who tamed Morzsi enthusiastically.*'

a'. Ricardo *a legjobb* **idomít-ó* / ✓*idomár* a cirkuszban.
Ricardo *the best tame-ó / tamer* the circus.Ine
'Ricardo is *the best tamer* in the circus (as his profession).'

b. Peti volt tegnap *az a lelkes* (?)*harmonikáz-ó* /?*harmonikás*.
Peti be.Past.3Sg yesterday *that the enthusiastic play_the_accordion-ó / accordionist*
'Yesterday Peti was *the kid who played the accordion enthusiastically*.'

b'. Peti *a legjobb* **harmonikáz-ó* /✓*harmonikás,* akit valaha láttam.
Peti *the best play_the_accordion-ó/ accordionist* who.Acc ever see.Past.1Sg
'Peti is *the best accordionist* I have ever seen.'

c. *váj-ó / *mér-ő / *rikkant-ó
carve-ó / measure-ó / shout-ó

c'. vájár / mérnök / rikkancs
'collier / engineer / paperboy'

d. *őrz-ő / *ácsol-ó / *tolmácsol-ó
keep-ó / build-ó / interpret-ó

d'. őr / ács / tolmács
'guard / carpenter / interpreter'

e. *énekl-ő / *tornáz-ó
sing-ó / excercise-ó

e'. énekes / tornász
'singer / gymnast'

f. *menedzsel-ő / *konstruál-ó / *fociz-ó / *asszisztál-ó / *kritizál-ó
manage-ó / construct-ó / play_football-ó / assist-ó / criticize-ó

f'. menedzser / konstruktőr / focista / asszisztens / kritikus
'manager / developer / footballer / assistant / critic'

The examples in (341d-d') above show an interesting type of blocking TPD-noun form. Here the input verbs (e.g., *ácsol* 'build/carpenter') are derived from nouns (*ács* 'carpenter'), and their TPD-noun variants are not the words further derived from the derived verbs in any way but the original input noun stems. Note that the further derived words can serve as the corresponding $Ó_{AG}$-nouns (*a pad ácsolója* 'the desk build.Ó.Poss.3Sg': 'the person who has built the desk').

The examples in (341e-e') above show a fourth type of blocking TPD-noun form. Here there is a common (relative) stem (e.g., *ének* 'song') shared by the TPD-noun (*énekes* 'singer') and the corresponding verb (*énekel* 'sing').

Let us now turn to TPD_{INST}-nouns (342). As in the case of every kind of TPD_{θ}-nouns, the blocking TPD_{INST}-noun variants (see the primed examples) are all fully acceptable in the intended meaning (i.e., as typical instruments of given event types).

As for the $Ó_{INST}$-nouns demonstrated in (342a,b), in the "competition" of the regular potential Ó-noun word form with the blocking word form, it is the former that has been predicted to provide acceptable sentences (with the intended meaning). The regular $Ó_{INST}$-noun variants, however, sound so artificial that the potentially competing phonetic forms of the corresponding TPD_{INST}-nouns (assumed some kind of "quotational mood"; see the comments on the series of examples in (381) in 1.3.1.3.3, sub I, again) are practically as acceptable as them. This can also be attributed to the fact that the productivity of $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization is affected by the competing two Ó-nominalizations to a certain degree, with the supplementary comment that $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization is preferred to $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization with respect to productivity. The phonetic form of the blocking TPD_{INST}-noun, thus, seems to

offer a potential unambiguous alternative to the multiply ambiguous regular Ó-noun phonetic form (whose slightly preferred variant is the $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation).

The morphological relation between the blocking idiosyncratic TPD_{INST}-noun forms and the corresponding input verbs shows as varied a picture as in the case of TPD_{AG}-nouns (342c-f'). Examples (342c,d,e,f) illustrate the "potential words" derived regularly, which are all unacceptable (cf. (341c,d,e,f)) with the intended meanings (NB: some phonetic forms there can be associated with a participial meaning or with a non-instrumental TPD-noun meaning).

In (342c'), similar to (341c'), "Hungarian" derivational suffixes are illustrated while in (342f') such forms of derivations are demonstrated (cf. (341f')) where native speakers are aware of the foreign origin not only in the case of the complete loan nouns (e.g., *stopper* 'stop-watch', *szimulátor* 'simulator') but also in the case of the derivational suffixes (*-er*, *-átor*), presumably due to the large number of such analogous examples as *adapter* 'adapter', *printer* 'printer', *transzformátor* 'transformer', *kalkulátor* 'calculator'.

(342) ● Deriving TPD_{INST}-nouns: blocking forms

a. Ez a kis rongydarab volt tegnap
this the little piece_of_cloth be.Past.3Sg yesterday
a sarkamnak az a remek ?smirgliz-ő-je / ?smirgli-je.
the heel.Poss.1Sg.Dat that the great abrade-Ó-Poss.3Sg / sandpaper-Poss.3Sg
'This little piece of cloth was *that thing which abraded my heel so well* yesterday.'

a'. Ez *a legjobb *smirgliz-ő /✓smirgli* a boltban.
this *the best abrade-Ó / sandpaper* the shop.Ine
'This is *the best sandpaper* in the shop.'

b. Ez a csörgő volt tegnap
this the rattle be.Past.3Sg yesterday
az a remek ?kolompol-ó / ?kolomp.
that the great tinkle-Ó / bell
'This rattle was *that thingy which tinkled so well* yesterday.'

b'. Ez *a legjobb *kolompol-ó /✓kolomp*, amit valaha láttam
this *the best tinkle-Ó / bell* which.Acc ever see.Past.1Sg
'This is *the best bell* I have ever seen.'

c. *kerít-ő / *tart-ó / *szív-ó / *szív-ó / *néz-ő / *csíp-ő
enclose-Ó / hold-Ó / absorb-Ó / absorb-Ó / watch-Ó / pick

c'. kerítés / tartály / szivattyú / szivacs / nézőke / csipesz
'fence / container / pump / sponge / [(rear) sight] / tweezers'

d. *zár-ó / *sakkoz-ó / *dobol-ó
lock-Ó / play_chess / beat_the_drum-Ó

d'. zár / sakk / dob
'lock / chess / drum'

e. *segít-ő / *játsz-ó
help-Ó / play-Ó

e'. segély / játék
'aid / toy'

f. *stoppol-ó / *szimulál-ó
stop-ó / simulate-ó
f'. stopper / szimulátor
'stop-watch / simulator'

In (342d') above, the input verbs (e.g., *dobol* 'drum') are derived from nouns (*dob* 'drum'), and their TPD-noun variants are not (further) derived from the verbs but the original noun stems, similar to the corresponding type of TPD_{AG}-noun (341d'). The examples in (342e') above illustrate the same fourth type of blocking TPD-noun form as was shown in the case of TPD_{AG}-nouns (cf. (341e-e')). In this type there is a common (relative) stem (e.g., *seg-*) shared by the TPD-noun (*segély* 'aid') and the corresponding verb (*segít* 'help').

Let us now turn to TPD_{LOC}-nouns (343). As in the case of every kind of TPD_{θ}-nouns, the blocking TPD_{LOC}-noun variants (see the primed examples) are all fully acceptable in the intended meaning (i.e., as typical locations of given event types).

As is demonstrated in (343a,b), the $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns show a strange behavior in the "competition" of the regular potential Ó-noun word form with the blocking word form. Unlike $Ó_{AG}$-nouns (341a,b) and $Ó_{INST}$-nouns (342a,b), the regular $Ó_{LOC}$-noun variants are unacceptable. This can be attributed to the factor that the productivity of $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization is affected by the competing two Ó-nominalizations—to a dramatic degree, which must have to do with the fact that both $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization and $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization are preferred to $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization with respect to productivity. The phonetic form of the blocking TPD_{LOC}-noun, thus, seems to offer a potential unambiguous alternative to the multiply ambiguous regular Ó-noun phonetic form (whose preferred variants are the $Ó_{AG}$- and $Ó_{INST}$-noun interpretations).

The morphological relation between the blocking idiosyncratic TPD_{LOC}-noun forms and the corresponding input verbs shows as varied a picture as in the case of TPD_{AG}-nouns and TPD_{INST}-nouns (343c-f'). Examples (343c,d,e,f) illustrate the "potential words" derived regularly, which are all unacceptable (cf. (341-342)).

(343) ● Deriving TPD_{LOC}-nouns: blocking forms (basic types)

a. Ez a sátor volt tegnap
this the tent be.Past.3Sg yesterday
*a habcsókoknak az a remek *süt-ő-je /?sütödé-je.*
the meringue.Pl.Dat that the great bake-ó-Poss.3Sg/ bakery-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'This tent was *the place where meringues could be baked so well* yesterday.'

a'. Ez *a legjobb *süt-ő /✓sütöde* a városban.
this *the best bake-ó / bakery* the town.Ine
'This is *the best bakery* in the town.'

b. Ez a sátor volt tegnap
this the tent be.Past.3Sg yesterday
*az a remek *?jósol-ó / ?jósda.*
that the great foretell-ó / seat_of_oracle
'This tent was *the place where predictions were made so well* yesterday.'

b'. Ez *a leghíresebb *jósol-ó /✓jósda* a városban.
this *the most_famous foretell-ó / seat_of_oracle* the town.Ine
'This is *the most famous (seat of) oracle* in the town.'

c. *lak-ó / *varr-ó / *jár-ó
live-ó / sew-ó / go-ó

c'. lakás / varroda / járóka
'flat / [sewing shop] / playpen'

d. *lak-ó / *települ-ő
live-ó / settle_down-ó

d'. lak / telep
'lodge / colony'

e. *tanul-ó / *jósol-ó
learn-ó / foretell-ó

e'. tanoda / jósda
'[a kind of school] / [(seat of) oracle]'

f. *pizzáz-ó / *archivál-ó / *pucol-ó
eat_pizza-ó / archive-ó / clean-ó

f'. pizzéria / archívum / $puceráj
'pizzeria / archive / cleaners'

In (343c') above, "Hungarian" derivational suffixes are illustrated while (343f') demonstrates forms of derivations of foreign origin. In (343d'), the input verbs (e.g., *települ* 'settle down') are derived from nouns (*telep* 'colony'), and their TPD-noun variants are the original input noun stems. The examples in (343e') above show the (also familiar) fourth type of blocking TPD-noun form where there is a common (relative) stem (e.g., *tan* 'idea/doctrine') shared by the TPD-noun (*tanoda* 'school') and the corresponding verb (*tanul* 'learn').

The (a')- and (b')-examples in (341-343) above illustrate the strong tendency that blocking forms—by definition— do not coexist with their regular counterparts. Nevertheless, there are exceptions in all the TPD_{AG}-noun (344a-a'), TPD_{INST}-noun (344b-b') and TPD_{LOC}-noun (344c-c') types, which, however, can be regarded as sporadic and accidental. Many of these blocking variants, for instance, are confirmed to have been created artificially (e.g., *szálloda* 'hotel' and *tanonc* 'apprentice'), mainly in the language reform in the 19th century, presumably in order to get rid of ambiguities. And a potential reason behind the permanent coexistence of competing regular and blocking forms, independently of their source, is that (sometimes slight, but sometimes significant) differences have emerged between the meanings of the (originally competing) phonetic variants. The word *szálló* 'dorm' (344c), for instance, is interchangeable with the word *szálloda* 'hotel' (344c') in many contexts but it is obvious to native speakers that the former expression refers to simpler, less comfortable, less luxurious hotels.

(344) ● Exceptions: coexisting regular and blocking TPD_{θ}-noun phonetic forms

a. szolgál-ó / fuvaroz-ó / ír-ó / tanul-ó / tanít-ó
serve-ó / transport-ó / write-ó / learn-ó / teach-ó
'handmaiden / carrier / writer / pupil / [elementary schoolmaster]'

a'. szolga / fuvaros / írnok / tanonc / tanár
'servant / carter / clerk / apprentice / teacher'

b. fúr-ó / fed-ő / cseng-ő / dug-ó
drill-Ó / cover-Ó / ring-Ó / stick-Ó
'drill / lid / bell / plug

b'. furdancs / fedél / csengettyű / dugasz / dugattyú
'[bow drill] / roof / handbell / stopper / piston'

c. száll-ó / tárol-ó
stay-Ó / store-Ó
'dorm / storage'

c'. szálloda / tárca
'hotel / wallet'

Let us now turn to another interesting property of regularly derived TPD-nouns. Compared to the relation between ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns (1.3.1.2.1), in which only one kind of SED-noun can be derived from an ÁS-noun by conversion, the relation between Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns is ambiguous. There are three potential kinds of TPD-nouns that can be derived from an Ó-noun by conversion (at least in the "uniform" system we consider to be worth assuming as a point of departure): TPD_{AG}-nouns, TPD_{INST}-nouns and TPD_{LOC}-nouns. This special factor suggests a second blocking effect, which manifests itself among the competing potential TPD-noun types: the existence of a lexicalized TPD-noun type blocks the lexicalization of the other two TPD-noun types; see Table 25. The table gives an arbitrary example of each of these (non-realized) alternative possibilities.

A regularly derived TPD_{AG}-noun, thus, blocks the lexicalization of the same phonetic form as a TPD_{INST}-noun and/or a TPD_{LOC}-noun, as is illustrated in examples (a-a') in Table 25. The phonetic form *fűtő* 'heat.Ó', for instance, may potentially denote the instrument 'radiator' or the place 'boiler room', but it happens to denote the person 'fire-tender' in the synchronic state of Hungarian, presumably due to avoiding ambiguity, which serves as a good motivation behind this second blocking effect.

Similarly, a regularly derived TPD_{INST}-noun blocks the lexicalization of the same phonetic form as a TPD_{AG}-noun and/or a TPD_{LOC}-noun (see examples (b-b') in Table 25) as well as a regularly derived TPD_{LOC}-noun blocks the lexicalization of the same phonetic form as a TPD_{AG}-noun and/or a TPD_{INST}-noun (c-c').

Table 25: Another blocking effect: regular $TPD_{\theta'}$-nouns block regular $TPD_{\theta''}$-noun forms

	TPD_{AG}-NOUN	TPD_{INST}-NOUN	TPD_{LOC}-NOUN
a.	fűt-ő heat-ó 'fire-tender'	*fűt-ő heat-ó 'radiator' ✓radiátor radiator	*fűt-ő heat-ó 'boiler room' ✓kazánház boiler_room
a'.	dolgoz-ó work-ó 'worker'	*dolgoz-ó work-ó 'work equipment' ✓munkaeszköz work_equipment	*dolgoz-ó work-ó 'workplace' ✓munkahely workplace
b.	*robog-ó scoot-ó 'courier' ✓futár courier	✓robog-ó scoot-ó 'scooter'	*robog-ó scoot-ó 'race track' ✓versenypálya race_track
b'.	*erősít-ő amplify-ó 'trainer' ✓edző trainer	✓erősít-ő amplify-ó 'amplifier'	*erősít-ő amplify-ó 'gym' ✓konditerem gym
c.	*iv-ó drink-ó 'drinker' ✓piás drinker	*iv-ó drink-ó 'glass' ✓pohár glass	✓iv-ó drink-ó 'pub'
c'.	*műt-ő operate-ó 'surgeon' ✓sebész surgeon	*műt-ő operate-ó 'scalpel' ✓szike scalpel	✓műt-ő operate-ó 'operating room'

Note in passing that the phonetic form *dolgozó* 'work.Ó' is typically used to denote 'workplace' in child language—which leads us to the question of exceptions.

We consider the second blocking effect discussed above (among the three TPD-noun types), similar to the first blocking effect (between irregularly derived TPD-nouns and their regularly derived potential phonetic forms), to be a straightforward, well-motivated, very strong tendency.

The exceptions (Table 26) seem to be sporadic and accidental. The coexistence of competing lexical items which should block each other due to their coinciding phonetic forms often seems to be "permitted" by the fact that they are used in different ("non-competing") spheres of the language. The word *úszó* 'swim.Ó', for instance, denotes 'swimmer' in the standard language while its other meaning ('float') belongs to the language of fishing.

The word *olvasó* 'read.Ó' is another interesting case. It denotes 'reader' in the standard language while its other meaning ('string of beads') belongs to the language of (catholic) religion. It is worth adding that in this latter case the word stem *olvas* has the archaic meaning 'count', instead of the synchronically dominant meaning 'read' (NB: in Hungarian the meaning 'read' developed from the older meaning 'count'). Note in passing that *olvasó* 'read.Ó' may be associated with a TPD_{LOC}-noun interpretation as well: this variant may refer to the room of a library where such books or journals can be read which are not allowed to be taken home. The problem with this example is that (to many speakers) it is only the abbreviated form of such more complex versions as *olvasóterem* 'read.Ó.room'.

Remark 8. In fact, traditional descriptive grammars usually assume that TPD_{LOC}-nouns are always shortened, elliptical forms of compounds whose missing head is, say, *terem* 'hall' or *szoba* 'room'—both diachronically and synchronically. By contrast, in our approach there is no ellipsis; instead, this is an instance of TPD_{LOC}-nominalization as described above. This view is strongly supported by the productivity of this process borne out by the fact that newly coined or nonsensical verbs readily serve as input to TPD_{LOC}-derivation.

As for the type of compound-word formation illustrated by the aforementioned example *olvasóterem* 'read.Ó.room', it is definitely productive, as is exemplified below by means of a newly coined verb (i) and a nonsensical verb (ii). According to the given translations, the [verb+Ó] unit inside the compound word can be analyzed as belonging to the event denoting subtype of irregular *-Ó*-noun presented in (333a) in the introduction to 1.3.1.3: it means 'an expert, or an instrument, or a room for the activity performed by the Agent of the input verb.'

(i) trimmel-ő-szakember / trimmel-ő-gép / trimmel-ő-helyiség
trim-Ó-expert / trim-Ó-machine / trim-Ó-room
'[an expert of trimming] / [a machine for trimming] / [a room for trimming]'

(ii) gorpol-ó-segéd / gorpol-ó-kés / gorpol-ó-terem
gorp-Ó-assistant / gorp-Ó-knife / gorp-Ó-room
'a(n) assistant / knife / room for gorping'

An interesting component of this analysis is that, at least in the domain sketched above, the *-Ó* suffix functions as a productive derivational suffix yielding event denoting deverbal nominal constructions (ones like SED-nouns). The [[verb+Ó]+noun] unit, thus, is a compound of two nouns (Laczkó 2000b), and not that of a participle and a noun. One might think that the first noun should be oblique case-marked since *gorpolókés* 'gorp.Ó.knife', for instance, can be paraphrased as *kés gorpolás-ra / gorpolás-hoz* 'knife gorp.ÁS-Sub / gorp.ÁS-All'. We can account for the absence of any explicit case suffix in the same way as in the case of such compound words as *szélvédő* 'wind.~~*Abl*~~-protect-Ó', for instance, which means 'windscreen', but can be paraphrased as 'an instrument that protects *from* the wind' (376a'); see the relevant comments on examples (375b') and (376a',a",b',b") in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI.

Note that, on the basis of the analogy just mentioned, the compounds presented in (i-ii) are analyzed as such in which the Ó-noun belongs to the second noun in a way that it occupies the prenominal complement zone of the second noun.

The word *fogadó* in example (b) definitely has three meanings. The TPD_{LOC}-noun variant belongs to the standard language but has an archaic feel, while the two TPD_{AG}-noun variants belong to the language of tennis and that of sports betting.

The words *kiadó* 'publish.Ó' and *biztosító* 'ensure.Ó' can serve as other examples of coinciding TPD_{AG}-nouns and TPD_{LOC}-nouns. This type belongs to the polysemous group of nouns which simultaneously refer to companies as "structured sets of people", on the one hand, and their head office, on the other (Pustejovsky 1995).

Table 26: Exceptions: coexisting regular $TPD_{\theta'}$-nouns and regular $TPD_{\theta''}$-nouns

	TPD_{AG}-NOUN	TPD_{INST}-NOUN	TPD_{LOC}-NOUN
a.	úsz-ó swim-ó 'swimmer'	úsz-ó swim-ó 'float'	
a'.	olvas-ó read-ó 'reader'	olvas-ó read-ó 'rosary'	
b.	fogad-ó receive/bet-ó 'receiver / bettor'		fogad-ó receive-ó 'inn'
b'.	előad-ó perform-ó 'lecturer'		előad-ó perform-ó 'auditorium'
c.		palackoz-ó bottle-ó 'bottling machine'	palackoz-ó bottle-ó 'place where things are bottled'
c'.		vetít-ő project-ó 'projector'	vetít-ő project-ó 'projection room'

In other cases (see (b'-c) in Table 26), the coexistence of competing lexical items which should block each other due to their coinciding phonetic forms seems to be due to the opposite factor that at least one of the competitors is "too new" in the language. By this we mean that the corresponding Ó-noun or participial variants had already existed (e.g., *előadó* 'perform.Ó', *palackozó* 'bottle.Ó'), and the recent development is that they have produced new TPD_{θ}-noun versions. It is not clear how permanent the emerged coexistence will be. Moreover, neither is it clear at all whether the competing variants involved all belong to the standard language (as unquestionable TPD-nouns) or certain variants are only short forms used in certain communities instead of such standard longer forms as *előadóterem* 'perform.ó.room', *palackozó gép* 'bottle.ó machine', *palackozó üzem* 'bottle.ó factory'.

Certain pairs or triplets of examples can illustrate both blocking effects discussed in this subsection simultaneously. Such cases are presented in Table 27 below. The existence of the regularly derived TPD_{AG}-noun *író* 'writer', for instance (see example (a) in Table 27), excludes the existence of a TPD_{INST}-noun and a TPD_{LOC}-noun with the same phonetic form *író* 'write.Ó', while these latter facts can also be attributed to the existence of such blocking TPD-forms as *irón* 'pencil' and *iroda* 'office'.

Table 27: Double blocking effect among TPD_{θ}-noun variants

	TPD_{AG}-NOUN	TPD_{INST}-NOUN	TPD_{LOC}-NOUN
a.	ír-ó write-ó 'writer'	*ír-ó write-ó 'pencil' ✓irón pencil	*ír-ó write-ó 'office' ✓iroda office
b.	*nyomtat-ó print-ó 'pressman' ✓nyomdász pressman	✓nyomtat-ó print-ó 'printer'	*nyomtat-ó print-ó 'print shop' ✓nyomda print_shop
c.	??üvegez-ő glaze-ó 'glazier' ✓üveges glazier	*üvegez-ő glaze-ó 'glass' ✓üveg glass	✓üvegez-ő glaze-ó 'glazier shop'
c'.	*vendégl-ő host-ó 'innkeeper' ✓vendéglős innkeeper		✓vendégl-ő host-ó 'restaurant'

Note in passing that it is not easy to find triplets of examples where all the necessary requirements are satisfied in the case of a regularly derived TPD_{LOC}-noun: that is, it blocks the existence of regularly derived corresponding TPD_{AG}- and TPD_{INST}-noun variants parallel with the coexistence of blocking (not conversionally derived) TPD_{AG}- and TPD_{INST}-noun variants. The only triplet we have found is based on the input verb *üvegez* 'glaze' (see example (c) in Table 27 above). According to our (here somewhat uncertain) mother-tongue intuition and a few occurrences on the internet (e.g., http://www.szekelyhon.ro/aktualis/csikszek/gyorshir-tuz-utott-ki-egy-csikszeredai-uvegezoben, 20.11.2013), the TPD-noun regularly derived from the given verb is the TPD_{LOC}-noun variant. Note in passing that certain speakers of Hungarian sporadically use the phonetic form *üvegező* 'glaze.Ó' as referring to the profession (TPD_{AG}-noun) but the blocking variant *üveges* 'glazier' is undoubtedly the phonetic form which denotes the profession.

It seems to us that exceptions from the two blocking effects are so sporadic and accidental that it is impossible to find an impeccable pair of examples that simultaneously violates both blocking effects. That is, there is no regularly derived $TPD_{\theta'}$-noun (where θ' can refer to Agent, Instrument and Location) which coexists in Hungarian with an irregularly derived $TPD_{\theta'}$-noun counterpart (344) as well as with a regularly derived $TPD_{\theta''}$-noun counterpart (Table 26). A potential counterexample to the impossibility of the double violation of blocking effects would be, for instance, such a case in which someone, according to his or her linguistic judgment, would deem the phonetic form *üvegező* 'glaze.Ó' to be capable of denoting both the *üveges* 'glazier' and the 'glazier's shop' (cf. Table 27c).

1.3.1.3.2. Relation to the base verb

This subsection reviews the extent to which verbal properties such as argument structure (1.3.1.3.2.1) and information structure (1.3.1.3.2.2) are inherited in the case of Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns; and how the type of the input verb affects this inheritance (1.3.1.3.2.3).

1.3.1.3.2.1. Argument-structure inheritance

On the basis of Laczkó's (2000a: 372–405) observations mainly concerning $Ó_{AG}$-nouns, we suggest the following generalization as a point of departure: Ó-nominalization tends to "bequeath" the argument structure of the input verb, in harmony with the definitive property of Ó-nouns that they rely upon complex events (Laczkó 2000a: 379).

In its pure form, this inheritance means that, apart from the change in syntactic category (from V to N), the argument structure of the verb remains unaffected by the derivational process: the number, the obligatory or optional character, the thematic function and the information-structural function of the arguments remain essentially the same. The non-oblique syntactic functions get changed, due to the change in syntactic category, as will be discussed below.

In the case of thematic Ó-nominalization, the input subject will be the Ó-noun itself, that is, the noun head is the center of the output Ó-noun construction. The input object, if any, appears as a possessor, as is demonstrated in (345a) below.

In the case of adjunctive Ó-nominalization (the input structure of which is given in (345b)), the (instrumental (345c-c') or locative (345d-d')) adjunct will be the central noun head in the output Ó-noun construction. The input subject and object essentially appear as the possessor and the prenominal complement of the Ó-noun head, respectively (345c,d). Note that the opposite distribution is fully unacceptable (345c',d'); for further information on the output distribution of the input subject and object, see subsection VI in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.3.

(345) ● Thematic and adjunctive Ó-nominalization (in the case of $Ó_{INST}$- and $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns)

a. Tegnap egész nap ez a turmixgép darálta a mandulát.
yesterday whole day this the blender grind.Past.DefObj.3Sg the almond.Acc
'It was this blender that ground the almond the whole day yesterday.'

a'. Tegnap ez a turmixgép volt *a mandula darál-ó-ja.*
yesterday this the blender be.Past.3Sg *the almond grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'It was this blender that was *the grinder of the almond* yesterday.'

b. Tegnap egész nap Ili darálta a mandulát
yesterday whole day Ili grind.Past.DefObj.3Sg the almond.Acc
(a sufni-ban ez-zel a turmixgép-pel).
the shed-Ine this-Ins the blender-Ins
'It was Ili who ground the almond the whole day yesterday (in the shed with this blender).'

c. Tegnap ez a turmixgép volt *a cukrász mandula-darál-ó-ja.*
yesterday this the blender be.Past.3Sg *the confectioner almond-grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'It was this blender that was *the confectioner's grinder of the almond* yesterday.'

c'. *Tegnap ez a turmixgép volt *a mandula cukrász-darál-ó-ja.*
yesterday this the blender be.Past.3Sg *the almond confectioner-grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'It was this blender that was *confectioners' grinder of the almond* yesterday.'

d. ?Tegnap ez a sufni volt *a cukrász mandula-darál-ó-ja.*
yesterday this the shed be.Past.3Sg *the confectioner almond-grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'It was this shed that was *the confectioner's grinder of the almond* yesterday.'

d'. *Tegnap ez a sufni volt *a mandula cukrász-darál-ó-ja.*
yesterday this the shed be.Past.3Sg *the almond confectioner-grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'It was this shed that was *confectioners' grinder of the almond* yesterday.'

The grammaticality judgment ('?') assigned to the example in (345d) above requires a short remark. We consider this kind of $Ó_{LOC}$-noun construction completely grammatical, but the suppressing effect of the preferred $Ó_{\theta}$-noun types (here, the $Ó_{INST}$-noun interpretation) considerably blocks this type, by making it quite difficult to evoke the intended locative interpretation (cf. the comments on (338) in the previous subsection and (347c) in this subsection).

This assumption concerning complete argument-structure inheritance, however, is more of a highly idealized theoretical starting point than an efficient generalization which would account for the intricate mass of data. One might think on the basis of the examples given in this subsection that it would have been better to suggest no generalizations. Nevertheless, we have chosen this approach, which assumes complete argument-structure inheritance, and this can be weakened by "filters". The advantage of this assumption is that such (fully or almost acceptable) examples as (346a,d) and (347a') can be accounted for directly. Its straightforward disadvantage is that the (numerous) fully or almost fully unacceptable examples (see, for instance, the less acceptable versions shown in (346b') and (347c')) need to be explained.

We claim that three factors can be identified to which the unacceptability of certain types of examples can essentially be attributed in a sufficiently motivated way. What obviously counts, first of all, is the subtypes of the Ó-noun, the preference-order, which was illustrated in (338) in the previous subsection. What also seems to count is the external syntax, that is, the question of how difficult it is for speakers to decide the syntactic boundaries of the given Ó-noun construction, with special regard to the potential mixture of the complements of the Ó-noun with those of the verb it belongs to. The third relevant factor is the argument-structure type of the input verb.

Our theoretical starting point, thus, is that Ó-nominalization tends to inherit the argument structure of the input verb to the maximum extent that the often obstructive circumstances permit.

TPD-nouns, however, do not inherit the argument structure of the input verb, according to Laczkó (2000a: 374–377, 380, 399). There is one point at which we consider this radical generalization worth modifying: TPD-nouns do inherit some "innermost" core of the input argument structure—typically the input verbal modifier—as members of its prenominal complement zone (see the (b-c")-examples in (348-350)).

As for irregular *Ó*-nouns, they do not inherit the argument structure of the input verb (351), so they pattern with "ordinary" nouns in not having any argument structure.

Let us examine the details, starting with the illustration of the inheritance of argument structure in the case of $Ó_{AG}$-nouns (346).

The example versions in (346a) below can be regarded as excellent illustrations of the generalization on complete argument-structure inheritance which serves as a starting point on this topic. The subject of the input verb *megment* 'save' appears as the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun itself (or more precisely, the denotatum of the complete phrase of the $Ó_{AG}$-noun). The input object appears as the possessor (*a királylány* 'the princess') of the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction. The input adverb (*önfeláldozóan*

'self_sacrificing.Adv') appears as an adjective due to the change in syntactic category from V to N. Note in passing that the kinds of attributive adjectives which originally belong to the input verb are more acceptable in output Ó-noun constructions than those which are adjoined to the "done" output Ó-noun. If we replaced *önfeláldozó* 'self-sacrificing' with *barna hajú* 'brown-haired', for instance, the resulting construction would be less acceptable. (It must once more be noted (see the introduction to 1.3.1) that, in harmony with our theory-independent perspective, we precisely specify (primarily the semantic content of) the input verbal construction and (all relevant features of) the output deverbal nominal construction while intending to claim nothing about the technical details of the derivational process that realizes the relationship between them in some way.)

Optional input verbal arguments also remain optional in the output nominal constructions, as the noun phrase *a sárkánytól* 'from the dragon' illustrates (see (346a) again). It must be noted, however, that, in contrast to the input verbal construction, which is fully acceptable both with and without this optional argument, the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction is more acceptable without it. This difference seems to indicate that Ó-nouns are less acceptable with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone than ÁS-nouns. The same difference can be observed even more clearly if we remove the whole Ó-noun phrase from the ideal syntactic context which the construction *na például* 'well for_instance' provides for it by means of designating unambiguously the limits of the Ó-noun construction. In cases like (346a'), for instance, it seems to be more difficult for speakers to decide whether the optional argument belongs to the noun or to the verb and this uncertainty worsens the grammaticality judgment of the given sentence.

Examples (346b-b') below are different from the ones shown in (346a-a') in an important respect: the oblique case-marked argument (*a tervre* 'the plan.Sub') in the postnominal complement zone is obligatory in (346b-b'), similar to the "bequeathing" input verbal construction. As shown by the grammaticality judgments, obligatory oblique case-marked arguments cannot be omitted in the output Ó-noun constructions. It must be noted, however, that the variant with the given argument is not fully acceptable, either, presumably due to the previous observation that Ó-nouns do not readily admit a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone. Note in passing that the same worsening can be observed in the case of (346a'): by removing the Ó-noun construction from the syntactically unambiguous *na például* 'well for_instance' context, the resulting sentence will be more unacceptable (346b').

(346) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of $Ó_{AG}$-nouns

a. Na például *Jankó, a királylány önfeláldozó meg-ment-ő-je*
well for_instance *Jankó the princess self-sacrificing perf-save-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
($^{(?)}$*a sárkánytól),* ő igazi hős volt.
the dragon.Abl (s)he real hero be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *Jankó, the self-sacrificing man who saved the princess (from the dragon)*, he was a real hero.'

a'. Nekem is szimpatikus *a királylány önfeláldozó meg-ment-ő-je*
Dat.1Sg also nice *the princess self-sacrificing perf-save-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
(?a sárkánytól).
the dragon.Abl
'*The self-sacrificing man who saved the princess (from the dragon)* is likeable to me, too.'

b. Na például *Peti, a szomszéd rá-beszél-ő-je *(?a tervre),*
well for_instance *Peti the neighbor onto-talk-Ó-Poss.3Sg the plan.Sub*
ő igazán szimpatikus.
(s)he really nice
'Well for instance, *Peti, the person who persuaded the neighbor (of the plan)*, he is really nice.'

b'. Engem is győzködött *a szomszéd rá-beszél-ő-je *(?a tervre).*
I.Acc also try_to_convince.Past.3Sg *the neighbor onto-talk-Ó-Poss.3Sg the plan.Sub*
'*The person who persuaded the neighbor (of the plan)* tried to convince me, too.'

c. Na például *Ibi, a tegnapi lelkes madzsongoz-ó*
well for_instance *Ibi the yesterday.Adj enthusiastic play_mahjong-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
(?a fiammal), ő igazán szimpatikus.
the son.Poss.1Sg.Ins (s)he really nice
'Well for instance, *Ibi, the person who enthusiastically played mahjong (with my son) yesterday*, he is really nice.'

c'. Nekem is szimpatikus *az a tegnapi lelkes madzsongoz-ó*
Dat.1Sg also nice *that the yesterday.Adj enthusiastic play_mahjong-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
(?)(?a fiammal).*
the son.Poss.1Sg.Ins
'*That person, who enthusiastically played mahjong (with my son) yesterday,* is also likeable to me.'

d. Felelőtlennek tartom *Peti Párizsba küld-ő-jé-t.*
unscrupolous.Dat consider.DefObj.1Sg *Peti Paris.Ill send-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'I consider *the person who sent Peti to Paris* to be unscrupulous.'

d'. *Felelőtlennek tartom *Peti Párizsba (való) el-küld-ő-jé-t.*
unscrupolous.Dat consider.DefObj.1Sg *Peti Paris.Ill be.Part away-send-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
Intended meaning: 'I consider *the person who sent Peti to Paris* to be unscrupulous.'

Examples (346c-c') above illustrate the case when an unergative verb *madzsongozik* 'play_mahjong' serves as an input verb. These constructions are also slightly more acceptable in the syntactically unambiguous *na például* 'well for_instance' context. They are also much better with a phonetically empty postnominal complement zone.

Example (346d) illustrates the case in which the prenominal complement zone of an $Ó_{AG}$-noun is filled with a special argument which serves as a verbal modifier in the input verbal construction (*Párizsba küld* 'Paris.Ill send'). In this special position its form remains unchanged; which, in the case of oblique case-marked dependents, adverbs and postpositional phrases, is not possible otherwise (346d'), since they need to be attributivized in the prenominal modifier zone. As is illustrated, for instance, in (346a) above and in (347a') below, adjectivalization can indeed be realized in the case of adverbs and PPs. It is not possible, however, in the case of oblique case-marked arguments and adjuncts; the *való*-construction (Laczkó 2000a: 377–379), as is shown in (346d') above and in (347a') below, seems to be available for carrying out the task of attributivization only in the case of ÁS-nouns (cf. 1.3.1.2.1 and 1.3.1.2.2.1).

Similar to $Ó_{AG}$-nouns, $Ó_{EXP}$-nouns (347a-a'), $Ó_{INST}$-nouns (347b) and $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns (347c-c') can inherit the argument structure of the input verb, at least under ideal circumstances. A phonetically empty complement zone is also preferred here (347a,c'), but obligatory input arguments cannot readily be omitted (347b). As was discussed above, adjectivalization, available to postpositional phrases (347a') but not to oblique case-marked arguments (346d'), is an ideal way of avoiding the postnominal complement zone. Thus not fully acceptable constructions, such as those demonstrated in (347b,c'), have no "improved" alternatives.

(347) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of $Ó_{EXP}$-nouns, $Ó_{INST}$-nouns and $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns

a. Na például *Marinak a meg-gyűlöl-ő-i-t*
well for_instance *Mari.Dat the perf-hate-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc*
(?)(??*az intrikái miatt),* őket meg tudom érteni.
the intrigue.Poss.Pl.3Sg because_of they.Acc perf can.DefObj.1Sg understand.Inf
'Well for instance, *the people who have begun to hate Mari (because of her intrigues),* I can understand them.'

a'. Na például *Marinak az intrikái ?miatt-i /*[miatt való]*
well for_instance *Mari.Dat the intrigue.Poss.Pl.3Sg because_of-Attr / because_of be.Part*
meg-gyűlöl-ő-i-t, őket meg tudom érteni.
perf-hate-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc they.Acc perf can.DefObj.1Sg understand.Inf
'Well for instance, *the people who have begun to hate Mari because of her intrigues*, I can understand them.'

b. Na például *ez a függöny, a szoba eddigi hatékony*
well for_instance *this the curtain the room so_far efficient*
meg-véd-ő-je ??(?*a szúnyogoktól),* az ne maradjon itthon.
perf-protect-ó-Poss.3Sg the mosquito.Pl.Abl that not remain.Subj.3Sg home
'Well for instance, *this curtain, which has protected the room (from the mosquitoes) efficiently so far*, it must not remain at home.'

c. Na például *az a terem, a nyelvészek egykori ?(*le-)vizsgáztat-ó-ja*
well for_instance *that the room the linguist.Pl former (down-)examine-ó-Poss.3Sg*
(szintaxisból), az még ma is félelmetes hely.
syntax.Ela that still today also dreadful place
'Well for instance, *the room in which the linguists were examined (in syntax) in former times*, it is still a dreadful place to me, even today.'

c'. Na például *a tizenhármas terem, Ibi tegnapi madzsongoz-ó-ja*
well for_instance *the thirteenth room Ibi yesterday.Adj play_mahjong-ó-Poss.3Sg*
(?)(*?*Janival),* az alkalmas lenne a versenyre is.
Jani.Ins that suitable be.Cond.3Sg the competion.Sub also
'Well for instance, *Room 13, the room where Ibi played mahjong (with Jani) yesterday*, it would be suitable for the competition, too.'

All in all, non-$Ó_{AG}$ Ó-nouns essentially pattern with $Ó_{AG}$-nouns with respect to argument-structure inheritance, however, grammaticality judgments are slightly worse in the case of the former. This tendency can be attributed to the preference-order illustrated in (338) in the previous subsection, according to which the $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation is preferred to the other three types with the same phonetic realization.

In (347b) above, for instance, the phonetic form *megvédő* 'perf.protect.Ó' primarily suggests an agentive interpretation, which seems to make it more difficult for the hearer to perceive and accept the instrumental interpretation (which is the only possible interpretation in the given context). Note in passing that the obligatoriness of the ablative case-marked argument pertains only to the interpretation with the instrumental rather than the agentive input subject. In the case of the latter, the argument in question is optional.

Example (347c) demonstrates the same phenomenon in the case of an $Ó_{LOC}$-noun: the phonetic form *vizsgáztató* 'examine.Ó' also primarily suggests an agentive interpretation, so it is difficult for the hearer to evoke the intended locative interpretation. This holds even more for the phonetic form *levizsgáztató* 'down.examine.Ó': the perfectivizing preverb *le* 'down' highlights the execution of the given action to such an extent that it is certainly impossible to evoke a non-agentive interpretation.

Let us now turn to TPD-nouns (348-350). Recall that they have been claimed to inherit the "core", and only the "core", of the input verbal construction; the additional input dependents are deleted in the course of the derivation (NB: the inheriting semantic factors are relevant to us, the *underspecified* number of tamed lions in the (b)-examples in (348), for instance; in our theory-independent perspective, we do not intend to commit ourselves to particular technical details of any kind of derivational procedure). By "core" we mean verbal modifiers and, in special cases, preverbs in postverbal positions, which possibly together (see, for instance, (350c'-c")), will appear in the prenominal complement zone of the output TPD-noun constructions. Hence, we are going to first investigate TPD-nominalization with no input verbal modifier (see the primeless and primed (a)-examples in (348-350)) and then with them.

Thus the TPD_{AG}-noun *idomár* 'tamer', shown in (348a) below, is derived from an input verbal construction in which the object (*az oroszlánokat* 'the lion.Pl.Acc') does not appear as a verbal modifier (see (348a)). The compound word *oroszlánidomár* 'lion tamer' (348b'), however, is derived from an input verbal construction in which the object appears as a verbal modifier (348b). In this way we can also analyze this compound word as a TPD_{AG}-noun. Obviously, an $Ó_{AG}$-noun can also be derived from an input verbal construction with the object appearing as a verbal modifier (348b). The example shown in (348b") serves as an illustration. Note that the grammaticality judgments given in (348b") should be compared to those given in (348b') while carefully considering the intended meanings ($Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation *versus* TPD_{AG}-noun interpretation).

It is worth mentioning at this point a remark by Laczkó (2000a: 384) on the semantic difference between ó-nouns and the corresponding TPD-nouns. According to Laczkó, it is possible to refer to a person with a TPD_{AG}-noun (at least theoretically) even if (s)he has never done what the corresponding verb denotes but has an adequate official certificate in the given occupation. Someone can be called an *idomár* 'tamer', for instance, (348a') if a circus has employed him/her on the basis of the adequate documents but (s)he is inexperienced and has tamed no animals so far. An *idomító* 'tame.Ó', however, must necessarily have already tamed (or will tame) an animal—that is, in the situation (i.e., complex event) that the $Ó_{AG}$-

noun is based upon—independently of his/her qualifications in taming (348b"). A similar difference can straightforwardly be captured in the case of $Ó_{INST}$-nouns *versus* TPD_{INST}-nouns and $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns *versus* TPD_{LOC}-nouns.

(348) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of TPD_{AG}-nouns

a. Ricardo idomítja az oroszlánokat.
Ricardo tame.DefObj.3Sg the lion.Pl.Acc
'Ricardo tames the lions.'

a'. Ricardo *idomár.*
Ricardo *tamer*
'Ricardo is *a tamer.*'

a". Ricardo *[az igazgató]/[az évtized]/Simba legsikeresebb idomár-ja.*
Ricardo *the director / the decade / Simba most_successful tamer-Poss.3Sg*
'Ricardo is *[the director's] / [the decade's] / Simba's favorite tamer.*'

b. Péter tegnap / tavaly oroszlánt idomított.
Péter yesterday / last_year lion.Acc tame.Past.3Sg
'Péter tamed lions yesterday / [last year].'

b'. Péter tavaly *jól fizetett oroszlán-idomár* / *?*oroszlán-idomít-ó* volt.
Péter last_year *well paid lion-tamer / lion-tame-ó* be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was *a well-paid lion tamer* last year.'

b". Péter tegnap *ügyes* ??*oroszlán-idomár* / ✓*oroszlán-idomító* volt.
Péter yesterday *skillful lion-tamer / lion-tame-ó* be.Past.3Sg
'Péter skillfully tamed lions yesterday.'

b'". Ricardo *[az igazgató] / Péter / Simba kedvenc oroszlán-idomár-ja.*
Ricardo *the director / Péter / Simba favorite lion-tamer-Poss.3Sg*
'Ricardo is *[the director's] / Péter's / Simba's favorite lion tamer.*'

Examples (348a") and (348b'") are intended to call the reader's attention to the fact which has also often been mentioned in the case of SED-nouns (compared to ÁS-nouns): in contrast to the case of Ó-nouns, the possessor is not an argument inherited from the verbal input but a (non-argument) participant in the conceptual frame of the TPD-noun (see also 2.1.1.2.2). Neither the director nor Péter (a simple spectator, say), mentioned in both examples, have any role in the argument structure of the verb *idomít* 'tame'. The same obviously holds for the temporal possessor in (348a"), too. Regarding Simba, a typical name for a lion, the corresponding variants are intended to demonstrate that the output possessor may "happen to" coincide with the input object. That is, the semantic independence of the possessor of a TPD-noun is so expanded that even arguments of the corresponding input verb can happen to occupy the possessor position in question.

TPD_{INST}-nouns (349) pattern with TPD_{AG}-nouns in all the above-discussed respects. The input object appears in the prenominal complement zone of the output TPD_{INST}-noun (as the first part of a compound word) if and only if it plays the role of the verbal modifier of the input verb. The examples in (349b') illustrate the 'if'-part (when the accusative case-marked input verbal modifier has been inherited), while the examples in (349a') illustrate the 'only if'-part (as the input object occupies a postverbal position, it is deleted). Note in passing that the accusative case-marked input expression loses its overt case marking in the course of the

nominalization (in accordance with the general fact that nouns have no accusative case-marked dependents; see subsection 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub V).

The same examples also demonstrate that the input preverb is sometimes inherited and sometimes disappears in the course of the derivation. This depends on its semantic contribution though the difference between extracting saliva or odors (349b') is so difficult to make that it is rather an accident in the history of language that in one case the preverb *el* 'away' has qualified as semantically significant while in the other case as "exclusively perfectivizing".

We are also presenting the inheritance of an instrumental case-marked verbal modifier (349c-c'). Note that, in contrast to the Accusative case, the Instrumental case does not disappear in the course of the derivation, at least in this rare case (but see (376a-a') in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.3).

The double primed examples in (349) illustrate that the possessor of a TPD_{INST}-noun only accidentally coincides with the object of the input verb. TPD_{INST}-nouns, thus, pattern with TPD_{AG}-nouns in this respect, too.

(349) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of TPD_{INST}-nouns

a. Ez a valami felszívja a vizet.
this the thingy suck_up.DefObj.3Sg the water.Acc
'This gadget sucks up water.'

a'. Ez *egy szivacs / szivattyú / szivornya.*
this *a sponge / pump / siphon*
'This is *a sponge / pump / siphon*.'

a". Ez *Ili / [az évtized] / [a mosógépből szivárgó víz]*
this *Ili / the decade / the washing_machine.Ela leaking water*
szivacs-a / szivattyú-ja / szivornyá-ja.
sponge-Poss.3Sg/ pump-Poss.3Sg/ siphon-Poss.3Sg
'This is *Ili's sponge / pump / siphon*. / This is *the sponge / pump / siphon of [the decade] / [the water leaking from the washing machine]*.'

b. Ez a készülék nyálat / szagokat szív el.
this the device saliva.Acc / odor.Pl.Acc suck.3Sg away
'This device sucks saliva / odors.'

b'. Ez *egy nyál-szív-ó / szag-el-szív-ó.*
This *a saliva-suck-ó / odor-away-suck-ó*
'This is *a [saliva ejector (the thing that sucks spit out of your mouth at dentists)] / [extractor fan]*.'

b". Ez *Peti / [az évtized] legjobb nyál-szív-ó-ja / szag-el-szív-ó-ja.*
this *Peti / the decade best saliva-suck-ó-Poss.3Sg / odor-away-suck-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This is *Peti's / [the decade's] best [saliva ejector] / [extractor fan]*.'

c. Ez a készülék por-ral oltja a tüzet.
this the device dust-Ins extinguish.DefObj.3Sg the fire.Acc
'This device extinguishes fire with dust.'

c'. Ez *egy por-ral olt-ó.*
This *a dust-Ins extinguish-ó*
'This is *a dust extinguisher*.'

c". Ez *Peti / [az évtized] legjobb por-ral olt-ó-ja.*
this *Peti / the decade best dust-Ins extinguish-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This is *Peti's / [the decade's] best dust extinguisher*.'

TPD_{LOC}-nouns (350) also pattern with TPD_{AG}-nouns in the respects discussed above. The input object, thus, appears in the prenominal complement zone of the output TPD_{LOC}-noun (as the first part of a compound word) if and only if it plays the role of the verbal modifier of the input verb. The primed examples illustrate both sides of the condition. Example (350c') shows a case when the input preverb (*fel* 'up') is inherited, due to its significant semantic contribution.

The double primed examples in (350) illustrate the independence of the possessor position of TPD_{LOC}-nouns from the object of the input verb.

(350) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of TPD_{LOC}-nouns

a. Itt söröznek (az emberek).
here drink_beer.3Pl the man.Pl
'Here they (people) drink beer.'

a'. Ez *egy söröz-ő.*
this *a drink_beer-ó*
'This is *a beer house*.'

a". Ez *Péter legjobb / kedvenc söröz-ő-je.*
this *Péter best / favorite drink_beer-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This is *Péter's best / favorite beer house*.'

b. Itt tejet isznak (az emberek).
here milk.Acc drink.3Pl the man.Pl
'Here they (people) drink milk.'

b'. Ez *egy tej-iv-ó.*
This *a milk-drink-ó*
'This is *a milk bar*.'

b". Ez *Pécs/[az évtized] legjobb tej-iv-ó-ja.*
this *Pécs / the decade best milk-drink-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This is *Pécs's / [the decade's] best milk bar*.'

c. Itt baromfit dolgoznak fel.
here poultry.Acc work.3Pl up
'Here they work with poultry.'

c'. Ez *egy baromfi-fel-dolgoz-ó.*
This *a poultry-up-work-ó*
'This is *a poultry processing factory*.'

c". Ez *Pécs/[az évtized] legjobb baromfi-fel-dolgoz-ó-ja.*
this *Pécs / the decade best poultry-up-work-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This is *Pécs's / [the decade's] best poultry processing factory*.'

We conclude this subsection with an illustration of the straightforward fact that irregular *Ó*-nouns do not inherit the argument structure of the input verb (351a), patterning with "ordinary" nouns in not having one (351a'), though potentially having a fairly semantically free possessor (as a member of some kind of conceptual frame).

(351) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. Péter hűséget esküdött Marinak.
Péter allegiance.Acc swear.Past.3Sg Mari.Dat
'Péter swore allegiance to Mari.'

a'. Ez *egy esküv-ő.*
this *a swear-Ó*
'This is *a wedding*.'

a''. Ez volt *Péter /[János atya] / [az évtized] legemlékezetesebb esküv-ő-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *Péter /János Father / the decade most_memorable swear-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *Péter's /[Father János's] / [the decade's] most memorable wedding*.'

1.3.1.3.2.2. Information-structure inheritance

Let us now turn to the question of the inheritance of information-structural functions from arguments of input verbs. We claim on the basis of the data in (352-353) below that Ó-nouns essentially inherit information structure (in a sense to be elucidated below) while TPD-nouns (352b-b') and irregular *Ó*-nouns (355) cannot do so. This difference is obviously to be attributed to the higher degree of verbalness of the Ó-nouns (see 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VII). Note in passing, nevertheless, that Ó-nouns, which have been said to "essentially" inherit information structure, are less verbal than ÁS-nouns, which proved to inherit information structure (see 1.3.1.2.2.2 and 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII).

Let us examine the details. In our first test on information-structure inheritance (352), we are going to use the ambiguous noun *bemondó*, which can be interpreted either as an Ó-noun ('person who announces something') or as a TPD-noun ('announcer'). As was pointed out in connection with the minimal pair of examples in (341a-a') in 1.3.1.2.1, for instance, this choice depends on the verbal basis of nominalization: whether this basis is a complex event or an event type ('simple event'). Furthermore, if the possessor of the derived noun does not correspond to the object of the input verb, this fact serves as evidence for interpreting it as a TPD-noun (see the comments on examples (348a'') and (348b''') in 1.3.1.3.2.1).

In variant (352b) below, where the possessor is not an argument of the input verb *bemond* 'announce', the output noun *bemondó* is inevitably to be interpreted as a TPD-noun. It can be observed that this sentence variant is unambiguous in terms of its scope interpretation. This compares with the example in (352a) below, where *bemondó* qualifies as an Ó-noun in harmony with the (input) Theme role of the possessor and which is scopally ambiguous. The (potential) readings are provided through both the translations and the scope-hierarchy representing "formulas" in square brackets ('[X>Y...]').

A short comment on these formal representations is called for. These serve as mnemonic aids with such complicated and complex pragmatico-semantic contents in the background that we do not intend to review in detail. What is relevant here is the interpretation of the symbols '⊇' and '≡'. They denote relations between sets. Therefore, the content of the simplified formula in (352a), for instance, can be paraphrased as follows: "the set of those who announced both pieces of news is a subset of the set of those who were arrested," while the formula in (352a') means

that "the set of those who announced both pieces of news coincides with the set of those who were arrested."

(352) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns:
I. Quantified possessor

a. Letartóztatták [[*mindkét hír*] bemond-ó-i-t].
arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl *both news* announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc
narrow-scope reading: [ARREST ⊇ [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
'Those who announced *both pieces of news* were arrested.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > [ARREST ⊇ ANNOUNCE]]
'In the case of *both pieces of news*, those who announced either of them were arrested.'

a'. ?Csak [[*mindkét hír*] bemond-ó-i-t] tartóztatták le.
only *both news* announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl down
narrow-scope reading: [ARREST ≡ [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
'Only those who announced *both pieces of news* were arrested.'
wide-scope reading: –

b. Letartóztatták [[*mindkét csatorna*] bemond-ó-i-t].
arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl *both channel* announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[ARREST ⊇ [BOTH_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCE]]
Intended meaning: 'Those who work for *both channels* (at the same time) as announcers were arrested.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_CHANNELS > ARREST > ANNOUNCE]
'In the case of *both channels*, those who work for either of them were arrested.'

b'. *Csak [[*mindkét csatorna*] bemond-ó-i-t] tartóztatták le.
only *both channel* announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl down
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[ARREST ≡ [BOTH_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCE]]
Intended meaning: 'Only those who work for *both channels* (at the same time) were arrested.'
wide-scope reading: –

Hence, the TPD-noun interpretation is associated with scopal unambiguity while the Ó-noun interpretation comes with ambiguity. As was discussed in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.2 (in connection with the difference between ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns), the observed ambiguity is a symptom of information-structure inheritance.

What is referred to as a wide-scope reading in the examples (352a,b) above is an interpretation where the quantifying capacity pertains to the matrix verb (*letartóztat* 'arrest'), instead of the input verb (*bemond* 'announce'). Two groups of announcers are defined (on the basis of the piece of news announced (352a) or the employers (352b)—but this difference is irrelevant in the case of the wide-scope reading), and it is claimed that members of both groups were arrested.

That is, this wide-scope reading is such as if the quantifier-determiner *mindkét* 'both' directly belonged to the noun phrase of the pluralized head *bemondói* 'announcer.Poss.Pl.3Sg'. The language seems to follow the strategy of interpreting an operator embedded somewhere inside a noun phrase as one belonging to the whole noun phrase.

In the unambiguous example (352b), the quantifier that syntactically belongs to the *possessor* of a noun (phrase) semantically quantifies over this noun (phrase) as a whole (providing a quantifier interpretation to this "whole" noun (phrase) in the information structure of the matrix verb *letartóztat* 'arrest' of the sentence). Hence, the potential quantifier interpretation within the original information structure of the

input verb *bemond* 'announce' (i.e., "both pieces of news are announced by the same person"), which can be referred to as a narrow-scope reading, is suppressed here. For the sake of clarity, we have also given the non-existing narrow-scope reading in (352b): announcers who happen to work for two channels at the same time are referred to in this potential reading (which is not impossible in the case of allied channels owned by the same financial group).

The fact that TPD-nouns do not to permit narrow-scope readings can be regarded as an indicator of the loss of the verbal property of having an information structure. As only Ó-nouns are capable of inheriting information structure, being more verbal, they permit the narrow-scope reading (that is, they can retain the information structure of the input verb together with its argument structure).

The primed examples in (352) above serve as an independent test to decide whether the given Ó- and TPD-noun constructions can be associated with a narrow-scope reading or not. In this test context, the (otherwise) potential wide-scope readings are excluded *a priori* since the deverbal nominal constructions in question are obligatorily interpreted as foci in the information structure of the matrix verb (*letartóztat* 'arrest'), witnessed by the presence of the particle *csak* 'only'. The NP-internal quantifier, hence, cannot be interpreted "externally" (i.e., in relation to the matrix verb) since this would lead to the construction functioning as a quantifier and as a focus at the same time.

The grammaticality judgments in (352a',b') are in total harmony with what was observed in (352a,b). The Ó-noun construction (352a'), which has been predicted to be capable of inheriting the information structure of the input verb, is more or less acceptable with the exclusively available narrow-scope reading. The TPD-noun construction (352b'), however, is fully unacceptable, because it can host no (internal) information structure due to its low degree of verbalness.

Do the generalizations suggested above also hold for the case where the quantified dependent of an Ó-noun or TPD-noun is not a possessor but an oblique case-marked noun phrase (cf. the analogous question illustrated in (230-231) in 1.3.1.2.2.2)? It is relevant that TPD-nouns, in contrast to SED-nouns, can host no "quantifiable" oblique case-marked inherited arguments at all (1.3.1.3.2.1), since the only potentially inheritable oblique case-marked argument should serve as a verbal modifier, which cannot be quantified. Hence, there is no need to investigate the question of whether some information-structural function associated with an oblique case-marked argument in the information structure of an input verb is inherited in the course of TPD-nominalization or not.

As for Ó-nouns, they also differ from ÁS-nouns in a few relevant respects. An Ó-noun, for instance, can host "quantifiable" oblique case-marked inherited arguments only in its postnominal complement zone, in the absence of a way of their attributivization (see the comments on (346d') in the previous subsection). Ó-nouns, however, in contrast to ÁS-nouns, do not prefer (at most "tolerate") a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone (see the comments on (346a-c') in 1.3.1.3.2.1).

Let us consider the details. In the series of examples in (353) below, an Ó-noun is investigated which has an oblique case-marked argument "inherited" from the

input verb *beajánl* ‘recommend’, and this oblique (noun) phrase appears in the postnominal complement zone of the derived noun.

As the grammaticality judgment ‘*?’ indicates in (353a), it is practically impossible to assign a non-possessor argument a wide-scope interpretation (a possible reason is 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 internal-scope taking suppresses external-scope taking; see also the relevant comments on Table 54 in 2.1.2.6; on on-line createdness, see subsection 1.3.1.5.1). As for narrow-scope interpretation, it can be evoked more readily in the scopally unambiguous ‘for instance’-construction (353b) then in a potentially scopally ambiguous test construction (353a). Ó-noun constructions, thus, can contain internal-scope taking non-possessor arguments; nevertheless, even the best examples are quite marked and artificial, presumably due to the fact that Ó-nouns (in contrast to ÁS-nouns) at most “tolerate” a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone.

(353) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns:
II. Quantified non-possessor

a. ??Felelőtlen alakok [Ili beajánl-ó-i *mindkét munká-ra*].
irresponsible guy.Pl Ili recommend-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg *both* *work-Sub*
narrow-scope reading: ??[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [BOTH_WORKS > RECOMMEND]]
Intended meaning: ‘The guys who recommended Ili warmly to *both works* are irresponsible.’
~~wide-scope reading~~: *?[BOTH_WORKS > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ RECOMMEND]]
Intended meaning: ‘In the case of *both works*, the guys who recommended Ili warmly to it are irresponsible.’

b. ?Na például [Ili beajánl-ó-i *mindkét munká-ra*],
well for_instance Ili recommend-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg *both* *work-Sub*
ők felelőtlen alakok.
they irresponsible guy.Pl
narrow-scope reading: ?[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [BOTH_WORKS > RECOMMEND]]
’Well for instance, the guys who recommended Ili warmly to *both works*, they are irresponsible.’

There is a case which has not been investigated yet, that of postpositional phrases associated with some function in the information structure of input verbs. What happens to these in the course of Ó-nominalization? What makes this question especially interesting is the difference between postpositional phrases and the above-discussed oblique case-marked phrases with respect to attributivizability; see the comments on examples (346d’) and (347a-a’) in the previous subsection.

As is demonstrated in (354a) below, inherited quantified postpositional phrases are similar to inherited quantified oblique case-marked noun phrases in not being readily tolerated in the postnominal zone of Ó-nouns. Furthermore, quantification, here, too (cf. (353a)), proves to cause further worsening in grammaticality judgments (cf. (347a) in 1.3.1.3.2.1), in the case of both readings.

The grammaticality judgment in (354a’) below, in which the given Ó-noun construction is (“isolated”) in the ‘for instance’-context, displays the same very slight improvement as was observed in the case of the analogous example in (353b), obviously for the same reason.

(354) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns:
III. Quantifier in postpositional constructions

a. *Letartóztatták [a vármegyénk összeesküv-ő-i-t
arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl the county.Poss.1Pl conspire-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc
mindkét korábbi király ellen].
both former king against
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[ARREST ⊇ [BOTH_KINGS > CONSPIRE]]
Intended meaning: 'Those in our county who had conspired against *both former kings* were arrested.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[BOTH_KINGS > [ARREST ⊇ CONSPIRE]]
Intended meaning: 'Those in our county who had conspired against *either of the two former kings* were arrested.'

a'. *?Na például [a vármegyénk összeesküv-ő-i
well for_instance the county.Poss.1Pl conspire-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
mindkét korábbi király ellen], ők megérdemlik a halált.
both former king against they deserve.3Sg the death.Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *?[ARREST ⊇ [BOTH_KINGS > CONSPIRE]]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, those in our county who conspired against *both former kings*, they deserve to die.'
wide-scope reading: –

b. ??Letartóztatták
arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl
[a vármegyénk *mindkét korábbi király elleni* összeesküv-ő-i-t].
the county.Poss.1Pl *both former king against.Attr* conspire-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc
narrow-scope reading: ??[ARREST ⊇ [BOTH_KINGS > CONSPIRE]]
'Those in our county who had conspired against *both former kings* were arrested.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *?[BOTH_KINGS > [ARREST ⊇ CONSPIRE]]
Intended meaning: 'Those in our county who had conspired against *either of the two former kings* were arrested.'

Let us now turn to the difference between postpositional arguments and oblique case-marked arguments with respect to attributivizability. Let us compare the "quantified" example in (354b) to the example in (347a'). The given grammaticality judgments present a slight worsening tendency ('??') in the case of the narrow-scope reading, relative to the originally marked status ('?'). This difference is obviously due to the (over-)loading effect concomitant with the association of the argument in question with some information-structural function. As for the resulting grammaticality judgment ('??'), it does not address our ultimate question on the boundaries of information structure inheritance. It may depend on the speaker's acquired competence (fed by poor data) whether (s)he qualifies attributivized inherited postpositional arguments as argument-like NP-internal expressions capable of having an internal scope within the potential information structure of the given NP or not. The latter alternative means that a speaker like this judges the relevant constructions not fully unacceptable only "by mistake" (due to spurious analogies).

As for the potential wide-scope reading in (354b), its unacceptability is presumably due to the effect mentioned in connection with (353a).

We conclude this subsection with a short investigation of irregular *Ó*-nouns. As is presented in (355) below, they pattern with TPD-nouns (and non-deverbal nouns

in general) in not permitting a narrow-scope reading, obviously due to the lack of any phrase-internal information structure. That is why the sentence in (355a) has only a wide-scope reading, and example (355a'), where the external focus function is incompatible with a simultaneous quantifier function (see the primed examples in (352) above), can be associated with no interpretation at all.

(355) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. Részt vettem [[*mindkét barátom*] bor-kóstol-ó-i-n].
part.Acc take.Past.1Sg *both* *friend.Poss.1Sg* wine-taste-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Sup
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[TAKE_PART ⊇ [BOTH_FRIENDS > WINE_TASTING]]
Intended meaning: 'I took part in the wine tastings organized by *my two friends together*. (NB: there are also wine tastings they organized separately.)'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_FRIENDS > [TAKE_PART ⊇ WINE_TASTING]]
'It holds for *each of my two friends* that I took part in the wine tastings organized by him.'

a'. *Csak [[*mindkét barátom*] bor-kóstol-ó-i-n] vettem részt.
only *both* *friend.Poss.1Sg* wine-taste-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Sup part.Acc take.Past.1Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[TAKE_PART ≡ [BOTH_FRIENDS > WINE_TASTING]]
Intended meaning: 'I took part only in the wine tastings organized by *my two friends together*. (NB: there are also wine tastings they organized separately.)'
wide-scope reading: –

1.3.1.3.2.3. Basic types of input verbs

This subsection is devoted to a type-by-type overview of input verbs with different argument structures. We examine the basic verb types listed in (215) in subsection 1.3.1.1, sub II in the same way as in the corresponding subsection concerning ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns (1.3.1.2.2.3).

In a subsection devoted to a particular argument-structure type, we are primarily going to investigate the types of $Ó_{\theta}$-nouns and TPD_{θ}-nouns, where "theta" refers to a/the thematic role which can be associated with the subject of the argument-structure type under investigation. This restriction does not hold for the adjunctive type of Ó-nominalization (see (345c-d') in 1.3.1.3.2.1), since they rely on adjuncts, compatible with any type of argument structure.

Thus in subsection I, for instance, being devoted to the investigation of empty input argument structures, only the adjunctive subtype of Ó-nominalization needs to be considered. The main topic of subsection II, however, which is devoted to the unergative type of argument structure, will be the investigation of $Ó_{AG}$-nouns and TPD_{AG}-nouns.

I. Input verbs without arguments

Since the argument-structure type under investigation here contains no arguments (no Agent, no Instrument, no Experiencer), it is obvious that the verbs in question cannot undergo any subtype of thematic $Ó_{\theta}$-nominalization. Moreover, they cannot even undergo any subtype of adjunctive Ó-nominalization, since it seems that the natural phenomena they typically denote cannot be associated with any (humanly created) embedding or encircled location.

We attempt to elucidate this latter statement by artificially creating meanings which would be the results of adjunctive Ó-nominalization the input to which would

be the argumentless verb *havazik* 'be snowing' (356). The resulting constructions are ungrammatical, indeed.

(356) ● Input verbs without arguments

a. *Menjünk *a havaz-ó-ba / havazó-ra!*
go.Subj.1Pl *the snow-Ó-Ill / snow-Ó-Sub*
Intended meaning: 'Let us go *to somewhere where it is snowing in a natural way.*'

b. *Kapcsoljuk be *a havaz-ó-t!*
switch.Subj.DefObj.1Pl into *the snow-Ó-Acc*
Intended meaning: 'Let us switch on *the machine which triggers the natural phenomenon of snowing*.'

Note in passing, nevertheless, that native speakers tend to attempt to attribute some meaning to such constructions, due to the high productivity of adjunctive Ó-nominalization. They may imagine an experimental equipment to simulate phenomena of weather that may contain a room in which it is snowing (356a) and a machine which artificially creates the phenomenon of snowing (356b). It is exactly these agentive momenta, nevertheless, which are in some semantic (and not syntactic or otherwise formal) conflict with the meaning of the input verb *havazik* 'be snowing', which denotes a natural phenomenon.

Finally, it must be noted that no types of TPD-nouns can be derived from argumentless verbs, since TPD-nouns are derived from Ó-nouns by means of conversion but the required Ó-noun types do not exist.

II. Unergative intransitive verbs as input verbs

The unergative group of intransitive verbs can potentially undergo adjunctive Ó-nominalization and, due to the agentive input argument, thematic $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization. According to the relevant grammaticality judgments given below, however, the resulting Ó-nouns are marked. Or more precisely, their acceptability is highly speaker-dependent. Laczkó (2000a: 377–378), for instance, seems to accept such $Ó_{AG}$-nouns as those mentioned here to a somewhat greater extent than the authors of this subsection. The uncertainty and/or differences in grammaticality judgments presumably can be attributed to the following licensing condition, which seems to function only in certain speakers' grammar: the output possessor should correspond to one of the (distinguished) input arguments. Let us sketch the possible grammatical status of such a "condition on thematic possessors".

It can be checked (1.3.1.2.2.1) that the condition under discussion (almost trivially) holds for all forms of ÁS-nominalization (NB: the potential counterexamples, discussed in subsections I and V in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.3, should be sought in the extremely small group of input verbs which have neither a subject nor an object). Recall, furthermore, that the unambiguous correspondence of the output possessor to a certain input argument could always serve as a decisive argument for the ÁS-noun interpretation of a deverbal nominal, since the possessor of SED-nouns was assumed to be chosen freely.

The condition trivially holds for adjunctive Ó-nominalization as well (see the comments on (345c-d') in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1), since in this case the output possessor corresponds to the input subject, (the denotatum of) the Ó-noun head

being an input adjunct (NB: the extremely small group of input verbs which have neither subject nor object provides no counterexamples, see subsection I).

As for thematic Ó-nominalization, (the denotatum of) the Ó-noun head is the input subject, so it cannot appear simultaneously as the output possessor; only the input object, if any, can meet the condition under discussion.

Unergative input verbs have no object, so they cannot satisfy the condition on thematic possessors. What follows from this?

The construction demonstrated in (357a) below, in which an atelic input unergative verb is considered, serves as a key example. The given grammaticality judgment '?' is roughly the average of the grammaticality judgments by different speakers of Hungarian. Certain speakers (cf. Laczkó 2000a: 377–378) accept the construction in question as almost fully acceptable ('(?)')—their internal grammar seems to lack the condition on thematic possessors. Other speakers, however, qualify it as more ungrammatical than grammatical ('??')—their internal grammar seems to contain the condition in question as a licensing condition on Ó-nominalization. The not total rejection of this construction ('??'), as opposed to its full rejection ('*'), must have to do with a confusingly similar construction, shown in (357a'): the elliptical variant of a participial construction (which is not fully acceptable either, in its elliptical form).

Since in the case of TPD-nominalization there is (essentially) no argument-structure inheritance and the output possessor, if any, is freely chosen (1.3.1.3.2.1), the condition on thematic possessors obviously cannot pertain to TPD-nouns. There are numerous perfect lexicalized TPD_{AG}-nouns (357b), TPD_{INST}-nouns (357b') as well as TPD_{LOC}-nouns (357b'), indeed, derived from atelic unergative verbs.

(357) ● Atelic input unergative verbs

a. ?Kik voltak *azok a tegnap est-i pofátlan kiabál-ó-k?*
who.Pl be.Past.3Pl *that.Pl the yesterday evening-Adj unashamed scream-Ó-Pl*
'Who were *the people who screamed unashamedly yesterday evening?*'

a'. Kik voltak tegnap este
who.Pl be.Past.3Pl yesterday evening
azok a pofátlan-ul ?kiabál-ó-k / [ˇkiabál-ó alak-ok]?
that.Pl the unashamed-Adv scream-Ó-Pl / scream-Ó guy-Pl
'Who were *the people who screamed unashamedly* yesterday evening?'

b. Ki *Magyarország legjobb úsz-ó-ja?*
who Hungary *best swim-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Who is *Hungary's best swimmer?*'

b'. robog-$ó_{Inst}$ / evez-$ő_{Inst}$ / söröz-$ő_{Loc}$
scoot-Ó / row-Ó / drink_beer-Ó
'scooter / oar / [beer house]'

b". $dobos_{Ag}$ / $uszony_{Inst}$ / $uszoda_{Loc}$
'drummer / fin(s) / [swimming pool]'

By the examples in (357b") above, we intend to remind the reader that several TPD-nouns have irregularly derived "blocking" phonetic forms.

The following series of examples in (358) below is devoted to the telic subgroup of unergative verbs as the potential input to Ó-nominalization and TPD-noun derivation. We observe that the potential $Ó_{\theta}$-nouns in this subgroup (358a)

tend to be (even) less acceptable than the $Ó_{\theta}$-nouns derived from atelic unergative verbs. Note in passing, however, that a potential $Ó_{\theta}$-noun turns out to be fully acceptable if it is homophonous with a corresponding lexicalized TPD_{θ}-noun. The phonetic form *felszólaló* 'up.speak.Ó', for instance, provides a fully acceptable $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation in (358a'), presumably due to the corresponding TPD_{AG}-noun, demonstrated in (358b'), which contrasts with the potential, but not lexicalized, TPD_{AG}-nouns demonstrated in (358b). The criterion of the lexicalized status is the acceptability of the insertion in the Ó-noun construction of an adjective (*kövérkés* 'plump') that could not come from the input verbal construction (as an adjunct pertaining to the mood of speaking: **kövérkésen szólal fel* 'plump.Adv speak up'); see also subsection IV in subsection 1.3.1.3.4.2.

In the case of the "suspicious" group of potential Ó-nouns derived from unergative verbal constructions, we can observe the following phenomenon. A potential $Ó_{\theta'}$-noun is significantly more acceptable if there is a homophonous (that is, regularly derived, and not blocking) lexicalized $TPD_{\theta'}$-noun. This observation can be regarded as a "positively discriminating" counterpart of the two blocking effects discussed in subsection 1.3.1.3.1 (see examples (341-343) and Table 25): In the case of a potential $Ó_{\theta'}$-noun, it tends to be less acceptable if there is a semantically corresponding irregularly derived (i.e., blocking) lexicalized $TPD_{\theta'}$-noun (with the same role θ') or there is a homophonous (i.e., regularly derived) lexicalized $TPD_{\theta''}$-noun (with a different role θ").

Note that the above-defined positively discriminating effect is also illustrated in (359) in the case of an $Ó_{INST}$-noun: the phonetic form *törülköző* 'dry_oneself.Ó' (359a') can be interpreted as a perfect Ó-noun due to the coexisting homophonous lexicalized TPD_{INST}-noun *törülköző* 'towel' (359b). The blocking effects are illustrated here by means of the phonetic form *sakkozó* 'play_chess.Ó', which cannot be accepted as an $Ó_{LOC}$-noun (360a') or an $Ó_{INST}$-noun, but only as an $Ó_{AG}$-noun, because of the lexicalized homophonous TPD_{AG}-noun *sakkozó* 'play_chess.Ó' (360b) (and the blocking TPD_{INST}-noun *sakk* 'chess').

(358) ● Telic input unergative verbs

a. ??Ki volt *az az ebéd utáni haza-rohan-ó / meg-szólal-ó?*
who be.Past.3Sg *that the lunch after.Attr home-rush-Ó / perf-speak-Ó*
'Who was *the person who [ran home] / spoke after lunch?*'

a'. Ki volt *az az ebéd utáni fel-szólal-ó?*
who be.Past.3Sg *that the lunch after.Attr up-speak-Ó*
'Who was *the person who spoke after lunch?*'

b. *?Ki volt *az a kövérkés haza-rohan-ó / meg-szólal-ó?*
(s)he be.Past.3Sg *that the plump home-rush-Ó / perf-speak-Ó*
Intended meaning: 'Who was *that plump person who [ran home] / spoke?*'

b'. Ki volt *az a kövérkés fel-szólal-ó?*
who be.Past.3Sg *that the plump up-speak-Ó*
'Who was *that plump speaker?*'

b". fel-lép-$ő_{Ag}$ / meg-áll-$ó_{Loc}$
up-step-Ó / perf-stand-Ó
'performer / [stop (of buses or trams)]'

Returning to the examples demonstrated in (358) above, our observation is that there are only very few TPD_{θ}-nouns based on telic unergative verbs. This is presumably due to the following two facts. Telicity, on the one hand, shows a strong correlation with the appearance in the input verbal construction of an object to "measure" the success or the incrementation of the denoted procedure (see subsection IV). On the other hand, it is almost always accompanied by the appearance of a preverb, which is itself often accompanied with an oblique case-marked argument (see subsection V).

The examples in (358b',b") above are to be regarded as exceptional instances. It must be noted that the given preverbs cannot be omitted due to their not exclusively perfectivizing semantic contribution.

As in the case of ÁS- and SED-nouns, we will separately discuss here the case of reflexive (359), reciprocal (360) and bodily/sound emission (361) verbs as inputs, because their only syntactic argument is somewhat Agent-like, but also shows Theme-like properties to a certain extent (1.3.1.2.2.3, sub II).

The data in (359) below demonstrate that the groups of atelic and telic reflexive verbs pattern with the prototypes of atelic (357) and telic (358) unergative verbs in providing marked and even worse grammaticality judgments, respectively. The "positively discriminating" effect of lexicalized TPD_{θ}-noun variants (359b) can also be observed here (359a').

(359) ● Reflexive input verbs

a. Kik voltak *a család ma reggeli* $^{??}$*(*$^{*?}$meg-)borotválkoz-ó-i?*
who.Pl be.Past.3Pl *the family today morning.Adj (perf-)shave_oneself-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
'Who were *the family members who shaved this morning?*'

a'. Ez az abrosz volt tegnap *Péter (*meg-)törülköz-ő-je?*
this the tablecloth be.Past.3Sg yesterday *Péter (perf-)dry_oneself-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Was this tablecloth *the thing with which Péter dried himself* yesterday?'

a". Nálunk a terasz *a férjem* $^{*?}$*(*meg-)fésülköd-ő-je.*
Ade.1Pl the terrace *the husband.Poss.1Sg (perf-)comb_oneself-ó-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'At our place, the terrace is *where my husband combs his hair.*'

b. törülköz-$ő_{Inst}$ / mosd-$ó_{Loc}$
dry_oneself-ó / wash_oneself-ó
'towel / [rest room]'

The examples in (359b) require a short comment. Exclusively perfectivizing preverbs (e.g., *meg*) cannot appear in TPD-noun forms, moreover, reflexive (359b), reciprocal (360b-b') and bodily/sound emission (361c') verbs are also similar to prototypical unergative verbs in not providing TPD_{θ}-noun variants based on telic input verb forms.

Atelic and telic reciprocal verbs also pattern with prototypical atelic (357) and telic (358) unergative verbs in providing marked and even worse grammaticality judgments in the course of thematic $Ó_{\theta}$-nominalization, respectively (360a). As for adjunctive Ó-nominalization, it is predicted to provide more or less acceptable Ó-noun constructions (NB: due to the "thematic" possessor) but these potential forms (360a') are highly exposed to the blocking effects (re-)discussed in connection with the examples demonstrated in (358b-b").

(360) ● Reciprocal input verbs

a. Kik voltak *a család ma reggeli* *??veszeked-ő-i* /*?össze-vesz-ő-i?*
who.Pl be.Past.3Pl *the family today morning.Adj quarrel-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg /together-lose-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
'Who were *the family members who quarreled / [had a row] this morning?*'

a'. *A tizenhármas terem, Ibi tegnapi* *(?)madzsongoz-ó-ja* /*?*sakkoz-ó-ja,*
the thirteenth room Ibi yesterday.Adj play_mahjong-Ó-Poss.3Sg / play_chess-Ó-Poss.3Sg
alkalmas lenne a versenyre is.
suitable be.Cond.3Sg the competion.Sub also
'As for *Room 13, the room where Ibi played mahjong / chess yesterday*, it would be suitable for the competition, too.'

b. Ki *Magyarország legjobb sakkoz-ó-ja?*
who *Hungary best play_chess-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Who is *Hungary's best chess player?*'

b'. birkóz-ó$_{Ag}$ / harcos$_{Ag}$ / társalg-ó$_{Loc}$
wrestle-Ó / fighter / chat-Ó
'wrestler / fighter / lounge'

Atelic and telic bodily/sound emission verbs also pattern with prototypical atelic (357) and telic (358) unergative verbs in providing marked and even worse grammaticality judgments in the course of thematic Ó$_{AG}$-nominalization, respectively (361a).

A special type of emission verb is investigated in (361c). These are special in the sense that here the subject is not a [+HUMAN] Agent, but a [–HUMAN] Instrument (or Natural Force). In the case of these verbs, we are therefore talking about thematic Ó$_{INST}$-nominalization instead of thematic Ó$_{AG}$-nominalization. Note also that the (only) Ó$_{INST}$-noun construction discussed so far in this particular subsection (359a') was produced via adjunctive Ó-nominalization (based on an agentive input subject). As for the resulting potential Ó$_{INST}$-noun constructions, they can be evaluated in the same way as prototypical unergative verbs (357-358): an Ó$_{INST}$-noun construction like this (e.g., *csipogó* 'beep.Ó' in (361c)) is sufficiently acceptable only if it is "positively discriminated" thanks to a homophonous lexicalized TPD$_{INST}$-noun variant (cf. *csipogó* 'beeper' in (361c')).

(361) ● Bodily/sound emission input verbs

a. Kik voltak *a család ma reggeli* *??tüsszög-ő-i* /*?*tüsszent-ő-i?*
who.Pl be.Past.3Pl *the family today morning.Adj keep_sneezing-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg /sneeze-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
'Who were *the family members who [kept sneezing] / sneezed this morning?*'

b. Ki *a család legendás / ügyeletes tüsszög-ő-je* / *tüsszent-ő-je?*
who *the family legendary / on_duty keep_sneezing-Ó-Poss.3Sg / sneeze-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Who is *the ["legendary sneezer"] / ["sneezer on duty"] in the family?*'

c. Melyik kütyü volt *Péter ma reggeli* *?csipog-ó-ja/ *fel-villan-ó-ja?*
which thingy be.Past.3Sg *Péter today morning.Adj beep-Ó-Poss.3Sg/ up-flash-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Which gadget *of Péter's* was *the one which beeped / flashed this morning?*'

c'. csipog-ó$_{Inst}$ / ketyeg-ő$_{Inst}$
beep-Ó / tick-Ó
'beeper / heart'

We conclude this subsection with a discussion of the question of potential TPD$_{AG}$-nouns based on bodily/sound emission verbs (361b). There are no lexicalized words

of this special subtype, presumably due to the very partial agentivity of the input subject. Nevertheless, the sentence versions in (361b) are fully acceptable. This is due to the special "on-duty"-construction, which is often used by speakers with TPD-noun constructions based on unaccusative input verbs. The acceptability of the sentence versions may be attributed exactly to the partially Theme-like character of the input subjects involved.

But how is this possible at all? This question brings us to subsection III on unaccusative input verbs.

III. Unaccusative intransitive verbs as input verbs

This group of input verbs are not predicted to undergo thematic $Ó_{AG}$- or $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization since the input subject is a Theme, and not an Agent or an Instrument. This expectation is borne out, as is illustrated in (362a-a').

As for adjunctive Ó-nominalization, while it is predicted that this could produce acceptable constructions, it is in fact not the case (362a"). We hypothesize that acceptable $Ó_{INST}$-nouns and $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns denote such human-made constructions which are designed to serve the purpose of volitional actions. Unaccusative verbs denote uncontrolled events, and not such actions.

For the same reasons, TPD-nouns cannot be based on unaccusative input verbs, either. Example (362b') is intended to illustrate this along the following lines: let us consider two potential Ó-noun variants which are both potentially suitable for denoting the same thing, for instance, the apparatus on which clothes dry. Let us suppose, furthermore, that one of them is based on an unaccusative verb (*szárad* 'become dry') while the other is based on the transitive counterpart (*szárít* 'make dry') of the former. What we can observe is that the latter will be lexicalized in the language. Thus, instead of what happens to the clothes becoming dry, we capture the human-planned action behind this event.

We have attempted to find TPD_{LOC}-nouns based on unaccusative verbs. The best candidate is shown in (362b"). It must be noted, however, that its input verb is not easy to classify. It is certain that it is not a prototypical unaccusative verb with a Theme as its subject. This subject can be best characterized as a participant with mixed agentive and Theme-like properties. The input verb, thus, is similar to the bodily/sound emission verbs, discussed in subsection II (see (361a)). The output TPD_{LOC}-noun, however, denotes a place where the "lying" people are unfortunately very inactive; that is why we demonstrate this example here, but we must emphasize its exceptional character.

(362) ● Unaccusative input verbs: Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns

a. *?Ki volt
who be.Past.3Sg
a család tegnapi váratlan el-ájul-ó-ja / el-vesz-ő-je?
the family yesterday.Adj unexpected away-faint-Ó-Poss.3Sg / away-get_lost-Ó-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'Who was *the person who unexpectedly fainted / [got lost] yesterday?*'

a'. *Melyik alkatrész volt *a tegnapi el-kop-ó / el-roml-ó?*
which component be.Past.3Sg *the yesterday.Adj away-wear-Ó / away-go_wrong-Ó*
Intended meaning: 'Which component was the one *that [wore out] / [went wrong] yesterday?*'

a''. *Melyik erdő volt *Ili tegnapi el-ájul-ó-ja / el-vesz-ő-je?*
which forest be.Past.3Sg *Ili yesterday.Adj away-faint-ó-Poss.3Sg / away-get_lost-ó-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'Which forest was the one *where Ili fainted / [got lost] yesterday*?'

b. Nálunk Ili *az* [*(✓*ügyeletes*) *el-ájul-ó*] / [*(✓*legendás*) *el-vesz-ő*].
Ade.1Pl Ili *the on_duty away-faint-ó / legendary away-get_lost-ó*
'In our family, Ili is *the person known for often fainting /[getting lost]*.'

b'. *szárad-ó$_{Inst}$ / ✓szárít-ó$_{Inst}$
become_dry-*ó* / make_dry-Ó
'clotheshorse'

b''. el-fekv-ő$_{Loc}$
away-lie-Ó
'nursing home'

As is illustrated in (362b) above, however, there is a special construction in which even TPD-nouns based on unaccusative verbs seem to be permitted to appear. This is the "on-duty"-construction, which we have already illustrated in subsection II (361b). As is pointed out by Laczkó (2000a: 385–386), the characteristic property of this construction is the obligatory presence of some adjective referring to frequency or typicality, such as *ügyeletes* 'on duty', *fő* 'main', or *legendás* 'legendary'. Without an adjective like this, the examples are fully unacceptable (362b). What seem to be TPD-nouns, thus, are not real, lexicalized TPD-nouns. Instead they can be considered a playful extension of the regular derivation of TPD-nouns, which is (mainly) used for referring to typical characteristics of people as if these were professions or occupations. Laczkó (2000a: 385–386) also argues that the thematic role of the subject of the input verb that enters the "on-duty"-construction is not restricted; that is why even unaccusative verbs are appropriate inputs.

It is worth adding that it can also be regarded as an instance of type coercion that an input Theme appears as the denotatum of a TPD$_{AG}$-noun. The humorous or pejorative effect triggered by the "on-duty"-construction is a straightforward consequence of the incompatibility between the two thematic roles, that is, the violation of certain requirements. Another obvious consequence is the hidden implication that the person referred to as the Theme of an unaccusative verb is not necessarily totally innocent in what is happening. The speaker of example (362b) above may suggest that the people mentioned could do more against always fainting or getting lost, and it is their "agentive" decision that they do not do so. Or, moreover, they certainly faint or get lost volitionally.

IV. Transitive verbs as input verbs

The transitive group of verbs can be regarded as the best candidate to serve as the input to thematic Ó-nominalization.

The reason for this is that their argument structure has the optimal level of complexity. On the one hand, it is complex enough to ensure a thematic possessor which "legitimizes" the output Ó-noun in the sense discussed in subsection II (where it was pointed out that the absence of such a possessor yields poorly acceptable potential Ó-noun constructions). On the other hand, it is not "too complex": it does not contain oblique case-marked arguments, the placement of which in the output Ó-noun construction raises many problems (see subsection V).

Let us start with $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization and TPD_{AG}-noun derivation (363).

Examples (363a) and (363b,c) demonstrate an atelic and two telic input verbal constructions. As is shown in the corresponding primed examples, the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun constructions are fully acceptable. The input arguments appear in the output nominal constructions in the way described in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1. Namely, the input subject corresponds to (the denotatum of) the $Ó_{AG}$-noun, the input object appears as the possessor of the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction, and the input preverb, if any, occupies the prenominal complement position (363b').

Note in passing that the $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction in (363a'), based on an atelic argument structure, essentially coincides with the $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction in (363c'), which is based on a telic one (NB: the somewhat artificial translations are intended to capture the slight semantic/aspectual difference between the two variants). This is due to the special fact that the argument-structure type presented in (363c) is telic in spite of the absence of any preverb. Thus, the expression *a fejezet írója* 'the chapter write.Ó.Poss.3Sg' happens to be ambiguous ('who is writing the chapter' *versus* 'who wrote the chapter') while the expression *a fejezet megírója* 'the chapter perf.write.Ó.Poss.3Sg' is unambiguous, with its special meaning based on a telic input.

(363) ● Transitive input verbs: $Ó_{AG}$-nouns and TPD_{AG}-nouns

a. Péter éppen írja az ötödik fejezetet.
Péter just write.DefObj.3Sg the fifth chapter.Acc
'Péter is just writing the fifth chapter.'

a'. Péter *az ötödik fejezetnek az ír-ó-ja.*
Péter *the fifth chapter.Dat the write-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Péter is *the person who is writing the fifth chapter*.'

b. Péter meg-írta az ötödik fejezetet.
Péter perf-write.Past.DefObj.3Sg the fifth chapter.Acc
'Péter has written the fifth chapter.'

b'. Péter volt *az ötödik fejezetnek a meg-ír-ó-ja.*
Péter be.Past.3Sg *the fifth chapter.Dat the perf-write-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Péter was *the person who had written the fifth chapter*.'

c. Péter írt egy fejezetet, az ötödiket.
Péter write.Past. 3Sg a chapter.Acc the fifth.Acc
'Péter wrote a chapter, the fifth one.'

c'. Péter volt *az ötödik fejezetnek az ír-ó-ja.*
Péter be.Past.3Sg *the fifth chapter.Dat the write-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Péter was *the person who wrote the fifth chapter*.'

d. Péter (meg-)írt nyolc regényt. → Péter *(*meg-)ír-ó.*
Péter (perf-)write.Past.3Sg eight novel.Acc Péter *(perf-)write-ó*
'Péter wrote / [has already written] eight novels.' 'Péter is *a writer*.'

e. Péter regényeket ír. → Péter *regény-ír-ó.*
Péter novel.Pl.Acc write.3Sg Péter *novel-write-ó*
'Péter writes novels.' 'Péter is *a novelist*.'

Example (363d) above illustrates that only the preverbless input verbal construction provides an acceptable TPD_{AG}-noun. This is in total harmony with the usual observation according to which a preverb does not appear in the case of a TPD-

noun if (and only if) its meaning contribution amounts to marking perfectivization (cf. (340) in subsection 1.3.1.3.1). Note in passing that this fact is not necessarily to be construed as an instance of omission, but as is suggested by the two inputs of (363d) it may be that the telic input can also have a potential TPD-noun counterpart. This, however, will be unacceptable, perhaps for the following semantic reason: a TPD-noun denotes somebody (or something) who (or which) does the corresponding activity from its beginning to its end again and again, and not only its final phase, which telicity refers to.

Example (363e) demonstrates another (fully acceptable) typical TPD_{AG}-noun construction, in which the input object appears in the prenominal complement position. This, however, should be discussed in subsection VI, as an input verbal construction with the object appearing as a verbal modifier and not as a fully fledged argument appearing in the postverbal complement zone would perhaps be a better analysis.

Let us now turn to $Ó_{INST}$-nouns and TPD_{INST}-nouns.

If the subject of a transitive verb is an Instrument (364a), it can readily undergo thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization (364b). The input arguments obviously appear in the output nominal constructions in the same way as in the case of $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization. Namely, the input subject corresponds to (the denotatum of) the $Ó_{INST}$-noun, the input object appears as the possessor of the output $Ó_{INST}$-noun construction, and the input preverb, if any, occupies the prenominal complement position (364b).

It is to be noted that the potential $Ó_{INST}$-noun variant based on the telic input (*megdarálója* 'perf.grind.Ó.Poss.3Sg') is somewhat artificial, in spite of the fact that it has a special meaning which can be associated only with this variant (see the elaborated translations in (364b)). This may have to do with the following two circumstances. First, an $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation is preferred to the corresponding $Ó_{INST}$-noun interpretation, especially in the case of variants with a preverb; that is, the expression *megdarálója* 'perf.grind.Ó.Poss.3Sg' primarily, at first glance, seems to speakers to refer to a person. Second, the lexicalized TPD_{INST}-noun variant *daráló* 'grinder' is obligatorily preverbless (364c) (see the comments on (363d) above), and, hence, it imposes a slight blocking effect upon the "competing" variant with a preverb (1.3.1.3.1).

(364) ● Transitive input verbs: thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nouns and TPD_{INST}-nouns

a. Ez a gép (meg-)darálta tegnap a mandulá-t.
this the machine (perf-)grind.Past.DefObj.3Sg yesterday the almond-Acc
'This machine [was grinding] / [had ground] the almonds yesterday.'

b. Ez a gép volt tegnap *a mandula* (*(?)meg-)darál-ó-ja*.
this the machine be.Past.3Sg yesterday *the almond* *(perf-)grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This machine was *the one which [was grinding] / [had ground] the almonds* yesterday.'

c. Ez *egy* *(*meg-)darál-ó*.
this *a* *(perf-)grind-Ó*
'This is *a grinder*.'

Let us now turn to adjunctive $Ó_{INST}$- (365) and $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalizations (366).

In contrast to thematic Ó-nominalization, transitive verbs cannot be regarded as ideal candidates to serve as inputs to adjunctive Ó-nominalization, due to the fact that here it is not the input subject that corresponds to (the denotatum of) the output

Ó-noun. Therefore, the input verbal construction is "too complex" with its fully fledged subject and object, because the output Ó-noun construction contains only one fully fledged argument position, which is the possessor position. The prenominal complement position does not count as a fully fledged argument position since it cannot host specific noun phrases (at least such specific noun phrases which correspond to accusative or nominative case-marked input arguments).

Let us consider, for instance, a transitive input argument structure completed with an instrumental case-marked adjunct (365a). On the basis of the above discussion, all potential $Ó_{INST}$-noun variants given in (365b-b") below are problematic in one way or another.

First, the exclusively perfectivizing preverb cannot appear in any of the variants (365b-b"), in contrast to the case shown in (364b) above. The radical difference in grammaticality judgments ('(?)' *versus* '*?'/'*') can be attributed to the following difference between the two types of $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization. Thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization relies on input argument structures with an instrumental subject. Thus in this case, the given instrument (e.g., a grinding machine) is construed as an "almost agentive" participant (on the basis of its highly sophisticated construction and its running on its own). Hence, the preference for the $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation to the $Ó_{INST}$-noun interpretation manifests itself only in a slight blocking effect. In the case of adjunctive $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization, however, which relies on input argument structures with an Agent subject, the instrument (e.g., a spade) is construed as a non-agentive (i.e., not really sophisticated, not humanoid) participant; and, hence, the preference for the $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation to the $Ó_{INST}$-noun interpretation manifests itself in a strong blocking effect.

Note in passing that we consider it possible to develop an alternative comprehensive theory of Ó-nominalization, in which $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization is always adjunctive. What has been analyzed so far as instances of thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization may be nothing else but the application of $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization to input argument structures with "almost agentive" instruments as subjects.

Second, it is obligatory to place the input subject in the output $Ó_{INST}$-noun construction, and inevitably in the possessor position (365b-b'), as was discussed in connection with example (345c-c') in 1.3.1.3.2.1. As for the not fully unacceptable construction demonstrated in (365b"), its status can be attributed to the following two factors. On the one hand, the existence of the corresponding homophonous TPD_{INST}-noun variant (365c) can be regarded as a "positively discriminating" effect. On the other hand, (365b") can be construed as an elliptical version of the fully acceptable variant of the four variants shown in (365b) below. That is, *a tegnapi ásó* 'the yesterday.Adj dig.Ó' can be understood as a known person's object used for digging in a particular situation.

Third, there are potential TPD_{INST}-noun constructions containing no counterpart of the input object (365b,b"). One of these variants is definitely fully acceptable (365b). One might think that this fully acceptable variant can be derived from the input argument structure demonstrated in (365a) by means of the deletion of the input object. It is preferred, however, from a theoretical point of view, to derive the output variant in question from the unergative input, demonstrated in (365a').

Fourth, there are potential TPD_{INST}-noun constructions in which an overtly non-case-marked word, which can be found in the prenominal complement zone, corresponds to the input object; example (365b) demonstrates such a variant. This variant is somewhat artificial but quite acceptable. The problem is the same as that mentioned in the previous paragraph: the output variant in question is to be derived from, not the "pure" transitive argument-structure type (365a), but an input argument structure containing the accusative case-marked argument as a verbal modifier, demonstrated in (365a"), which will be the topic of subsection VI. There is even a certain difference in meaning between the two argument-structure types involved: one pit is claimed to have been dug according to (365a) while an indefinite number of pits (one or more) are claimed to have been dug according to (365a").

(365) ● Transitive input verbs: adjunctive $Ó_{INST}$-nouns and TPD_{INST}-nouns

a. Péter tegnap (meg-)ásott egy gödröt ez-zel az esernyő-vel.
Péter yesterday (perf-)dig.Past.3Sg a pit.Acc this-Ins the umbrella-Ins
'Yesterday Péter (had) dug a pit with this umbrella.'

a'. Péter tegnap ásott ez-zel az esernyő-vel.
Péter yesterday dig.Past.3Sg this-Ins the umbrella-Ins
'Yesterday Péter used this umbrella for digging.'

a". Péter tegnap gödröt ásott ez-zel az esernyő-vel.
Péter yesterday pit.Acc dig.Past.3Sg this-Ins the umbrella-Ins
'Yesterday Péter dug pits with this umbrella.'

b. Ez a esernyő volt
this the umbrella be.Past.3Sg
*Péter tegnapi (*meg-)ás-ó-ja / gödör-$^{(?)}$($^{*?}$meg-)ás-ó-ja.*
Péter yesterday.Adj (perf-)dig-Ó-Poss.3Sg / pit-(perf-)dig-Ó-Poss.3Sg
'This umbrella was *the tool with which Péter (had) dug a pit yesterday*.'

b'. *Ez a esernyő volt *a gödör tegnapi (kertész-)(meg-)ás-ó-ja.*
this the umbrella be.Past.3Sg *the pit yesterday.Adj (gardener-)(perf-)dig-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This umbrella was *the tool with which a pit was / [had been] dug yesterday (by gardeners)*.'

b". Ez a esernyő volt *a tegnapi* $^{??}$*(*meg-)ás-ó.*
this the umbrella be.Past.3Sg *the yesterday.Adj (perf-)dig-Ó*
'This umbrella was *the tool with which someone [was digging] / [had dug something] yesterday*.'

c. Ez *egy (*meg-)ás-ó.*
this *a (perf-)dig-Ó*
'This is *a spade*.'

In connection with the potential TPD-noun variants demonstrated in (365c), it should be repeated that a preverb does not appear in the case of a TPD-noun if (and only if) its meaning contribution amounts to marking perfectivization.

We conclude with a series of examples demonstrating potential $Ó_{LOC}$-nouns and TPD_{LOC}-nouns based on a transitive input argument structure completed with a locative adjunct (366a). Essentially the same holds for these examples as for those shown in (365) above, with the only exception that here the preverb *vissza* 'back' is omissible neither from the Ó-noun variants (366b-b") nor from the TPD-noun constructions (366c) due to its major semantic contribution.

As for the potential TPD_{Loc}-noun variants (366c), however, it must be noted that no acceptable (lexicalized) output TPD-noun happens to be based on the transitive input argument structure (366a) itself, with fully fledged subject and object positions, since the object must appear in the output (prenominal complement position). The problem with this is that, in the course of the derivation of TPD-nouns, only the "core" of the input argument structure is thought to be inherited; a fully fledged input object, thus, "should have been deleted". Therefore, the output variant in question is to be derived, not from the "pure" transitive argument-structure type (366a), but from an input argument structure containing the accusative case-marked argument as a verbal modifier, similar to the one shown in (365a"), to be discussed in subsection VI.

(366) ● Transitive input verbs: $Ó_{Loc}$-nouns and TPD_{Loc}-nouns

a. Péter tegnap vissza-váltotta az üvegeket a bolt-ban.
Péter yesterday back-change.Past.DefObj.3Sg the bottle.Pl.Acc the shop-Ine
'Yesterday Péter returned the bottles to the shop.'

b. Ez a bolt volt
this the shop be.Past.3Sg
*Péter tegnapi *(*vissza-)vált-ó-ja / üveg-*(?)vissza-)vált-ó-ja.*
Péter yesterday.Adj (back-)change-Ó-Poss.3Sg / bottle-(back-)change-Ó-Poss.3Sg
'This shop was *the place where Péter returned the bottles yesterday.*'

b'. Ez a bolt volt *az üvegek tegnapi *(?vissza-)vált-ó-ja.*
this the shop be.Past.3Sg *the bottle.Pl yesterday.Adj (back-)change-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'This shop was *the place where the bottles were returned yesterday.*'

b". *Ez a bolt volt *a tegnapi (vissza-)vált-ó.*
this the shop be.Past.3Sg *the yesterday.Adj (back-)change-Ó*
'This shop was *the place where something was returned yesterday.*'

c. Ez *egy *(✓üveg-)vissza-vált-ó.*
this *a (bottle-)back-change-Ó*
'This is *a place where bottles are returned.*'

Let us consider a few details of the $Ó_{Loc}$-nominalization demonstrated in the (b)-examples in (366) above, in the light of our remarks in connection with the corresponding examples in (365b-b"). First, here the "contentful" preverb cannot be omitted. Second, the input subject must appear (366b,b") in some way, and the only way for this to happen is for it to occupy the possessor position. The almost acceptable variant shown in (366b') seems to be a counterexample to this statement, but here a special factor emerges: 'the shop' is understood as an Agent. Pustejovsky (1995) describes the phenomenon in its general form: there is a universal polysemy among institutions as structured sets of people and the buildings they occupy. Third and fourth, as our starting point here is the transitive verbal construction with a fully fledged object (366a), no potential $Ó_{Loc}$-noun construction is acceptable as one precisely based on it which contains no counterpart of the input object or contains the counterpart of the input object in a "not fully fledged" prenominal complement position.

All in all, what the (b)-examples in (366) illustrate is that no fully acceptable and exhaustively "legitimate" $Ó_{Loc}$-noun can be based on a transitive argument structure with two fully fledged "distinguished" (non-oblique-case-marked)

arguments—the same holds for the other kind of adjunctive Ó-nominalization, in contrast to the two types of thematic Ó-nominalization.

V. Verbs with oblique arguments as input verbs

Due to self-exposed space limitations, we would like to rely on the following observations, discussed in the previous subsections, without further illustration.

First, only cases of thematic and adjunctive Ó-nominalization in which the subject is an Agent or an "almost agentive" Instrument are worth considering. That is, input argument structures with no subject (subsection I) or with a subject occupied by a Theme (subsection III) will not be investigated.

Second, optional input verbal arguments remain optional in the output nominal constructions but the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun constructions are more acceptable without their optional arguments. It is generally true that Ó-nouns do not prefer a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone, especially if the given Ó-noun construction is in a postverbal position (1.3.1.3.2.1). Recall that the ideal syntactic context for Ó-noun constructions with a phonetically non-empty complement zone is the *na például* 'well for_instance' context, which unambiguously designates the limits of the Ó-noun construction. Here, in most cases, we will focus our attention on a less artificial in-between position: namely, the non-contrastive topic position.

Note further that the (typical) case in which the prenominal complement zone of an Ó-noun is filled with a special oblique case-marked argument which serves as a verbal modifier in the input verbal construction (e.g., *Párizsba küld* 'Paris.Ill send') will be discussed in subsection VI, devoted exactly to the investigation of input verbal modifiers. Besides this special prenominal complement position, an input oblique case-marked argument can appear only in the postnominal complement zone of the Ó-noun, which, as was mentioned above, is preferred to be empty, yielding an interesting tension in the grammar. Recall (1.3.1.3.2.1) that oblique case-marked arguments cannot appear in the prenominal modifier zone because, in contrast to postpositional phrases (see (372) below), they cannot be attributivized.

Let us consider the consequences of this "tension" (367). As can be observed on the basis of the difference between the grammaticality judgments in the (b)-examples and those in the (c)-examples, grammaticality ultimately depends on the absence or presence of a thematic possessor. If the (atelic (367b) or telic (367b')) input argument structure contains no object, the output potential $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction will contain no possessor (or only a possessor corresponding to neither input argument). These potential $Ó_{AG}$-noun constructions are fully unacceptable. If, however, the (atelic (367c-c') or telic (367c")) input argument structure contains an object, the output potential $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction will contain a thematic possessor, and the potential $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction will reach the borderline of acceptability. The exact degree (and speaker-dependent variation) of acceptability in the case of this type seems to depend on a wide range of such minor factors as, for instance, the sentence-internal position of the given Ó-noun construction, the inserted adjectives, the particular oblique case suffix, the atelic or telic character of the input verb. The exploration of the decisive factors in this requires much future research.

(367) ● Unergative and transitive input verbs with oblique arguments: $Ó_{AG}$-nouns

a. ...szerintem is meggondolatlan alak.
according_to.1Sg also reckless guy
'I also think that ... is a reckless guy.'

b. **A tegnapi (el-)beszélget-ő Ili-vel (a politiká-ról)...*
the yesterday.Adj (away-)talk-Ó Ili-Ins the politics-Del
Intended meaning: '*... who talked with Ili (about politics) yesterday...*'

b'. **A tegnapi össze-ismerked-ő Ili-vel...*
the yesterday.Adj together-get_acquainted-Ó Ili-Ins
Intended meaning: '*... who got acquainted with Ili yesterday...*'

c. ??*Ili tegnapi kitartó faggat-ó-ja a magánélet-é-ről...*
Ili yesterday.Adj assiduously interrogate-Ó-Poss.3Sg the prive_life-Poss.3Sg-Del
'*... who interrogated Ili assiduously about her private life...*'

c'. ?*Ili tegnapi védelmez-ő-je az újságírók-tól...*
Ili yesterday.Adj protect-Ó-Poss.3Sg the journalist.Pl-Del
'*... who protected Ili from journalists...*'

c". ?*Ili tegnapi el-küld-ő-je Párizs-ba...*
Ili yesterday.Adj away-send-Ó-Poss.3Sg Paris-Ill
'*... who sent Ili to Paris yesterday...*'

As for TPD_{AG}-nouns, we can find lexicalized examples based on both unergative (368a-a') and transitive (368b-b') input argument structures, on the one hand, and both atelic (368a,b) and telic (368a',b') ones, on the other, with fully fledged oblique case-marked arguments. These input oblique case-marked arguments, however, are deleted in the course of TPD-noun derivation, as was established in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1. It is worth taking a look at the preverbs. Here not only *ki* 'out', but also *meg* 'perf' has a major semantic contribution beyond marking perfectivization, and, hence, they appear in the output TPD_{AG}-nouns: while the preverbless version *vált* means 'change' (see the example in (370c) below, in which switching railway tracks is referred to), the preverbed version *megvált* means 'save / redeem' (368b').

(368) ● Unergative and transitive input verbs with oblique arguments: TPD_{AG}-nouns

a. Ili éppen vizsgázik matek-ból. → vizsgáz-ó
Ili just take_exam.3Sg Maths-Ela take_exam-Ó
'Ili is just taking an exam in Maths.' 'candidate'

a'. Ili ki-vándorolt Kanadá-ba. → ki-vándorl-ó
Ili out-emigrate.Past.3Sg Canada-Ill out-emigrate -Ó
'Ili emigrated to Canada.' 'emigrant'

b. Péter véd-i a kapu-t az támadó-k-tól. → véd-ő
Péter defend.DefObj.3Sg the goal-Acc the offender-Pl-Abl defend-Ó
'Péter defends the goal from attackers.' 'defender'

b'. Jézus meg-váltotta az ember-ek-et a bűn-től. → Meg-vált-ó
Jézus perf-switch.Past.DefObj.3Sg the person-Pl-Acc the sin-Abl perf-switch-Ó
'Jesus has redeemed people from sin.' 'Redeemer'

In the series of examples in (369a-d') below we investigate the application of thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization to (atelic and telic) unergative (369b-b') and

transitive (369d-d') input argument structures with fully fledged oblique case-marked arguments. What can be observed essentially coincides with our observations concerning $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization (367), with the following difference: in the case of $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization the blocking effect of potential $Ó_{AG}$-nouns has to be neutralized in some way. The appositive constructions we present in the (b)- and (d)-examples serve this purpose, by making it unambiguous that non-human participants are referred to. As can be seen, even this aid cannot improve the acceptability of the potential $Ó_{INST}$-noun constructions based on unergative argument structures (369b-b'), obviously due to the lack of a thematic possessor. Based on transitive argument structures, however, the potential $Ó_{INST}$-noun constructions can reach the borderline of acceptability (369d-d').

(369) ● Unergative and transitive input verbs with oblique arguments: thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization and TPD_{INST}-noun derivation

a. ...megérdemelte volna hogy lelőjük.
worth.Past.DefObj.3Sg be.Cond that shoot.Subj.DefObj.1Pl
'...would be worth shooting.'

b. **A tegnapi repked-ő a légterünk-ben, az a fránya Gripen...*
the yesterday.Adj fly-ó the airspace.Poss.1Pl-Ine that the damn Gripen
Intended meaning: '*What was flying in our airspace yesterday, that damn Gripen...*'

b'. **A tegnapi be-repül-ő a légterünk-be, az a fránya Gripen...*
the yesterday.Adj into-fly-ó the airspace.Poss.1Pl-Ill that the damn Gripen
Intended meaning: '*What flew into our airspace yesterday, that damn Gripen...*'

c. ...szerintem is megéri az árát.
according_to.1Sg also be_woth.DefObj.3Sg the price.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'I also think that ... is worth the money.'

d. *A kullancsok tegnapi távol-tart-ó-ja Ili-től *(??ez a klassz új szer)...*
the tick.Pl yesterday.Adj afar-keep-ó-Poss.3Sg Ili-Abl this the cool new product
'*...what kept ticks from Ili yesterday (that cool new product)...*'

d'. *Ili tegnapi meg-szabadít-ó-ja a kullancsok-tól *(?ez a klassz új szer)...*
Ili yesterday.Adj perf-save-ó-Poss.3Sg the tick.Pl-Del this the cool new product
'*...what saved Ili from ticks yesterday (that cool new product)...*'

e. Ili itt társalgott Piri-vel az esküvő-ről. → társalg-ó
Ili here chat.Past.3Sg Piri-Ins the wedding-Del chat-ó
'Ili was chatting with Piri about the wedding here.' 'lounge'

e'. $Ez a gép fel-vonja az ember-ek-et az emelet-re. → fel-von-ó
this the machine up-pull.DefObj.3Sg the person-Pl-Acc the floor-Sub up-pull-ó
'This machine pulls the people upstairs.' 'elevator'

As for potential TPD_{INST}-nouns in this type, it is not easy to find lexicalized instances (369e-e'); even the relation presented in (369e') is less than fully felicitous as an explanation, as the word *felvonó* got into Hungarian as a word-for-word translation of the German compound word *Aufzug* 'up.puller'. Subsection VI will show similar examples, with nouns in the output prenominal complement zone which correspond to the input object: it seems that in the case of an instrument it is preferred to explicitly refer to the product that the given instrument helps to create or operates on (see (376c-c')). Note in passing that the example in (369e) has

already been mentioned as a TPD_{LOC}-noun based on the reciprocal subtype of unergative input argument structure ('Ili and Piri were chatting here'; see (360b') in subsection II). As is shown in (369e), now another potential input argument-structure type is considered, namely, the one with two oblique case-marked arguments.

Let us now turn to the two kinds of adjunctive Ó-nominalization (370-371). Recall that here the ideal input argument structure is the unergative one with no object, since there is no place for a fully fledged input object in the output Ó-noun construction, due to the fact that it is the input subject that must occupy the output possessor position (see also subsection VI).

(370) ● Unergative and transitive input verbs with oblique arguments: adjunctive $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization and TPD_{INST}-noun derivation

a. Ez a csónak volt...
this the boat be.Past.3Sg
'This boat was...'

b. *...*Ili tegnapi hajókáz-ó-ja a Duná-n.*
Ili yesterday.Adj sail-ó-Poss.3Sg the Danube-Sup
Intended meaning: '*...with what Ili sailed on the Danube yesterday.*'

b'. *...*Ili tegnapi át-kel-ő-je [a folyó-n] / [Budá-ról Pest-re].*
Ili yesterday.Adj across-cross-ó-Poss.3Sg the river-Sup / Buda-Del Pest-Sub
Intended meaning: '*...with what Ili crossed [the river] / [from Buda to Pest] yesterday.*'

c. Béla át-váltja a sín-t egy másik irány-ba ez-zel. → vált-ó
Béla across-switch.DefObj.3Sg the track-Acc an other direction-Sub this-Ins switch-Ó
'Béla switches the track to another direction with this.' '(railway) switch'

c'. Béla „ki-lopja" a bor-t a hordó-ból ez-zel. → lop-ó
Béla out-steal.DefObj.3Sg the wine-Acc the barrel-Ela this-Ins steal-Ó
'Béla "steals" the wine from the barrel with this.' 'wine-taster'

d. Ez-zel a kártyá-val hívlak meg az esküvő-re. → meg-hív-ó
this-Ins the card-Ins invite.2Obj.1Sg perf the wedding-Sub perf-invite-Ó
'I invite you to the wedding with this card.' 'invitation card'

d'. Ez-zel a kártyá-val hívtak be a hadsereg-be. → be-hív-ó
this-Ins the card-Ins invite.Past.3Pl into the army-Ill into-invite-Ó
'I was drafted into the army with this card. 'draft card'

As is demonstrated in (370) above and in (371) below, however, the potential Ó-noun constructions are fully unacceptable in the case of either an atelic or a telic input. The reason for this may have to do with the following two disadvantageous factors. One is the dispreferred status of the appearance of oblique case-marked arguments in the postnominal complement zone, and the other is the dispreferred status of the non-agentive interpretation of the potential Ó-nouns in question.

However, it is possible to find lexicalized TPD_{INST}-nouns (370c-d') and TPD_{LOC}-nouns (371c-c') of the type under investigation. Since in the case of TPD-nominalization the fully fledged input oblique case-marked arguments (as well as the input objects) are deleted, they cannot ruin the output TPD-noun constructions any more (also see subsection VI).

Note in passing that the preverb *át* 'across' in (370c) is deleted in the course of the TPD-noun derivation. This deletion may have to do with the fact that *vált* 'switch' already contains the meaning of this preverb in some way. The preverb *ki* 'out' in (370c') is also deleted but this is a regular deletion due to the fact that its meaning contribution amounts to marking perfectivization.

(371) ● Unergative and transitive input verbs with oblique arguments: $Ó_{Loc}$-nouns and TPD_{Loc}-nouns

a. Ez az étterem volt...
this the restaurant be.Past.3Sg
'This restaurant was...'

b. **...Peti tegnapi (el-)beszélget-ő-je Ili-vel (a politiká-ról).*
Peti yesterday.Adj (away-)talk-Ó-Poss.3Sg Ili-Ins the politics-Del
Intended meaning: '*...where Peti talked with Ili (about politics) yesterday*.'

b'. **...Peti tegnapi össze-ismerked-ő-je Ili-vel.*
Peti yesterday.Adj together-get_acquainted-Ó-Poss.3Sg Ili-Ins
Intended meaning: '*...where Peti got acquainted with Ili yesterday*.'

c. Az kapitány ki-köti a hajó-t a kötélbak-hoz. → ki-köt-ő
the captain out-tie-DefObj.3Sg the ship-Acc the bitt-All out-tie-Ó
'The captain is tying the ship to the bitt.' 'harbor'

c'. Az orvos el-vonja Bélá-tól az alkohol-t. → el-von-ó
the doctor away-pull-DefObj.3Sg Béla-Abl the alcohol-Acc away-pull-Ó
'The doctor dissuades Béla from drinking alcohol.' 'rehab'

We will also discuss a rare type of input argument structure here: namely those containing a postpositional phrase. What is special in the case of this type is that postpositional phrases can be attributivized, which makes it possible for them to "choose" the prenominal modifier zone of the output Ó-noun construction instead of the postnominal complement zone. Let us consider the consequence of this extension of possibilities. $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization is worth investigating because the type of argument structure in question seems to readily undergo this kind of Ó-nominalization.

Following from the discussion above, the grammaticality judgments provided in (372) below are worth comparing to those observed in (367). What can be learned from this comparison is that the most acceptable variants "almost reach the borderline of acceptability" but there is no difference between the output Ó-noun constructions with a postpositional phrase in the postnominal complement zone (372b,c) and those containing the attributivized form of the postpositional phrase (372b',c'). Instead, what have proved to count are such side effects as the "positively discriminating" effect in (372b-b') of the lexicalized TPD_{AG}-noun variant *lázadó* 'rebel' (372d) and the telic and transitive argument-structure basis in the case of the almost acceptable variant demonstrated in (372c-c').

(372) ● Unergative and transitive input verbs with postpositional arguments

a. ...végül letartóztatták.
finally arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl
'...were finally arrested.'

b. *A tegnapi ??(*?)fel-)lázad-ó-k-at az elnök ellen...*
the yesterday.Adj (up-)rebel-ó-Pl-Acc the president against
'*Who rebelled / [rose up] against the president...*'

b'. *Az elnök ellen-i tegnapi ??(*?)fel-)lázad-ó-k-at...*
the president against-Attr yesterday.Adj (up-)rebel-ó-Pl-Acc
'*Who rebelled / [rose up] against the president...*'

c. *A gyerekek érdeklődésének*
the child.Pl interest.Poss.3Sg.Dat
*a tavalyi *fenn-tart-ó-i-t /??fel-kelt-ő-i-t a drogok iránt...*
the last_year.Adj up-hold-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc / up-raise-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc the drug.Pl towards
'*Who raised / maintained the children's interest in drugs last year...*'

c'. *A gyerekek érdeklődésének*
the child.Pl interest.Poss.3Sg.Dats
*a drogok iránt-i tavalyi *fenn-tart-ó-i-t /??fel-kelt-ő-i-t...*
the drug.Pl towards-Attr last_year.Adj up-hold-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc / up-raise-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc
'*Who raised / maintained the children's interest in drugs last year...*'

d. A nemesek fel-lázadnak / fel-kelnek / össze-esküsznek a király ellen.→
the noble.Pl up-rebel. 3Pl / up-rise.3Pl / together-swear.3Pl the king against
lázad-ó / fel-kel-ő / össze-esküv-ő
rebel-ó / up-rise-ó / together-swear-ó
'The nobles rebel / [rise up] / conspire against the king.' →
'rebel / insurgent / conspirator'

As is shown in (372d), it is possible to find lexicalized TPD_{AG}-nouns, which is surprising compared to the low number of the argument structures containing a postpositional phrase. As in the case of the (c)-examples in (370-371), this has to do with the fact that in the course of TPD-nominalization the fully fledged input postpositional phrases are deleted, so they cannot ruin the output TPD-noun constructions.

VI. Verbs with verbal modifiers as input verbs

As in subsection V, we will not illustrate some of the observations which have been discussed elsewhere.

First, only transitive input argument structures need be considered in the case of thematic Ó-nominalization, as a thematic possessor is required in the output Ó-noun construction in order to sufficiently "legitimize" the construction as a noun (see subsections II and IV). The input counterpart of this possessor cannot be anything else but a fully fledged object as the input subject necessarily corresponds to (the denotatum of) the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun. And an input oblique case-marked argument can never appear as a possessor in the output.

Consequently, the role of the input verbal modifier must be played by an oblique case-marked argument.

Second, the input argument structure must not contain further (fully fledged) oblique case-marked arguments, since these arguments could appear only in the postnominal complement zone (of the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun), the phonetic realization of which is dispreferred and results in at best "marked" acceptability (see subsection V).

Third, it is not worth systematically investigating the difference between $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization and thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization: they both consistently yield similar grammaticality judgments, though the latter are slightly worse due to the preferred status of the $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation over that of the $Ó_{INST}$-noun (see subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1, and compare the grammaticality judgment in (373c) to those in (373b-b") below).

Let us consider a few potential thematic Ó-noun constructions based on the above-sketched single ideal input argument structure type (373). The primeless (b)-example demonstrates an $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction based on an atelic input while the primed (b)-examples demonstrate two $Ó_{AG}$-noun constructions based on telic inputs. The (c)-example illustrates the application of thematic $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization to the ideal argument-structure type. As can be seen, the results are all essentially acceptable Ó-noun constructions, with slight differences in acceptability.

(373) ● Ideal input argument structures with verbal modifiers: thematic Ó-nominalization

a. ...szerintem is meggondolatlan alak.
according_to.1Sg also reckless guy
'I also think that ... is a reckless guy.'

b. (?)*Csőrike kalitká-ban tart-ó-ja...*
Tweety bird_cage-Ine keep-ó-Poss.3Sg
'*...who keeps Tweety in bird-cage...*'

b'. *Ili Párizs-ba küld-ő-je...*
Ili Paris-Ill send-ó-Poss.3Sg
'*...who sent Ili to Paris...*'

b". (?)*A kerítés zöld-re fest-ő-je ...*
the fence green-Sub paint-ó-Poss.3Sg
'*...who painted the fence green...*'

c. ?*A mandula tegnapi finom-ra darál-ó-ja*
the almond yesterday.Adj fine-Sub grind-ó-Poss.3Sg
tényleg az a turmixgép volt?
really that the blender be.Past.3Sg
'Was it really that blender *which ground the almonds fine yesterday?*'

What is the ideal input for adjunctive Ó-nominalization? Let us consider this question, before turning to TPD-noun derivation.

On the basis of our earlier observations, two ideal input argument-structure types may emerge, due to the fact that the input verbal modifier can be chosen in two ways (NB: Agents are not suitable for occupying this position).

If the input verbal modifier is the object, argument structures with (fully fledged) oblique case-marked arguments are dispreferred due to the degraded status of the postnominal complement zone (see subsection V). The ideal input, thus, is a "pure" transitive argument structure; see the (a)- and (b)-examples in (374) below. As is illustrated in (374a,a",b), the resulting $Ó_{INST}$-noun and $Ó_{LOC}$-noun constructions are indeed acceptable; while the double filling of the output prenominal complement zone is fully unacceptable if the arguments involved are both more "fledged" than a preverb (cf. (374a') and (374b); see also subsection VI in 1.3.1.3.2.3).

(374) ● Ideal input argument structures with verbal modifiers: adjunctive Ó-nominalization

a. *Ili tegnapi mandula-darál-ó-ja* tényleg a turmixgép volt?
Ili yesterday.Adj almond-grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg really the blender be.Past.3Sg
'Was it really the blender *which Ili used for grinding almonds yesterday?*'

a'. *Ili tegnapi* *?*mandula-finomra-darál-ó-ja/ *finomra-mandula-darál-ó-ja*
Ili yesterday.Adj almond-fine.Sub-grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg / fine.Sub-almond-grind-Ó-Poss.3Sg
tényleg a turmixgép volt?
really the blender be.Past.3Sg
'Was it really the blender *which Ili used for grinding almonds fine yesterday?*'

a''. (?)*Ili tegnapi gödör-ásó-ja* tényleg egy esernyő volt?
Ili yesterday.Adj pit-dig-Ó-Poss.3Sg really an umbrella be.Past.3Sg
'Was it really an umbrella *which Ili used for digging pits yesterday?*'

b. (?)*Ili tegnapi üveg-vissza-vált-ó-ja* tényleg az a bolt volt?
Ili yesterday.Adj bottle-back-change-Ó-Poss.3Sg really that the shop be.Past.3Sg
'Was it really that shop *where the bottles were returned yesterday?*'

c. **Ili tavalyi színház-ba jár-ó-ja* ez a villamos / ruha volt?
Ili last_year.Adj theatre-Ill go-Ó-Poss.3Sg this the tram / dress be.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'Was it this tram / dress *in which Ili went to theatre last year?*'

c'. **Ili orvos-nak tanul-ó-ja* ez az egyetem volt?
Ili doctor-Dat study-Ó-Poss.3Sg this the university be.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'Was it this university *where Ili studied to be a doctor?*'

If the input verbal modifier is chosen to be an oblique case-marked argument, there is no appropriate place for an input object in the output Ó-noun construction, due to the prohibition against doubly filling the output prenominal complement zone. Therefore the ideal argument-structure type is one consisting of a subject and an oblique case-marked argument.

As is illustrated in (374c-c') above, however, the potentially ideal argument-structure type cannot serve as a basis for adjunctive Ó-nominalization. The reason for this is totally obscure. We might refer to the blocking effect of the competing potential $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation but this effect has proved to be very slight in the case of the other type of adjunctive Ó-nominalization (see the grammaticality judgments given in (374a'',b)).

The world of TPD-nouns based on different argument-structure types with a verbal modifier shows a much more variegated picture. Furthermore, as is demonstrated in (375a) below, the above-sketched theoretical considerations concerning Ó-nominalizations do not hold for them, or hold for them in a different way. What has proved to be the ideal input argument-structure type in the case of $Ó_{AG}$-nouns (see (373) above), consisting of a subject, an object and an oblique case-marked verbal modifier, "provides" only such neologisms as those presented in (375a). Note that even these examples can be questioned since the genuinely transitive verbs *olvas* 'read' and *fest* 'paint' can also be regarded as having unergative argument-structure versions, just like in English. According to this latter construal, the examples in question must be classified as belonging to the (375b) group, which is also almost empty and contains archaic words. Note in passing that such (also quite archaic) potential further candidates as *földönfutó*

'ground.Sup.run.Ó' ('outlaw') and *porbafingó* 'dust.Ill.fart.Ó' ('short (person)') can also be classified as adjectives.

We can make the generalization on the basis of the extremely small number of examples of the type illustrated in (375a,b) that in the case of TPD_{AG}-nouns, in contrast to $Ó_{AG}$-nouns, the placement of an oblique case-marked argument in the prenominal complement zone is not preferred. It seems that the problem is with (the phonetic weight of) the case suffix, because the "repair strategy" of omitting the case suffix itself can yield lexicalized TPD_{AG}-nouns somewhat less sporadically, as is illustrated in (375b'). The annotations marked as deleted in (375a',b') refer to the case suffixes which can be found in the input verbal constructions that can be reconstructed on the basis of semantic correspondence.

(375) ● Input argument structures with verbal modifiers: TPD_{AG}-nouns

a. [száj-ról olvas-ó] / [száj-jal és láb-bal fest-ő]
mouth-Del read-Ó / mouth-Ins and foot-Ins paint-Ó
'[lip reader] / [mouth and foot painting artist]'

a'. kék-fest-ő
blue.~~Ins/Sub~~-paint-Ó
'blue dyer'

b. ágy-ra-jár-ó / ajtó-n-áll-ó
bed-Sub-go-Ó / door-Sup-stand-Ó
'night-lodger / doorman'

b'. túsz-tárgyal-ó / torony-ugr-ó / has-beszél-ő / ököl-vív-ó / gát-fut-ó
hostage.~~Cau~~-negotiate-Ó / tower.~~Ela~~-jump-Ó / stomach.~~Ela~~-speak-Ó / fist.~~Ins~~-fence-Ó / hurdle.~~across~~.run-Ó
'[hostage negotiator] / [high diver] / ventriloquist / boxer / hurdler'

c. tűz-olt-ó / szén-éget-ő / labda-rúg-ó / cipőfelsőrész-készít-ő
fire(Acc)-extinguish-Ó / coal-burn-Ó / ball-kick-Ó / uppers-make-Ó
'fireman / [charcoal burner] / footballer / [uppers maker]'

c'. ítélet-végre-hajt-ó / szem-fel-szed-ő / villany-óra-le-olvas-ó
sentence-end.Sub-chase-Ó / stich-up-pick-Ó / electricity-clock-down-read-Ó
'executioner / stocking-ladder-mender (latch hook) / [electricity meter reader]'

It is worth mentioning at this point, before returning to (375), that among TPD_{INST}-nouns (376a,b) and TPD_{LOC}-nouns (378a) it can also be regarded as exceptional that the basis of derivation is an input verbal argument-structure type with an oblique case-marked verbal modifier (NB: even a converbial verbal modifier can be retained (376a")). Furthermore, the "repairing strategy" of omitting the case suffix can also be observed among TPD_{INST}-nouns (376a',b'). It is instructive, for instance, to compare the regular TPD_{INST}-noun version demonstrated in (376a'), which is also claimed to be the correct form by firemen themselves, who say that it is not the dust that is extinguished, to the shrunk version *poroltó* 'dust.extinguish.Ó' (376a'), which is typically used by speakers.

The examples in (375c) above are the representatives of the TPD_{AG}-nouns based on the input argument-structure type which can be regarded as the ideal basis of TPD_{AG}-noun derivation. The characteristic factor of this ideal basis is the accusative case-marked verbal modifier in the input, the output counterpart of which is a (phonetically) non-case-marked noun in the prenominal complement zone of the TPD_{AG}-noun. As is illustrated in (375c') above, the output prenominal

complement zone can be shared by the counterpart of the input object and a preverb(-like element), in this order.

We claim that the role of the (phonetically non-case-marked) counterpart of the input object in the output TPD_{AG}-noun construction (which is, anyway, a compound word from a morphologist's point of view) is the same as the role of the thematic possessor in the case of thematic nominalization (373). Namely, to "legitimize" the output construction unquestionably as a noun through providing sufficient information on the Theme affected by the Agent (and/or the Instrument or Natural Force) that is the denotatum of the given TPD-noun construction. We claim that this perfectly holds for TPD_{LOC}-nouns (378b-b') as well as both thematic (376c,c') and adjunctive (377) TPD_{INST}-nouns; that is why all these groups can be characterized by the fact that it is very easy to find newer and newer examples that belong to them, even if the cost is doubly filling the prenominal complement zone in cases when the input preverb cannot be omitted because of its major semantic contribution.

(376) ● Input argument structures with verbal modifiers: thematic TPD_{INST}-nouns

a. por-ral olt-ó
dust-Ins extinguish-Ó
'dust extinguisher'

a'. por-olt-ó / szél-véd-ő
dust.~~Ins~~-extinguish-Ó / wind.~~Abl~~-protect-Ó
'[dust extinguisher] / windscreen'

a". üt-ve-fúr-ó
hit-Conv-drill-Ó
'impact drill'

b. tenger-alatt-jár-ó / nap-ra-forg-ó / után-fut-ó / fül-ön-függ-ő / fül-be-mász-ó
sea-under-go-Ó / sun-Sub-turn-Ó / behind-run-Ó / ear-Sup-hang-Ó / ear-Ill-crawl-Ó
'submarine / sunflower / trailer / earring / earwig'

b'. terep-jár-ó / hangos-beszél-ő
area.~~Sup~~-go-Ó / loud.~~Adv~~-speak-Ó
'[all-terrain vehicle] / loudspeaker'

b". örök-mozg-ó
eternal.~~TrE~~-move-Ó
'perpetual motion machine'

c. beton-kever-ő / hó-kotr-ó / ceruza-hegyez-ő / kenyér-pirít-ó /
concrete.~~Ace~~-mix-Ó / snow.~~Ace~~-scoop-Ó / pencil.~~Ace~~-sharpen-Ó/ bread.~~Ace~~-toast-Ó /
mák-darál-ó / fájdalom-csillapít-ó / víz-forral-ó / szög-felez-ő
poppy_seed.~~Ace~~-grind-Ó/ pain.~~Ace~~-alleviate-Ó / water.~~Ace~~-boil-Ó / angle.~~Ace~~-bisect-Ó
'[concrete mixer] / snowplough / [pencil sharpener] / toaster /
[poppy seed grinder] / painkiller / kettle / [angle bisector]'

c'. szag-el-szív-ó / csavar-ki-szed-ő / csavar-be-hajt-ó / szög-be-löv-ő
odor.~~Ace~~-away-suck-Ó / screw.~~Ace~~-out-pick-Ó / screw.~~Ace~~-into-drive-Ó / nail.~~Ace~~-into-shoot-Ó
'extractor / [screw pick up tool] / [screwdriver gun] / [nail gun]'

In the series of examples in (377) below, the (b)-examples deserve attention: they are representatives of an in-between type. They denote special containers or holders, on the one hand, that is, "locations", which can, on the other hand, simultaneously be regarded as instruments that perform some task concerning the given Theme.

Certain TPD_{LOC}-nouns, thus, can also be classified as TPD_{INST}-nouns. We do not think this coincidence to be accidental. On the contrary, this overlap suggests that it is to be regarded as a systematic factor inside the structure of the grammar that adjunctive Ó-nominalization has these two subtypes, marked in the same way.

(377) ● Input argument structures with verbal modifiers: adjunctive TPD_{INST}-nouns (and "borderline cases")

a. sebesség-vált-ó / légy-csap-ó / jég-kapar-ó
speed.~~Acc~~-switch-Ó / fly.~~Acc~~-hit-Ó / ice.~~Acc~~-scrape-Ó
'gearbox / flyswatter / [ice scraper]'

b. toll-tart-ó / kalap-tart-ó / só-tart-ó /csomag-tart-ó / kotta-tart-ó
pen.~~Acc~~-keep-Ó/ hat.~~Acc~~-keep-Ó / salt.~~Acc~~-keep-Ó /package.~~Acc~~-keep-Ó / sheet_music.~~Acc~~-keep-Ó
'pencil-case / hat-rack / [salt cellar] / trunk / [sheet music stand]'

b'. madár-etet-ő / ruha-szárít-ó
bird.~~Acc~~-feed-Ó / clothe.~~Acc~~-dry-Ó
'[bird feeder] / clotheshorse'

b". szemét-le-dob-ó / személy-fel-von-ó
garbage.~~Acc~~-down-throw-Ó / person.~~Acc~~-up-pull-Ó
'[garbage chute] / [passenger elevator]'

Let us consider the five examples given in (377b) above. They demonstrate clearly why it is so frequent that a TPD-noun forms a compound word with the input Theme in its prenominal complement zone: the head of the TPD-noun construction (*tartó* 'keep.Ó') can itself denote only an underspecified "kind", and it is the appearance of the Theme (*toll* 'pen', *kalap* 'hat', *só* 'salt', *csomag* 'package' and *kotta* 'sheet music') that makes the construction specific enough for lexically denoting a specific object. We mention again that this specification is so important that it is worth even the cost of doubly filling the prenominal complement zone of TPD-nouns (see (375c'), (376c'), (377b") and (378b',c',d')).

(378) ● Input argument structures with verbal modifiers: TPD_{LOC}-nouns

a. talp-on-áll-ó / alul-jár-ó / felül-jár-ó
sole-Sup-stand-Ó / under-go-Ó / over-go-Ó
'pub / underpass / overpass'

b. csillag-vizsgál-ó / pénz-vált-ó / kutya-futtat-ó /autó-mos-ó / autó-kölcsönz-ő
star.~~Acc~~-examine-Ó / money.~~Acc~~-change-Ó / dog.~~Acc~~-run-Ó / car.~~Acc~~-wash-Ó / car.~~Acc~~-rent-Ó
'observatory / [money changer] / [dog park] / [car wash] / [car rental agency]'

b'. baromfi-fel-dolgoz-ó / üveg-vissza-vált-ó /könyv-ki-ad-ó / utas-el-lát-ó
poultry.~~Acc~~-up-work-Ó / bottle.~~Acc~~-back-change-Ó /book.~~Acc~~-out-give-Ó / passenger.~~Acc~~-away-see-Ó
'[poultry processing factory] / [a place where bottles are returned] / [book publisher] / [bar for passengers]'

c. Munkások szállnak meg itt. → munkás-száll-ó
worker.Pl stay.Pl3 perf here worker-stay-Ó
'Workers live here.' → 'worker dormitory'

c' Művészek járnak be itt. → művész-be-jár-ó
artist.Pl go.3Pl into here artist-into-go-Ó
'Artists entrance here.' → 'stage door'

d. Autóbuszok parkolnak (le) itt. → autóbusz-parkol-ó
bus.Pl park.3Pl (down) here bus-park-ó
'Buses park here.' → 'bus parking lot'

d'. Villamosok állnak meg itt. → villamos-meg-áll-ó
tram.Pl stand.3Pl perf here tram-perf-stand-ó
'Trams stop here.' → 'tram stop'

We still owe the reader some comments on the analyses proposed in (378c-d') above. These examples are representatives of the exceptional type of adjunctive TPD-noun construction in which the prenominal complement zone is occupied by (the output counterpart of) the essentially agentive (i.e., Agent or agentive Instrument) input subject. We have also illustrated above the exceptional input argument-structure type to whose core's inheritance (that is, to the inheritance of the agentive verbal modifier and, possibly, a preverb) the development of the TPD_{LOC}-nouns in question can be attributed. Note in passing that the examples in question can all be analysed as instances of the more general type *X for Ys* (e.g., *szálló munkások számára* 'dormitory for workers').

1.3.1.3.3. Restrictions on the derivational process

As with all derivational processes, Ó-nominalization is also partially productive with respect to the possible inputs, partly because of such "extreme" input verbal constructions as the copular or modal constructions. Moreover, as the argument structures involved do not contain an agentive argument, they cannot be predicted to undergo Ó-nominalization and TPD-noun derivation, since these forms of nominalizations proved to require an agentive, or at least almost agentive, argument (not only in the case of the thematic subtypes but also in the case of the adjunctive ones; see practically all subsections of 1.3.1.3.2.3).

Among the verbs that do not allow Ó-nominalization, the group of verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can' (379a) (Laczkó 2000a: 397–399) is to be mentioned. This restriction is not surprising in the light of the fact that, in contrast to traditional grammars (Keszler 2000: 315–318), in modern (basically generative) grammars, this suffix is considered to be not a derivational suffix but an inflectional one (Kenesei 1996, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a: 162), partly exactly because of its low inclination to undergo derivational processes (379b) (cf. ÁS-nominalization, see subsection 1.3.1.2.3).

(379) ● Input verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can'

a. Tavaly Péterék olvas-hat-t-ák el ezt a jelentés-t.
last_year Péter.Apl read-Mod-Past-DefObj.3Pl away this the report-Acc
deontic meaning: 'Last year this report was allowed to be perused by Péter and his colleagues.'
epistemic meaning: 'Last year this report might have been perused by Péter and his colleagues.'

b. *Kirúgták *a jelentés tavalyi el-olvas-hat-ó-i-t.*
be_fired.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the report last_year.Adj away-read-Mod-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc*
Intended meanings:
potential deontic meaning: '*Those who were allowed to peruse the report last year* were fired.'
potential epistemic meaning: '*Those who might have perused the report last year* were fired.'

In what follows, we will be investigating whether the deviant types of verbs summarized in (216) in 1.3.1.2, sub III allow Ó-nominalization and TPD-noun derivation.

I. Types of VAN *'BE'*

Let us start with the fact that *való* 'be.Ó' and *levő* 'be.Ó' are the present (simultaneous) participial forms of *van* 'be', so we must look for potential Ó-noun and/or TPD-noun variants in complex expressions containing one of these words as their head. Or, more precisely, as in the case of ÁS-nouns, we must take into account that in two very frequent copular constructions, the third-person present indicative form of this verbal construction appears without any overt phonetic realization of *van* 'be' (see the (a)-examples in (268-269) in 1.3.1.2.3, sub I). Hence, we must take into consideration the potential existence of Ó-noun and/or TPD-noun constructions in which no phonetic realization of any derivative of the copula *van* 'be' appears but only certain elements of the input verbal construction "materialize". As in subsection I of subsection 1.3.1.2.3, the construction in which no overt derivative of *van* 'be' is present will be referred to as a "*van*-free" construction.

Let us then review these three potential deverbal nominal *van*-constructions.

We were able to find no potential Ó-noun and/or TPD-noun constructions based on the phonetic form *levő* 'be.Ó'. As is demonstrated below, the emerging expressions with the word *levő* all prove to be participial constructions (380b'), and not Ó-nouns or TPD-nouns (380b,c). Note in passing that in all examples discussed in this series, *levő* can readily be replaced with the alternative phonetic form *lévő*; which, however, does not hold for all occurrences of *levő* (e.g., (754a-b) in 2.2.1.1.1.1).

(380) ● The potential nominal use of *levő* 'be.Ó'

a. ...jöjjenek be az irodámba!
come.Subj.3Pl into the office.Poss.1Sg.Ill
'...should see me in my office.'

b. *[?]*A tegnap-i indokolatlan jelen-lev-ő-k / itt-lev-ő-k / távol-lev-ő-k...*
the yesterday-Adj undue present-be-ó-Pl / here-be-ó-Pl / far-be-ó-Pl
Intended meaning: '*Who were unduly present / here / absent yesterday...*'

b'. [(?)]*A tegnap indokolatlan-ul jelen-lev-ő-k / itt-lev-ő-k / távol-lev-ő-k...*
the yesterday undue-Adv present-be-ó-Pl / here-be-ó-Pl / far-be-ó-Pl
'*Who were unduly present / here / absent yesterday...*'

c. **A tanszék tegnap-i indokolatlan*
the department yesterday-Adj undue
jelen-lev-ő-i / itt-lev-ő-i / távol-lev-ő-i...
present-be-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / here-be-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / far-be-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*The members of the department who were unduly present / here / [far away] yesterday...*'

Note in passing that in the expressions in question the phonetic form *való* 'be.Ó' cannot appear (in the place of *levő*), either (e.g., **ittvaló* 'here.be.Ó').

As for the phonetic form *való* 'be.Ó', there are potential Ó-noun and/or TPD-noun constructions where it is used (383-384). Before turning to them, however, we

are going to investigate Ó-noun constructions based on the copular use of *van* 'be' which can straightforwardly be analyzed as "*van*-free" constructions (381-382).

Let us start with input copular constructions in which a noun appears as a verbal modifier (381). As was discussed in connection with examples (341a-a') in subsection 1.3.1.3.1, in the "competition" of the regular potential Ó-noun word form (*idomító* 'tame.Ó') with a blocking word form (*idomár* 'tamer'), it is the former that provides more acceptable sentences with the intended Ó-noun meaning (381a) while the irregular blocking form is unambiguously responsible for the corresponding TPD-noun interpretation (381a'). As is shown by the grammaticality judgments in (381a), however, the picture is not so black and white that a perfect regular Ó-noun would come with a fully unacceptable blocking word form.

This observation was attributed in 1.3.1.3.1 to the additional effect that the productivity of $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization is affected by the competing two Ó-nominalizations to a certain degree, while the phonetic form of the blocking TPD_{AG}-noun can offer a potential unambiguous alternative to the multiply ambiguous regular Ó-noun phonetic form. Here we are going to complete this explanation with a proposal based on the fact that the [noun + copula] construction in Hungarian is systematically ambiguous between an individual-level and a stage-level reading (Kratzer 1995). The translations below illustrate this difference, which can be expressed in English by means of using the simple form of the copula (381a') or its (quite rare) continuous alternative (381a). Due to the formal coincidence of the two meanings in Hungarian, the infrequent stage-level meaning cannot readily be evoked. It is worth mentioning that it is an alternative method of expressing the stage-level interpretation to verbalize the given noun (by means of the derivational suffix *-(s)kodik/-(s)kedik/-(s)ködik*), as is shown in (381b) below. Note that this (verbal) form suggests that, while the subject of the individual-level [noun + copula] construction is a Theme (someone or something is classified as belonging to a "kind"), the subject of the stage-level [noun + copula] construction may be regarded as a somewhat agentive argument, at least in cases when someone volitionally acts as if (s)he belonged to the "kind" in question (Geist 2014).

Our proposal promised above is that the stage-level version of the copular construction can undergo $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization, exactly due to the emerging agentivity. What makes this fact hidden is that, instead of some construction containing the phonetic form *való* 'be.Ó', it happens to be the "*van*-free" construction that helps to express the resulting $Ó_{AG}$-nouns. Or, more precisely, a special stress pattern can draw the hearers' attention to the infrequent stage-level interpretation, which is indicated by quotation marks in written texts, as is presented in (381b') (NB: the TPD-noun *idomár* 'tamer' can readily be replaced with any occupation name independent of its derivational status; with *séf* 'chef', for instance). It is also shown in this example that a potential construction containing any phonetically overt derivative of the input copula *van* 'be' is fully unacceptable. The "quotational mood" can be replaced (or corroborated) by such constructions as the one shown in (381b"), namely, the "... Adj *kis* N"-construction (where *kis* means 'little').

(381) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': I. nominal verbal modifiers

a. Zsófi tegnap lelkes (?)idomít-ó-ja / ?idomár-ja volt Morzsinak.
Zsófi yesterday enthusiastic tame-ó-Poss.3Sg / tamer-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg Morzsi.Dat
'Yesterday Zsófi was *being the enthusiastic tamer of Morzsi*.'

a'. Tavaly Ricardo volt *a legjobb *idomít-ó-ja / idomár-ja* a cirkusznak.
last_year Ricardo be.Past.3Sg *the best tame-ó-Poss.3Sg / tamer-Poss.3Sg* the circus.Dat
'Last year Ricardo was *the best tamer* of the circus (as his profession).'

b. Zsófi tegnap lelkesen idomár-kod-ott.
Zsófi yesterday enthusiasticly tame-Vrb-Past.3Sg
'Yesterday Zsófi was *being an enthusiastic "tamer"*.'

b'. Zsófi tegnap *lelkes "idomár"* / **idomár-val-ó* volt.
Zsófi yesterday *enthusiastic tamer* / *tamer-be-ó-Poss.3Sg* be.Past.3Sg
'Yesterday Zsófi was *being an enthusiastic "tamer"*.'

b". *Morzsi tegnapi lelkes kis* (?)*idomít-ó-ja* / (?)*idomár-ja* / **idomár-val-ó-ja* nagyon elfáradt.
Morzsi yesterday.Adj enthusiastic little tame-ó-Poss.3Sg / tamer-Poss.3Sg / tamer-be-ó-Poss.3Sg very.much get_tired.Past.3Sg
'*The enthusiastic little tamer of Morzsi* got very tired.'

The same holds for the [adjective + copula] input verbal construction, as is demonstrated in (382) below. Namely, the [adjective + copula] construction can also be associated with a stage-level meaning (382a), besides the usual individual-level meaning (382a'). The stage-level meaning can also be expressed by means of the verbalized form of the given adjective (382b). Especially this latter form suggests the agentive character of the subject in the stage-level interpretation: someone is claimed to volitionally act as if (s)he were "such". Exactly due to this agentive character, stage-level copular constructions can be regarded as quite readily undergoing $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization (382b'-b"), which the "*van*-free" construction makes possible, instead of the phonetically overt derivatives of the input copula *van* 'be'.

(382) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': II. adjectival verbal modifiers

a. Zsófi tegnap gonosz volt (hozzánk).
Zsófi yesterday cruel be.Past.3Sg All.1Pl
'Yesterday Zsófi was being cruel (to us).'

a'. Az exférjed gonosz volt.
the ex-husband.Poss.2Sg cruel be.Past.3Sg
'Your ex-husband was cruel.'

b. Zsófi tegnap gonosz-kod-ott.
Zsófi yesterday cruel-Vrb-Past.3Sg
'Yesterday Zsófi was *being "cruel"*.'

b'. Zsófi tegnap *"gonosz"* / **gonosz-val-ó* volt.
Zsófi yesterday *cruel* / *cruel-be-ó-Poss.3Sg* be.Past.3Sg
'Yesterday Zsófi was *being "cruel"*.'

b". *A kis gonosz / *gonosz-val-ó* (*hozzánk) megbánta a csínyt.
the little cruel / cruel-be-ó All.1Pl regret.Past.DefObj.3Sg the prank.Acc
'*The little one who was being cruel (to us)* regretted what she had done.'

Note in passing that the oblique case-marked argument of the adjective in the input [adjective + copula] verbal construction, if any, cannot appear in the output $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction (382b"). This fact is not very surprising in light of the dispreferred status of oblique case-marked arguments in the postnominal complement zone, thoroughly discussed in subsection V of the previous subsection. The full unacceptability of the potential sentence variant with the expression *hozzánk* 'to us" may be attributed to the cumulative effect of such disadvantageous factors as the one mentioned in the previous sentence and the "hidden" character of the given $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction.

We claim that no lexicalized TPD_{AG}-noun constructions can rely on the input types investigated in (381-382), exactly due to the systematic ambiguity of potentially every noun and adjective between a primary individual-level TPD_{AG}-noun interpretation and a secondary ($Ó_{AG}$-noun) stage-level "quotational" interpretation. The same holds for $Ó_{INST}$-/TPD_{INST}-nouns and $Ó_{LOC}$-/TPD_{LOC}-nouns: a blender, for instance, can be regarded as an occasional "grinder" as well as a simple room can qualify as a "mahjong parlor"; see examples (345) and (347) in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1.

We have found, however, three lexicalized TPD-nouns (383b,c'), which seem to rely on an [adverb + copula] (383a,c) and a [postposition + copula] (383a') input verbal construction:

(383) ● Copular use of *van* 'be': III. adverbial and postpositional verbal modifiers

a. A hierarchiában Péter feljebb van Ubul-nál.
the hierarchy.Ine Péter up.Comp be.3Sg Ubul-Ade
'According to the hierarchy Péter is higher than Ubul.'

a'. A hierarchiában Péter alatt-a van Ubul-nak.
the hierarchy.Ine Péter under-3Pl be.3Sg Ubul-Dat
'According to the hierarchy Péter is under Ubul.'

b. Péter *Ubul alatt-val-ó-ja / feljebb-val-ó-ja.*
Péter *Ubul under-be-ó-Poss.3Sg / up.Comp-be-ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Péter is *[subject to Ubul* (who is obligatorily a king)*] / [Ubul's superior].*'

c. Isten örökké van.
God for_ever be.3Sg
'God exists for ever.'

c'. *Az Örökké-val-ó* pallos-a túl súlyos az én kezemnek.
the *forever-be-ó* sword-Poss.3Sg too heavy the I hand.Poss.1Sg.Dat
'The sword *of the Eternal* is too heavy for my arm.'

There is a serious problem with this analysis, however, due to the fact that the verbal constructions denote relations, so their subjects can scarcely be regarded as Agents. The problem, thus, is that the resulting TPD-nouns can be considered to be neither TPD_{AG}-nouns nor TPD_{INST}-nouns (nor TPD_{LOC}-nouns nor any kind of Ó-nouns). Therefore, we cannot say anything other than that exceptional deverbal nominals may rely on such special inputs as the copular constructions.

The same exceptional character can be observed in the series of examples in (384) below, in which the investigated input verbal constructions contain the existential (384b-b') and the (related) possessive variants (384b) of *van* 'be' (cf. the series of examples (273-274) and the comments on them in 1.3.1.2.3, sub I). The

main problem with this analysis (in the light of the comments made in the previous subsection on "regular" input verbal constructions) is that the denotata of the given Ó-noun or TPD-noun constructions (384a-a') correspond to the Themes of the input verbs involved ('eat', 'proofread', etc.), instead of the Agents. It is not clear, thus, why the existential and/or possessive verbal constructions might undergo any type of Ó-nominalization or TPD-noun derivation, as regards their subtypes $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization, $Ó_{INST}$-nominalization, $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization, and the corresponding TPD-noun derivations.

(384) ● Existential and possessive use of *van* 'be'

a. Ili küldött *en-ni-val-ó-t / in-ni-val-ó-t / olvas-ni-val-ó-t /*
Ili send.Past.3Sg *eat-Inf-be-ó-Acc / drink-Inf-be-ó-Acc / read-Inf-be-ó-Acc /*
lektorál-ni-val-ó-t / fül-be-val-ó-t / bor-ra-val-ó-t.
proofread-Inf-be-ó-Acc / ear-Ill-be-ó-Acc / wine-Sub-be-ó-Acc
'Ili sent *something to eat / drink / read / proofread.* Ili sent *earrings / tips.*'

a'. Maradt *Ili tegnapi en-ni-val-ó-já-ból / in-ni-val-ó-já-ból /*
remain.Past.3Sg *Ili yesterday.Adj eat-Inf-be-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ela / drink-Inf-be-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ela /*
olvas-ni-val-ó-já-ból / lektorál-ni-val-ó-já-ból / bor-ra-val-ó-já-ból?
read-Inf-be-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ela / proofread-Inf-be-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ela / wine-Sub-be-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ela
'Is there anything left *from what Ili had [to eat] / [to drink] / [to read] / [to proofread] / [as tips] yesterday?*'

b. Van mit en-ni / in-ni / olvas-ni / lektorál-ni.
be.3Sg what eat-Inf / drink-Inf / read-Inf / proofread-Inf
'There is something to eat / drink / read / proofread.'

b'. Ilinek van mit en-ni(-e) / in-ni(-a) / olvas-ni(-a) / lektorál-ni(-a).
Ili.Dat be.3Sg what eat-Inf(-3Sg) / drink-Inf(-3Sg) / read-Inf(-3Sg) / proofread-Inf(-3Sg)
'There is something for Ili to eat / drink / read / proofread.'

b''. *Ilinek van mi a fül(-é)-be / bor-ra.
Ili.Dat be.3Sg what the ear(-Poss.3Sg)-Ill / wine-Sub
Intended meaning: 'Ili has something [to put in her ears] / [to buy some wine].'

c. ?Ez en-ni / in-ni / olvas-ni / lektorál-ni való volt (Ilinek).
this eat-Inf / drink-Inf / read-Inf / proofread-Inf $VALÓ_{Adj}$ be.Past.3Sg Ili.Dat
'This is something (for Ili) to eat / drink / read / proofread.'

c'. Ez ??fül-be / (?)[a fül-é-be] / ?bor-ra való volt Ilinek.
this ear-Ill / the ear-Poss.3Sg-Ill / wine-Sub $VALÓ_{Adj}$ be.Past.3Sg Ili.Dat
'This is something for Ili [to put in ears] / [to put in her ears] / [to buy some wine].'

d. Ez en-ni / in-ni / olvas-ni / lektorál-ni van ?(??Ilinek).
this eat-Inf / drink-Inf / read-Inf / proofread-Inf be.3Sg Ili.Dat
'This is something (for Ili) to eat / drink / read / proofread.'

d'. (?)Ez ev-és-re / iv-ás-ra / olvas-ás-ra / lektorál-ás-ra van (Ilinek).
this eat-ÁS-Sub/ drink-ÁS-Sub / read-ÁS-Sub / proofread-ÁS-Sub be.3Sg Ili.Dat
'This is something (for Ili) to eat / drink / read / proofread.'

Let us consider an alternative analysis based on the adjectival variant of *való* '$VALÓ_{Adj}$'. Note that the predicative use of the given expression in (384c-c') above serves as an argument for its classification as an adjective, which is corroborated by its past-tense form *való volt* '$VALÓ_{Adj}$ be.Past' in the examples in question.

Now compare the potential constructions containing the deverbal nominal version of *való* 'be.Ó' (see the (b)-examples) to the corresponding potential constructions containing the adjectival version of *való* 'VALÓ$_{Adj}$' (see the (c)-examples). Significant differences can be observed between the existential / possessive [infinitive + *van*]-constructions and the [oblique case-marked noun + *van*] constructions which can be tentatively proposed as the basis of such nouns as *fülbevaló* 'earring(s)' and *borravaló* 'tip' (384b",c'): the fully acceptable examples in (b-b') must be compared to the marked examples in (c), on the one hand, while the fully unacceptable examples in (b") must be compared to the more or less acceptable ones in (c'). These differences suggest that the derivational basis of the compound words with the structure [infinitive + *való*] must be the existential / possessive [infinitive + *van*] verbal construction; while the compound words with the structure [oblique case-marked noun + *való*] must be based on the [oblique case-marked noun + *való* + (copular) *van*] verbal construction, indeed, in harmony with our aforementioned tentative proposal.

All in all, in the case of the compound words with the structure [infinitive + *való*] investigated in the (a)-examples above, it is worth retaining the first analysis, according to which they are to be regarded as Ó-nouns or (in such obviously lexicalized cases as *ennivaló* 'food', for instance) as TPD-nouns. As for the Theme-like character of the arguments involved beside the verbs *eszik* 'eat', *iszik* 'drink', *olvas* 'read', and *lektorál* 'proofread', themselves, the following fact may be a significant factor: in the investigated (existential and/or possessive) input verbal constructions, the given participants are not the usual "affected participants" but only participants which will potentially be affected in the (relative) future (in harmony with someone's purpose). That is, we claim that what makes it possible for the given existential and/or possessive input verbal constructions to undergo an "exceptional" Ó-nominalization is the fact that their subject-like component (i.e., the infinitival construction) is ("at least") significantly different from a typical Theme.

Tibor Laczkó (p.c., November 2014) proposed a third potential verbal basis of derivation, which is presented in (384d) above. Our problem with this approach is that the meaning of the same verbal constructions can much readily be expressed by means of the sublative case-marked ÁS-constructions presented in (384d'). It is left to future research to decide in particular theoretical frameworks which verbal construction is to be regarded as the ideal input to the construction(s) presented in the (a)-examples on the basis of its syntactic, morphological and semantic properties according to the "rules" of the framework in question.

To sum up, we have observed that some special groups of different "*van*-constructions", in spite of the fact that they lack an agentive subject, seem to undergo "exceptional" Ó-nominalization or TPD-noun derivation, presumably exactly in connection with their special status.

II. Auxiliary verbs

Here we discuss whether Hungarian auxiliaries can undergo Ó-nominalization and/or TPD-noun derivation. According to Kenesei (2000: 108–111), it is exactly a criterial property of auxiliaries (in Hungarian) that they cannot be nominalized.

In what follows, we are going to illustrate this fact—see the unacceptable (b)- and (d)-examples in (385-386) below—in the case of the two frequent auxiliaries *fog* 'will' (385a,c) and *szokott* 'used to' (386a,c). Note in passing that, according to (the tests proposed by) Kenesei (2000: 110), there are only three true auxiliaries in Hungarian. The third one is the quite rare and emotionally highly loaded *talál* 'happen to', which also defies Ó-nominalization.

Since *fog* 'will' (385a,c) is used for referring to a (future) complex event and *szokott* 'used to' (386a,c) to a (customary or habitual) event type, the two classic auxiliaries immediately pertain to exactly the aspects of meaning which are decisive in distinguishing the Ó-noun interpretation from the TPD-noun interpretation. Therefore, it seems to be impossible to carry out the cross-classification we have applied so far: *fog* 'will' cannot be combined with the TPD-noun interpretation while *szokott* 'used to' with the Ó-noun interpretation.

(385)● Auxiliary verbs as input verbs: I. *fog* 'will'

a. Munka után Péterék [vásárolni fognak] / [be fognak vásárolni].
work after Péter.Apl go_shopping.Inf will.3Pl / into will.3Pl go_shopping.Inf
'Péter and his colleagues will go shopping after work.'

a'. Péterék munka után (be-)vásárolnak.
Péter.Apl work after (into-)go_shopping.3Pl
'Péter and his colleagues will go shopping after work.'

b. **A munka utáni (be-)vásárolni fog-ó-k* finom vacsorát kapnak otthon.
the work after.Attr (into-)go_shopping.Inf will-Ó-Pl delicious dinner get.3Pl at_home
Intended meaning: '*Those who will go shopping after work* will get a delicious dinner at home.'

b'. *A munka utáni *(??)be-)vásár(o)l-ó-k* majd finom vacsorát kapnak otthon.
the work after.Attr (into-)go_shopping -Ó-Pl then delicious dinner get.3Pl at_home
Intended meaning: '*Those who will go shopping after work* will get a delicious dinner at home.'

c. Munka után Péterék meg fogják látogatni Ili-t a kórházban.
work after Péter.Apl perf will.DefObj.3Pl visit.Inf Ili-Acc the hospital.Ine
'Péter and his colleagues will visit Ili in hospital after work.'

c'. Munka után Péterék meglátogatják Ili-t a kórházban.
work after Péter.Apl perf.visit.DefObj.3Pl Ili-Acc the hospital.Ine
'Péter and his colleagues will visit Ili in hospital after work.'

d. **Ili munka utáni meglátogatni fog-ó-i* későn érnek haza.
Ili work after.Attr visit.Inf will-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg late arrive.3Pl home
Intended meaning: '*Those who will visit Ili in hospital after work* will get home late.'

d'. *Ili munka utáni *(?)meg-)látogat-ó-i* majd későn érnek haza.
Ili work after.Attr (perf-)visit-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg then late arrive.3Pl home
'*Those who will visit Ili in hospital after work* will get home late.'

As in the case of ÁS-nouns (see the corresponding subsection in subsection 1.3.1.2.3), we try out constructions which can be regarded as analogous to the "*van*-free" constructions in subsection I in containing no (phonetically overt) derivative of the input verb. This possibility emerges due to the fact that both the future tense (385a',c') and habituality (386a',c') can be expressed without any overt auxiliary in Hungarian.

Let us therefore consider the (coinciding) (b')- and (d')-variants in (385-386). The fact that (b')-variants are all unacceptable can be attributed to the absence of a

thematic possessor (see subsection II in the previous subsection). As for the (d')-variants, in harmony with the predicted Ó-noun (385) *versus* TPD-noun (386) character, the essentially perfectivizing preverb *meg* behaves in the expected way: On the one hand, it is retained in the Ó-noun variant (385d'), the derivational basis of which is the "empty" expression of the semantic content of the (complex-event denoting) *fog*-construction (385c'). On the other hand, however, its retainment is not preferred in the TPD-noun variant (386d'), which is based on the "empty" expression of the semantic content of the (event-type denoting) *szokott*-construction (386c').

(386) ● Auxiliary verbs as input verbs: II. *szokott* 'used_to'

a. Munka után Péterék [vásárolni szoktak] / [be szoktak vásárolni].
work after Péter.Apl go_shopping.Inf used_to.Past.3Pl/ into used_to.Past.3Pl go_shopping.Inf
'Péter and his colleagues (usually) go shopping after work.'

a'. Péterék munka után (be-)vásárolnak.
Péter.Apl work after (into-)go_shopping.3Pl
'Péter and his colleagues go shopping after work.'

b. **A munka utáni (be-)vásárolni szok-ó-k* finom vacsorát kapnak otthon.
the work after.Attr (into-)go_shopping.Inf used_to-Ó-Pl delicious dinner get.3Pl at_home
Intended meaning: '*Those who (usually) go shopping after work* get a delicious dinner at home.'

b'. **A munka utáni* *(??*be-)vásár(o)l-ó-k*
the work after.Attr (into-)go_shopping-Ó-Pl
általában finom vacsorát kapnak otthon.
usually delicious dinner get.3Pl at_home
Intended meaning: '*Those who go shopping after work* usually get a delicious dinner at home.'

c. Munka után Péterék meg szokták látogatni
work after Péter.Apl perf used_to.Past.DefObj.3Pl visit.Inf
Ili-t a kórházban.
Ili-Acc the hospital.Ine
'Péter and his colleagues (usually)visit Ili in hospital after work.'

c'. Munka után Péterék meglátogatják Ili-t a kórházban.
work after Péter.Apl perf.visit.DefObj.3Pl Ili-Acc the hospital.Ine
'Péter and his colleagues visit Ili in hospital after work.'

d. **Ili munka utáni meglátogatni szok-ó-i* későn érnek haza.
Ili work after.Attr visit.Inf used_to-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg late arrive.3Pl home
Intended meaning: '*Those who (usually) visit Ili in hospital after work* get home late.'

d'. *Ili munka utáni* (?)(??*meg-)látogat-ó-i* általában későn érnek haza.
Ili work after.Attr (perf-)visit-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg usually late arrive.3Pl home
'*Those who visit Ili in hospital after work* usually get home late.'

All in all, the pragmatico-semantic content left to auxiliaries cannot be expressed by means of such overt potential Ó-noun or TPD-noun forms as *fogó* 'will.Ó' or *szokó* 'used_to.Ó', but can be expressed in some "implicit" way, in total harmony with what has been observed in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns.

III. Modal verbs

Here we turn our attention to the question whether Hungarian modal verbs can undergo Ó-nominalization and/or TPD-noun derivation. The same two frequent

modal verbs will be studied here as in the case of ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.3, sub III), namely, *tud* 'can' (387) and *kell* 'must' (388).

Let us start with the modal verb *tud* 'can', which has two kinds of meanings: one meaning has to do with some possibility and/or permission (387a) while the other meaning with some ability (387a'). The former meaning seems to be used for referring to complex events (permitted or facilitated), which are the required basis of Ó-nominalization, while the latter meaning ('ability') obviously has to do with event type (which someone is capable of), fulfilling in this way the basic condition on TPD-noun derivation. The resulting potential deverbal nominal constructions (387b-b'), however, are unacceptable (with a slight difference according to the semantic difference mentioned above), in spite of the fact that we have attempted to guarantee the ideal transitive input verbal construction via indirectly satisfying the condition on thematic possessors (see subsection II and subsection IV in the previous subsection). The fairly acceptable analogous construction presented in (387c) verifies that it is not *ab ovo* prohibited in Hungarian to use a "stolen" Theme as a possessor of an Ó-noun construction. If no thematic possessor is present, the form *tudó* cannot be interpreted as a noun, but only as a participle, as is illustrated by the difference between the grammaticality judgments associated with the two types of temporal expression in (387d) (see (334-335) in the introduction to 1.3.1.3).

(387) ● Modal verbs as input verbs: I. *tud* 'can'

a. Péterék el tudják játszani a Liszt-rapszódiákat,
Péter.Apl away can. DefObj.3Sg play.Inf the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl.Acc
mert kaptak zongorát.
because get.Past.3Pl piano.Acc
'Péter and his colleagues can play Liszt's rhapsodies because they got pianos.'

a'. Péterék el tudják játszani a Liszt-rapszódiákat,
Péter.Apl away can.DefObj.3Pl play.Inf the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl.Acc
ők Kocsis legjobb tanítványai.
they Kocsis best student.Poss.Pl.3Sg
'Péter and his colleagues can play Liszt's rhapsodies; they are the best students of Kocsis.'

b. **A Liszt-rapszódiák eljátszani tud-ó-i*
the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl play.Inf can-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
ne adják el a zongorájukat!
not give.Subj.DefObj.3Pl away the piano.Poss.3Pl.Acc
Intended meaning: '*Whoever can play Liszt's rhapsodies* must not sell their pianos!'

b'. **?A Liszt-rapszódiák eljátszani tud-ó-i* csodálatra méltóak.
the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl play.Inf can-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg admiration.Sub worth.Pl
Intended meaning: '*Whoever can play Liszt's rhapsodies* are admirable!'

c. *?Az iratok elrejteni próbál-ó-i* végül lebuktak.
the document.Pl hide.Inf try-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg finally be_caught.Past.3Pl
'*Those who tried to hide the documents* were finally caught.'

d. A versenyt végül *a tegnap?(*-i) pihenni tud-ó-k* nyerték meg.
the competition.Acc finally *the yesterday(-Adj) rest.Inf can-Ó-* Pl win.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: 'It is *those who could have a rest yesterday* that won the competition.'

The modal verb *kell* ‘must’ has also two meanings, as was demonstrated in 1.3.1.2.3, sub III. One is a deontic meaning, in which some obligation is referred to (388a). The other one is an epistemic meaning, in which the strong probability of a state of affairs is claimed (388a’). As both versions defy ó-nominalization and/or TPD-noun derivation (388b-c), it is needless to attempt to decide whether the non-existing forms must be associated with an ó-noun interpretation or a TPD-noun interpretation if they existed. Note in passing that in (388c) the word *kellő* cannot be used as a participle, either, which requires some explanation in the light of what was observed in (387d). The explanation can be based on the difference in the case marking of the Experiencer of the two modal verbs discussed: as can be seen in (388a-a’), the Experiencer of *kell* ‘must’ is not expressed as a subject but as a dative case-marked argument, so its present participial version cannot serve as an attributive of the Experiencer.

(388) ● Modal verbs as input verbs: II. *kell* ‘must’

a. Péteréknek el kellett játszani(-uk) a Liszt-rapszódiákat,
Péter.Apl.Dat away must.Past.3Sg play.Inf(-3Pl) the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl.Acc
mert januárban vizsgájuk volt.
because January.Ine exam.Poss.3Pl be.Past.3Sg
‘Péter and his colleagues had to play Liszt’s rhapsodies because they had an exam in January.’

a’. Péteréknek el kellett játszaniuk a Liszt-rapszódiákat,
Péter.Apl.Dat away must.Past.3Sg play.Inf.3Pl the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl.Acc
mert koszosak a billentyűk.
because dirty.Pl the key.Pl
‘Péter and his colleagues must have played Liszt’s rhapsodies because the keys are dirty.’

b. **A Liszt-rapszódiák eljátszani kell-ő-i*
the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl play.Inf must-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
sikeresen levizsgáztak.
successfully take_exam.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: ‘*Those who were ordered to play Liszt’s rhapsodies* succeeded in taking exam.’

b’. **A Liszt-rapszódiák eljátszani kell-ő-i*
the Liszt-rhapsody.Pl play.Inf must-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
töröljék le a billentyűket!
wipe.Subj.DefObj.3Pl down the key.Pl.Acc
Intended meaning: ‘*Those who are likely to have played Liszt’s rhapsodies* must wipe off the keys.’

c. *A versenyt végül *a tegnap(i) edzeni kell-ő-k* nyerték meg.
the competition.Acc finally *the yesterday(.Adj) exercise.Inf must-ó-Pl* win.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
Intended meaning: ‘It is *those who had to do exercises yesterday* that won the competition.’

Note in passing that in Hungarian the deontic *versus* epistemic dichotomy which is associated with the modal verb *kell* ‘must’ is also associated with the suffix *-hAt* ‘can’, but not with the modal verb *tud* ‘can’. As for this suffix, we established in the introduction to this subsection (1.3.1.3.3), following Laczkó (2000a: 397–399), that the group of verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* ‘can’ defies ó-nominalization (379b), independently of its deontic (permission) or epistemic (weak necessity) interpretation.

IV. Raising verbs

This subsection is devoted to the question of whether raising verbs can undergo Ó-nominalization and/or TPD-noun derivation in Hungarian. We will be investigating a subject-raising verb (389), and then an object-raising one (390).

The verb *tűnik* 'seem' (389a) illustrates the behavior of the subject-raising type. This type of raising verb categorically defy Ó-nominalization (389b-b'), which can be attributed to at least two "disadvantageous" facts. First, the input subject, which corresponds to (the denotatum of) the output Ó-noun, is not an Agent, an Instrument or an Experiencer, but a Theme, whether its relation to the embedded predicate ('someone is innocent') or its relation to the matrix raising verb ('someone seems to have a property') is concerned. Second, in the absence of an input object, the output potential Ó-noun construction lacks a thematic possessor (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II) to "legitimize" its nominal status against a participial construal (389b). Note that the insertion of a possessor (389b') cannot improve the acceptability of the given construction, because this possessor cannot qualify as a thematic one, still due to the absence of a corresponding input object.

(389) ● Subject-raising verbs as input verbs: *tűnik* 'seem'

a. Péterék ártatlan-nak tűntek a tárgyalás előtt.
Péter.Apl innocent-Dat seem.Past.3Pl the trial before
'Péter and his colleagues seemed to be innocent before the trial.'

b. **A [tárgyalás előtt-i] / tegnap-i ártatlan-nak tűn-ő-k*
the trial before-Attr / yesterday-Adj innocent-Dat seem-Ó-Pl
végül börtönbe kerültek.
finally prison.Ill get.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*Whoever seemed to be innocent [before the trial] / yesterday* finally went to prison.'

b'. **A banda ártatlan-nak tűn-ő-i* végül börtönbe kerültek.
the gang innocent-Dat seem-Ó-Pl finally prison.Ill get.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*The members of the gang who seemed to be innocent* finally went to prison.'

Let us now turn to object-raising verbs. The verb *tart* 'consider' (390a) illustrated this type in the case of ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.3, sub IV), which seems to more or less readily undergo Ó-nominalization (390a'). The significant difference between subject- and object-raising verbs also has to do with the above-sketched aspects, but the differences in the properties of the input will straightforwardly result in different grammaticality judgments in the output. First, now the input subject is an Experiencer (beside the verb 'consider'), which can ideally correspond to (the denotatum of) an output $Ó_{EXP}$-noun. Second, in the case of an object-raising verb, there is an input object, which can (and must) appear as the required thematic possessor in the output Ó-noun construction (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub IV).

(390) ● Object-raising verbs as input verbs: *tart* 'consider'

a. Ili bűnös-nek tartotta Péter-t a tárgyalás előtt.
Ili guilty-Dat consider.Past.DefObj.3Sg Péter-Acc the trial before
'Ili considered Péter guilty before the trial.'

a'. *Péter* ?(??*[tárgyalás előtt-i] /* ?*tegnap-i) bűnös-nek tart-ó-i*
Péter trial before-Attr / yesterday-Adj guilty-Dat consider-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
nagyon meglepődtek az ítéleten.
very.much surprise.Past.3Pl the sentence.Sup
'The sentence was a great surprise *to those who had considered Péter guilty ([before the trial] / yesterday)*.'

We still owe the reader an explanation for the quite marked status of all the variants in (390a') above. Their degraded status may be due to the fact that $Ó_{EXP}$-nominalization tends to yield less acceptable and more speaker-dependent Ó-noun constructions than $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization (see subsection V below), presumably in connection with the often-observed retrieval preference for the $Ó_{AG}$-noun interpretation to the $Ó_{EXP}$-noun interpretation (see the comments on (338) in subsection 1.3.1.3.1). To corroborate this hypothesis, let us consider the verb *csúfol* 'tease' in (391a) below, which is not an object-raising verb but belongs to the related group of object-control verbs. This verb has a (much more) agentive subject; and, indeed, the corresponding Ó-noun construction given in (391a') is significantly more acceptable.

(391) ● Object-control verbs as input verbs: *csúfol* 'tease'

a. Ili egykor Pisi Misi-nek csúfolta Mihály-t.
Ili in_former_times Pisi Misi-Dat tease.Past.DefObj.3Sg Mihály-Acc
'Ili had called Mihály "Pisi Misi" (appr. 'Pissing Mike') in former times.'

a'. (?)*Mihály (egykor-i) Pisi Misi-nek csúfol-ó-i*
Mihály in_former_times-Adj Pisi Misi-Dat tease-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
megrettentek a miniszteri kinevezése hallatán.
terrify.Past.3Pl the minister.Adj appointment.Poss.3Sg hear.Adv
'*Those who had called Mihály "Pisi Misi" (in former times)* were terrified when having heard of his ministerial appointment.'

There are no TPD-nouns based on any type of raising verb. This is not surprising, given the highly dispreferred status of the appearance of oblique case-marked arguments (such as *bűnösnek* 'guilty.Dat', for instance) in the prenominal complement zone of potential TPD-noun constructions (see 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI).

V. Psych-verbs

Here we conclude subsection 1.3.1.3.3 with an investigation of whether psych-verbs can undergo Ó-nominalization and TPD-noun derivation.

As was discussed in the corresponding subsection concerning ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.3, sub V), Hungarian psych-verbs can be divided into four basic groups with respect to the assignment of grammatical functions (object or oblique, besides subject) to the two relevant thematic roles, Experiencer and (stimulating) Theme. Of these, however, only one input type is predicted to readily undergo $Ó_{EXP}$-nominalization due to the following two reasons. First, the input subject must be the Experiencer since it is the input subject that corresponds to (the denotatum of) the output $Ó_{EXP}$-noun. Second, the Theme must appear as an object in the input according to the condition on thematic possessors (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II). We are going to concentrate, thus, on this type of input argument structure, also taking into account the atelic *versus* telic distinction (392-393). In addition to this, a few

interesting data will be mentioned in connection with the other three argument-structure types of psych-verbs (394-395).

In the ideal group, the Experiencer and the Theme of the input verb appear as the subject and the object of the sentence, respectively. First, a few atelic representatives of the group will be tested (392a). The grammaticality judgments in (392b) show that there are radical differences in the acceptability of the potential Ó-noun variants, depending on the particular input verbs, even if they have similar meanings.

The unacceptability can be explained in such cases as the potential $Ó_{EXP}$-nouns *szerető* 'like.Ó' and *látó* 'see.Ó', which we claim to be blocked by homophonous TPD-nouns (392c). An important component of our explanation is that here the homophonous TPD-nouns, instead of corroborating the corresponding Ó-noun interpretation, definitely block this interpretation, because they qualify as not TPD_{EXP}-nouns but rather TPD_{AG}-nouns, due to their special—agentive—additional meaning factor. The expression *a főnök szeretői* 'the boss like.Ó.Poss.Pl.3Sg', for instance, can only be interpreted as the boss' sexual partners.

We hypothesize generally that there are no TPD_{EXP}-nouns at all, but TPD-nouns based on psych-verbs are TPD_{AG}-nouns, since the denotata in question are such people who consciously and volitionally control their emotions and experiences while exercising special actions in order to evoke them as well as to intensively go through them. Thus, our examples in (392c) below (the regularly derived first two ones as well as the irregularly derived third one) are not TPD_{EXP}-nouns but TPD_{AG}-nouns based on psych-verbs.

(392) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: {$Subject_{Experiencer}$, $Object_{Theme}$} atelic

a. Péter szereti / kedveli / imádja /
Péter like.DefObj.3Sg / like.DefObj.3Sg / admire.DefObj.3Sg /
látja / hallja a főnök-öt.
see.DefObj.3Sg / hear.DefObj.3Sg the boss-Acc
'Péter likes / likes / admires / sees / hears the boss.'

b. *A főnök *szeret-ő-i / ?kedvel-ő-i / (?)imád-ó-i /*
the boss like-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg/ like-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg/ admire-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg /
**lát-ó-i / *hall-ó-i* menjenek be az irodájába!
see-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / hear-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg go.Subj.3Pl into the office.Poss.3Sg.Ill
Intended meaning: '*Whoever likes / likes / admires / sees / hears the boss* must go to his office.'

c. szeret-$ő_{Ag}$ / lát-$ó_{Ag}$ / lát-nok_{Ag}
like-ó / see-ó / see-Nmn
'lover / seer / augur'

Another explanation for the unacceptability of certain potential $Ó_{EXP}$-noun variants in (392b) has to do with atelicity. As in the case of ÁS-nouns (see 1.3.1.2.3, sub V), the corresponding telic Ó-noun variants (in connection with their more dynamic character) are significantly better and can all be regarded as sufficiently acceptable (393a'-a"), with major differences even between semantically similar potential variants (Laczkó 2000a: 379). Accounting for these latter differences is a task that remains for future research (together with clarifying the exact role of telicity and dynamism in evoking the complex-event interpretation).

(393) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: {Subject$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Object$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic

a. Péterék meg-szerették / meg-kedvelték / meg-látták /
Péter.Apl perf-like.Past.DefObj.3Pl / perf-like.Past.DefObj.3Pl / perf-see.Past.DefObj.3Pl /
meg-pillantották / meg-hallották a főnök-öt.
perf-catch_ sight_of.Past.DefObj.3Pl / perf-hear.Past.DefObj.3Pl the boss-Acc
'Péter and his colleagues got to like / like / see / see / hear the boss.'

a'. *Az állandóan tajtékzó főnök* ?*meg-szeret-ő-i* /✓*meg-kedvel-ő-i*
the permanently blustering boss perf-like-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / perf-like-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
menjenek be az irodájába!
go.Subj.3Pl into the office.Poss.3Sg.Ill
'*Whoever got to like / like the boss permanently blustering* must go to his office.'

a''. *A tajtékzó főnök* ?*meg-lát-ó-i* /✓*meg-pillant-ó-i* /
the blustering boss perf-see-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / perf-catch_sight_of-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg /
?*meg-hall-ó-i* menjenek be az irodájába!
perf-hear-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg go.Subj.3Pl into the office.Poss.3Sg.Ill
'*Whoever got to see / see / hear the blustering boss* must go to his office.'

b. Péterék át-vészelték / túl-élték /
Péter.Apl across-get_through.Past.DefObj.3Pl / over-live.Past.DefObj.3Pl /
el-szenvedték a terroristák kínzás-á-t.
away-suffer.Past.DefObj.3Pl the terrorist.Pl torture-Poss.3Pl-Acc
'Péter and his colleagues have [got through] / survived / suffered the terrorists' torture.'

b'. *A kínzások át-vészel-ő-i / túl-él-ő-i /*
the torture.Pl across-get_through-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / over-live-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg /
el-szenved-ő-i interjút adtak a BBC-nek.
away-suffer-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg interview.Acc give.Past.3Pl the BBC-Dat
'*Whoever had [got through] / survived / suffered the tortures* gave an interview to the BBC.'

c. túl-él-ő
over-live-Ó
'survivor'

Laczkó (2000a: 385) argues that the verbs demonstrated in (392b) above also belong to the type in question: they have an Experiencer subject with a (stimulating) Theme object, instead of having a Theme subject. He points out that these verbs basically and directly express the idea that an (often) unpleasant event exerts some psychic impact upon their subject (which, secondarily, tends to be accompanied by a physical impact). This approach excellently accounts for the fact that the verbs above so readily undergo Ó$_{\text{EXP}}$-nominalization (392b').

We have found in this group a potential TPD$_{\text{EXP}}$-noun: *túlélő* 'survivor' (392c), the existence of which seems to be in conflict with our hypothesis that there are no TPD$_{\text{EXP}}$-nouns at all. We argue that the example in question is to be analyzed as the (always reconstructable) elliptical version of the corresponding Ó$_{\text{EXP}}$-noun construction. A survivor is inevitably to be understood according to a particular situation (complex event) in which (s)he has survived a catastrophe or an accident; and the absent object (the presence of which is otherwise obligatory) can be reconstructed as the denotatum of this catastrophe or accident.

As was mentioned above, the other three groups of psych-verbs considered in the case of ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.3, sub V) are predicted to defy Ó$_{\text{EXP}}$-nominalization. This prediction is totally borne out but certain data require some comment.

For instance, in the (atelic) input group where the Experiencer appears as a subject and the Theme appears as an oblique case-marked argument (394a,c), $Ó_{EXP}$-nominalization is definitely impossible (394b,d). We can attribute this observation to the usual two factors. First, there is no thematic possessor (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II). Second, there is no suitable place for the obligatory input (postverbal) oblique case-marked arguments in the output potential Ó-noun construction (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub V).

As for the fully acceptable variant in (394b'), which perfectly expresses the intended meaning of the corresponding $Ó_{EXP}$-noun construction, it is to be analyzed as a possessive construction with a lexicalized TPD_{AG}-noun (394e) as its possessee. Support for this analysis comes from the fact that its possessor cannot correspond to an input object (as there is no input object). Hence, it must be regarded only as an (unexcluded) option that the conceptual possessor of the lexicalized TPD-noun is chosen to coincide with the input oblique case-marked argument (similar "coincidences" are presented in examples (348a",b"'), (349a"), (350a") in 1.3.1.3.2.1). A further argument for this explanation is the fully unacceptable analogous potential $Ó_{EXP}$-noun construction demonstrated in (394d') below, where the only difference is that *bízó* 'trust_in.Ó' is not a lexicalized TPD-noun.

(394) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: {$Subject_{Experiencer}$, $Oblique_{Theme}$} atelic

a. Péterék rajonganak a főnök-ért.
Péter.Apl be_keen_on.3Pl the boss-Cau
'Péter and his colleagues are keen on the boss.'

b. **[A rajong-ó-k a főnök-ért] / [A cég rajong-ó-i a főnök-ért]*
the be_keen_on-ó-Pl the boss-Cau / the firm be_keen_on-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg the boss.Cau
meglepetéspartyt rendeztek neki.
surprise_party.Acc organize.Past.3Pl Dat.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*[Those who were keen on the boss] / [The members of the firm who were keen on the boss]* organized a surprise party to him.'

b'. *A főnök rajong-ó-i* meglepetéspartyt rendeztek neki.
the boss be_keen_on-ó-Pl surprise_party.Acc organize.Past.3Pl Dat.3Sg
'*Those who were keen on the boss* organized a surprise party for him.'

c. Péterék bíznak a főnök-ben.
Péter.Apl trust_in.3Pl the boss-Ine
'Péter and his colleagues trust in the boss.'

d. **A bíz-ó-k a főnök-ben* meglepetéspartyt rendeztek neki.
the trust_in-ó-Pl the boss-Ine surprise_party.Acc organize.Past.3Pl Dat.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*Those who trusted in the boss* organized a surprise party for him.'

d'. **A cég bíz-ó-i a főnök-ben* meglepetéspartyt rendeztek neki.
the firm trust_in-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg the boss-Ine surprise_party.Acc organize.Past.3Pl Dat.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*The members of the firm who trusted in the boss* organized a surprise party for him.'

d". **A főnök bíz-ó-i* meglepetéspartyt rendeztek neki.
the boss trust_in-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg surprise_party.Acc organize.Past.3Pl Dat.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*Those who trust in the boss* organized a surprise party for him.'

e. rajong-$ó_{Ag}$ / hív-$ő_{Ag}$
be_keen_on-Ó / believe-Ó
'fan / believer'

e'. opera-rajong-ó$_{Ag}$ / isten-hív-ő$_{Ag}$
opera.~~Cau~~-be_keen_on-ó / God.~~Ine~~-believe-ó
'[opera fan] / theist'

e''. messze-lát-ó$_{Inst}$ / ki-lát-ó$_{Loc}$ / le-lát-ó$_{Loc}$
far.~~Sub~~-see-ó / out-see-ó / down-see-ó
'telescope / [lookout tower] / grandstand'

This group of input psych-verbs can serve as the basis of not only TPD$_{AG}$-nouns (see the examples in (394e-e') above together with our hypothesis sketched above on the exclusion of TPD$_{EXP}$-nouns), but also of TPD$_{INST}$-nouns and TPD$_{LOC}$-nouns (394e''). Note in passing that in the three compound TPD-nouns shown in (394e'-e'') (of the five TPD-nouns), the prenominal complement position is occupied by an argument the input oblique case suffix of which is deleted in the same way as in the case of the examples in (375a',b') and (376a'b') in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI.

In spite of the fact that psych-verbs with a Theme in the subject position cannot undergo (any kind of) ó-nominalization, the input type demonstrated in (395a) below is worth considering. Indeed, an {Object$_{Experiencer}$, Subject$_{Theme}$} input argument structure (395a) cannot serve as the basis of acceptable potential ó-noun constructions, as is illustrated in (395a''), but a construction homophonous with it is fully acceptable (395b''). This is possible due to a systematic alternation between the argument-structure types given in (395a) and (395b). The latter is an ideal basis for Ó$_{AG}$-nominalization since it contains an Agent in the subject position, the input Experiencer object can serve as a thematic possessor in the output Ó$_{AG}$-noun construction, and the input oblique case-marked argument is not obligatory. Note that the appearance of this oblique case-marked argument makes the potential ó-noun construction unacceptable, as usual, in the absence of a sufficient output position to host it. It is also worth mentioning that a telic verbal construction is a better input than its atelic counterpart, similar to the relation between the telic variants in (393a'-a'') and their atelic counterparts in (392b).

(395) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs:

a. {Object$_{Experiencer}$, Subject$_{Theme}$}(a)telic

a'. Péter-t (meg-)zavarták a zajok.
Péter-Acc (perf-)disturb.Past.DefObj.3Pl the noise.Pl
'The noises disturbed / distracted Péter.'

a''. **Péter (meg-)zavar-ó-i* engem is zavarnak.
Péter (perf-)disturb-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg me also disturb.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*Those things which disturbed / distracted Péter* disturb me, too.'

b. {Subject$_{Agent}$, Object$_{Experiencer}$, Oblique$_{Theme}$} (a)telic

b'. Mariék (meg-)zavarták Péter-t a kiabálásuk-kal.
Mari.Apl (perf-)disturb.Past.DefObj.3Pl Péter-Acc the shouting.Poss.3Pl-Ins
'Mari and her friends disturbed / distracted Péter with their shouting.'

b''. *Péter* ?*(✓meg-)zavar-ó-i (**a kiabálásuk-kal)* engem is zavarnak.
Péter (perf-)disturb-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg the shouting.Poss.3Pl-Ins me also disturb.3Pl
'Those who disturbed / distracted Péter (with their shouting) disturb me, too.'

c. [Ez a pirula]$_{Theme}$ lenyugtat [engem]$_{Experiencer}$. → nyugtat-ó$_{Inst}$
this the pill calm_down.3Sg me calm-ó
'This pill calms me down.' 'depressant'

Finally, let us turn to the TPD-noun given in (395c) above. How is it possible that input argument-structure types with a (stimulating) Theme in their subject position (395a) can serve as a basis for TPD-noun derivation? We claim that this is possible for the same reasons as those that our hypothesis relies on about the existence of TPD_{AG}-nouns based on psych-verbs with an Experiencer subject. Parallel with the unconscious Experiencer's advancement to serve as a conscious Agent, the stimulating Theme will be advanced to serve as an Instrument for this newly-created Agent.

The example in (395c) above, thus, is qualifies as a TPD_{INST}-noun based on a psych-verb with a (stimulating) Theme as its subject. A depressant does not accidentally calm you down (like unexpectedly heard melancholic music from the radio) but it has been made exactly for this purpose by experts, and it has been given to you by a doctor, and you use it volitionally.

1.3.1.3.4. Nominal and verbal properties

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of the verbal and nominal properties of the Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns on the basis of Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV). Subsection 1.3.1.3.4.1 discusses the verbal properties, and subsection 1.3.1.3.4.2 the nominal ones. We will conclude this topic in a separate subsection (1.3.1.3.4.3) with a short summary of the observations and generalizations.

1.3.1.3.4.1. Verbal properties

Let us start with the verbal properties collected in Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV).

I. Tense and mood

Hungarian verbs can express tense and mood, prototypically, in a morphological way (see (293a) and (294a,b) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub I, and the (a)-examples in (396-397)), or, in the case of the future tense, by means of a complex construction containing an auxiliary (see the (b)-examples in (396-397)), which is optional (see also (396b) and (397b)). Can the semantic meaning contribution of tense and mood be retained in the course of Ó-nominalization?

In harmony with the fact that tense and mood morphemes are inflectional, and not derivational, suffixes, there is simply no morphological way of attaching the derivational suffix *-Ó* to the appropriately inflected verb forms. The intended tense can be figured out on the basis of such subsidiary grammatical clues as the temporal adjective *tegnapi* 'yesterday.Adj' ((396a'), (397a')) and *holnapi* 'tomorrow.Adj' ((396b'), (397b')), for instance. If we are not in a position to refer to definite points of time, such temporal adjectives are at our at disposal as *egykori* 'former' and *majdani* 'future' (see the same examples). These ways of expressing (present / past / future) time seem to suggest that Ó-noun constructions, like ÁS-nouns as well as nouns in general, are *ab ovo* tenseless, that is, temporally neutral, which also permits that subsidiary clues specify time. Preverbs make this simple picture somewhat more complicated, due to their close relation to aspect.

(396) ● Ó-nominalization of tensed atelic verbs

a. Péter tegnap kínoz-t-a Ilit.
Péter yesterday torture-Past-DefObj.3Sg Ili.Acc
'Yesterday Péter was torturing Ili.'

a'. Szeretnék találkozni *Ili* *?(✓tegnapi /✓egykori)* *kínz-ó-já-val.*
like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf *Ili* *yesterday.Adj / former* *torture-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I would like to meet *the one who was torturing Ili (yesterday / in former times)*.'

b. Péter holnap [kínozni fogja] / [kínozza] Ilit.
Péter tomorrow torture will.DefObj.3Sg / torture.DefObj.3Sg Ili.Acc
'Tomorrow Péter will be torturing Ili.'

b'. Szeretnék találkozni *Ili* *?(✓holnapi /✓majdani)* *kínz-ó-já-val.*
like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf *Ili* *tomorrow.Adj / future* *torture-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I would like to meet *the one who will be torturing Ili (tomorrow / in the future)*.'

c. Péter kínoz-za Ilit.
Péter torture-DefObj.3Sg Ili.Acc
'Péter is torturing Ili.'

c'. Szeretnék találkozni *Ili* *(?mostani / ?jelenlegi)* *kínz-ó-já-val.*
like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf *Ili* *now.Adj / current* *torture-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I would like to meet *the one who is torturing Ili (now / currently)*.'

The slight differences in grammaticality judgments between the primed examples given in (396) above and (397) below are intended to demonstrate the impact of the preverb on the implicit expression of (semantic) tense, in connection with the role of the preverb in the expression of aspect. While in the presence of an overt temporal adjective, any semantic time can be evoked, in the implicit context when there is no temporal adjective present and the given sentence is interpreted "out of the blue", the following connection emerges between the input (a)telicity and the output temporal interpretation: If an Ó-noun construction is based on an atelic verbal construction, the complex event that this verbal construction denotes is preferably to be interpreted as a situation in the (semantic) present time. If an Ó-noun construction, however, is based on a telic verbal construction, the complex event in the background is preferably to be interpreted as a situation in the (semantic) past or future time.

Note that there is no ideal adjective which would refer to the present. The adjectives given in the (c')-examples in (396-397), refer to the present but tend to trigger a habitual reading, instead of the intended present continuous interpretation. Hence, the latter interpretation can only be evoked by means of the (temporally) "implicit" Ó-noun construction (396c') if the input verbal construction is atelic, and cannot be evoked in a fully acceptable way (397c') if the input verbal construction is telic. Note that the special input word order (397c), responsible for the expression of the continuous or progressive aspect, cannot be "retained" in the course of Ó-nominalization in a true word-order preserving way (**Ili kísérője haza* 'Ili accompany.Ó.Poss.3Sg home'); see also subsection III.

(397) ● Ó-nominalization of tensed telic verbs

a. Péter tegnap haza-kísér-t-e Ilit.
Péter yesterday home-accompany-Past-DefObj.3Sg Ili.Acc
'Yesterday Péter walked Ili home.'

a'. Szeretnék találkozni *Ili (tegnapi / egykori) haza-kísér-ő-jé-vel.*
like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf *Ili yesterday.Adj / former home-accompany-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I would like to meet *the one who walked Ili home (yesterday / in former times).*'

b. Péter holnap [haza fogja kísérni] / [haza-kíséri] Ilit.
Péter tomorrow home will.DefObj.3Sg accompany.Inf/ home-accompany.DefObj.3Sg Ili.Acc
'Tomorrow Péter will walk Ili home.'

b'. Szeretnék találkozni *Ili (holnapi / majdani) haza-kísér-ő-jé-vel.*
like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf *Ili tomorrow.Adj/ future home-accompany-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I would like to meet *the one who will walk Ili home (tomorrow / in the future).*'

c. Péter éppen kíséri haza Ilit.
Péter just accompany-DefObj.3Sg home Ili.Acc
'Péter is now walking Ili home.'

c'. ? Szeretnék találkozni *Ili (mostani / jelenlegi) haza-kísér-ő-jé-vel.*
like.Cond.1Sg meet.Inf *Ili now.Adj / current home-accompany-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I would like to meet *the one who is walking Ili home (now / currently).*'

As for expressing moods, again, there is no morphological way of simply attaching the derivational suffix *-Ó* to the appropriately inflected verb forms. Neither is there any way that could be rationally regarded as some kind of "neutral" or "implicit" expression of Ó-nominalization (see the previous paragraph, above (397)).

II. Several paradigms of conjugation

As was discussed in subsections 1.1.1.4.1-1.1.1.4.2, in Hungarian, both verbs and nouns can be provided with suffixes referring to person and number. However, there is a significant difference.

In the case of verbs, "more than two" paradigms are used (398a-a"). The verb agrees with the subject in number and person, and the coexistence of the different paradigms is due to the fact that the verb also encodes such features of the object as its definiteness (1.1.1.4.1) and person (1.1.1.4.2). In the case of nouns, however, there is only one paradigm (which does not coincide with any of the verbal paradigms): the noun head, that is, the possessee, agrees with the possessor in number and person (as was discussed in the case of ÁS-nouns in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub II).

The series of examples in (398) below demonstrates the input verbal constructions (398a-a",c,e), as well as the Ó-noun constructions (398b,d) and TPD-noun constructions (398f) based on them. Recall that in the case of thematic Ó-nominalization (398b) and adjunctive Ó-nominalization (398d), the possessor corresponds to the input object (398a-a") and to the input subject (398c), respectively, while in the case of TPD-noun derivation (398f), the possessor does not (necessarily) correspond to any input argument (398e).

(398) ● Several paradigms of conjugation in the case of verbs *versus* only one paradigm of inflection in the case of nouns

a. Péter önfeláldozóan megment engem / téged / mink-et / titek-et.
Péter self_sacrificingly save.3Sg I.Acc / you$_{Sg}$.Acc / we-Acc / you$_{Pl}$-Acc
'Péter saves me / you$_{Sg}$ / us / you$_{Pl}$ self-sacrificingly.'

a'. Péter önfeláldozóan megment-i ő-t / ők-et.
Péter self_sacrificingly save.DefObj.3Sg (s)he-Acc / they-Acc
'Péter saves [him/her] / them self-sacrificingly.'

a”. Önfeláldozóan megment-elek téged / titek-et.
self_sacrificingly save-2Obj.1Sg you$_{Sg}$.Acc / you$_{Pl}$-Acc
‘I save you$_{Sg}$ / you$_{Pl}$ self-sacrificingly.’

b. Végül felbukkant *az önfeláldozó megment-ő-m / megment-ő-d /*
finally appear.Past.3Sg *the self_sacrificing save-ó-Poss.1Sg / save-ó-Poss.2Sg /*
megment-ő-je / megment-ő-nk / megment-ő-tök / megment-ő-jük.
save-ó-Poss.3Sg / save-ó-Poss.1Pl / save-ó-Poss.2Pl / save-ó-Poss.3Pl
‘Finally *my / your$_{Sg}$ / [his/her] / our / your$_{Pl}$ / their self-sacrificing savior* appeared.’

c. Tegnap itt söröz-tem / söröz-él / söröz-ött /
yesterday here drink_beer.Past-1Sg / drink_beer.Past-2Sg / drink_beer.Past-3Sg /
söröz-ünk / söröz-tetek / söröz-ek.
drink_beer.Past-1Pl / drink_beer.Past-2Pl / drink_beer.Past-3Pl /
‘Yesterday I / you$_{Sg}$ / (s)he / we / you$_{Pl}$ / they drank beer here.’

d. Ez *a tegnapi söröz-ő-m / söröz-ő-d /*
this *the yesterday.Adj drink_beer-ó-Poss.1Sg / drink_beer-ó-Poss.2Sg /*
söröz-ő-je / söröz-ő-nk / söröz-ő-tök / söröz-ő-jük.
drink_beer-ó-Poss.3Sg / drink_beer-ó-Poss.1Pl / drink_beer-ó-Poss.2Pl / drink_beer-ó-Poss.3Pl
‘This is *the place where I / you$_{Sg}$ / (s)he / we / you$_{Pl}$ / they drank beer yesterday*.’

e. Péter nagyszerűen úszik.
Péter magnificently swim.3Sg
‘Péter swims magnificently.’

f. Péter *a kedvenc úsz-ó-m / úsz-ó-d /*
Péter *the favorite swim-ó-Poss.1Sg/ swim-ó-Poss.2Sg /*
úsz-ó-ja / úsz-ó-nk / úsz-ó-tok / úsz-ó-juk.
swim-ó-Poss.3Sg / swim-ó-Poss.1Pl / swim-ó-Poss.2Pl / swim-ó-Poss.3Pl
‘Péter is *my / your$_{Sg}$ / [his/her] / our / your$_{Pl}$ / their favorite swimmer*.’

On the basis of the data above, we can establish that the Hungarian verbal property of having several agreement paradigms is not characteristic of Ó-noun and TPD-noun constructions.

III. Separability of verbal modifier

As was discussed in the case of ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub III), in certain verbal constructions in Hungarian, the verbal modifier loses its immediate left-adjacent position to the stem of the verb, in the following two ways: appearing after the verb (see the (a)-examples in (399-400)); appearing before the verb but not immediately before it (see (401a) and (298) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub III). Here we investigate the question of whether these word-order patterns with a verbal modifier separated from the head is inherited by the corresponding Ó-noun and TPD-noun constructions. Note in advance that we will investigate the potential TPD-noun constructions in a series of examples (402) devoted separately to them at the end of this subsection.

Let us start with the Hungarian focus construction, famous for the “inverse” word order with the verbal modifier preceded by the verb stem (399a). As is illustrated in (399b) below, the Ó-noun construction cannot retain this input word-order pattern, similar to ÁS-nouns. Instead, the verbal modifier must occupy the immediate left-adjacent position to the output noun head, that is, the usual prenominal complement position while the focus semantics (more or less) manifests itself only in the stress pattern indicated below (see also subsection VII).

(399) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of Ó-nouns:
I. Focus construction

a. Péterék a "hitelszerződést °írták °*alá*.
Péter.Apl the credit_agreement.Acc write.Past.DefObj.3Pl *under*
'Péter and his friends have signed THE CREDIT AGREEMENT!'

b. Nekem nem szimpatikusak
Dat.1Sg not nice.Pl
*a "hitelszerződés *[°ír-ó-i °alá] / ˇ[°alá-ír-ó-i].*
the credit_agreement write-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg under / under-write-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
'Those who signed THE CREDIT AGREEMENT do not appeal to me.'

Here we follow the same practice applied in the case of ÁS-nouns, by investigating sentential negation, which also has this "inverse" word-order pattern, illustrated in (400a). It also holds for this case that the verbal modifier cannot appear after the deverbal noun head in the corresponding output Ó-noun construction (400b).

(400) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of Ó-nouns:
II. Sentential negation

a. Péterék nem írták *alá* a hitelszerződést.
Péter.Apl not write.Cond.DefObj.3Pl *under* the credit_agreement.Acc
'Péter and his friends did not sign the credit agreement.'

b. Nekem nem szimpatikusak *a hitelszerződés *[nem ír-ó-i alá]/*
Dat.1Sg not nice.Pl *the credit_agreement.Dat not write-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg under/*
**?[nem alá-ír-ó-i] / ˇ[alá nem ír-ó-i].*
not under-write-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / under not write-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
'*Those who did not sign the credit agreement* do not appeal to me.'

As was observed in the case of ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub III), there are three potential orders of the negative particle (*nem* 'not'), the verbal modifier (*alá* 'under') and the deverbal noun head (*író* 'write.Ó'). As is demonstrated in (400b) above, only one of these orders provides a (fully) acceptable Ó-noun construction. This is the order that can also be observed in the finite verbal construction which serves the purpose of expressing a special emphatic form of negation, illustrated in (298) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub III. It seems that in the case of Ó-nominalization (400b), we must have recourse to this pattern while not associating the emphatic meaning contribution with the resulting construction.

Let us continue, following our practice applied in the analogous subsection concerning ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub III), with another verbal construction with an inserted grammatical element between the verbal modifier and the verb stem (401a). The element in question is a special, "emphatic", version of *is* 'also'. Recall that the more intensively studied quantifying use of *is* 'also' (illustrated, for instance, in (13) in 1.1.1.3.4) does not show the "discontinuous" word-order pattern in question. The *is* 'also' in (401b) below in the variant marked by '#' can be interpreted only in this latter, now non-intended, meaning. The intended meaning with the emphatic interpretation of *is* 'also' cannot be expressed in any kind of Ó-noun construction (401b). That is, the exact way of referring to an input state of affairs like this simply cannot be carried out by means of an Ó-noun construction.

(401) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of Ó-nouns:
IV. Construction with an inserted *is* 'also'

a. Határidőn belül elkészítették,
deadline.Sup within prepare.Past.DefObj.3Pl
sőt az ünnepek előtt *alá* **is** írták a hitelszerződést!
moreover the holiday.Pl before *under* **also** write.Past.DefObj.3Pl the credit_agreement.Acc
'The credit agreement had been prepared within the deadline, and, moreover, it had even been signed!'

b. Nekem szimpatikusak
Dat.1Sg nice.Pl
*a hitelszerződés *[alá is ír-ó-i] / #[alá-ír-ó-i is].*
the credit.agreement under also write-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg / under-write-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg also
Intended meaning: '*Those who have even signed the credit agreement* are likeable to me.'

We conclude this subsection with a separate overview of the logically possible, but uniformly non-existing, analogous TPD-noun constructions (402). Taking a few different TPD-noun types in (402a) as a point of departure, we have tested—in (402b), (402c-c"), and (402d-d')—the word-order variants analogous to those illustrated in (399), (400), and (401), respectively. We have not associated intended meanings with the potential TPD-noun constructions since neither these, nor similar or even more complicated potential words exist in Hungarian. As for the potential "more complicated" ones, let us make the generalization, without lengthy illustration, that in the case of TPD-nouns with a doubly filled prenominal complement zone (e.g., *könyv-ki-adó* 'book-out-give.Ó' ('book publisher')) no (other) permutations of their parts, possibly completed with the words *nem* 'not' and *is* 'even', constitute acceptable TPD-noun constructions.

We conjecture that the given phonetic forms do not exist for different reasons. In certain cases no meaning could be associated with them, in connection with the fact, for instance, that in the course of TPD-noun derivation only the "core" of the input verbal construction can be inherited, and not the focus (402b). Such word-internal order of the components, by the way, would be in conflict with the general head-final morphology of Hungarian. In other cases, however, it does not seem to be impossible *ab ovo* that the word-order type in question exists (a vegetarian, for instance, could be called *hús(t)-nem-evő* 'meat(.Acc)-not-eat.Ó'), but the language happens to dispense with such lexicalized phonetic forms (402c'). Entering into further details, however, would go far beyond the scope of this book on the syntax of noun phrases.

(402) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of TPD-nouns

a. be-mond-ó / napra-forg-ó / légy-csap-ó
into-say-Ó / sun.Sub-turn-Ó / fly-hit-Ó
'announcer / sunflower / flyswatter'

b. *[mondó-be] / *[forgó-napra] / *[csapó-légy]
say.Ó-into / turn.Ó-sun.Sub / hit.Ó-fly

c. *[nem-mondó-be] / *[nem-forgó-napra] / *[nem-csapó -légy]
not-say.Ó-into / not-turn.Ó-sun.Sub / not-hit.Ó-fly

c'. *[be-nem-mondó] / *[napra-nem-forgó] / *[légy-nem-csapó]
into-not-say.Ó / sun.Sub-not-turn.Ó / fly-not-hit.Ó

c''. *[nem-be-mondó] / *[nem-napra-forgó] / *[nem-légy-csapó]
not-into-say.Ó / not-sun.Sub-turn.Ó / not-fly-hit.Ó

d. *[be-is-mondó] / *[napra-is-forgó] / *[légy-is-csapó]
into-also-say.Ó / sun.Sub-also-turn.Ó / fly-also-hit.Ó

d'. *[be-mondó-is] / *[napra-forgó-is] / *[légy-csapó-is]
into-say.Ó-also / sun.Sub-turn.Ó-also / fly-hit.Ó-also

We can establish on the basis of the data above that the separability of verbal modifiers from heads, characteristic of certain verbal constructions, is characteristic of Ó-nouns only to a very low degree (rejecting the "inverse" word-order pattern, for instance). As for TPD-nouns, they are so "irreversibly nominal" that their input components cannot be separated any more.

IV. Presence and obligatoriness of arguments

In the present subsection we are going to evaluate the extent of verbalness of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns on the basis of the observations and generalizations concerning argument-structure inheritance. The main points were given in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1, and subsections 1.3.1.3.2.3 and 1.3.1.3.3 provided several further details.

The output results of (both the thematic and the adjunctive types) of Ó-nominalization can be evaluated as highly verbal constructions which are, however, somewhat less verbal than those of ÁS-nominalization, for the following reasons.

It was observed that Ó-nominalization essentially patterns with ÁS-nominalization in tending to inherit the argument structure of the input verb, together with the obligatory or optional status of arguments, to the maximum extent that certain constraining circumstances permit. The difference between Ó-nominalization and ÁS-nominalization is the much wider range of these obstructive circumstances in the case of Ó-nominalization, which manifest themselves in making the acceptability of the given potential Ó-noun constructions highly dependent on speakers (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II) and on the external syntax (see (346-347) in 1.3.1.3.2.1).

In contrast to ÁS-nominalization, both main types of Ó-nominalization practically "select" their ideal input argument-structure types, relative to which the "insufficiently complex" as well as the "too complex" argument-structure types (as input verbal constructions) yield marked output Ó-noun constructions. Recall that two basic criteria constrain the ideal input argument-structure type.

The constraint that qualifies argument-structure types to be "insufficiently complex" is the condition on thematic possessors, formulated in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II, according to which the output Ó-noun construction must contain a possessor that corresponds to a certain input argument. In the case of thematic Ó-nominalization, the output possessor has to correspond to the input object, that is why the ideal input

argument-structure type is transitive (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub IV; see also subsection VI). In the case of adjunctive Ó-nominalization, the output possessor has to correspond to the input subject, meaning that the ideal input argument-structure type is unergative (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II), or transitive with an accusative case-marked verbal modifier (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI).

The constraint that qualifies argument-structure types to be "too complex" is the highly dispreferred status of Ó-noun constructions with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone. This constraint practically means that fully fledged oblique case-marked arguments can find no place in potential Ó-noun constructions (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub V).

It was also an interesting observation that there is no difference in acceptability between output Ó-noun constructions with a postpositional phrase in the postnominal complement zone (which violate the constraint on non-empty complement zones) and those containing the attributivized form of the postpositional phrase in the prenominal modifier zone (see (372) in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub V). Both constructions are, at best, poorly acceptable or definitely unacceptable. This fact suggests that Ó-noun constructions are less verbal than ÁS-noun constructions because in the case of an Ó-noun construction the prenominal modifier zone does not readily host input arguments, in contrast to ÁS-noun constructions (see (226b') in 1.3.1.2.2.1).

All in all, Ó-nouns are to be regarded as highly verbal given their affinity to argument-structure inheritance (inside the semantically designated input domain) but less verbal than ÁS-nominalization, due to the large-scale failure of this affinity.

TPD-nouns, however, are poorly verbal since they do not inherit the fully fledged arguments of the input verb (Laczkó 2000a: 374–377, 380, 399), but only the "innermost" core of the input argument structure—typically the input verbal modifier—as members of its prenominal complement zone (see (348-350) in 1.3.1.3.2.1, and 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI). Hence, TPD-nouns are even less verbal than SED-nouns, which tend to inherit oblique case-marked arguments (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub IV).

As for argument-structure inheritance in the group of irregular *Ó*-nouns, there is no such inheritance.

V. Accusative case-marked arguments

In contrast to verbs (and such non-finite verb-like categories as participles, converbs and infinitives), nouns can be characterized by the prohibition against Accusative case marking on their (immediate) dependents. In this respect, Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns unambiguously belong to the family of nouns. The input object appears in these constructions either as a possessor (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub IV) or as a prenominal complement without any overt case marking (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI).

Similar to ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns (see examples (259) and (261) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI), in the case of Ó-nouns (403a',b') and TPD-nouns (403a") only sporadic and highly marked potential counterexamples can be found, which all come from the nominalization of idioms or idiom-like expressions. As is shown by the grammaticality judgments associated with the postposition and its attributivized form in (403a'), the intended meaning can be more readily expressed by means of a

participial construction (with an elided default noun referring to a group of people) than by means of an Ó-noun construction.

(403) ● Accusative case-marking in the case of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns

a. Péterék nagy-ot hallottak a hangos koncert után.
Péter.Apl great-Acc hear.3Pl the loud concert after
'Péter and his friends were hard of hearing after the loud concert.'

a'. *A hangos koncert után-*$^{(?)}$*(*$^{??}$*-i) nagy-ot-hall-ó-k*
the loud concert after(-Attr) great-Acc-hear-Ó-Pl
csak hetek múlva nyerték vissza a hallásukat.
only week.Pl after win.Past.DefObj.3Pl back the hearing.Poss.3Pl.Acc
'*Those who were hard of hearing after the loud concert* recovered their hearing only after weeks.'

a''. *Siketek és Nagy-ot-hall-ó-k Országos Szövetsége*
deaf.Pl and great-Acc-hear-Ó-Pl national association
'*National Association of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing*'

b. Péterék tegnap a rettegés miatt csütörtök-öt / csőd-öt mondtak.
Péter.Apl yesterday the fear because_of Thursday-Acc / bankruptcy-Acc say.Past.3Pl
'Yesterday Péter and his friends failed because of their fear.'

b'. *A tegnapi / [rettegés miatti] csütörtök-*(*$^{??}$*-öt) / csőd-*(*$^{??}$*-öt) mond-ó-k*
the yesterday.Adj/ fear because_of.Attr Thursday(-Acc) / bankruptcy(-Acc) say-Ó-Pl
csak hetek múlva tértek magukhoz.
only week.Pl after come.Past.3Pl themselves.All
Intended meaning: '*Those who failed yesterday / [because of their fear]* only recovered after weeks.'

b''. **A csütörtöknek / csődnek a tegnapi / [rettegés miatti] mond-ó-i*
the Thursday.Dat / bankruptcy.Dat the yesterday.Adj/ fear because_of.Attr say-Ó-Pl
csak hetek múlva tértek magukhoz.
only week.Pl after come.Past.3Pl themselves.All
Intended meaning: '*Those who failed yesterday / [because of their fear]* only recovered after weeks.'

The example in (403b') above demonstrates that it is impossible to omit the accusative case suffix. This is presumably due to the "faithfulness" requirement mentioned in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub V, according to which the retention of the precise input form of verbal modifiers is preferred, especially in the case of (meaningless when separated) idiom parts. What the example in (403b") is intended to show also has to do with the idiom-part status of the input verbal modifiers (*csütörtököt* 'Thursday.Acc' and *csődöt* 'bankruptcy.Acc'): in contrast to fully fledged input objects, an accusative case-marked input verbal modifier—and especially a non-referential one which is meaningless when separated—cannot appear as a (fully fledged) possessor in the output Ó-noun construction. The condition on thematic possessor, thus, is also violated in the case of the potential Ó-noun constructions tested in (403a',b',b"), either violating the condition on the presence of a possessor (403a',b') or violating the requirement that the possessor must be "thematic" in the sense that it must fill a thematic role (403b").

VI. Adverbial modification

In contrast to verbs (and such non-finite verb-like categories as participles, converbs and infinitives), nouns can be characterized by the prohibition against adverbial modification belonging immediately to the noun head (see the series of examples in (334) and (335) in the introduction to 1.3.1.3). In this respect, Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns unambiguously belong to the family of nouns. The input adverbs appear in these constructions as adjectives (see 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub IV).

Similar to ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VI), counterexamples can also be found. If the adverb appears as a verbal modifier in the input verbal construction (404a), the adverbial form (e.g., *jól* 'well') is to be retained in the case of Ó-nouns (404b) as well as TPD-nouns (404c). This type of counterexample can be regarded as systematic, but the group of appropriate input verbal constructions is very small (as regards that such verbal constructions as *jól viselkedik* 'well behave' and *ügyesen bánik valamivel* 'skillfully treat something.Ins' ('be skillful with something') cannot produce acceptable Ó-noun constructions due to the condition on thematic possessors and the constraint on non-empty postnominal complement zones).

(404) ● Potential adverbial modification of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns

a. Mariék *jól / ébren* tartják Pétert az ünnepek alatt.
Mari.Apl *well / awake* keep.DefObj.3Pl Péter.Acc the holiday.Pl under
'Mari and her friends take care of Péter during the holidays. / Mari and her friends keep Péter awake during the holidays.'

b. *Péter *jó / ˇjól /*éber / ˇébr-en tart-ó-i* nekem is szimpatikusak.
Péter good/ well /unsleeping / awake keep-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg Dat.1Sg also nice.Pl
'*Those who take care of Péter* appeal to me, too. / *Those who keep Péter awake* appeal to me, too.'

c. alul-jár-ó / felül-jár-ó / együtt-hat-ó
under-go-Ó / over-go-Ó / together-affect-Ó
'underpass / overpass / coefficient'

We are also going to investigate converbial modification (405), regarding its close relation to adverbial modification. If the converb appears as a verbal modifier in the input verbal construction (405a), the converbial form (e.g., *fogva* 'capture.Conv') is to be retained in the case of Ó-nouns (405b). The same holds for TPD-nouns, too (405c).

(405) ● Potential converbial modification of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns

a. Péterék *fog-va* tartották Marit.
Péter.Apl *capture-Conv* hold.Past.DefObj.3Pl Mari.Acc
'Péter and his colleagues held Mari captive.'

b. *Mari *fog-ott / ˇfog-va tart-ó-i* nagyon gonosz emberek.
Mari capture-Part / capture-Conv hold-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg very wicked person.Pl
'*Those who held Mari captive* are very wicked people.'

c. üt-ve-fúr-ó / al-va-jár-ó
hit-Conv-drill-Ó / sleep-Conv-walk-Ó
'[impact drill] / sleepwalker'

d. Péterék *lop-va* meg-nézték a feljegyzést.
Péter.Apl *steal-Conv* perf-watch.Past.DefObj.3Pl the note.Acc
'Péter and his frends looked at the notice surreptitiously.'

e. *A feljegyzés *lop-ó /* [??] *lop-va meg-néz-ő-i* másnap lebuktak.
the note steal-Part/ steal-Conv perf-watch-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg the_next_day be_caught.Past.3Pl
'*Those who looked at the notice surreptitiously* were caught the next day.'

Let us consider the case in which a converb belongs to the input verbal construction as a free adjunct, and not as a verbal modifier (405d). In such cases, it is unnecessary to discuss TPD-nouns, since non-core input dependents are not inherited. As for potential Ó-noun constructions (405e), what is certain is that the "participial alternative" is fully unacceptable. Neither can the "converbial alternative" be qualified as unambiguously acceptable, as is indicated by the grammaticality judgment '??' in (405e). We think that the construction in question can be judged as quite acceptable only at the cost of having recourse to "fraud" in the way of placing the sequence of the converb and the preverb and the Ó-noun itself ('*lopva* °*meg-*°*nézői* 'steal.Conv perf-watch.Ó.Poss.Pl.3Sg') in one phonological unit (with one initial syllable stress). We call this a fraud since in the input verbal construction the preverb must receive an independent stress. The use of this "fraud" allows us to pretend as though the converb occupies a position in the prenominal complement zone of the Ó-noun, which is not possible for a free adjunct. Such cases of incompatibilities between a construction and its derivational basis, of course, require much (technical and methodological) research in the future, since it is not at all clear which phonological, morphological and syntactic features of the derivational basis (in connection with the pragmatico-semantic "contents" they carry) must appear (and in which way) in the derived construction, depending highly on the theoretical framework applied.

All in all, input adverbs and converbs can be retained in the course of Ó-nominalization and partially in the course of TPD-noun derivation only in the very special case of playing the role of the verbal modifier in the input verbal construction. This shows that Ó-nouns poorly qualify as verbal in the investigated respect, while TPD- nouns qualify as even less verbal.

VII. Information structure

This subsection is devoted to the question of the inheritance of the Hungarian information structure typical of verbal constructions by Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns, in the light of the fact that the logical and pragmatic aspects, on the one hand, and the syntactic and morphological aspects, on the other, of this system are highly complex and extremely sophisticated. As for irregular *Ó*-nouns, we simply state the obvious fact without (further) illustration that they are similar to non-eventive *Ás*-nouns in patterning with ordinary (non-deverbal) nouns (see example (355) in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.2).

As was observed (see subsection IV), the internal structure of Ó-nouns is more restricted in two relevant respects than that of ÁS-nouns. First, placing the output counterparts of typically oblique case-marked input arguments in the postnominal complement zone tends to yield marked or even worse Ó-noun constructions. Second, it is not possible to place oblique case-marked arguments in the prenominal modifier zone in an attributivized form. The following factors, thus, form an even greater obstacle to information-structure inheritance than in the case of ÁS-nouns: on the one hand, different operators are hosted in different positions (see Tables 69

and 70 in 2.2.1.4) while, on the other hand, different kinds of arguments—namely, possessors *versus* non-possessors—are hosted in different positions (see (129-130) in 1.1.3.1).

Our assumption, nevertheless, is that information structure is inherited in the course of Ó-nominalization—to the maximum possible extent. TPD-nouns, however, pattern with ordinary (non-deverbal) nouns in not inheriting information structure, which is a trivial fact in the case of TPD-nouns since they do not inherit fully fledged arguments, either (NB: the "bequeathable" verbal modifier positions cannot host such operators as foci, quantifiers and topics).

Here we are going to compare the investigated Ó-noun and TPD-noun constructions not only to the corresponding input verbal constructions but to the analogous ÁS-noun constructions as well, for the following reasons. First, in this way we would like to help the reader to recognize the genuinely verbal scopal relations in a nominal environment. Second, we would also like to offer the reader a feel for the often slight but significant difference in acceptability between the ÁS-noun constructions and the less acceptable corresponding Ó-noun constructions. This worsening is due to the double effect of the more restricted formal possibilities and the more indirect retrievability of the genuine verbal semantic content of the complex event behind the nominal constructions.

Let us start the overview of information-structure inheritance with the case of quantifiers through the example of the determiner *mind* 'every' (406). Recall (see subsection 1.3.1.2.2.2) that constructions containing possessors as quantifiers provided valuable data for distinguishing (complex-event denoting) ÁS-nouns from (event-type denoting) SED-nouns. As was observed in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.2, the same pattern of differences can be found between the (complex-event-based) Ó-nouns and the (event-type-based) TPD-nouns. Namely, Ó-nouns (406b',c'), in contrast to TPD-nouns (406b",c"), pattern with ÁS-nouns (406b,c) in possibly having a narrow-scope reading, verifying that they have an internal information structure inherited from their input verbal construction (406a).

Thus, the investigated Ó-noun construction (similar to the ÁS-noun construction), is scopally ambiguous (in the loose sense discussed in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1), in contrast to the analogous TPD-noun construction, which has only the wide-scope reading in which the quantifier in question serves as the quantifier that belongs to (the information structure of) the matrix predicate ('were irresponsible guys'). At least this is the case in the (b)-examples. It is worth noting in relation to the minimal pair presented in (406b-b') that the stress pattern associated with the wide-scope reading is different from the one associated with the narrow-scope reading basically as follows: the former case can be characterized by an essentially smooth distribution of both the stresses on the first syllables of words and the pauses between words, while in the latter case, the stress on the quantifier-determiner is stronger "at the cost of" the lighter stresses on other noun-phrase-internal words and the pause after the noun phrase is longer "at the cost of" the practically absent noun-phrase-internal pauses.

The (c)-examples, in which the matrix contrastive topic position (unambiguously identified in the form of a dislocated 'for instance'-construction) excludes the wide-scope reading due to its (often exploited) "isolating" effect, show

the same phenomenon as follows. The Ó-noun construction (406c') is unambiguous—in the absence of an available wide-scope reading, similar to the case of the corresponding ÁS-noun construction (406c). The corresponding TPD-noun construction (406c"), however, simply cannot be associated with any meaning, since it cannot host an (inheritable) information structure, which could provide a narrow-scope reading (exclusively available in the given case).

(406) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: I. Quantifier *mind* 'every'

a. *Mindkét hír-t* bemondták.
both *news-Acc* announce.Past.DefObj.3Pl
[BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
'*Both pieces of news* were announced.'

b. *Mindkét hír bemond-ás-a* felelőtlenség volt.
both *news* *announce-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [IRRESPONSIBILITY > BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
'It was an instance of irresponsibility *that both pieces of news were announced.*'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > IRRESPONSIBILITY > ANNOUNCE]
'*In the case of both pieces of news*, it was irresponsible *that they were announced.*'

b'. *Mindkét hír bemond-ó-i* felelőtlen alakok voltak.
both *news* *announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg* irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
narrow-scope reading: ?[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
'*Those who announced both pieces of news* were irresponsible guys.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ ANNOUNCE]]
'In the case of *both pieces of news*, *those who announced either of them* were irresponsible guys.'

b". *Mindkét csatorna bemond-ó-i* felelőtlen alakok voltak.
both *channel* *announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg* irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [BOTH_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCER]]
Intended meaning: '*Those announcers who work for both channels* were irresponsible guys.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_CHANNELS > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ ANNOUNCER]]
'In the case of *both channels*, *those announcers who work for either of them* were irresponsible guys.'

c. Na például *mindkét hírnek a bemond-ás-a*,
well for_instance *both* *news.Dat* *the* *announce-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [IRRESPONSIBILITY > BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
'Well for instance, it was an instance of irresponsibility *to announce both pieces of news.*'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > IRRESPONSIBILITY > ANNOUNCE]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *in the case of both pieces of news,* it was an instance of irresposibility *to announce either of them.*'

c'. (?)Na például *mindkét hírnek a bemond-ó-i*,
well for_instance *both* *news.Dat* *the* *announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
narrow-scope reading: (?)[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
'Well for instance, *those who announced both pieces of news* were irresponsible guys.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ ANNOUNCE]]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *in the case of both pieces of news, those who announced either of them* were irresponsible guys.'

c”. *Na például *mindkét csatornának a bemond-ó-i*,
well for_instance *both channel.Dat the announce-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [BOTH_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCER]]
Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, *those announcers who work for both channels* were irresponsible guys.’
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[BOTH_CHANNELS > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ ANNOUNCER]]
Intended meaning: ‘Well for instance, in the case of *both channels*, *those announcers who work for either of them* were irresponsible guys.’

Note in passing that the primed examples in (352) in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.2 provided another test which is also based on the exclusion of potential wide-scope readings. There a matrix focus construction was employed to host the investigated deverbal nominal constructions with potential internal operators. It can be checked that the same grammaticality judgments were associated with the corresponding Ó-noun and TPD-noun constructions, verifying in another way that, out of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns, only Ó-nouns can inherit information structure.

What happens if the input verbal construction in the test is chosen to have an information structure that contains a focus instead of the above-discussed quantifier? Will we obtain the same distinctive difference between Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns? We are going to examine this question by means of the ‘for instance’-construction, which, of the three test situations sketched above, we consider to be the easiest to apply in the given case (as it avoids complications caused by wide-scope readings which are difficult to construct and interpret and the presence of two foci semantically embedded in each other).

The “focused” complex event referred to by an argument structure in a verbal environment (407a) and by the argument structure in the “nominal” environment surrounding an ÁS-noun (407b) also serves as the suitable basis of Ó-nominalization (407c), in contrast to TPD-noun derivation (407d). This corroborates our basic thesis concerning the difference between Ó- and TPD-nouns in information-structure inheritance.

(407) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: II. Focus

a. *Csak a rossz hír-t* mondták be.
only the bad news-Acc announce.Past.DefObj.3Pl into
[ONLY_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
‘*Only the bad news* was announced.’

b. Na például *csak a rossz hírnek a bemond-ás-a*,
well for_instance *only the bad news.Dat the announce-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [IRRESPONSIBILITY > ONLY_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
‘Well for instance, it was an instance of irresponsibility *to announce only THE BAD NEWS*.’

c. (?)Na például *csak a rossz hírnek a bemond-ó-i*,
well for_instance *only the bad news.Dat the announce-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
narrow-scope reading: (?)[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [ONLY_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
'Well for instance, *those who announced only THE BAD NEWS* were irresponsible guys.'

d. *Na például *csak a QTV-nek a bemond-ó-i*,
well for_instance *only the QTV-Dat the announce-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[IRRESPONSIBILE ⊇ [ONLY_QTV > ANNOUNCER]]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *those announcers who WORK ONLY FOR QTV* were irresponsible guys.'

There is a slight but significant difference in grammaticality judgments between the Ó-noun construction (407c) and the corresponding ÁS-noun construction (407b). This difference can be attributed to the fact that an Ó-noun construction is related to its defining complex event in a less direct way than an ÁS-noun construction. The reason for this is that the latter denotes the complex event itself while it is a (typically human) entity that the former directly denotes. An Ó-noun construction denotes only a participant of the complex event, instead of its whole. It uses the content of the complex event only for identifying the participant in question. It can, therefore, be regarded as an obvious consequence of this difference that a scopally complex Ó-noun interpretation is less readily retrievable than the interpretation of an ÁS-noun construction that is essentially analogous to it. It will be observed in what follows that this "destructive" semantic effect will regularly emerge in every instance of comparison between (more or less) corresponding Ó-noun and ÁS-noun constructions, yielding that the Ó-noun constructions are less acceptable than, or only as acceptable as, the corresponding ÁS-noun constructions.

Now let us examine another type of quantified expression, the one containing the particle *is* 'also' (408). The ideal noun-phrase-internal context for an *is*-phrase is when it is hosted in the postnominal complement zone (see 2.1.1.4.2 and cf. Table 69 in 2.2.1.4), and hence it is worth inspecting in dislocated 'for instance'-constructions in order to avoid uncertainty as to whether it actually occupies a complement position that belongs to the non-deverbal noun and not a complement position that belongs to the matrix verb itself (see also (648) in 2.1.1.1). We can also exploit the fact that this special placement excludes the possibility of wide-scope reading, which renders the case of *is*-quantifiers (408) similar to that of focus (407).

There is a problem, however, coming from the radical difference between Ó-nouns and ÁS-nouns in a syntactic respect which becomes now very relevant to us: Ó-nouns, in contrast to ÁS-nouns, cannot (readily) host arguments in their postnominal complement zone (see 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub V). This difference results in very poor and/or uncertain or highly speaker-dependent acceptability of potential Ó-noun constructions, demonstrated in example (408c) below, compared to the corresponding ÁS-noun constructions (e.g., (408b)), which are almost fully acceptable. Moreover, as was mentioned above, the acceptability of Ó-nouns is *ab ovo* weaker than that of comparable ÁS-nouns due to the more indirect retrievability

(in the case of Ó-noun constructions) of the quite complicated genuine verbal semantic content (of the complex event in the derivational basis of both kinds of nominal constructions).

Because of the poor acceptability of Ó-noun constructions with a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone, we have tested another word-order variant, in which the *is*-phrase occupies the NAK-possessor position in the prenominal zone (see the primed examples below). It is not easy to judge the data, but it seems to us that we cannot form convincingly acceptable Ó-noun constructions in this way, either. It might be that the Ó-noun construction in question (408c') is not any less acceptable than the corresponding ÁS-noun construction (408b'), but, as *is*-phrases essentially defy the prenominal possessor positions inside a nominal construction, the neutralization of the difference between potential Ó-noun and ÁS-noun constructions does not help.

(408) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: III. Quantifier *is* 'also'

a. *A rossz hír-t is* bemondták.
the bad news-Acc also announce.Past.DefObj.3Pl
[ALSO_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
'*Also the bad news* was announced.'

b. (?)Na például *a bemond-ás-a a rossz hírnek is*,
well for_instance *the announce-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the bad news.Dat also*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: (?)[IRRESPONSIBILITY > ALSO_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
'Well for instance, it was irresponsible *to announce the bad news as well*.'

b'. ??Na például *a rossz hírnek is a bemond-ás-a*,
well for_instance *the bad news.Dat also the announce-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: (?)[IRRESPONSIBILITY > ALSO_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
'Well for instance, it was irresponsible *to announce the bad news as well*.'

c. ??Na például *a bemond-ó-i a rossz hírnek is,*
well for_instance *the announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg the bad news.Dat also*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
narrow-scope reading: ?[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [ALSO_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
'Well for instance, *those who announced the bad news as well* were irresponsible guys.'

c'. ??Na például *a rossz hírnek is a bemond-ó-i,*
well for_instance *the bad news.Dat also the announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
narrow-scope reading: ?[IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ [ALSO_BAD_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
'Well for instance, *those who announced the bad news as well* were irresponsible guys.'

d. *Na például *a bemond-ó-i* *a QTV-nek is*,
well for_instance *the announce-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg* *the QTV-Dat* *also*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[IRRESPONSIBILE ⊇ [ALSO_QTV > ANNOUNCER]]
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *those announcers who work also for QTV* were irresponsible guys.'

As for the corresponding TPD-noun construction (408d), its expected unacceptability (in connection with its lacking any kind of information structure) is borne out.

In the following five series of examples (409-413), the inheritance of complex information structures will be tested in the way in which we tested ÁS-nouns (see (308-312) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII). By this we mean that the input information structure contains (at least) two operators, the relative scope of which is unambiguously coded in Hungarian in the preverbal word order. The inheritance of these scope hierarchies is also worth testing.

Here we will restrict ourselves to Ó-nouns, since TPD-noun constructions have no internal information structure at all. Furthermore, we will restrict ourselves to *mind*-quantifiers and foci, since *is*-phrases could not provide convincingly acceptable potential Ó-noun constructions even when they were investigated "alone" (408), let alone when paired with another operator in the input information structure. However, we continue comparing Ó-noun constructions not only to the corresponding input verbal constructions but also to those of the corresponding ÁS-nouns, in order to help the reader to recognize the complex semantic possibilities, on the one hand, and to immediately experience the (slight but significant) differences in grammaticality judgments, on the other.

Let us start with a verbal construction (409a) with an input information structure that consists of a focus and a *mind*-quantifier in its scope (409a'). It is also to be considered that here, in (409), the oblique case-marked Goal argument fulfills the information-structural function of the focus while the Theme, expressed as an object in the input argument structure (409a) and as a possessor in the output ones (409b-d'), functions as the *mind*-quantifier. These factors are all relevant because possessors and non-possessors are hosted in different noun-phrase-internal positions (illustrated in examples (129-130) in 1.1.3.1), and, independently of this, different operators, whilst their input scope hierarchy must also be retained in some way. These requirements are all to be reconciled. That is the task we must face.

Note that (similar to 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII) here, where the question of information-structure inheritance itself as a "verbal property" is discussed, we usually restrict ourselves to the investigation of the inheritance of fixed "intended meanings" (based on particular input scope hierarchies). We do not inspect whether the resulting variants have other readings (based on other potential input scope hierarchies) than the intended one. The background of this comment is the fact that, especially when placed in the post-head zone, operators are prone to be interpreted ambiguously between a straight-scope reading and an inverse-scope reading (see (312) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII, and (413) below). This possibility can serve as a good way to express certain scope hierarchies. Therefore we will not ignore this, but we

will not be scrutinizing the systematically emerging ambiguity in the case of the resulting sentence variants.

There is another problem with test sentences in which an operator is intended to be placed in the postnominal complement zone: it is not easy to decide whether the syntactic place of the given operator is inside the noun phrase in harmony with our intention, or is, in fact, in the complement zone of the matrix verb, outside the noun phrase. In order to avoid any uncertainty, such noun phrases with an operator after the noun head will be tested as placed in the dislocated 'for instance'-construction, which certainly holds the noun phrase together (cf. 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII).

Our first task is to attempt to place a non-possessor focus and a possessor *mind*-quantifier, in this scope order, in the internal structure of a noun phrase headed by an Ó-noun. It seems to be a reasonable default strategy to attempt to make the word order of the two operators reflect their scope order (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012). As is shown in (409b), this strategy is successful in the case of ÁS-nouns, but not in the case of Ó-nouns, since oblique case-marked arguments cannot appear in the prenominal modifier zone of Ó-nouns (in an attributivized form). That is why there is no example (409b') below, which would serve as the analogous counterpart of (409c',d').

The difference between Ó-noun and ÁS-noun constructions in syntactic possibilities, thus, yields, in this area of investigation, the drastic difference that certain, almost fully acceptable, ÁS-noun constructions simply have no acceptable Ó-noun counterparts. That is, certain input scope hierarchies are inexpressible in Ó-noun constructions (in contrast to ÁS-noun ones); or at least we must attempt to find another way of expressing the given scope hierarchies.

What are the potential alternative ways of expressing the scope hierarchy given in (409a') in an Ó-noun construction? There are two variants, given that the oblique case-marked argument can be placed in two ways inside an Ó-noun construction.

First, it can be placed in the postnominal complement zone (409d'), which is, however, a dispreferred solution in the case of Ó-noun constructions. Note in passing that the corresponding ÁS-noun construction is not sufficiently acceptable, either, which may be attributed to the following facts. First, the ("distinguished") possessor argument (in the postnominal complement zone) is separated from the ÁS-noun head (with which it stands in an agreement relation), which is a dispreferred argument order. Second, there is no "balance" between the prenominal and the postnominal zones, since both arguments appear postnominally. Third, the [focus > quantifier] order is *ab ovo* dispreferred, as is shown by the participial constructions presented in (409a").

Let us consider the second potential way to place an oblique case-marked argument inside an Ó-noun construction. It can be placed in the exceptional noun-phrase-initial position before the prenominal NAK-possessor position (409c'), which we characterized in subsection 1.1.3.1 (see the comments on example (129f')) as permitting only operators to occupy it (NB: it is exactly the operator character that "legitimizes" its utilization). As is also demonstrated in the case of the corresponding ÁS-noun construction (409c), however, this exceptional position happens to defy foci while it can readily host *mind*-quantifiers (412c-c').

(409) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: I. $\text{Focus}_{\text{Goal}}$ and *mind*-$\text{quantifier}_{\text{Theme}}$

a. (?)Csak a koncertre küldték mindkét lányt el.
only the concert.Sub send.Past.DefObj.3Pl both girl.Acc away
'It is only THE CONCERT to which both girls had been sent.'

a'. [ONLY_TO_THE_ CONCERT > BOTH_GIRLS > SEND]

a". Haragszom a [mindkét lányt csak a koncertre] /
be_angry.1Sg the both girl.Acc only the concert.Sub /
?[csak a koncertre mindkét lányt] elküldő szülőkre.
only the concert.Sub both girl.Acc send.Part parent.Pl.Sub
'I am angry with the parents, for whom it holds that [they sent both girls only TO THE CONCERT] / [it is only THE CONCERT to which they sent both girls].'

b. (?)Na például *a csak a koncertre való elküld-és-e*
well for_instance *the only the concert.Sub be.Part send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
mindkét lánynak, az felelőtlenség volt.
both girl.Dat that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that it is only THE CONCERT to which both girls had been sent,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c. *?Na például *csak a koncertre mindkét lánynak az elküld-és-e,*
well for_instance *only the concert.Sub both girl.Dat the send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *the fact that it is only THE CONCERT to which both girls had been sent,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c'. *Na például *csak a koncertre mindkét lánynak az elküld-ő-i,*
well for_instance *only the concert.Sub both girl.Dat the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *those who are such that it is only THE CONCERT to which they had sent both girls*, they were irresponsible guys.'

d. ??Na például *az elküld-és-e csak a koncertre mindkét lánynak,*
well for_instance *the send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg only the concert.Sub both girl.Dat*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that it is only THE CONCERT to which both girls had been sent,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

d'. *?Na például *az elküld-ő-i csak a koncertre mindkét lánynak,*
well for_instance *the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg only the concert.Sub both girl.Dat*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: 'Well for instance, *those who are such that it is only THE CONCERT to which they had sent both girls*, they were irresponsible guys.'

To sum up, the investigated input scope hierarchy with this mapping between argument-structure positions and information-structural functions (409a') has turned out to be inexpressible in Ó-noun constructions, in contrast to ÁS-noun constructions, due to the restricted syntactic possibilities available to the former.

In (410a) below, the same two operators associated with the same two arguments appear in the opposite scope order (410a'). Thus, a possessor *mind-*

quantifier must precede a non-possessor focus. While in the case of ÁS-nouns it is possible to place both operators prenominally in a scope-order reflecting way (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012), due to the *való*-construction (410b), this possibility is not available to Ó-noun constructions, as oblique case-marked arguments cannot appear in the prenominal modifier zone of Ó-nouns (in an attributivized form). That is why there is no example (410b') below, which would serve as the analogous counterpart of (410c').

(410) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: II. *mind*-quantifier$_{\text{Theme}}$ and Focus$_{\text{Goal}}$

a. Mindkét lányt csak a koncertre küldték el.
both girl.Acc only the concert.Sub send.Past.DefObj.3Pl away
'In the case of both girls, it is only THE CONCERT to which they had been sent.'

a'. [BOTH_GIRLS > ONLY_TO_THE_ CONCERT > SEND]

b. (?)Na például *mindkét lánynak a csak a koncertre való elküld-és-e,*
well for_instance *both girl.Dat the only the concert.Sub be.Part send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that both girls had been sent only TO THE CONCERT,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c. (?)Na például *mindkét lánynak az elküld-és-e csak a koncertre,*
well for_instance *both girl.Dat the send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg only the concert.Sub*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that both girls had been sent only TO THE CONCERT,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c'. ?Na például *mindkét lánynak az elküld-ő-i csak a koncertre,*
well for_instance *both girl.Dat the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg only the concert.Sub*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
'Well for instance, *those who had sent both girls only TO THE CONCERT*, they were irresponsible guys.'

Are there any potential alternative ways of expressing the given scope order inside an Ó-noun construction? As is demonstrated in (410c') above, a quite acceptable solution can be constructed at the cost of placing the focus in the postnominal complement zone. Recall that this placement is otherwise dispreferred (1.3.1.3.2.3, sub V), but this dispreference seems to be neutralized to a certain extent, presumably exactly due to the "legitimizing" effect of the fact that the given operator cannot be placed in any other way.

Note in passing that the analogous configuration provides an ÁS-noun variant (410c) which is as acceptable as the one which served as our starting point in (410b).

Following our practice applied to ÁS-noun constructions (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII), now let us investigate the same pair of operators and the same pair of input arguments, but associated in the opposite way: placing a possessor focus and a non-possessor *mind*-quantifier inside a noun phrase (411-412).

First, the following input order is considered: focus > *mind*-quantifier (411a'). Note that this order, as can also be observed in (409a), is itself somewhat marked, even in the case of the input verbal constructions (411a).

Let us give an account of how to express this scope order inside an Ó-noun construction, given that here an oblique case-marked argument cannot be placed between a prenominal possessor and the nominal head, in the absence of any possibility of adjectivalizing such an argument. The oblique case-marked argument must inevitably be placed in the postnominal complement zone. The possessor then can be placed either prenominally (411b'), or postnominally, before the oblique case-marked argument (411c'), in this way, making the word order of the two operators reflect their scope order (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012). Due to the *ab ovo* dispreferred status of the placement of arguments in the postnominal complement zone of Ó-nouns, both resulting potential Ó-noun constructions are far from being convincingly acceptable but they cannot be judged fully unacceptable, either. Note that the variant in (411c') is significantly more acceptable than the one in (409d'), in which the same scope order is tested with an opposite distribution of grammatical functions. This difference can be explained by the opposite postnominal order of the given two grammatical functions: the possessor, standing in an agreement relation with the nominal head (in person and number), seems to "insist" on the position adjacent to it.

Note in passing that the analogous ÁS-noun constructions are, as usual, somewhat more acceptable (411b,c) than the corresponding Ó-noun constructions (411b',c'). Furthermore, there is a slight difference in acceptability between them: the ÁS-noun variant with a prenominally placed possessor (411b) is somewhat better, presumably due to the more ideal balance between the phonetic weight of the prenominal and postnominal zones.

(411) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: III. $\text{Focus}_{\text{Theme}}$ and *mind*-$\text{quantifier}_{\text{Goal}}$

a. (?)Csak Marit küldték mindkét koncertre el.
only Mari.Acc send.Past.DefObj.3Pl both concert.Sub away
'It is only MARI who had been sent to both concerts.'

a'. [ONLY_MARI > BOTH_CONCERTS > SEND]

b. (?)Na például *csak Mari(-nak az) elküld-és-e mindkét koncertre,*
well for_instance *only Mari(Dat the) send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both concert.Sub*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that it is only MARI who had been sent to both concerts*, that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

b'. ??Na például *csak Mari(-nak az) elküld-ő-i mindkét koncertre,*
well for_instance *only Mari(Dat the) send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg both concert.Sub*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
'Well for instance, *those who are such that it is only MARI whom they had sent to both concerts*, they were irresponsible guys.'

c. ?Na például *az elküld-és-e csak Marinak mindkét koncertre,*
well for_instance *the send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg only Mari.Dat both concert.Sub*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that it is only* MARI *who had been sent to both concerts*, that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c'. ??Na például *az elküld-ő-i csak Marinak mindkét koncertre,*
well for_instance *the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg only Mari.Dat both concert.Sub*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
'Well for instance, *those who are such that it is only* MARI *whom they had sent to both concerts*, they were irresponsible guys.'

In the fourth input combination, a non-possessor *mind*-quantifier must be paired with a possessor focus (412a) in this scope order (412a').

First of all, we point out that the straightforward ÁS-noun variant shown in (412b) has no Ó-noun counterpart, given the lack of any possibility of adjectivalizing oblique case-marked arguments.

Let us consider the two alternative possibilities for the expression of an oblique case-marked argument scoping over (and preceding) a possessor, which have already been tested in (409c-d') earlier. There, in (409), these alternatives could provide no sufficiently acceptable Ó-noun constructions, either. Now, however, the opposite assignment of information-structural functions seems to provide more or less acceptable variants. This significant difference in acceptability can be explained by the [quantifier > focus] order, which is preferred to the opposite information-structural order, witnessed by the minial pair presented in (409a"). This preferred order is therefore capable of making the application of the DP-internal exceptional position before the NAK possessor (see (129) in 1.1.3.1) quite acceptable (412c'), as well as in the case of the corresponding ÁS-noun variant (412c). This preferred order can also render the placement of both operators in the postnominal complement zone not fully unacceptable (412d'), in spite of the dispreferred order of the possessor split from the Ó-noun head standing in an agreement relation with it. The corresponding ÁS-noun variant, as usual, is somewhat more acceptable here, too (412d).

(412) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: IV. *mind*-quantifier$_{Goal}$ and Focus$_{Theme}$

a. Mindkét koncertre csak Marit küldték el.
both concert.Sub only Mari.Acc send.Past.DefObj.3Pl away
'In the case of both concerts, it is only MARI who had been sent to those.'

a'. [BOTH_CONCERTS > ONLY_MARI > SEND]

b. ?Na például *a mindkét koncertre való elküld-és-e*
well for_instance *the both concert.Sub be.Part send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
csak Marinak, az felelőtlenség volt.
only Mari.Dat that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of both concerts, it is only* MARI *who had been sent to those,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c. (?)Na például *mindkét koncertre csak Marinak az elküld-és-e,*
well for_instance *both concert.Sub only Mari.Dat the send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of both concerts, it is only MARI who had been sent to those,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c'. ?Na például *mindkét koncertre csak Marinak az elküld-ő-i,*
well for_instance *both concert.Sub only Mari.Dat the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
'Well for instance, *those who are such that in the case of both concerts, it is only MARI whom they had sent to those*, they were irresponsible guys.'

d. ?Na például *az elküld-és-e mindkét koncertre csak Marinak,*
well for_instance *the send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg both concert.Sub only Mari.Dat*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of both concerts, it is only MARI who had been sent to those,* that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

d'. ??Na például *az elküld-ő-i mindkét koncertre csak Marinak,*
well for_instance *the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg both concert.Sub only Mari.Dat*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
'Well for instance, *those who are such that in the case of both concerts, it is only MARI whom they had sent to those*, they were irresponsible guys.'

In the case of ÁS-noun constructions, we investigated the inheritance of a few further operator combinations (see the series of examples in (310-311) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII). However, given the fact that Ó-noun constructions with an internal information structure consisting of a single *is*-quantifier were not convincingly acceptable (see (408c-c')), it is not worth examining the inheritance of combinations of this operator with a *mind*-quantifier or a focus.

As can be observed in (413) below, it is also quite problematic to check whether scope ambiguity is, or may be, inherited (cf. (312) in the corresponding subsection VII in 1.3.1.2.4.1). While our assumption is that, *ab ovo*, there seems to be no theoretical obstacle against the inheritance of ambiguity, the practical obstacles are so numerous that it is ultimately impossible to construct examples of inheriting ambiguity.

The main problem has to do with the dispreferred status of a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone (413c): the use of this zone is inevitable since the source of ambiguity is exactly the post-head placement of an operator, even in the case of verbal constructions (413a). It is worth comparing the example in (413c) to the analogous ÁS-noun variant, given in (413b): In the case of an ÁS-noun construction, both readings can quite readily be evoked, due to the fact that its postnominal complement zone can be filled with arguments (Alberti, Farkas and Szabó 2016). In the case of an Ó-noun construction, however, it is so dispreferred to place an argument in the postnominal complement zone that even the straight reading cannot be said to be evocable to a convincing extent (see Meaning1 in (413c)). As an inverse reading is always more difficult to evoke, the low

acceptability of the Ó-noun construction with the straight reading implies that the inverse reading is practically not evocable. This prediction is borne out, as is presented in (413c) below, where the Ó-noun construction with Meaning2 is unacceptable.

(413) ● The inheritance of complex information structure in the case of Ó-nouns compared to ÁS-nouns: V. Inherited scope ambiguity

a. Mindkét lányt elküldtem néhány koncertre.
both concert.Acc send.Past.1Sg a_few girl.Sub
Meaning1: [BOTH_GIRLS > A_FEW_CONCERTS > SEND]
'In the case of both girls, I sent them to a few concerts.'
Meaning2: [A_FEW_CONCERTS > BOTH_GIRLS > SEND]
'In the case of a few concerts, I sent both girls to them.'

b. Na például *mindkét lánynak az elküld-és-e néhány koncertre,*
well for_instance *both girl.Dat the send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg a_few concert.Sub*
az felelőtlenség volt.
that irresponsibility be.Past.3Sg
Meaning1: [IRRESPONSIBILITY > BOTH_GIRLS > A_FEW_CONCERTS > SEND]
'Well for instance, *the fact that, in the case of both girls, I sent them to a few concerts*, that was an instance of irresponsibility.'
Meaning2: (?)[IRRESPONSIBILITY > A_FEW_CONCERTS > BOTH_GIRLS > SEND]
'Well for instance, *the fact that, in the case of a few concerts, I sent both girls to them*, that was an instance of irresponsibility.'

c. ??Na például *mindkét lánynak az elküld-ő-i néhány koncertre,*
well for_instance *both girl.Dat the send-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg a_few concert.Sub*
ők felelőtlen alakok voltak.
they irresponsible guy.Pl be.Past.3Pl
Meaning1: ??[IRRESPONSIBILE ⊇ [BOTH_GIRLS > A_FEW_CONCERTS > SEND]]
'Well for instance, *those who are such that, in the case of both girls, they sent these girls to a few concerts*, they were irresponsible guys.'
Meaning2: *?[IRRESPONSIBILE ⊇ [A_FEW_CONCERTS > BOTH_GIRLS > SEND]]
'Well for instance, *those who are such that, in the case of a few concerts, they sent both girls to them*, they were irresponsible guys.'

In subsection VII in 1.3.1.2.4.1, we continued the investigation of the inheritance of "verbal" information structures with such special operators as (noun phrases containing) question words (313-316) and contrastive topics (317). We concluded that such information structures cannot be inherited by noun phrases. This trivially holds for Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns as well, for the same pragmatico-semantic reasons.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that question words themselves are not permitted to appear inside noun phrases. They *are* permitted (414b-c), at least under the special condition that these "pied-piped" noun phrases occupy focus positions, just like question words themselves in information structures that belong to verbs (414a). In the absence of semantically reasonable narrow-scope readings, here Ó-nouns (414b) pattern with TPD-nouns (414c) (as well as with irregular *Ó*-nouns and with ordinary (non-deverbal) nouns) in providing unambiguous deverbal nominal constructions.

(414) ● The inheritance of information structure with question words in the case of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns: I. Question words in possessor positions

a. Melyik hírt mondták be?
which news.Acc say.Past.DefObj.3Pl into
[WHICH_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]
'Which news item was announced?'

b. *Melyik hírnek a bemond-ó-ja*
which news.Dat the announce-Ó-Poss.3Sg
volt szerinted felelőtlen alak?
be.Past.3Sg according_to.2Sg irresponsible guy
wide-scope reading: [WHICH_NEWS > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ ANNOUNCE]]
'So you think that *whoever announced a certain news item* was an irresponsible guy. *Which news item was that?*'

c. *Melyik csatornának a bemond-ó-ja*
which channel.Dat the announce-Ó-Poss.3Sg
volt szerinted felelőtlen alak?
be.Past.3Sg according_to.2Sg irresponsible guy
wide-scope reading: [WHICH_CHANNEL > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ ANNOUNCER]]
'So you think that *a certain channel's announcer* was an irresponsible guy. *Which channel was that?*'

The possibility for a question word to appear inside an Ó-noun construction, however, is essentially available for question words which happen to play the role of the possessor. What about oblique case-marked question words?

As is demonstrated in (415b) below, the DP-internal exceptional position before the prenominal NAK possessor cannot host question words, probably due to the focus-like character of question words in Hungarian (cf. examples (409c-c')).

It seems at first glance that the question word cannot be placed in the postnominal complement zone of the Ó-noun, either, due to the following fact: the whole Ó-noun construction must appear in focus left-adjacent to the matrix verb stem, and in this configuration a phrase is not permitted to be right-branching (see Alberti, Farkas and Szabó 2015). This prediction is borne out, see (415b').

(415) ● The inheritance of information structure with question words in the case of Ó-nouns: II. Question words in non-possessor positions

a. Hova küldték (csak) Ilit el?
to_where send.Past.DefObj.3Pl only Ili.Acc away
[WHERE (> ONLY_ILI) > SEND]
'Where did they send (only) Ili?'

b. **Hova (csak) Ilinek az elküld-ő-i*
to_where only Ili.Dat the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
voltak szerinted felelőtlen alakok?
be.Past.3Pl according_to.1Sg irresponsible guy.Pl
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[TO_WHERE > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ (ONLY_ILI >) SEND]]
Intended meaning: 'So you think that those who sent Ili to a certain place were irresponsible guys. *Which place was that?*'

b'. **(Csak) Ilinek az elküld-ő-i hova*
only Ili.Dat the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg to_where
voltak szerinted felelőtlen alakok?
be.Past.3Pl according_to.1Sg irresponsible guy.Pl
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[TO_WHERE > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ (ONLY_ILI >) SEND]]
Intended meaning: 'So you think that *those who sent Ili to a certain place* were irresponsible guys. *Which place was that?*'

Let us consider Ó-noun constructions containing several question words (416).

Suppose, first, that the oblique case-marked argument scopes over the input object (416a), which corresponds to the output possessor (416a'). In a case like this, the oblique case-marked argument must appear in the exceptional DP-internal position before the prenominal NAK possessor, since it must precede the possessor, which, in turn, must occupy the prenominal NAK-possessor position, due to its interrogative character. The exceptional DP-initial position, however, defies the question word (416a'), similar to the case demonstrated in (415b) above (in spite of the fact that in (416a') the given question word has a different information-structural function in the intended pair-list interpretation; see M8).

(416) ● Several question words inside the phrase of Ó-nouns

a. Melyik városba kit küldtek el?
which city.Ill who.Acc send.Past. 3Pl away
[WHICH_CITY > WHOM > SEND]
'To which city did they send whom?'

a'. **Melyik városba kinek az elküld-ő-i*
which city.Ill who.Dat the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg
voltak szerinted felelőtlen alakok?
be.Past.3Pl according_to.1Sg irresponsible guy.Pl
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[TO_WHICH_CITY > WHOM > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ SEND]]
Intended meaning: 'So you think that *those who sent certain people to certain places* were irresponsible guys. *In the case of which city, who was the person sent there?*'

b. Kit melyik városba küldtek el?
who.Acc which city.Ill send.Past. 3Pl away
[WHOM > WHICH_CITY > SEND]
'Who did they send to which city?'

b'. Kit küldtek el melyik városba?
who.Acc send.Past. 3Pl away which city.Ill
[{WHOM; WHICH_CITY} > SEND]
'Who did they send to which city?'

b''. (?)Kik voltak szerinted felelőtlen alakok?
who.Pl be.Past.3Pl according_to.1Sg irresponsible guy.Pl
Kinek az elküld-ő-i hova?
who.Dat the send-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg to_where
~~Pair-list meaning~~: *[WHOM > WHICH_CITY > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ SEND]]
Intended meaning: 'So you think that *those who sent certain people to certain places* were irresponsible guys. *In the case of which person, which city was the place where this person was sent?*'
Mirror-focus meaning: (?)[{WHOM; WHICH_CITY} > [IRRESPONSIBLE ⊇ SEND]]
'So you think that *those who sent a certain person to a certain place* were irresponsible guys. *Which person was that, and to which place?*'

In (416b") above, we tested the opposite scope order, in which the possessor scopes over the oblique case-marked argument. This choice determines that the possessor occupies the prenominal NAK-possessor position with the oblique case-marked argument inevitably occupying a position in the postnominal complement zone. Due to right branching, this configuration may be acceptable only if it appears in a separate sentence, without any phonetic material following it (cf. the comment on (415b')). As is shown above, the resulting potential Ó-noun construction (416b") is surprisingly acceptable. Note, however, that its only possible interpretation is not the one based on the pair-list question demonstrated in (416b), but the one based on the mirror-focus construction, which is demonstrated in (416b'). The exploration of the reasons requires future research; the special conditions make it very difficult (in any kind of syntactic framework) to decide the syntactic structure of the elliptical construction in (416b").

All in all, Ó-nominalization patterns with ÁS-nominalization in permitting information-structure inheritance "to the maximum possible extent", but this extent means a significantly lower level in the case of Ó-nouns, due to partly formal and partly semantic factors. The most important formal factors are the limited utilizability of the postnominal complement zone and the total lack of a prenominal "adjectival" position for oblique case-marked arguments. The semantic factor has to do with the more indirect "evocability" of the complex-event basis in the case of Ó-nouns. As for TPD-nouns, they are different from SED-nouns in not inheriting information structure, due to the fact that they do not inherit fully fledged arguments (they inherit only non-fully-fledged arguments in the core of input verbal constructions, as is pointed out in 1.3.1.3.2.1, which (the core) is *ab ovo* incapable of hosting operators). Irregular *Ó*-nouns, too, pattern with ordinary nouns in having no internal information structure.

This generalization concerning Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns is in total harmony with the scale of verbalness that is predicted on the basis of other phenomena.

1.3.1.3.4.2. Nominal properties

This subsection discusses the nominal properties of Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns summarized in Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV).

I. Pluralization

In contrast to ÁS-nouns (Laczkó 2000a: 312, 319; see also 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub I), Ó-nouns (417a-a') as well as TPD-nouns (417b) and irregular *Ó*-nouns (417c) can be pluralized. In this respect, Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns unambiguously belong to the family of nouns.

It is worth mentioning that the grammaticality judgment associated with (417a) has nothing to do with the singular or plural form of the Ó-noun but with its unergative verbal basis (see 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II). In this respect, Ó-nouns seem to differ from their participial counterparts, which are significantly more acceptable in the plural, at least when they stand "alone", that is, without a phonetically overt nominal head (see (334-335) in the introductin to subsection 1.3.1.3).

(417) ● Pluralization in the case of Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. ?Letartóztatták *a tegnap est-i pofátlan kiabál-ó-t / kiabál-ó-k-at.*
arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the yesterday evening-Adj unashamed scream-ó-Acc / scream-ó-Pl-Acc*
'*Whoever screamed unashamedly yesterday evening* was / were arrested.'

a'. Letartóztatták *az első fejezet meg-ír-ó-já-t /meg-ír-ó-i-t.*
arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the first chapter perf-write-ó-Poss.3Sg-Acc /perf-write-ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg-Acc*
'*Whoever wrote the first chapter* was / were arrested.'

b. Tegnap ellopták *az ás-ó-t / ás-ó-k-at.*
yesterday steal.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the dig-ó-Acc / dig-ó-Pl-Acc*
'*The* [*spade* was] / [*spades* were] stolen yesterday.'

c. *A bor-kóstol-ó-n / bor-kóstol-ó-k-on* szívesen részt veszek.
the wine-taste-ó- Sup / wine-taste-ó-Pl-Sup with_pleasure part.Acc take.1Sg
'I am happy to participate in the wine tasting(s).'

II. Possessive argument

Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns are all nominal from the point of view that they can have a possessor within the noun phrase they head, as is shown in (418) below. Thus in this respect there is no difference in the degree of nominalness between the three groups. Nevertheless, there are differences in the manner of possessor selection, which has already been discussed (e.g., in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1) and which is also sketched below. This particular question of the scale of verbalness/nominalness will be analyzed in subsection IV in 1.3.1.3.4.1.

In the case of Ó-nouns (418a-a"), the possessor always corresponds to a certain argument (for instance, the input object has to appear as a possessor). As for the possessor of TPD-nouns (418b-b") or irregular *Ó*-nouns (418c-c'), however, the possessor does not necessarily correspond to a certain (or any) argument of the input verb: in (418b), it can be interpreted either as a person who massaged Piri or as a person who was employed by Piri (if Piri is the boss of a massage parlor, for instance), or it can also be interpreted as a participant which is in a loose semantic relation with the TPD-noun (418b-b") or the irregular *Ó*-noun (418c-c'). Further examples are given in (348) in subsection 1.3.1.3.2.1.

(418) ● Possessors of Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. *Piri tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-ja* egy híres színész.
Piri yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg a famous actor
'*The one who massaged Piri yesterday* is a famous actor.'

a'. *A(z)* ?*(*(?)*)én) tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-m* egy híres színész.
the I yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.1Sg a famous actor
'*The one who massaged me yesterday* is a famous actor.'

a". (?)*A (mi) tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-nk* egy híres színész.
the we yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.1Pl a famous actor
'*The one who massaged us yesterday* is a famous actor.'

b. *Piri masszőr-je* korábban híres színész volt.
Piri masseur-Poss.3Sg earlier famous actor be.Past.3Sg
'*Piri's masseur* was a famous actor earlier.'

b'. *A(z) ((?)én) masszőr-öm* korábban híres színész volt.
the I masseur-Poss.1Sg earlier famous actor be.Past.3Sg
'*My masseur* was a famous actor earlier.'

b''. Ő volt *az évtized legügyesebb masszőr-je.*
(s)he be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_skillful masseur-Poss.3Sg*
'He was *the decade's most skillful masseur.*'

c. *Piri kedvenc esküv-ő-je* Vilmos herceg esküv-ő-je volt.
Piri favorite swear-Ó-Poss.3Sg William prince swear-Ó-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg
'*Piri's favorite wedding* (i.e., the wedding that Piri [took part in] / [read about] / [has chosen in any way]) was Prince William's wedding.'

c'. *A(z) (?én) kedvenc esküv-ő-m* Vilmos herceg esküv-ő-je volt.
the I favorite swear-Ó-Poss.1Sg William prince swear-Ó-Poss.3Sg be.Past.3Sg
'*My favorite wedding* (i.e., the wedding that I [took part in] / [read about] / [have chosen in any way]) was Prince William's wedding.'

Nevertheless, note that we can observe a slight difference between the three groups with respect to requirements concerning the overtness of the expression of the possessive relation.

In the case of TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns, which dispense with any possessor, personal pronouns are preferred in a neutral case (when no contrast is considered in the context) not to appear (418b',c') due to the obligatorily appearing agreement suffixes, in harmony with the pro-drop character of Hungarian. Note in passing that we can observe a (very) slight grammaticality difference between the TPD-noun in (418b') and the irregular *Ó*-noun in (418c') concerning the possessive construction with an overt personal pronoun. It may be one of the factors behind this difference that the extent of nominalness is in a negative correlation with permitting the overt realization of the personal pronoun in the possessive construction. The phenomenon, which could indicate some difference between TPD-nouns, on the one hand, and irregular *Ó*-nouns and ordinary nouns, on the other, requires much future research.

In the case of ó-nouns, which typically require a thematic possessor (1.3.1.3.4.1, sub IV), this possessor seems to be preferred to be realized overtly (418a'), even at the cost of using redundant personal pronouns. As is suggested by a comparison between (418a'') and (418a'), even the phonetic weight and/or the feature content of the agreement suffix seem to count. The heavier (and/or diachronically more complex) marking *-n-k* 'Poss.1-Pl' in (418a'') (see Remark 4 in subsection 1.1.1.5) may be regarded as a more overt expression of the possessive relation, and in this way the variant without an overt personal pronoun becomes equal to the possessive construction with an overt personal pronoun (which, as has been mentioned, is somewhat dispreferred).

The extent of nominalness, thus, seems to be in a negative correlation with permitting the overt realization of personal pronouns in possessive constructions. This observation suggests the following hypothesis (to be carefully checked in the future): ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns, in the discussed respect, occupy three different points on the scale of nominalness.

III. Case marking

All the groups of Ó-nouns (419), TPD-nouns (420) and irregular *Ó*-nouns (421) are completely nominal in the sense that they can occur with any kind of case marking, similar to ÁS-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *Ás*-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.2, sub III). For the sake of theory-independence, we note that they can also occur with any kind of postpositions, as is shown in the (d)-examples in (419-421).

As was also demonstrated in the case of Ó-nouns in the introductory subsection 1.3.1.3.1 (see (336)), an Ó-noun can be used as a nominative case-marked subject (419a), as an accusative case-marked object (419b) and as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (419c).

(419) ● The case marking of Ó-nouns

a. *Piri tegnapi meg-ment-ő-je* egy híres színész.
Piri yesterday.Adj perf-save-Ó-Poss.3Sg a famous actor
'*The one who saved Piri yesterday* is a famous actor.'

b. *Piri tegnapi meg-ment-ő-jé-**t*** ma letartóztatták.
*Piri yesterday.Adj perf-save-Ó-Poss.3Sg-**Acc*** today arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl
'*The one who saved Piri yesterday* has been arrested today.'

c. *Piri tegnapi meg-ment-ő-jé-**n*** én is nagyon meglepődtem.
*Piri yesterday.Adj perf-save-Ó-Poss.3Sg-**Sup*** I also very.much surprise.Past.1Sg
'*The one who saved Piri yesterday* was also a great surprise to me.'

d. *Piri tegnapi meg-ment-ő-je **után*** még Ili is vágyakozik.
*Piri yesterday.Adj perf-save-Ó-Poss.3Sg **against*** even Ili also long_for.3Sg
'Also Ili longs for the person *who saved Piri yesterday*.'

In (420-421) below we demonstrate that TPD-nouns (420) and irregular *Ó*-nouns (421) can also occur with nominative, accusative and oblique case marking (see the (a)-, (b)- and (c)-examples, respectively). They can also occur with postpositions (see the (d)-examples).

(420) ● The case marking of TPD-nouns

a. *Az ás-ó* elveszett.
the dig-ó get_lost.Past.3Sg
'*The spade* got lost.'

b. Ellopták *az ás-ó-**t***.
steal.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the dig-Ó-**Acc***
'*The spade* was stolen.'

c. Nincs szükségem *er-re az ás-ó-**ra***.
be_not.3Sg need.Poss.1Sg *this-Sub the dig-Ó-**Sub***
'I do not need *this spade*.'

d. A gereblye ott van *az ás-ó **mögött***.
the rake there be.3Sg *the dig-ó **behind***
'The rake is *behind the spade*.'

(421) ● The case marking of irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. *Az esküv-ő* jól sikerült.
the swear-ó well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*The wedding* was successful.'

b. Lefújták *az esküv-ő-**t**.*
cancel.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the swear-ó-**Acc***
'*The wedding* was cancelled.'

c. Te is jössz *az esküv-ő-**re**?*
you also come.2Sg *the swear-ó-**Acc***
'Will you come *to the wedding*, too?'

d. *Az esküv-ő **előtt*** nem is láttad a menyasszonyt?
*the swear-ó **before*** not even see.Past.DefObj.2Sg the bride.Acc
'Haven't you seen the bride *before the wedding*?'

To sum up, since Ó-nouns "already" present the maximum degree of nominalness with respect to case marking, this group does not differ from (the otherwise "more nominal") TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns (and non-deverbal nouns) in this respect.

IV. Adjectival modification

This subsection can be regarded as the counterpart of subsection VI in subsection 1.3.1.3.4.1 since there we discussed adverbial modification, typical of (finite and non-finite) verbs, while here we are going to review adjectival modification, which is held to be a nominal property.

Both Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns (and irregular *Ó*-nouns) are unambiguously nominal in the trivial sense that, inside their prenominal modifier zone, they are modified not by adverbs but by adjectives. This high degree of nominalness is in harmony with the general tendency of poor verbalness, which was observed in 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VI.

Beyond this trivial similarity, however, there is a radical difference between Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns in how they take adjectives—in connection with their drastic difference in inheriting certain elements of the input verbal construction (i.e., in retaining the crucial features of the pragmatico-semantic content of the event in the derivational basis). We argue on the basis of the data demonstrated here that the thesis on argument-structure inheritance (1.3.1.3.2.1) can be extended to freer (i.e., non-argument-like) dependents in the following trivial way.

TPD-nouns, which are capable of inheriting only the "core" of input verbal constructions, cannot inherit any kind of free dependents. A TPD-noun construction, thus, can host an adjective (in the prenominal modifier zone) only thanks to its being a noun, in its own right, independently of its verbal origin. Ó-nouns, however, which inherit the input verbal argument structure "to the maximum possible extent", are essentially "predestined" to also inherit the "freer dependents" of input verbal constructions, instead of taking adjectives thanks to their being a noun. But exactly due to the numerous obstacles restricting the aforementioned "maximum possible extent", Ó-nominalization is stuck in an intermediate status between verbalness and nominalness. An Ó-noun construction can readily host neither an adjective that has an adverbial counterpart in the input verbal construction nor an adjective that would adjoin to the noun head, in its own "nominal" right.

All in all, with respect to how they take adjectives, Ó-noun constructions are neither really nominal nor really verbal, while TPD-noun constructions pattern with

ordinary (non-deverbal) nouns (and with irregular *Ó*-nouns). This is our basic assumption, which is to be regarded as a straightforward generalization of the thesis on argument-structure inheritance and which will help us to systematize and interpret the data below. This task is very difficult, however, because highly sophisticated semantic factors must be taken into account in the course of distinguishing elements that semantically correspond to the verbal construction from those that can be regarded as independent "nominal" elements.

First of all, however, let us consider the numerous variants of input verbal constructions we are going to use in this subsection (422). The adverbs to investigate are shown in their ideal sentential positions (NB: certain adverbs practically require the focus position or some kind of contrastive position); that is why they are presented below in separate lists of examples. This grouping, however, will play no role in our discussion on attributivization. Similar to 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub IV, not only adverbs will be investigated as the sources of output adjectives but also phrases of oblique case-marked nouns and postpositions. Readers interested in the morphological details of the relation between the output adjectives and their input counterparts are also referred to this subsection (1.3.1.2.4.2, sub IV).

(422) ● Adjectival modification of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns: Input sentences

a. Péter tegnap / állandó-an / lelkes-en / olcsó-n /
Péter yesterday / constantly-Adv / enthusiastic-Adv / cheap-Adv /
Győr-ben / [a vizsga után] megmasszírozta Ilit.
Győr-Ine / the exam after perf.massage.Past.DefObj.3Sg Ili.Acc
'Péter massaged Ili yesterday / [again and again] / enthusiastically / cheaply / [in Győr] / [after the exam].'

a'. Péter részeg-en / pizsamá-ban / meztelen-ül masszírozta meg Ilit.
Péter drunk-Adv / pyjamas-Ine / naked-Adv massage.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Ili.Acc
'Péter massaged Ili drunk / [in pyjamas] / naked.'

a". *Péter részeges-en / [kék szemű-en] / finn-ül masszírozta meg Ilit.
Péter alcoholic-Adv / blue eyed-Adv / Finnish-Adv massage.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Ili.Acc
appr.: "Péter massaged Ili alcoholically / [blue-eyed] / [in a Finnish way]."

b. Péter itt sörözött tegnap / lelkes-en / olcsó-n / Győr-ben /
Péter here drink_beer.Past.3Sg yesterday / enthusiastic-Adv / cheap-Adv / Győr-Ine /
[a vizsga után] / állandó-an / részeg-en / pizsamá-ban / meztelen-ül.
the exam after / continuous-Adv / drunk-Adv / pyjamas-Ine / naked-Adv
'It is here that Péter drank beer yesterday / enthusiastically / cheaply / [in Győr] / [after the exam] / [again and again] / drunk / [in pyjamas] / naked.'

b'. *Péter félhomályos-an / [rossz hírű-en] / finn-ül sörözött itt.
Péter dim-Adv / bad news-Attr-Adv / Finnish-Adv drink_beer.Past.3Sg here
appr.: "Péter drank beer here dimly / disreputably / [in a Finnish way]."

As for the ill-formed variants in (422a",b') above, they are here because, with them, we intend to demonstrate that certain adjectives in certain Ó-noun constructions (see (423c) and (425c)) or TPD-noun constructions (see (424b) and (426b,b')) have no input adverbial counterparts, or, at least, such intended meanings are tested in the bracketed examples.

In (423c-c') below, for instance, such intended meaning variants are tested in which the corresponding adjective is meant to be adjoined to the $Ó_{AG}$-noun head in

its own "nominal" right, independent of any kind of verbal derivational basis (cf. (422a'-a"). Our uniform grammaticality judgment in (423c-c') indicates that we feel that the nominal head "has the right" to take an attributive adjective but the resulting construction will be somewhat awkward (compare, for instance, the grammaticality judgment associated with *győri* 'Győr.Adj' in (423c) to that given in (423b)). This weak acceptability can straightforwardly be attributed to the fact that there is a competing—and preferred—potential meaning the source of which is the verbal derivational basis. This potential competition seems to be independent of the realistic (422a') or irrealistic (422a") character of this basis in the particular cases (see (423c') and (423c), respectively).

(423) ● Adjectival modification of $Ó_{AG}$-nouns

a. Találkozni fogok *Ili ... meg-masszíroz-ó-já-val.*
meet.Inf will.1Sg *Ili perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will meet *the person who massaged Ili ....*'

b. *...tegnap-i / győr-i /*$^{(?)}$*[vizsga után-i]...*
yesterday-Adj / Győr-Adj / exam after-Attr
'*...yesterday / [in Győr] / [after an/the exam].*'

b'. *...*$^{??}$*állandó/*$^{??}$*lelkes /*$^{??}$*olcsó /*$^{??}$*részeg /*$^{??}$*pizsamá-s /*$^{??}$*meztelen...*
constantly / enthusiastic / cheap / drunk / pyjamas-Adj / naked
'*...[again and again] / [enthusiastically] / cheap / drunk*$_{mass.}$ */ [in pyjamas*$_{mass.}$*] / naked*$_{mass.}$.'

b". ...$^{*?}$*részeg /*$^{*?}$*pizsamá-s /*$^{*?}$*meztelen...*
drunk / pyjamas-Adj / naked
'*...drunk*$_{Ili}$ */ [in pyjamas*$_{Ili}$*] / naked*$_{Ili}$.'

c. *...*$^{?}$*részeges/*$^{?}$*[kék szemű] /*$^{?}$*finn /*$^{?}$*győr-i...*
alcoholic / blue eyed / Finnish / Győr-Adj
'*... and who is otherwise [a drunkard] / blue-eyed / Finnish / [an inhabitant of Győr].*'

c'. *...*$^{?}$*pizsamá-s /*$^{?}$*meztelen...*
pyjamas-Adj / naked
'*... and who usually [wears pyjamas] / [wears no clothes].*'

In the intended meanings tested in (423b-b"), the relevant meaning components of the input verbal constructions demonstrated in (422a-a') are considered to be inherited. With respect to acceptability, three groups can be distinguished.

It is definitely advantageous if the adjective (and its adverbial input counterpart) provides the time or the space of the complex event that the (thematic) Ó-noun construction is based on: the variants demonstrated in (423b) are clearly better than their counterparts without the corresponding temporal or spatial adjective. We find the reason for this obvious: such adjectives can help the listener to evoke the complex-event denoting Ó-noun interpretation, through specifying the complex event in question.

Members of the second group of adjectives, given in (423b') above, seem to be capable of specifying the complex event in the verbal derivational basis so indirectly that the resulting Ó-noun constructions will not be convincingly acceptable. Nevertheless, they cannot be said to be fully unacceptable either, perhaps due to some kind of interpretation which might be dubbed "quotational mood". Our assumption is that this group of adjectives reveals the basic rule concerning the inheritability of input adverbs and adverb-like elements: the position

of an adjectival expression in the prenominal modifier zone of the output Ó-noun construction cannot readily host dependents of the input verb. A generalization like this is in harmony with our observation that neither oblique case-marked nor postpositional arguments of the input verb can readily be hosted in the prenominal modifier zone of the output Ó-noun construction (1.3.1.3.2.1, sub V).

In the light of this generalization, it is the first group of adjectives (423b) that is to be regarded as exceptional (exceptionally good) with respect to dependent inheritance in the course of (thematic) Ó-nominalization, obviously due to their close connection to the straightforward identification of the complex event in the verbal derivational basis.

The third group of adjectives, given in (423b") above as repeated copies of certain adjectives mentioned in (423b'), are presented here because their adverbial sources are ambiguous in the input verbal constructions (422a'). They are ambiguous between the readings in which the input adverb can be understood to pertain either to the occasional masseur or his or her "guest". As the denotatum of the phrase of the $Ó_{AG}$-noun is the occasional masseur, it is not surprising at all that it is impossible to evoke the intended meanings tested in (423b"), according to which the adjective that belongs to the $Ó_{AG}$-noun must be understood to characterize another participant that plays some role in the complex event denoted by the input verbal construction. Note, nevertheless, that if verbs could readily bequeath their dependents in an unlimited way even such input relations must be inherited (together with their special interpretation).

In (424) below, such intended meaning variants are tested. In the first two examples (424b-b'), the corresponding adjective is meant to be adjoined to the TPD-noun head, in its own right as a noun, independent of any kind of verbal derivational basis.

The cases in which the adjective can be understood to pertain to the denotatum of the TPD-noun construction *as a human being* are not problematic at all; see the translations in (424b). This fact corroborates our theoretical assumption that TPD-nouns are definitely nominal in that they take adjectives "as nouns" and not "as deverbal expressions".

The adjectives given in (424b'), however, are problematic (and to different extents). Our assumption is that the source of the problem is that the semantic interpretation of their relation to the TPD-noun head is not to be calculated on the basis of the semantics of the input verbal construction (422a-a'). Instead, new interpretations are to be figured out, the sources of which are the TPD_{AG}-nouns themselves. As is illustrated by the translations below, the word *masszőr* 'masseur' may be suitable for serving as a basis for possible interpretations, which then can be associated with the corresponding potential TPD_{AG}-noun constructions more or less successfully. As for the temporal adjective *tegnapi* 'yesterday.Adj', for instance, the fact that the corresponding potential TPD_{AG}-noun construction is practically unacceptable simply depends on our world knowledge. If this adjective is replaced with one referring to an earlier period of time (e.g., *egykori* 'former'), the corresponding potential TPD_{AG}-noun construction will be perfect.

Note that all the potential TPD_{AG}-noun constructions in (424b') together with their intended interpretations could be given essentially the same grammaticality

judgments if the (irregularly derived) TPD_{AG}-noun *masszőr* 'masseur' were replaced with such a non-derived noun as *séf* 'chef', for instance. This fact can be used as evidence for the claim that a TPD_{AG}-noun construction containing an attributive adjective is not to be interpreted on the basis of its verbal background but on its own "nominal" structure.

It must also be noted that certain potential TPD_{AG}-noun constructions with a definite article (e.g., *a tegnapi masszőr* 'the yesterday.Adj masseur') are much more acceptable (see (424b")) than their otherwise evaluated versions in (424b'). The constructions in (424b"), however, are elliptical versions of certain possessive constructions demonstrated in (424d,f). *A tegnapi masszőr* 'the yesterday.Adj masseur', for instance, can be understood to refer to the person who can be called *a tegnapi masszőr**öm*** 'the yesterday.Adj masseur.**Poss.1Sg**' or another salient person's masseur employed by him or her the day before.

(424) ● Adjectival modification of TPD_{AG}-nouns

a. Találkozni fogok *egy / a(z) ... masszőr-rel.*
meet.Inf will.1Sg *a(n) / the masseur-Ins*
'I will meet *a / the masseur...*'

b. *...győr-i / részeg / pizsamá-s / meztelen / részeges / [kék szemű] / finn...*
Győr-Adj / drunk / pyjamas-Adj / naked / alcoholic / blue eyed / Finnish
'*...who [lives in Győr] / [is drunk] / [is wearing pyjamas] / [is wearing no clothes] / [is a drunkard] / [is blue-eyed] / [is Finnish].*'

b'. *...* $^{*?}$*tegnap-i /* $^{\checkmark}$egykor-i */* $^{??}$*állandó /* $^{\checkmark}$*lelkes / * $^{\checkmark}$*olcsó/* $^{??}$*[vizsga után-i] /* $^{\checkmark}$*győr-i*
yesterday-Adj / sometime-Adj/ constantly / enthusiastic/ cheap / exam after-Attr / Győr-Adj
'*...[a masseur] who [used to work as a masseur yesterday] / [used to work as a masseur only in former times] / [has always worked as a masseur] / [works enthusiastically as a masseur] [works cheap] / [massages people after exams] / [works in Győr].*'

b". *... tegnap-i /* $^{(?)}$*állandó /* $^{?}$*[vizsga után-i]...*
yesterday-Adj / constantly / exam after-Attr
'*...[the masseur] who [massaged a certain person yesterday] / [massages a certain person again and again] /[massaged a certain person after exams].*'

c. Találkozni fogok *Ili ... masszőr-é-vel.*
meet.Inf will.1Sg *Ili masseur-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will meet *the masseur employed by Ili...*'

d. *... tegnap-i / állandó...*
yesterday-Adj / constantly
'*... who [was sent to us yesterday] / [works for Ili constantly].*'

d'. *... pizsamá-s / meztelen...*
pyjamas-Adj / naked
'*... who was employed to massage the guests [in_pyjamas / naked]*$_{masseur/guest}$.'

e. Találkozni fogok *Ili ... masszőr-é-vel.*
meet.Inf will.1Sg *Ili masseur-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will meet *the masseur who massages / massaged Ili...*'

f. *...tegnap-i / állandó /* $^{?}$*lelkes / győr-i / [vizsga után-i]...*
yesterday-Adj / constantly / enthusiastic / Győr-Adj/ exam after-Attr
'*... yesterday /[again and again] / enthusiastically / [when Ili is in Győr] / [when Ili is after an exam].*'

f'. *... pizsamá-s / meztelen...*
pyjamas-Adj / naked
'*... [in_pyjamas / naked]*$_{masseur/lli}$.'

Two kinds of typical possessive TPD_{AG}-noun constructions are investigated in (424c-f') above. In (424c), the possessor is intended to refer to the masseur's boss. In (424e), the possessor happens to coincide with the thematic possessor of the corresponding Ó-nouns, that is, with the masseur's client (who is given the massage). We claim that the TPD-noun constructions demonstrated in the (d)-examples are to be interpreted on the basis of the special meaning factor coming from the ("possessive") relation between employee and boss. Something similar holds for the TPD-noun constructions demonstrated in the (f)-examples, which are to be interpreted on the basis of the special meaning factor coming from the ("possessive") relation between clients and those who serve them. The corresponding translations help the reader to unambiguously identify the intended meanings according to which the given grammaticality judgments are to be meant.

It is interesting that the examples demonstrated in (424d',f') are two-times-two times ambiguous: masseurs can give massages in ways that either they or their clients are, say, naked, and these modes of massage can be either arranged by a boss or ordered by a client.

The point exemplified in (424b"-f') is that the source of the possible TPD_{AG}-noun interpretations is never the meaning of the complex event in the derivational background, at least not directly, but the (explicit or implicit) possessive relation inside the TPD_{AG}-noun construction. It cannot be denied, nevertheless, that this black-and-white assumption is not easy to accept exhaustively, especially when the possessor of the TPD_{AG}-noun "happens to" coincide with the thematic possessor of the corresponding $Ó_{AG}$-noun (424e-f').

Remark 9. The two kinds of adjunction of adjectives to TPD-nouns can be captured in more sophisticated theories on noun phrases (see, e.g., Tual 2015), in which practically each morpheme in a noun phrase appears in its own separate (functional Fnc) projection (Aboh 1998, Ihsane and Puskás 2001), as follows. If "the adjective is meant to be adjoined to the TPD-noun head in its own right as a noun" (as formulated above), then the constituent of the adjective is outside the (nP) projection headed by the deverbal nominalizer, as is shown in (i) below. Otherwise, the deverbal nominalizer operates on the unit of the input verb and its adjunct (i'), providing a reading according to which the person referred to is enthusiastic in playing chess (cf. the translation presented in (i)).

(i) [$_{FncP}$ lelkes [$_{nP}$ sakkoz-ó]]
enthusiastic play_chess-Ó
'a chess player who is enthusiastic [in something, say, in dancing]'

(i') [lelkesen sakkozik] ~ [$_{nP}$ [lelkes sakkoz]-ó]
enthusiastically play_chess.3Sg ~ enthusiastic play_chess-Ó
'plays enthusiastically chess ~ an enthusiastic chess player'

(ii) [$_{FncP}$ erős [$_{nP}$ dohányos]]
strong smoker
'a strong smoker'

(ii') [erősen dohányzik] ~ [$_{nP}$ erős dohányos]
strongly smoke.3Sg ~ strong tobacco.Nmn
'smokes heavily ~ a heavy smoker'

(iii) [$_{FncP}$ ügyes [anya]]
skillful mother
'a mother who is skillful in something'

(iii') [$_{nP}$ ügyes anya]
skillful mother
'a skillful mother'

Analogous syntactic differences can be attributed to attributive constructions with irregularly derived noun heads (ii-ii') and probably with non-derived noun heads (iii-iii') as well, at the cost of permitting abstract heads responsible for derivation and derivation-like operations.

The series of examples in (425) below is devoted to the investigation of the role of adjectives in Ó-noun constructions derived via adjunctive Ó-nominalization. The input verbal constructions were demonstrated in (422b-b'). In the intended meanings tested in (425b-b") below, the relevant meaning components of these input verbal constructions are considered to be inherited. With respect to acceptability, three groups can be distinguished, in the same way as in (423b-b").

It is certainly advantageous if the adjective (and its adverbial input counterpart) provides the time or the space of the complex event that the Ó-noun constructions are based on (derived via adjunctive Ó-nominalization): the variants demonstrated in (425b) are much better than their counterparts without the corresponding temporal or spatial adjective. We find the reason obvious: such adjectives help the listener to choose the complex-event denoting Ó-noun interpretation, through specifying the complex event in question. It is also relevant here that the Ó$_{LOC}$-noun *söröző* 'drink_beer.Ó' is homophonous with its TPD$_{LOC}$-noun counterpart 'beer house'; temporal or spatial adjectives, thus, can play a very useful role in disambiguation.

Members of the second group of adjectives, given in (425b') below, seem to be capable of specifying the complex event in the verbal derivational basis so indirectly that the resulting Ó-noun constructions will not be convincingly acceptable. Nevertheless, they cannot be said to be fully unacceptable either, presumably due to the availability of the aforementioned "quotational-mood" interpretation. We can declare again (see the comments on (423b')) that this group of adjectives reveals the basic rule concerning the inheritability of input adverbs and adverb-like elements: the position of an adjectival expression in the prenominal modifier zone of the output Ó-noun construction cannot readily host dependents of the input verb.

The third group of adjectives, given in (425b") below, yield fully unacceptable TPD-noun constructions. It is not clear why these constructions are much worse than those demonstrated in (425b'), since the adjective 'naked' (or its input adverbial counterpart) pertains to a person in the same way as 'drunk' (or its input adverbial counterpart).

(425) ● Adjectival modification of Ó$_{LOC}$-nouns

a. Én is elmegyek *Péter ... söröz-ő-jé-be.*
I also go.1Sg *Péter* *drink_beer-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will also go *to the place (a simple shop, for instance) in which (once) Péter drank some beer ....*'

b. *...tegnap-i / [vizsga után-i] /* ?*győr-i /* ??*finn...*
yesterday-Adj / exam after-Attr / Győr-Adj / Finnish
'*...yesterday / [after an exam] / [in Győr] / [in Finland].*'

b'. ...[??]*olcsó* / [??]*pizsamá-s* / [??]*meztelen*...
cheap / pyjamas-Adj / naked
'*... cheap / [in pyjamas] / [naked].*'

b''. ...**lelkes / *részeg*...
enthusiastic / drunk

c. ...[*?]*félhomályos* / [*?]*[rossz hír-ű]* / [*?]*finn*...
dim / bad news-Attr / Finnish
'*...and which shop was dim / [a disreputable shop] / Finnish.*'

In (425c), such intended meaning variants are tested in which the corresponding adjective is meant to be adjoined to the $Ó_{LOC}$-noun head in its own right as a noun, independent of any kind of verbal derivational basis (cf. (422b-b')). The given translations help the reader to distinguish the intended $Ó_{LOC}$-noun interpretations from the competing corresponding TPD_{LOC}-noun interpretations. Due to the homophony, the deverbal nominal constructions in question cannot be understood as $Ó_{LOC}$-noun constructions, that is why they are evaluated as almost fully unacceptable. It is simply impossible to recognize that the attributive adjectives involved characterize an occasional place where Péter once drank some beer (and not a normal beer house).

We conclude with an analysis of the role of adjectives in TPD-noun constructions. In (426) below, such intended meaning variants are tested first in which the corresponding adjective is adjoined to a TPD-noun head in its own right as a noun, independent of any kind of verbal derivational basis (426a-b').

The cases in which the adjective can be understood to pertain to the denotatum of the TPD-noun construction *as a building* are not problematic at all; see the translations in (426b). This fact corroborates again our principal assumption that TPD-nouns are definitely nominal in that they take adjectives "as nouns" and not "as deverbal expressions".

The adjectives given in (426b') below are problematic to different extents. Our assumption is that the source of the problem is that the semantic interpretation of their relation to the TPD-noun head is not to be calculated on the basis of the semantics of the input verbal construction (422b-b'). Instead, new interpretations are to be figured out, the source of which is the TPD_{LOC}-noun itself. As is illustrated by the translations below, the word *beer house* may be suitable for serving as a basis for possible interpretations, which then can be associated with the corresponding potential TPD_{LOC}-noun constructions more or less successfully. It depends on our world knowledge that the adjective 'cheap' can adjoin to the TPD-noun head 'beer house' much more readily than the adjective 'naked'.

Certain potential TPD_{LOC}-noun constructions with a definite article (e.g., *a tegnapi söröző* 'the yesterday.Adj beer_house') are much more acceptable (see (426b'')) than their otherwise evaluated versions in (426b'). The constructions in (426b''), however, are elliptical versions of certain possessive constructions demonstrated in (426d,f). *A tegnapi söröző* 'the yesterday.Adj beer_house', for instance, can be understood to refer to the beer house which can be called *a tegnapi sörözőnk* 'the yesterday.Adj beer_house.**Poss.1Pl**' or other salient people's beer house visited by them the day before.

(426) ● Adjectival modification of TPD_{Loc}-nouns

a. Én is elmegyek *egy / a(z) ... söröz-ő-be.*
I also go.1Sg *a(n) / the drink_beer-ó-Ins*
'I will also go *to a / the beer house...*'

b. *... győr-i / félhomályos / finn...*
Győr-Adj / dim / Finnish
'*... which is [in Győr] / dim / [in Finland]*'

b'. *... olcsó / [rossz hír-ű] / finn / ??[vizsga után-i] / ??pizsamá-s / ??meztelen / *?tegnap-i / *?állandó / *lelkes / *részeg...*
yesterday-Adj / constantly / enthusiastic / drunk
'*... which [is cheap] / [is disreputable] / [is Finnish] / [is specialized for serving people who have taken an exam] / [is famous for its custom that waitresses and/or guests wear pyjamas / no clothes] / [used to be a beer house yesterday] / [has always served as a beer house] / — / —.*'

b". *...tegnap-i / (?)állandó / (?)[vizsga után-i]...*
yesterday-Adj / constantly / exam after-Attr
'*...[the beer house] where a certain person drank beer [yesterday] / [again and again] /[after exams].*'

c. Én is elmegyek *Péter ... söröz-ő-jé-be.*
I also go.1Sg *Péter drink_beer-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will also go *to the beer house owned by Péter...*'

d. *... *?tegnap-i / ˇtavaly-i / ˇállandó...*
yesterday-Adj / last_year-Adj / constantly
'*... which [used to be managed by Péter yesterday / last_year] / [has always been managed by Péter].*'

e. Én is elmegyek *Péter ... söröz-ő-jé-be.*
I also go.1Sg *Péter drink_beer-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will also go *to the beer house where Péter drinks / drank beer...*'

f. *...tegnap-i / állandó / [vizsga után-i]...*
yesterday-Adj / constantly / exam after-Attr
'*... yesterday / [again and again] / [after exams].*'

Two kinds of typical possessive TPD_{Loc}-noun constructions are investigated in (426c-f'). In (426c), the possessor is intended to refer to the owner and/or manager of the beer house, while in (426e), the possessor happens to coincide with the thematic possessor of the corresponding Ó-nouns, that is, with the customers (who drink in the beer house). We claim that the TPD-noun constructions demonstrated in the (d)-examples are to be interpreted on the basis of the special meaning factor coming from the possessive relation between possessee and owner. Something similar holds for the TPD-noun constructions demonstrated in the (f)-examples, which are to be interpreted on the basis of the special meaning factor coming from the ("possessive") relation between customers and the place where they go. The corresponding translations help the reader to identify the intended meanings that the given grammaticality judgments are associated with.

The point here (426b"-f) is that the source of the possible TPD_{Loc}-noun interpretations is never the meaning of the complex event in the derivational background, at least not directly, but the (explicit or implicit) possessive construction inside the TPD_{Loc}-noun construction. We can add to this, nevertheless,

in the same way as in the case of (424e-f'), that this black-and-white assumption is not easy to verify exhaustively, especially when the possessor of the TPD_{Loc}-noun "happens to" coincide with the thematic possessor of the corresponding $Ó_{Loc}$-noun (426e-f).

To sum up, Ó-noun constructions are neither really nominal nor really verbal with respect to the phenomenon studied in this subsection, while TPD-noun constructions pattern with ordinary (non-deverbal) nouns (and with irregular *Ó*-nouns). The ultimate verification of this thesis (or the elaboration of a more sophisticated picture), nevertheless, undoubtedly requires much future research, due to intricate semantic problems.

V. Definiteness and other degrees of referentiality

Nouns can be characterized as being capable of forming phrases that can refer to entities in a definite way. Nevertheless, nouns can also be characterized as being capable of forming phrases with a lower degree of referential potential. Here, let us review following our practice applied to ÁS-nouns in the analogous subsection 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub V, all these degrees simultaneously: the (a)-examples illustrate definite reference while the (b)-, (c)- and (d)-examples illustrate the following degrees of referentiality, respectively: specific (but not definite), (non-specific) indefinite, and predicative.

In the series of examples in (427) below, Ó-noun constructions are investigated. The definite reference to the Agent of the complex event that the given Ó-noun construction in (427a) relies upon is fully acceptable, in contrast to the three cases of non-definite reference (427b-d). The decreasing degree of referentiality of the Ó-noun constructions from (427a) to (427d) is parallel with the decreasing degree of their acceptability. This observation has to do with the defining property of Ó-nominalization according to which its derivational basis is an unambiguously identified complex event: a lower degree of referentiality in the case of an Ó-noun construction seems to "question" the sufficient identifiability of the corresponding complex event.

The—quite acceptable—specific reference in (427b), for instance, can be regarded as an "almost" definite reference (recall that specific reference was claimed to mean a definite reference from the speaker's viewpoint simultaneously with an indefinite reference from the addressee's viewpoint (*SoD-NP*: 688); see the comments on example (325b) in 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub V).

(427) ● Degree of referentiality of Ó-nouns

a. Dühös vagyok *Ilinek a tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-já-ra*.
angry be.1Sg *Ili.Dat the yesterday.Adj perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with the person who massaged Ili yesterday*.'

b. [(?)]Kizárólag *Ili egy tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-já-ra* vagyok dühös.
only *Ili a yesterday.Adj perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Sub* be.1Sg angry
'(In the last two days, a total of seven boys massaged and/or trained my two sisters, Ili and Piri.) I am angry only *with one of those who massaged Ili yesterday*.'

c. [?]Dühös vagyok *Ili egy tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-já-ra*.
angry be.1Sg *Ili a yesterday.Adj perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with a person who massaged Ili yesterday*.'

d. *Te nem számítasz *tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-m-nak.*
you not count.2Sg *yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.1Sg-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'You do not count *as a person who massaged me yesterday*.'

A comparison between the non-specific indefinite Ó-noun construction (427c) and the—less acceptable—comparable ÁS-noun construction in (325c) suggests a slight difference between Ó-nouns and ÁS-nouns in their degree of nominalness. This may have to do with the less direct relation between the participant-denoting Ó-noun construction and its complex-event derivational basis, compared to the (more) direct relation between the ÁS-noun construction and its derivational basis. In the latter case, both the nominal and the verbal constructions directly denote the same complex event.

In (428) below, compared to the corresponding examples in (427) above, we are investigating the corresponding (irregularly derived) TPD-noun variant (*masszőr* 'masseur') essentially in the same contexts.

(428) ● Degree of referentiality of TPD-nouns

a. Dühös vagyok *[a masszőr-re] / [Ilinek a masszőr-jé-re].*
angry be.1Sg *the masseur-Sub / Ili.Dat the masseur-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with [the masseur] / [Ili's masseur]*.'

b. (?)Kizárólag *[egy masszőr-re] / [Ili egy masszőr-jé-re]* vagyok dühös.
only *a masseur-Sub / Ili a masseur-Poss.3Sg-Sub* be.1Sg angry
[In the last two days, a total of seven masseurs and trainers employed by Ili or Piri "tortured" me.] 'I am angry only *with [one of the masseurs] / [one of Ili's masseurs]*.'

c. Dühös vagyok *[egy masszőr-re] / [Ili egy masszőr-jé-re].*
angry be.1Sg *a masseur-Sub / Ili a masseur-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with [a masseur] / [a masseur of Ili's]*.'

d. Te nem számítasz *masszőr-nek / (?)masszőr-öm-nek.*
you not count.2Sg *masseur-Dat / masseur-Poss.1Sg-Sub*
'You do not count *[as a masseur] / [as a masseur of mine]*.'

The TPD-noun constructions, in harmony with their highly nominal character observed so far, are compatible with all the four degrees of referentiality. The slight variation in grammaticality judgments (428b,d) simply depends on pragmatico-semantic complexity and/or contextual adequacy (NB: for the sake of clarity, we provide a putative context for (428b) in square brackets preceding the translation). Specific indefinite noun phrases, for instance, are always somewhat marked (see the (b)-examples in this subsection) unless they are taken by members of a group of verbs specialized exactly for taking specific noun phrases (e.g., *megérkezik* 'perf.arrive').

The series of examples in (429) below provides a similar test of irregular *Ó*-nouns, together with non-deverbal nouns used as a "control group". Not surprisingly, irregular *Ó*-nouns completely pattern with "ordinary" nouns.

(429) ● Degree of referentiality of irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. Részt vettem *a bor-kóstol-ó-n / parti-n.*
part.Acc take.Past.1Sg *the wine-taste-ó-Sup / party-Sup*
'I took part *in the [wine tasting] / party*.'

b. (?)Tegnap részt vettem *egy bor-kóstol-ó-já-n / parti-já-n.*
yesterday part.Acc take.Past.1Sg *a wine-taste-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Sup / party-Poss.3Sg-Sup*
'(She organizes [wine tastings] / parties.) Yesterday I took part *in a [wine tasting] / party of hers*.'

c. Szeretnék részt venni *egy bor-kóstol-ó-n / parti-n.*
like.Cond.1Sg part.Acc take.Inf *a wine-taste-Ó-Sup / party-Sup*
'I would like to take part *in a [wine tasting] / party*.'

d. Ez *bor-kóstol-ó-nak vagy parti-nak* minősül?
this *wine-taste-Ó-Dat or party-Dat* qualify.3Sg
'Does this qualify *as a wine tasting or a party*?'

All in all, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns completely pattern with "ordinary" nouns in that these kinds of nouns can form noun phrases with any degree of referential potential. However, Ó-nouns can be characterized by a stronger distributional restriction, obviously due to their complex-event-basedness, which, however, is somewhat weaker than in the case of ÁS-nouns, presumably due to the looser connection between a participant-denoting Ó-noun construction and its complex event-denoting verbal basis.

VI. Quantification and determination

This subsection can be regarded as an obvious continuation of the previous one in that it asks the question: Does quantification or determination rely upon more complex events, or do they operate over an event type in the case of Ó-nouns? In the course of seeking the answer to this, we follow the practice applied in the case of ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI).

In (430a) below, for instance, the Ó-noun *megmasszírozója* 'perf.massage.Ó.Poss.3Sg', familiar from subsection V, is provided with a proximal and a distal demonstrative pronoun. One might think that in this way we can certainly refer to a specific participant of a specific complex event, which is the task of Ó-nouns. That is not the case, however: the potential Ó-noun construction is somewhat marked (430a). This grammaticality judgment is not surprising in the light of the fact that when an analogous ÁS-noun construction was investigated, it was clearly unacceptable. Recall that this unacceptability was claimed to be exactly due to the strict linking of ÁS-nouns to unambiguously identified complex events (see the comments on example (328a) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI). As for the difference between the grammaticality judgments concerning the Ó-noun construction and the much less acceptable ÁS-noun construction, we attribute it to the difference between the strictness of the linking between deverbal nominals and their complex event bases. This linking is more indirect in the case of Ó-nouns (1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VII), which makes them more nominal (and less verbal) than ÁS-nouns. It is worth mentioning at this point that the corresponding TPD-noun construction (431a), due to its even more nominal character, is undoubtedly fully acceptable to speakers (at least if they carefully take into account the intended pragmatico-semantic content and context of the expression).

(430) ● Quantification and determination of Ó-nouns

a. ?Dühös vagyok *Ilinek arra / erre a tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-já-ra.*
angry be.1Sg *Ili.Dat that.Sub / this.Sub the yesterday.Adj perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry with *that / this person who massaged Ili yesterday*.'

b. (?)Megérkezett *Ilinek a(z) két / tíz / első / második /*
perf.arrive.Past.3Sg *Ili.Dat the two / ten / first / second /*
tizedik / utolsó tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-ja.
tenth / last yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg
'*The two / ten / first / second / tenth / last person(s) who massaged Ili yesterday* has/have arrived.'

c. Megérkezett *az elnök (?)mindkét / (?)mindegyik / ?minden /*
perf.arrive.Past.3Sg *the president both / each / every /*
?sok / (?)néhány / (?)két / (?)tíz tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-ja.
many / some / two / ten yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg
'(In the last two days some people massaged the president.) *Both / each / every / many / some / two / ten person(s) who massaged the president yesterday* has/have arrived.'

c'. Érkezett hozzám öt perce *(?)néhány / (?)öt-hat / ?két / ?tíz*
arrive.Past.3Sg All.1Sg five minute.Poss.3Sg *some / five-six / two / ten*
tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-ja az elnöknek.
yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg the president.Dat
'*Some /[five or six] / two / ten people who massaged the president yesterday* came to me five minutes ago.'

d. *Ilinek ?kevés / *?sok tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-ja* érkezett meg.
Ili.Dat few / many yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg arrive.Past.3Sg perf
'*Few / Many people* have arrived *of those who massaged Ili yesterday*.'

e. *Ilinek egyik / (?)semelyik tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-ja sem* érkezett meg.
Ili.Dat one_of / none_of yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg either arrive.Past.3Sg perf
'*None* has arrived *of the people who massaged Ili yesterday*.'

e'. *Az elnöknek* soha *semmilyen*
the president.Dat never *no_kind*
meg-masszíroz-ó-já-val nem készítettem interjút.
perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg-Ins not make.Past.1Sg interview.Acc
'I have never interviewed *anyone who has massaged the president*.'

Let us review on the basis of the examples given in (430b-e') and in (431b-e') what kinds of quantifiers and determiners are compatible with Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns, respectively.

The analogous (b)-examples illustrate that Ó-nouns (430b) can almost as readily appear in definite nominal constructions containing cardinal or ordinal numbers as TPD-nouns (431b). Thus, Ó-nouns are almost as nominal in the relevant respect as TPD-nouns, and significantly more nominal than ÁS-nouns (cf. (328b) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI).

The same relation among Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and ÁS-nouns can be generalized to all aspects of quantification and determination: the analogous Ó-noun constructions (430a-e'), instead of the ÁS-noun constructions (328a-e'), practically pattern with TPD-noun constructions (431a-e'), with the same or slightly worse grammaticality judgments in the case of the former). It seems, thus, that the output "nominal" character of Ó-nouns (that they typically denote persons and objects, instead of events) outweighs their input "verbal" character (i.e., the fact that their derivational basis is a complex event).

The only significant difference between the corresponding Ó-noun and TPD-noun constructions follows from the fact that TPD-nouns (like ordinary nouns) do

not require any possessor (431c"). The "awkwardness" of certain potential constructions is precisely due to the presence of a possessor, which is obligatory in the case of the Ó-noun constructions. Thus, if we compare the somewhat marked (c')-examples in (430-431) to the fully acceptable "possessorless" TPD-noun constructions in (431c"), we can be led to the conclusion that the relevant difference is not between the Ó-noun character and the TPD-noun character, but between the presence or absence of a possessor (this can be called a side effect exactly for this reason). Note that it is for the sake of meaningful comparison that all the TPD-noun constructions in (431) are tested with (otherwise unnecessary) possessors.

Ó-nouns are similar to TPD-nouns in that they can quite readily be quantified in all the ways generally available to common nouns, due to their highly nominal character. This also holds for non-specific (430c'-d) and negative (430e-e') ways of quantification (cf. (431c'-d) and (431e-e'), respectively).

(431) ● Quantification and determination of TPD-nouns

a. Dühös vagyok *Ilinek arra / erre a részeges masszőr-jé-re.*
angry be.1Sg *Ili.Dat that.Sub / this.Sub the alcoholic masseur-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry with *that / this alcoholic masseur of Ili's*.'

b. Megérkezett *Ilinek a(z) két / tíz / első / második /*
perf.arrive.Past.3Sg *Ili.Dat the two / ten / first / second /*
tizedik / utolsó részeges masszőr-je.
tenth / last alcoholic masseur-Poss.3Sg
'*The two / ten / first / second / tenth / last alcoholic masseur(s) of Ili's* has/have arrived.'

c. Megérkezett *az elnök mindkét / mindegyik / (?)minden /*
perf.arrive.Past.3Sg *the president both / each / every /*
?sok / néhány / két / tíz részeges masszőr-je.
many / some / two / ten alcoholic masseur-Poss.3Sg
'(The president has some alcoholic masseurs.) *Both / each / every / many / some / two / ten alcoholic masseur(s) of the president's* has/have arrived.'

c'. Érkezett hozzám öt perce *(?)néhány / (?)öt-hat / ?két / ?tíz*
arrive.Past.3Sg All.1Sg five minute.Poss.3Sg *some / five-six / two / ten*
részeges masszőr-je az elnöknek.
alcoholic masseur-Poss.3Sg the president.Dat
'*Some /[five or six] / two / ten alcoholic masseur(s) of the president's* came to me five minutes ago.'

c". Érkezett hozzám öt perce *néhány/ öt-hat / két / tíz*
arrive.Past.3Sg All.1Sg five minute.Poss.3Sg *some / five-six / two / ten*
részeges masszőr.
alcoholic masseur
'*Some /[five or six] / two / ten alcoholic masseur(s)* came to me five minutes ago.'

d. *Ilinek kevés / ??sok részeges masszőr-je* érkezett meg.
Ili.Dat few / many alcoholic masseur-Poss.3Sg arrive.Past.3Sg perf
'*Few / Many alcoholic masseurs of Ili's* have arrived.'

e. *Ilinek egyik / (?)semelyik részeges masszőr-je sem* érkezett meg.
Ili.Dat one_of / none_of alcoholic masseur-Poss.3Sg either arrive.Past.3Sg perf
'*Neither alcoholic masseurs of Ili's* have arrived.'

e'. *Az elnöknek* soha *semmilyen*
the president.Dat never *no_kind*
részeges masszőr-jé-vel nem készítettem interjút.
alcoholic masseur-Poss.3Sg-Ins not make.Past.1Sg interview.Acc
'I have never interviewed *any alcoholic masseur of the president's*.'

What remains to be investigated in this subsection is how irregular *Ó*-nouns behave with respect to determination and quantification (432). As TPD-nouns essentially pattern with "ordinary" common nouns, the same is predictable concerning irregular *Ó*-nouns. Due to their event-type denotatum, however, they are worth comparing to SED-nouns (see (329) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI), which, otherwise, also pattern with ordinary nouns with respect to determination and quantification. In order to highlight the similarities, we use the same sentential contexts in (432) below.

The prediction that irregular *Ó*-nouns pattern with SED-nouns (and essentially with TPD-nouns and, ultimately, ordinary nouns) is entirely borne out in every respect considered so far in this subsection. As a matter of fact, let us note that almost all irregular *Ó*-nouns are to be regarded as irregularly derived ("blocking") SED-nouns, since their denotatum is an event type (see also the comment after (221) in 1.3.1.2.1).

(432) ● Quantification and determination of irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. A feleségem kiborult *a / e miatt a bor-kóstol-ó-d miatt.*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *that / this because_of the wine-taste-Ó-Poss.2Sg because_of*
'My wife freaked out *about that / this wine tasting of yours*.'

b. A feleségem kiborult *a(z) két / tíz / első / második /*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *the two / ten / first / second /*
tizedik / utolsó bor-kóstol-ó-d miatt.
tenth / last wine-taste-Ó-Poss.2Sg because_of
'My wife freaked out *about the two / ten / first / second / tenth / last wine tasting(s) of yours*.'

c. A feleségem kiborult *mindkét / [mind a tíz] / mindegyik /*
the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg *both / every the ten / each /*
(?)minden / (?)sok / ✓néhány / (?)két / ?tíz bor-kóstol-ó-d miatt.
every / many / some / two / ten wine-taste-Ó-Poss.2Sg because_of
'(Last year you organized some wine tastings.) My wife freaked out *about both / [all the ten] / each / every / many / some / two / ten wine tasting(s) of yours*.'

c'. Tavaly megúsztam *minden / (?)sok / ✓néhány /*
last_year get_out_from.Past.1Sg *every / many / some /*
✓két / ✓tíz / ✓öt-hat bor-kóstol-ó-d-at.
two / ten / five-six wine-taste-Ó-Poss.2Sg-Acc
'Last year I got out from *every / many / some / two / ten /[five or six] wine tasting(s) of yours*.'

d. A feleségem *kevés / ?sok bor-kóstol-ó-d miatt* borult ki.
the wife.Poss.1Sg *few / many wine-taste-Ó-Poss.2Sg because_of* freak_out.Past.3Sg out
'My wife freaked out *about few / many wine tastings of yours*.'

e. A feleségem *egyik / semelyik*
the wife.Poss.1Sg *one_of / none_of*
bor-kóstol-ó-d miatt sem borult ki.
wine-taste-Ó-Poss.2Sg because_of either freak_out.Past.3Sg out
'My wife freaked out *about neither wine tastings of yours*.'

e'. (?)A feleségem soha *semmilyen*
the wife.Poss.1Sg never *no_kind*
bor-kóstol-ó-d miatt nem borulna ki.
wine-taste-Ó-Poss.2Sg because_of not freak_out.Cond.3Sg out
'My wife would never freak *about any wine tasting of yours*.'

Here, too, we follow the routine of subsection VI of 1.3.1.2.4.2 by concluding with the investigation of a phenomenon that resembles quantification, namely, adjectival quantification. The starting point in the relevant examples, as is shown in (433a,d) below, is a verbal construction with an adverb of frequency, from which an adjective can be derived (433b-c,e-e').

In contrast to ÁS-nouns (331b), Ó-nouns rather defy than undergo adjectival quantification (433b), since they are compatible with how quantification regularly behaves (430). TPD-nouns, as might be predicted, categorically defy adjectival quantification (433c), in harmony with their very high degree of nominalness (431).

(433) ● "Adjectival quantification" of Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns

a. Tavaly Péter gyakran / ritkán / ötször masszírozta meg Ilit.
last_year Péter often / rarely / five_times massage.Past.DefObj.3Sg perf Ili.Acc
'Last year Péter massaged Ili often / rarely / [five times].'

b. Dühös vagyok *Ili* ??*gyakori* /*?*ritka* /?*ötszöri* *meg-masszíroz-ó-já-ra.*
angry be.1Sg *Ili* *often.Adj* / *rare* / *five_times.Adj* *perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with the person who massaged Ili often / rarely / [five times]*.'

c. *Dühös vagyok *Ili* *gyakori* / *ritka* / *ötszöri* *masszőr-jé-re.*
angry be.1Sg *Ili* *often.Adj* / *rare* / *five_times.Adj* *masseur-Poss.3Sg*

d. Tavaly gyakran / ritkán / ötször kóstoltunk bort.
last_year often / rarely / five_times taste.Past.1Pl wine.Acc
'Last year we tasted wine often / rarely / [five times].'

e. *Péter* ??*gyakori* / **ritka* /??*ötszöri* *bor-kóstol-ó-ja*
Péter *often.Adj* / *rare* / *five_times.Adj* *wine-taste-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
nagy sikert aratott.
great success.Acc harvest.Past.3Sg
'*The wine tastings organized by Péter often / rarely / [five times]* were a great success.'

e'. *Péter* *gyakori* /(?)*ritka* /**ötszöri* *bor-kóstol-ó-i*
Péter *often.Adj* / *rare* / *five_times.Adj* *wine-taste-Ó-Poss.Pl.3Sg*
nagy sikert arattak.
great success.Acc harvest.Past.3Pl
'*The wine tastings organized by Péter often / rarely / [five times]* were a great success.'

Although irregular *Ó*-nouns are as compatible with regular quantification as TPD-nouns (432)—and, ultimately, ordinary nouns—they do not categorically defy adjectival quantification, as is demonstrated in (433e) (cf. the patterns of grammaticality judgments in (433b)). Moreover, the plural forms of certain irregular *Ó*-noun constructions are also quite acceptable (433e'). In these respects, they pattern with SED-nouns (331c-c'). This is not an accident at all, since they are also to be regarded as irregularly derived ("blocking") SED-nouns given their event-type denotatum, as was mentioned in connection with (432).

To sum up, with respect to (the regular manner of) quantification and determination, ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns all essentially pattern

with ordinary nouns (NB: Ó-nouns obviously provide somewhat less acceptable constructions). There is a special, "adjectival" quantification, however, which was available to ÁS-nouns, and also available to SED-nouns to a lesser degree; on the basis of this one might predict that only Ó-nouns, in contrast to the highly nominal TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns, can readily undergo it. That is not exactly the case, however. While TPD-nouns, indeed, reject adjectival quantification, Ó-nouns rather defy than undergo it. Surprisingly, it is a subgroup of irregular *Ó*-nouns which are more or less compatible with this kind of quantifier. This latter fact, however, is surprising only at first glance, since the given irregular *Ó*-nouns denote event types, similar to SED-nouns.

1.3.1.3.4.3. Summary

We summarize our observations on verbal (1.3.1.3.4.1) and nominal (1.3.1.3.4.2) properties of Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns and irregular *Ó*-nouns in Table 28 below.

As can be seen, all the three types of deverbal nouns discussed in subsection 1.3.1.3 are decisively not verbal, but nominal. Similar to the practice applied in the case of ÁS-nouns (see Table 24 in subsection 1.3.1.2.4.3), this is presented by the asterisks ('*') and question marks ('*?'/'??') in the light cells in the upper part of the table, representing the verbal properties, and the check-marks ('✓') and different question marks ('(?)'/'?') in the also light cells in the lower part of the table, representing the nominal properties. Thus, the lighter a cell is, the more nominal—and simultaneously the less verbal—the noun type is in the given respect.

Table 28: The degree of verbalness/nominalness of Ó-nominalizations

PROPERTIES		Ó-NOUN	TPD-NOUN	IRREGULAR *Ó*-NOUN
VERBAL	tense and mood	*	*	*
	two person/number paradigms of conjugation	*	*	*
	separability of preverb / verbal modifier	??	*	*
	presence / obligatoriness of arguments	?	??	*
	accusative case-marked argument	*	*	*
	adverbial modification	*?	*?	*
	information structure (internal scopes)	?	*	*
NOMINAL	pluralization	✓	✓	✓
	possessive argument	✓	✓	✓
	case marking	✓	✓	✓
	adjectival modification	?	✓	✓
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality	?	✓	✓
	quantification (and determination)	(?)	✓	✓

There are, however, differences between the three types.

Irregular *Ó*-nouns are completely nominal (except for the fact that they are compatible with adjectival quantification to a certain extent, which can be regarded as a property that typically does not hold for nouns).

Of the three groups, Ó-nouns can be regarded as the most verbal because they practically inherit the argument and information structure of their verbal inputs ("to the maximum possible extent"). However, they are less verbal than ÁS-nouns, since the "maximum possible extent" is lower than in the case of ÁS-nouns, they can be pluralized, they can form non-specific noun phrases, and they are compatible with most forms of regular quantification to a sufficient extent.

TPD-nouns can be characterized by an in-between status. Although they essentially pattern with irregular *Ó*-nouns (and ordinary nouns), they inherit the "core" of the argument structure of their verbal inputs.

The most interesting difference in nominalness between Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns can be observed with respect to adjectival modification. An Ó-noun construction can readily host neither an adjective that has an adverbial counterpart in the input verbal construction nor an adjective that would adjoin to the noun head, "in its own right". TPD-nouns, however, pattern with ordinary nouns in readily taking adjectives due to their own right (and they cannot inherit any kind of free dependents from their verbal inputs).

1.3.1.4. T-nominalization

This subsection discusses T-nominalization, or, more precisely, the question of whether there is deverbal nominalization in Hungarian by means of the suffix *-(Vt)t* at all (see also Table 22 in subsection 1.3.1).

The question may be raised on the basis of the parallelism between a potential eventive T-nominalization and the complex-event denoting ÁS-nominalization, illustrated in (434b-b') below, on the one hand, and the "complementary distribution" between a potential Theme denoting T-nominalization and the "active key participant" denoting Ó-nominalization, illustrated in (434c-d'), on the other. The possibility for the latter relationship can be raised on the basis of the following analogy. The suffix *-Ó* is primarily known as the present (or continuous / simultaneous / active) participial derivational suffix in Hungarian grammar (see volume F), but, as has been seen in 1.3.1.3, it also functions as an "immediate" deverbal nominalizer. The suffix *-(Vt)t* can be regarded as its supplement on the basis of its functioning as the past (or perfect / anterior / passive) participial derivational suffix in Hungarian (see volume F). It is not surprising, thus, that *-(Vt)t* is capable of deriving such noun phrases as the one demonstrated in (434d') below, which denotes the "passive key participant", namely the Theme, of the input complex event.

(434) ● Is there T-nominalization at all?

I. A potential system of ÁS-, Ó- and T-nominalization

a. Kolumbusz fel-fedezte Ameriká-t.
Columbus up-cover.Past.DefObj.3Sg America-Acc
'Columbus discovered America.'

a'. Péter fel-fedezte Dóri-t.
Péter up-cover.Past.DefObj.3Sg Dóri-Acc
'Péter has discovered Dóri.'

b. *Amerika* (?)*fel-fedez-t-é-vel* / ˇ*fel-fedez-és-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött.
America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / up-cover-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With America having been discovered,* a new age has begun.'

b'. *Dóri* ?*fel-fedez-t-é-vel* / ˇ*fel-fedez-és-é-vel*
Dóri *up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / up-cover-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
Péter életében is új korszak kezdődött.
Péter life.Poss.3Sg.Ine also new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With Dóri having been discovered,* a new age has begun also in Péter's life.'

c. Kolumbusz volt *Amerika fel-fedez-ő-je*.
Columbus be.Past.3Sg *America up-cover-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Columbus was the person *who discovered America*.'

c'. Péter volt *Dóri fel-fedez-ő-je*.
Péter be.Past.3Sg *Dóri up-cover-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'Péter was the person *who discovered Dóri*.'

d. *Amerika *Kolumbusz fel-fedez-ett-je* volt.
America *Columbus up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg* be.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'America was (a continent) *discovered by Columbus*.'

d'. Dóri *Péter fel-fedez-ett-je* volt.
Dóri *Péter up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg* be.Past.3Sg
'Dóri was (the person) *discovered by Péter*.'

The suffix *-(Vt)t*, however, is discussed neither as a Theme denoting nor as a complex-event denoting "immediate" deverbal nominalizer in the mainstream literature (Kiefer 2000a). This is not surprising, either, in the light of the numerous problems we will (also) take into account in this subsection. What is at stake here is whether the suffix *-(Vt)t* can be regarded as a productive deverbal nominalizer (in present-day Hungarian) in either or both of its aforementioned functions or whether the existing T-noun constructions must be regarded as lexicalized fossils. This depends on whether there are precisely definable (pragmatico-semantic and/or morphophonological) domains, however small they are (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a: 149, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 166, 186), over which *-(Vt)t* performs as a "total function" in a mathematical sense (i.e., in which it can be shown to be productive).

It is yet another open question whether we can speak about two semantically and morphophonologically different functions of the same derivational suffix in different contexts, or there are two deverbal nominalizers related only etymologically, or coincide simply accidentally.

It would go beyond the scope of this book to decide these questions. This subsection will thus concentrate on a set of data which can serve as points of departure for future research. That is, here we are not aiming at the same level of accuracy as in the discussion of ÁS-nominalization and Ó-nominalization; nevertheless, our "accustomed" protocol of systematization of data is retained. It is also worth anticipating that, exactly due to the rudimentary character of our discussion, certain tests are likely to be worth redesigning in the future, on the basis of possible future findings and more elaborated investigations, which might make their results worth reinterpreting.

All in all, this subsection discusses two potential kinds of T-nominalization. One kind, which we will call T_{EV}-nominalization, produces T_{EV}-nouns denoting events essentially in the same way as ÁS-nominalization. The other kind of T-nominalization produces T_{TH}-nouns denoting the participant of the input complex event which can be taken to have the Theme thematic role.

The first four series of examples in this introductory part have to do with the mere question of legitimizing the investigation of the two kinds of T-nominalization (see (434-437)), given the usual practice according to which non-productive derivations need not be scrutinized (since such derivations say something about earlier periods of the language, instead of its synchronic system; see Remark 10 below). The next three series of examples in (439-441) and Table 29 help in the differentiation of the two kinds of T-nominalization from each other and from other uses of the morphophonologically overloaded suffix *-(Vt)t* in the Hungarian grammatical system.

In (434) above, the (a)-examples demonstrate a transitive argument structure with a [–HUMAN] object (434a) and with a [+HUMAN] object (434a'), which serve as the basis for ÁS- and T_{EV}-nominalization in the (b)-examples, for Ó-nominalization in the (c)-examples, and for T_{TH}-nominalization in the (d)-examples. It can be observed that, among the competing event denoting deverbal nominals, the potential T_{EV}-noun with the [–HUMAN] object seems to be somewhat less acceptable than its (fully acceptable) ÁS-noun counterpart (434b). As for the potential T_{EV}-noun with the [+HUMAN] object, it seems to be even less acceptable, while its ÁS-noun counterpart is also fully acceptable (434b').

We can make the following tentative generalizations on the basis of such data. First of all, potential T_{EV}-nouns are never definitely fully acceptable, due to some "archaic taste" always being associated with them. Second, it is slightly preferred for their input object to be [–HUMAN].

Among the participant denoting deverbal nominals, the potential T_{TH}-nouns are fully acceptable (434d'), just like their $Ó_{AG}$-noun counterparts (434c'), but only if the input object is [+HUMAN]. If the input is [–HUMAN], however, the derived potential T_{TH}-noun is fully unacceptable (434d), while, as is demonstrated in (434c), this does not hold for their (still fully acceptable) $Ó_{AG}$-noun counterparts.

Let us now test a newly coined word in order to obtain a clear(er) picture of the productivity of the two kinds of T-nominalization, see (435). In the course of creating contexts for the examples, the aforementioned two constraints on the animacy feature of the input object were taken into account, that is why the input argument structure is given in two variants in (435a) below.

(435) ● Is there T-nominalization at all? II. T-nouns derived from newly-coined verbs

a. Jani be-lájkolta [a honlapot] / Ili-t.
Jani into-give_like.Past.DefObj.3Sg the homepage.Acc / Ili-Acc
'Jani gave a like to [the homepage] / Ili.'

b. *A honlap be-lájkol-ás-á-val*
the homepage into-give_like-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins
új korszak kezdődött Jani életében.
new age begin.Past.3Sg Jani life.Poss.3Sg.Ine
'*With a like given to the homepage,* a new age has begun in Jani's life.'

b'. *A honlap* (?)*be-lájkol-t-á-val*
the homepage into-give_like-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
új korszak kezdődött Jani életében.
new age begin.Past.3Sg Jani life.Poss.3Sg.Ine
'*With a like given to the homepage,* a new age has begun in Jani's life.'

c. Jani volt *Ili tegnapi be-lájkol-ó-ja.*
jani be.Past.3Sg *Ili yesterday.Adj into-give_like-Ó-Poss.3Sg*
'It was Jani *who gave Ili a like yesterday*.'

c'. (?)Ili volt *Jani tegnapi be-lájkol-t-ja.*
Ili be.Past.3Sg *Jani yesterday.Adj into-give_like-T-Poss.3Sg*
'It was Ili *who was given a like by Jani yesterday*.'

As compared to their straightforward counterparts (435b,c), both the T_{Ev}-noun construction (435b') and the T_{TH}-noun construction (435c') are slightly marked but essentially acceptable ('(?)'). This is evidence for the basically productive character of both kinds of T-nominalization. There are, however, problematic cases in both kinds.

In the case of T_{Ev}-nominalization, as is demonstrated by the double primed examples in (436) below, each problem can be traced back essentially to one and the same morphophonological reason. The following verb types cannot readily undergo T_{Ev}-nominalization ('??'): those whose stem ends (i) in a vowel (see *sző* 'weave' in (436c")), (ii) in *-sz* or *-t* (see *vesz* 'buy', *visz* 'carry', *isz(ik)* 'drink', and *tesz* 'put' in (436b"), and *szabadít* 'set free' in Table 29; NB: two or more syllable verb stems ending in *-At* (e.g., *(el)altat* 'put to sleep', *(fel)kutat* 'search') form highly marked T_{Ev}-nouns by means of the short allomorph), or (iii) in two consonants (see *olt* 'extinguish' and *fojt* 'stifle' in (436a"), and *ajánl* 'recommend' in Table 29 below). The group of the problematic verb stems coincides exactly with the group of verbs whose entire past tense paradigm contains a geminated *-t*; compare, in the primeless examples, the corresponding finite verb forms with such members of the "control group" as *fékez-t-em* 'brake-Past-1Sg' and *hoz-t-am* 'bring-Past-1Sg'.

The fact that the exceptional groups of verbs cannot readily undergo T_{Ev}-nominalization ('??') suggests that, on the one hand, it is an emblematic feature of T_{Ev}-nouns that the deverbal suffix *-(Vt)t* is highly preferred to be adjoined to the stem in its non-geminated form, while, on the other, the verbs in question strongly reject the non-geminated allomorph of *-(Vt)t* (436a",b"), if any (436c").

(436) ● Is there T-nominalization at all? III. Poorly acceptable potential T_{Ev}-nouns

a. El-olt-ott-am / El-fojt-ott-am / Meg-fékez-t-em a tüzet.
away-extinguish-Past-1Sg / away-stifle-Past-1Sg / perf-brake-Past-1Sg the fire.Acc
'I extinguished / stifled / stopped the fire.'

a'. *A tűz el-olt-ás-á-val / el-fojt-ás-á-val / meg-fékez-és-é-vel*
the fire away-extingusis-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins / away-stifle-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins /perf-brake-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins
befejeződött a munkám.
finish.Past.3Sg the work.Poss.1Sg
'*With the fire having been extinguished / stifled / stopped,* my work was finished.'

a''. *A tűz el-olt-*(??ot)t-á-val / el-fojt-*(??ot)t-á-val /✓meg-fékez-t-é-vel*
the fire away-extingusis-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / away-stifle-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins /perf-brake-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
befejeződött a munkám.
finish.Past.3Sg the work.Poss.1Sg
'*With the fire having been extinguished / stifled / stopped,* my work was finished.'

b. Meg-ve-tt-em / Haza-vi-tt-em / Meg-i-tt-am / Félre-te-tt-em /
perf-buy-Past-1Sg / home-carry-Past-1Sg / perf-drink-Past-1Sg / aside-put-Past-1Sg /
Haza-hoz-t-am tegnap a bort.
home-bring-Past-1Sg yesterday the wine.Acc
'I bought / [took home] / drank / [put aside] / [brought home] the wine yesterday.'

b'. *A bor tegnapi meg-vev-és-é-vel / haza-viv-és-é-vel /*
the wine yesterday.Adj perf-buy-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins / home-carry-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins /
meg-iv-ás-á-val /félre-tev-és-é-vel / haza-hoz-ás-á-val
perf-drink-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins / aside-put-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins / home-bring-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins
befejeződött a munkám.
finish.Past.3Sg the work.Poss.1Sg
'*With the wine having been bought / [took hime] / drunk / [put aside] / brought home] yesterday,* my work was finished.'

b''. *A bor tegnapi ??meg-vet-t-é-vel / ??haza-vit-t-é-vel /*
the wine yesterday.Adj perf-buy-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins / home-carry-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins /
??meg-it-t-á-val /??félre-tet-t-é-vel / (?)haza-hoz-t-á-val
perf-drink-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins / aside-put-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins / home-bring-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins
befejeződött a munkám.
finish.Past.3Sg the work.Poss.1Sg
'*With the wine having been bought / [took hime] / drunk / [put aside] / brought home] yesterday,* my work was finished.'

c. Tegnap meg-sző-tt-em a szőnyeget.
yeserday perf-weave-Past-1Sg the carpet.Acc
'Yesterday I have [woven the carpet].'

c'. *A szőnyeg tegnapi meg-szöv-és-é-vel* befejeződött a munkám.
the carpet yesterday.Adj perf-weave-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins finish.Past.3Sg the work.Poss.1Sg
'*With the carpet having been woven yesterday,* my work was finished.'

c''. *A szőnyeg tegnapi ??meg-sző-tt-é-vel / *meg-szöv-ött-é-vel*
the carpet yesterday.Adj perf-weave-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / perf-weave-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
befejeződött a munkám.
finish.Past.3Sg the work.Poss.1Sg
'*With the carpet having been woven yesterday,* my work was finished.'

Let us now turn to the (much more) problematic cases of T_{TH}-nominalization. In (437) below, we also present the $Ó_{AG}$-noun counterparts (see the primeless examples) in order to demonstrate that the emerging problems exclusively pertain to the potential T_{TH}-noun variants (see the primed examples).

A formal observation is that longer potential T_{TH}-nouns are more acceptable than shorter ones (437b',c',d'). Such one-syllable verb stems as *öl* 'kill' (437b'), *lő* 'shoot' (437c') and *ver* 'beat' (437d'), for instance, definitely reject T_{TH}-nominalization. Perhaps in connection with their typically greater length, verb stems which have a foreign origin (e.g., *likvidál* 'liquidate' (437b')) or belong to non-standard strata of language (e.g., *lepuffant* 'shoot' (437c') and *elagyabugyál* 'beat'

(437d')) more readily undergo T_{TH}-nominalization. It does not seem to count, however, whether the potential T_{TH}-noun appears with the allomorph of the suffix *-(Vt)t* that contains a geminated *-t* (e.g., *megkínz-ott-ja* 'perf.torture-T-Poss.3Sg' in (437d')) or with the shorter allomorph (e.g., *likvidál-t-ja* 'liquidate-T-Poss.3Sg' in (437b')), despite the fact that the shorter allomorph is the emblematic marker of T_{EV}-nouns. Nevertheless, the exclusion of one-syllable verb stems in the case of T_{TH}-nouns may also have to do with the following fact: if the suffix *-(Vt)t* appears in its form with a geminated *-t* preceded by a linking vowel, the unit of the verb stem and this suffix consists of at least two syllables (e.g., *?meg-fojt-ott-ja* 'perf-strangle-T-Poss.3Sg' in (437c') *versus* *?*meg-öl-t-je* 'perf-kill-T-Poss.3Sg' (437b')). It is possible that the emblematic feature of T_{TH}-nouns is exactly a constraint requiring that the verb stem and the suffix *-(Vt)t* must form an at-least-two-syllable unit.

(437) ● Is there T-nominalization at all? IV. Poorly acceptable potential T_{TH}-nouns

a. Ki volt *Ili tegnapi* [...*-ÓjA*]?
who be.Past.3Sg *Ili yesterday.Adj*
'Who was the person *who [V-ed] Ili yesterday?*'

a'. Ki volt *Ili tegnapi* [...*-(Vt)tjA*]?
who be.Past.3Sg *Ili yesterday.Adj*
'Who was the person *whom Ili [V-ed] yesterday?*'

b. *...meg-öl-ő-je / meg-gyilkol-ó-ja / likvidál-ó-ja*
perf-kill-Ó-Poss.3Sg / perf-kill-Ó-Poss.3Sg / liquidate-Ó-Poss.3Sg
'*...killed / murdered / liquidated...*'

b'. ...*?*meg-öl-t-je / ??meg-gyilkol-t-ja / ?likvidál-t-ja*
perf-kill-T-Poss.3Sg / perf-kill-T-Poss.3Sg / liquidate-T-Poss.3Sg
'*...killed / murdered / liquidated...*'

c. *...le-lövő-je / le-puffant-ó-ja / meg-fojt-ó-ja*
down-shoot-Ó-Poss.3Sg / down-shoot-Ó-Poss.3Sg / perf-strangle-Ó-Poss.3Sg
'*...shot / shot / strangled...*'

c'. *...*le-lő-tt-je / *?le-löv-ött-je / ?le-puffant-ott-ja / ?meg-fojt-ott-ja*
down-shoot-T-Poss.3Sg / down-shoot-T-Poss.3Sg / down-shoot-T-Poss.3Sg / perf-strangle-T-Poss.3Sg
'*...shot / shot / shot / strangled...*'

d. *...meg-ver-ő-je / el-tángál-ó-ja / meg-kínz-ó-ja / el-agyabugyál-ó-ja*
perf-beat-Ó-Poss.3Sg /away-beat-Ó-Poss.3Sg / perf-torture-Ó-Poss.3Sg / away-beat-Ó-Poss.3Sg
'*...beat / beat / tortured / beat...*'

d'. ...*?*meg-ver-t-je / ??el-tángál-t-ja / ?meg-kínz-ott-ja / ?el-agyabugyál-t-ja*
perf-beat-T-Poss.3Sg /away-beat-T-Poss.3Sg / perf-torture-T-Poss.3Sg / away-beat-T-Poss.3Sg
'*...beat / beat / tortured / beat...*'

e. *...meg-dicsér-ő-je / meg-csókol-ó-ja / fel-köszönt-ő-je / meg-masszíroz-ó-ja*
perf-praise-Ó-Poss.3Sg / perf-kiss-Ó-Poss.3Sg / up-greet-Ó-Poss.3Sg / perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg
'*...praised / kissed / greeted / massaged...*'

e'. ...*??*meg-dicsér-t-je / ??meg-csókol-t-ja / ?fel-köszönt-ött-je / ?meg-masszíroz-ott-ja*
perf-praise-T-Poss.3Sg /perf-kiss-T-Poss.3Sg / up-greet-T-Poss.3Sg / perf-massage-T-Poss.3Sg
'*...praised / kissed / saluted / massaged...*'

As the grammaticality judgments given in the primed examples in (437) above show, in contrast to T_{EV}-nominalization, T_{TH}-nominalization provides only potential words whose acceptability seems to be primarily affected by pragmatico-semantic

factors. What is clear is that the impact exerted upon the Theme typically by an Agent in the complex event behind the T_{TH}-nominalization must be saliently relevant in the given speech situation—as a "stamp" that the Theme still bears, or a crucial relationship between him or her and the input Agent. The more or less marked status of almost all potential T_{TH}-nouns is due to the fact that it is not easy to evoke such a radical interpretation: it is not easy to legitimize that the T_{TH}-noun in question is the optimal denotation of a person instead of referring to him or her by their name or their occupation or their social or family relationship. The T_{TH}-noun can serve as an optimal means of denotation (compared to the alternatives) only in the given speech situation, where, for instance, the given person appears, indeed, as the "torturee" (437d') of a "torturer" (437d) in a situation which is preferably known or at least expectable by the interlocutors.

We have also tested the role of the desirable (437e') or undesirable (437d') content of potential T_{TH}-nouns in T_{TH}-nominalization but could not observe any "convincing" difference in grammaticality judgments.

On the basis of the extremely varied Hungarian data given in (434-437), thus, we regard it as still an open question whether T_{TH}-nominalization can be considered to be a ("sufficiently") productive derivation or not. We hope that our data, observations and analyses will serve as a useful contribution to the deciding of this question in the future.

Let us now (re)turn to the question of the morphophonological difference between corresponding T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns. Considering the series of examples in (434) as a point of departure, it is an opposition between the *-t-A* and *-Vtt-jA* combinations of the *-(Vt)t* deverbal nominalizer suffix and the *-(j)A* possessedness suffix that basically enables us to differentiate the two kinds of T-nouns. We regard it, thus, as a useful first approximation to say that the allomorph combinations *-tA* and *-VttjA* are the primary markers of T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns, respectively; see the (a)-examples in Table 29.

While the short allomorph *-A* of the possessedness suffix and its long counterpart *-jA* are definitely associated with T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns, respectively, the choice between the short allomorph *-t* of the deverbal nominalizer and its long counterpart *-Vtt* partly depends on phonological features of the input verb stems, beyond the basic association of the short allomorph and T_{EV}-nouns, on the one hand, and of the long allomorph and T_{TH}-nouns, on the other.

As was mentioned in connection with (436), a special group of verb stems accept only the long allomorph of *-(Vt)t* due to their CC ending either in present-day Hungarian (see the (c')-example in Table 29) or at an earlier stage of Hungarian (see (c") in Table 29). In such cases, the verb "uses" the long allomorph even in the case of T_{EV}-nouns (normally associated with the short allomorph).

The opposite case can also be observed, see the examples in (437): certain verb stems accept only the short allomorph of *-(Vt)t* also in the case of T_{TH}-nouns due to their special kind of VC ending. In such cases, thus, the verb "uses" the short allomorph even in the case of T_{TH}-nouns (normally associated with the long allomorph); see example (c) in Table 29.

Table 29: The combinations of the -(Vt)t deverbal nominalizer suffix and the possessedness suffix

Poss+Ps.Num / -(Vt)t	DIFFERENT ALLOMORPHS (*-A* / *-jA*)	NO DIFFERENT ALLOMORPHS (1ST AND 2ND PERSON)
DIFFERENT ALLOMORPHS (*-t* / *-Vtt*)	a. (?)*fel-fedez-t-e-kor* up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp 'when sy discovered sg' *fel-fedez-ett-je* up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg 'sy who was discovered by sy'	b. ?*fel-fedez-t-em-kor* up-cover-T-Poss.1Sg-Tmp 'when sy discovered me' *fel-fedez-ett-em* up-cover-T-Poss.1Sg 'sy who was discovered by me'
	a'. ?*le-lő-tt-e-kor* down-shoot-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp 'when sy shot sy' *?*le-lövött-je* (*vs. *le-lő-tt-je*) down-shoot-T-Poss.3Sg 'sy who was shot by sy'	b'. ??*le-lő-tt-em-kor* down-shoot-T-Poss.1Sg-Tmp 'when sy shot me' *?*le-lövött-em* (*vs. *le-lő-tt-em*) down-shoot-T-Poss.1Sg 'sy who was shot by me'
	a''. ?*meg-futtat-t-a-kor* perf-make_run-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp 'when sy made sy run' ??*meg-futtat-ott-ja* perf-make_run-T-Poss.3Sg 'sy who was made to run by sy'	b''. ??*meg-futtat-t-am-kor* perf-make_run-T-Poss.1Sg-Tmp 'when sy made me run' *?*meg-futtat-ott-am* perf-make_run-T-Poss.1Sg 'sy who was made to run by me'
NO DIFFERENT ALLOMORPHS	c. ?*likvidál-t-a-kor* liquidate-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp 'when sy liquidated sy' ?*likvidál-t-ja* liquidate-T-Poss.3Sg 'sy who was liquidated by sy'	d. ??*likvidál-t-am-kor* liquidate-T-Poss.1Sg-Tmp 'when sy liquidated me' ??*likvidál-t-am* liquidate-T-Poss.1Sg 'sy who was liquidated by me'
	c'. ??*be-ajánl-ott-a-kor* into-recommend-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp 'when sy recommended sy' ??*be-ajánl-ott-ja* into-recommend-T-Poss.3Sg 'sy who was recommended by sy'	d'. *?*be-ajánl-ott-am-kor* into-recommend-T-Poss.1Sg-Tmp 'when sy recommended me' ??*be-ajánl-ott-am* into-recommend-T-Poss.1Sg 'sy who was recommended by me'
	c''. ??*ki-szabadít-ott-a-kor* out-set_free-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp 'when sy set sy free' ??*ki-szabadít-ott-ja* out-set_free-T-Poss.3Sg 'sy who was set free by sy'	d''. *?*ki-szabadít-ott-am-kor* out-set_free-T-Poss.1Sg-Tmp 'when sy set me free' ??*ki-szabadít-ott-am* out-set_free-T-Poss.1Sg 'sy who was set free by me'

If the possessor is in the first or second person, the fusion of the possessedness suffix and the agreement suffix presents no such alternation as the one between *-jA* and *-A* in the third person (Bartos 2000b: 676–677). In the absence of a long and a

short allomorph of this suffix, it is not surprising that further coincidences emerge (see the (b)- and (d)-examples in Table 29), possibly yielding even a total coincidence between the T_{Ev}-noun form and the T_{Th}-noun form. The (d)-examples, which are the first-person counterparts of the third-person T-noun forms given in the (c)-examples, illustrate this extreme case.

The grammaticality judgments show a worsening tendency from left to right ((a)→(b), (c)→(d)) and from top to bottom ((a)→(c), (b)→(d)) in the table. The worsening may be attributed to the following facts. First, in the case of deverbal nominals, the non-third-person possessors are not preferred, in harmony with the tendency that could be observed in the case of Ó-nouns (see (418) in 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub II). Second, the neutralization of otherwise important differences is always dispreferred in language. In the case of T_{Ev}-nouns and T_{Th}-nouns, two differences can neutralize, making it more difficult to evoke the intended T_{Ev}-noun or T_{Th}-noun interpretation. They are the difference between the two allomorphs of *-(j)A*, on the one hand, in the course of changing from third-person possessors (a-b") to non-third-person ones (c-d"), and the difference between the two allomorphs of *-(Vt)t*, on the other, due to phonological factors (see the (b)- and (d)-examples, as compared to the (a)- and (c)-examples).

We still owe the reader some comments on the (a')-example. Both potential T_{Th}-noun alternatives (also given in (437c')) are unacceptable. The shorter variant (see **lő-tt-* 'shoot-T-') violates the constraint on the length of T_{Th}-nouns. The potentially preferred longer variant ([*?]*löv-ött-* 'shoot-T-'), however, simply happens not to exist, not even as a non-definite past-tense form (with which the T_{Th}-noun form matches, see (439-440)), in spite of the existence of such forms as *löv-ök* 'shoot-1Sg' and *löv-ő-* 'shoot-Ó-'. The marked status of the T_{Ev}-noun variants in the (a',a") examples in Table 29 also requires a short comment. Although these variants are the shortest possible forms, the geminated *-t* makes it more difficult to evoke the T_{Ev}-noun interpretation (even if, as in the (a")-example, the first *-t* simply belongs to the verb stem; see also (436b")).

We have constructed a minimal pair of sentences to demonstrate the aforementioned possibility for the total phonetic coincidence, see (438). It is worth noticing that "opposite" meanings are associated with the homophonous forms in that the possessor of the T_{Th}-noun is the input Agent (438a), here as well as in every example, practically inevitably, while the possessor of the T_{Ev}-noun counterpart is the input Theme (see 1.3.1.4.2.1 and 1.3.1.4.2.3).

(438) ● Total phonetic coincidence between T_{Ev}-nouns and T_{Th}-nouns

a. [??]Más sem bánt volna jobban *a likvidál-t-am-mal.*
other either treat.Past.3Sg be.Cond better *the liquidate-T-Poss.1Sg-Ins*
'No one else would have treated *the person whom I liquidated* better.'

b. [??]Új szakaszába lépne az erőszakhullám *a likvidál-t-am-mal.*
new perod.Poss.3Sg.Ill step.Cond.3Sg the wave_of_violence *the liquidate-T-Poss.1Sg-Ins*
'*With me having been liquidated,* the wave of violence would step into a new period.'

The semantic difference between the two kinds of relationships between the possessor and the two kinds of T-nouns is worth "confronting" with Den Dikken's (2015: 136) following claim on the potential morphemic status of *-j-* within the possessedness suffix *-(j)A* in Hungarian nouns which (happen to) have two

possessed forms: "...Hungarian makes a morphosemantic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession—a distinction that fits in with the linguistic universal ... [proposed by Haspelmath (2008)], which says that, in languages that distinguish morphologically between the two, alienably possessed DPs are morphologically richer than inalienably possessed ones..."

When does the additional *-j-* appear in T-nouns with a third-person possessor? As was mentioned above, it always appears with T_{TH}-nouns, where the possessor inevitably corresponds to the input Agent, and never with T_{EV}-nouns, where the possessor corresponds to the input Theme (or, "at most", to a non-prototypical Agent which can be regarded as [+affected] in the spirit of Dowty (1991) in the absence of an input object, see (455a,a',d) *versus* (456e) in 1.3.1.4.2.3)). The Agent is held to stand in a non-intrinsic relationship with the verb (that corresponds to the output possessed noun), in contrast to the intrinsic relationship between verbs and their Themes (Marantz 1984, Kratzer 1996). The appearance of the additional *-j-*, thus, is associated with the less intrinsic semantic relationship, in harmony with Den Dikken's (2015) thesis.

Note in passing that all $Ó_{AG}$-noun forms with a third-person possessor (see examples (437b,c,d,e), for instance) contain the *-jA* allomorph of the possessedness suffix *-(j)A* in spite of the fact that this possessor corresponds to the input Theme. This fact, at first glance, seems to serve as a counterexample to Den Dikken's (2015) thesis. That is not the case, however. In these nouns, the appearance of *-j-* is motivated exclusively morphophonolically: only the *-jA* allomorph of the possessedness suffix *-(j)A* can be attached to nouns ending in a vowel, and Ó-nouns *per definitionem* end in a vowel. The *-j-* in question, thus, in the absence of alternatives without a *-j-*, does not have the "morphemic status" responsible for the alienable interpretation according to Den Dikken (2015).

Having differentiated T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns from each other, let us now differentiate them from other categories of words derived by means of *-(Vt)t* suffixes which function in Hungarian grammar.

Just like *-Ó*, which has a deverbal nominalizer function in addition to its function as a present / continuous / simultaneous / active participial derivational suffix (see (334) in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.3), *-(Vt)t* also functions as a participial derivational suffix, namely, as a past / perfect / anterior / passive derivational suffix (439c). Furthermore, it must be noted that both this participial derivational suffix (439c) and the deverbal nominalizer deriving T_{TH}-nouns (439b)—but not the one deriving T_{EV}-nouns (441b)—produce the same phonetic form, which is also the same as the singular third-person non-definite past-tense form of the input verb (439a).

The T_{TH}-noun constructions and the past participial constructions can be distinguished on the basis of essentially the same phenomena as Ó-nouns could be distinguished from present participles. First, the input subject (e.g., *Péter* in (439a)) must appear as a possessor beside deverbal nominals (439b), while it can appear only in an *által*-phrase with T-participles (439c), which is optional. Second, input adverbs (e.g., *tavaly* 'last_year' in (439a)) must appear adjectivalized with deverbal nominals (439b) while they remain unchanged with participles (439c).

(439) ● Distinguishing the nominal derivational suffix *-(Vt)t* from the participial derivational suffix *-(Vt)t*

a. Péter tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett egy lány-t.
Péter last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-Past.3Sg one girl-Acc
'Péter discovered a girl last year in X-Factor.'

b. Meghívták *Péter tavaly-i X-faktor-os fel-fedez-ett-jé-t.*
invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *Péter last_year-Adj X-Factor-Attr up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'*The person whom Péter discovered last year in X-Factor* was invited.'

c. Meghívták
invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl
a Péter által tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett énekes-t.
the Péter by last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-T singer-Acc
'*The singer whom Péter discovered last year in X-Factor* was invited.'

d. Melyik énekest hívták meg?
which singer.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
A Péter által tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett-et?
the Péter by last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-T-Acc
'Which singer was invited? *Was it the one who was discovered by Péter last year in X-Factor?*'

d'. *?Meghívták *a Péter által tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett-et.*
invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the Péter by last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-T-Acc*
Intended meaning: '*The person whom Péter discovered last year in X-Factor* was invited.'

Constructions derived by means of the participial derivational suffix *-(Vt)t* are not necessarily associated with a phonetically overt nominal head. In a case like this, the nominal head must be recoverable. Since this requirement is satisfied in (439d) above, in which the first sentence contains an overt antecedent for the phonetically absent nominal head in the second sentence, the construction in question is well-formed. The same construction in (439d'), however, in which the given sentence is meant to be interpreted "out of the blue", is ill-formed exactly because the requirement is not satisfied.

We can exploit the two differences in syntactic extendability (with possessor/*által*-phrase and adjective/adverb) to distinguish T-nouns from T-participles.

Just like in the case of Ó-participles (see (335) in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.3), let us investigate the analogous plural forms (440). It can be observed that, in contrast to Ó-participle constructions, the acceptability of T-participle constructions does not improve significantly (440d').

(440) ● Plural constructions derived by means of the two different derivational suffixes *-(Vt)t*

a. Péter tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett három lány-t.
Péter last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-Past.3Sg three girl-Acc
'Péter discovered three girls last year in X-Factor.'

b. Meghívták *Péter tavaly-i X-faktor-os fel-fedez-ett-je-i-t.*
invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *Péter last_year-Adj X-Factor-Attr up-cover-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc*
'*The people whom Péter discovered last year in X-Factor* were invited.'

c. Meghívták
invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl
a Péter által tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett énekes-ek-et.
the Péter by last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-T singer-Pl-Acc
'*The singers whom Péter discovered last year in X-Factor* were invited.'

d. Melyik énekeseket hívták meg?
which singer.Pl.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl perf
A Péter által tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett-ek-et?
the Péter by last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-T-Pl-Acc
'Which singers were invited? *Was it those who were discovered by Péter last year in X-Factor?*'

d'. ??Meghívták *a Péter által tavaly az X-Faktor-ban fel-fedez-ett-ek-et.*
invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *the Péter by last_year the X-Factor-Ine up-cover-T-Pl-Acc*
Intended meaning: '*The people whom Péter discovered last year in X-Factor* were invited.'

The deverbal nominalizer deriving T_{EV}-nouns (441b) produces phonetic forms which are essentially the same as the singular third-person definite past-tense forms of the input verbs (441a). Now, when the input argument structure is transitive, it is the input object (e.g., *Ameriká-t* 'America-Acc' in (441a)) that must appear as a possessor with T_{EV}-nouns (441b). As for input adverbs (e.g., *váratlan-ul* 'unexpected-Adv' in (441a)), they must appear adjectivalized with T_{EV}-nouns (441b), but these do not readily accept adjectives, either (see the comments on (472) in 1.3.1.4.4).

(441) ● Distinguishing the nominal derivational suffix *-(Vt)t* from the past tense suffix *-(Vt)t* in the definite conjugation

a. Kolumbusz 1492-ben váratlan-ul fel-fedez-t-e Ameriká-t.
Columbus 1492-Ine unexpected-Adv up-cover-Past-DefObj.3Sg America-Acc
'Columbus discovered America in 1492 unexpectedly.'

b. *Amerika* (?)*(* ??*1492-es váratlan) fel-fedez-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött.
America 1492-Adj unexpected up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With America's (unexpected) discovery (in 1492),* a new age began.'

c. (?)Amerikának nevezték el *a Kolumbusz fel-fedez-t-e* kontinenst.
America.Dat name.Past.DefObj.3Pl away *the Columbus up-cover-T-3Sg* continent.Acc
'The continent *discovered by Columbus* was named America.'

Note in passing that there is another, quite archaic, kind of participle, exemplified in (441c) above, whose phonetic form is also the same as that of T_{EV}-nouns. This special participle is discussed in volume F. Here we mention only the following interesting difference between it and the T_{EV}-noun construction: if the input verbal argument structure is transitive, the possessor(-like dependent) of the participle corresponds to the input subject (441c) while the possessor of the T_{EV}-noun to the input object (441b).

Remark 10. In order to understand the entire synchronic system of different *-(Vt)t*-derivations sometime in the future, it is also necessary to investigate the *-(Vt)t*-gerund, recently analyzed by Dékány (2014), which used to be very productive in Old Hungarian (see also Tóth 2011a and Radics 1992), but does not exist in Modern Hungarian.

As is demonstrated in example (i) below (Dékány 2014: 326), this gerundive construction is similar to T_{EV}-noun constructions in denoting complex events, but it is more verbal for the following reasons: the input object retains its accusative case marking (see

iozagat 'goods.Poss.Acc'), and it takes adverbs, instead of adjectives (see *gonozul* 'viciously').

Nevertheless, note in passing that certain Old Hungarian gerundive constructions (see Dékány's (2014: 326) example in (ii) below) contain unmarked objects (together with a Dative case-marked possessor). The status of unmarked objects in Old Hungarian is characterized by Dékány (2014: 326) as follows: "[they] only occur in preverbal position; this is a fossil from the Proto-Hungarian period and does not mean that the verb is unable to assign Accusative case to its object. Proto-Hungarian was an SOV language with an unmarked object (É. Kiss 2013) [...] By the Old Hungarian period the word order had already shifted to SVO (or Topic Focus V X*) and object marking became obligatory in finite clauses. However, certain types of non-finite clauses still featured a strictly verb-final order, and the lack of Accusative case on preverbal objects of non-finites also remained a possibility [...] In Old Hungarian postverbal objects of non-finites, including *-t* gerunds, already obligatorily bear Accusative case while in Modern Hungarian both pre- and postverbal objects do so."

(i) vetkez-t-em ... [mas ember iozag-a-t
sin-Past-1Sg other man goods-Poss-Acc
gonozol keuan-t-om-ba].
viciously wish-T-1Sg-Ine
'I have sinned in viciously wanting (to have) the goods of others.'

(ii) hall-ott-ac [ǫ-nèk-i è ièlènseg te-t-é-∅-t].
hear-Past-3Pl (s)he-Dat-3Sg this deed do-T-Poss-3Sg-Acc
'They heard of his doing this deed.'

(iii) nap-kel-t-e / men-t-é-n / [jár-t-á-nyi erő]
sun-rise-T-Poss.3Sg / go-T-Poss.3Sg / go-T-Poss.3Sg-ful strength
'sunrise / along / [strength enough to walk]' (Dékány 2014: 321/(10-12))

As for nominal features of Old Hungarian verbal gerunds, Dékány (2014: 323) mentions the following facts. They have the same distribution as nouns: "they can appear in argument positions of verbs (as subjects, bearing the morphologically unmarked Nominative case, or as objects, bearing Accusative case [see (ii) above], and as nominal arguments (i.e., as possessors bearing Dative case). [...] Just like nouns, gerunds can also bear oblique cases (e.g., Inessive [see (i)], Sublative, Causal-final [Causalis])." As for their nominal distribution, the Old Hungarian gerund is more nominal than the present-day T_{Ev}-noun construction (cf. (442) in 1.3.1.4.1).

It is also a nominal feature that, "their subject [i.e., the input subject] is marked as a possessor" (Dékány 2014: 335). In this sense, thus, they differ from T_{Ev}-nouns, whose possessor preferably corresponds to the input object.

Note in passing that, as Dékány pointed out (2014: 320–321)), there are some *-(Vt)t*-gerundive constructions that remain as fossils in present-day Hungarian (iii). Mainly they are frozen in the 3Sg form (cf. (443) in 1.3.1.4.1; see also Radics (1992)).

1.3.1.4.1. Form of the derived noun

The series of examples in (442) below presents the nominal distribution of T_{Ev}-nouns.

In contrast to ÁS-nouns, Ó-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns (see (218) in 1.3.1.2.1, (336) in 1.3.1.3.1, and (444) below, respectively), T_{Ev}-nouns cannot serve as (definite) predicates (442a), subjects (442b), objects (442c), arguments of postpositions (442e), nor possessors (442f). They can appear only as certain oblique case-marked noun phrases (442d-d') while they are unacceptable with other oblique case markings (442d"-d'").

(442)● The (very low level of) noun-like external distribution of T_{Ev}-nouns

a. *Szerintem a korszak legfőbb eredménye *Amerika fel-fedez-t-e.*
according_to.1Sg the age cardinal result.Poss.3Sg *America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'I think that the age's cardinal achievement is *the discovery of America.*'

b. *?*Amerika fel-fedez-t-e* meglepte az embereket.
America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg surprise.Past.DefObj3Sg the person.Pl.Acc
Intended meaning: '*The discovery of America* surprised the people.'

c. *?Megünnepelték *Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-t.*
celebrate.Past.DefObj.3Pl *America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
Intended meaning: 'They celebrated *the discovery of America.*'

d. (?)*Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött.
America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*When America was discovered,* a new age had begun.'

d'. ?*Amerika fel-fedez-t-e-kor* új korszak kezdődött.
America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*When America was discovered,* a new age had begun.'

d". *?Sokat beszéltek *Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-ről.*
much.Acc talk.Past.3Pl *America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Del*
'They talked a lot about *the discovery of America.*'

d'". *?Nincs semmi különös *Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-ben.*
be_not.3Sg nothing special *America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
Intended meaning: 'There is nothing special *about the discovery of America.*'

e. *?Sokan érdeklődtek *Amerika fel-fedez-t-e iránt.*
many.people be_interested.Past.3Pl *America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg towards*
Intended meaning: 'Many people were interested in *the fact that America had been discovered.*'

f. *?Sok minden történt *Amerika fel-fedez-t-e idején.*
a_lot every happen.Past.3Sg *America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup*
Intended meaning: 'Many things happened *in those days when America had been discovered.*'

The low level of noun-like external distribution of T_{Ev}-nouns seriously questions the treatment of T_{Ev}-nominalization as a productive derivation in present-day Hungarian.

On the basis of the sufficiently acceptable examples (442d-d'), this very restricted distribution can be attributed to the following semantic factor: a T_{Ev}-noun, instead of denoting a complex event as an entire process with its numerous details, specifically refers to a certain point in time associated with the complex event. This point in time is readily designated in the case of telic procedures or processes as their cumulative point (when the procedure or process successfully comes to its intended or expected end; see Asher and Lascarides (2005: 18); see also Kiefer (2000b)). Atelic processes, however, have no such salient point in time; hence, atelic verbal constructions cannot serve as input to T_{Ev}-nominalization (see (456c,d) in 1.3.1.4.2.3).

It is the point-like temporal reference, therefore, that "selects" such case(-like element) as *-kor* 'at (the time of)' in (442d') or the Instrumental case in the special temporal expression given in (442d). The unacceptability of the example in (442f), which also contains a temporal expression, can also be attributed to the same

semantics provided above: the expression *idején* ‘time.Poss.3Sg.Sup’ refers to a period of time, and not to a point in time.

This very special way of denoting and the restrictive semantic domain can explain, on the one hand, why only certain case markers can readily be attached to T_{Ev}-nouns, providing a very restricted external distribution, and, on the other, why the input verbal constructions must satisfy several requirements, providing a very restricted input variety. Nevertheless, once it is accepted that there is a certain semantic domain over which T_{Ev}-nominalization functions predictably and calculably, it can be regarded as a productive derivation, however narrow this domain is.

The examples in (443) below provide some event denoting *-(Vt)t*-constructions which are case marked in other ways than was defined on the basis of (442). In the absence of accusative case-marked and adverbial dependents, their classification is not easy. They basically satisfy our formal criteria defining T_{Ev}-noun constructions. Yet, for the same reasons, they also satisfy the formal criteria of the Old Hungarian gerund discussed in Remark 10 in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4. It is relevant that they differ from the examples in (iii) in Remark 10 in that they are not frozen in the 3Sg form but they “still allow non-3Sg subjects” (Dékány 2014: 320–321), so they can be regarded as near-lexicalized forms (see also Radics 1992). It is also relevant that they do not satisfy the semantic definition of T_{Ev}-nouns as expressions denoting designated points in time.

It is left to future research how to embed these poorly productive *-(Vt)t*-constructions in the extremely diversified synchronic system of *-(Vt)t*-nouns and -participles (partly independently of their origin). It is also an open question whether there are special semantic domains within which certain subgroups of the given *-(Vt)t*-constructions (see (443c)) can be regarded as productive.

(443) ● Fossilized constructions satisfying certain criteria of T_{Ev}-noun constructions

a. jár-t-om-ban / hol-t-om-ig / tud-t-uk-kal
go-T-Poss.1Sg-Ine / die-T-Poss.1Sg-Ter / know-T-Poss.3Pl-Ins
‘[during my going about] / [until my dying] / [with their knowledge]’ (Dékány 2014: 321/(9))

b. [tud-t-unk-ra ad] / [tud-t-om-on kívül] / [tud-t-om nélkül]
know-T-Poss.1Pl-Sub give.3Sg / know-T-Poss.1Sg-Sup outside / know-T-Poss.1Sg without
‘[(s)he lets us know] / [without my awareness] / [without my awareness]’

c. ijed-t-ünk-ben / röp-t-ünk-ben / fel-alá-mászkál-t-unk-ban
be_frightened-T-Poss.1Pl-Ine / fly-T-Poss.1Pl-Ine / up-down-walk_around-T-Poss.1Pl-Ine
‘[of our fright] / [while we are flying] / [while we are walking around]’

Let us now turn to the question of the noun-like external distribution of T_{Th}-nouns.

As can be observed in the series of examples in (444), a T_{Th}-noun has the external distribution of an ordinary noun: it can be used as a primary predicate (444a), as a (nominative case-marked) subject (444b-b’), as an (accusative case-marked) object (444c), and as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (444d).

(444) ● The noun-like external distribution of T_{TH}-nouns

a. Dóri volt *Péter fel-fedez-ett-je?*
Dóri be.Past.3Sg *Péter up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg*
'Was it Dóri *who was discovered by Péter?*'

b. (?)*Péter fel-fedez-ett-je* megnyerte a versenyt.
Péter up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg win.Past.DefObj3Sg the competition.Acc
'*The person discovered by Péter* won the competition.'

b'. *Péter fel-fedez-ett-je* nyerte meg a versenyt.
Péter up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg win.Past.DefObj3Sg perf the competition.Acc
'*The person discovered by Péter* won the competition.'

c. (?)Megdicsértük *Péter fel-fedez-ett-jé-t.*
praise.Past.DefObj.1Pl *Péter up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'We praised *the person discovered by Péter*.'

d. (?)Sokat beszéltek *Péter fel-fedez-ett-jé-ről.*
much.Acc talk.Past.3Pl *Péter up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Del*
'They talked a lot about *the person discovered by Péter*.'

The slight difference between the grammaticality judgments given above suggests that a T_{TH}-noun construction can more readily be used as a predicative expression to characterize someone (see the primary predicate in (444a) and the also predicative focus information-structural function in (444b')) than as an ordinary referring expression, at least "out of the blue" (444b,c,d).

Recall at this point that Ó-nouns can be characterized by the fact that they productively express certain "active key participants" of the complex events expressed by the input verbs and they can productively undergo a kind of conversion yielding nouns expressing the typical and/or institutionalized "active key participants" of event types, which we referred to as TPD_{AG}-nouns, TPD_{INST}-nouns, and TPD_{LOC}-nouns. Accordingly, the question arises as to whether the complex-event-based T_{TH}-nouns have similar—event-type-based—TPD_{TH}-noun counterparts, expressing the typical and/or institutionalized "Theme-like key participants" of event types, that is, their affected or created (i.e., effected) participants.

As is demonstrated in (445a-a') below, several words qualify as TPD_{TH}-nouns on the basis of the analogy above. Either transitive argument structures (445a) or unaccusative ones (445a') can serve as the basis for TPD_{TH}-noun derivation (whose crucial component is an instance of conversion, with the additional stipulation that exclusively perfectivizing preverbs are deleted; see, for instance, the relevant comments on (219) in 1.3.1.2.1).

(445) ● TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. be-oszt-ott / meg-hív-ott / alkalmaz-ott / küld-ött
into-divide-T / perf-invite-T / employ-T / send-T
'[staff member] / invitee / employee / envoy '

a'. fel-nő-tt / sérül-t
up-grow-T / get_injured-T
'adult / [injured person]'

b. vádl-ott (*cf.* *vádol-t) / hal-ott (*cf.* *hal-t)
accuse-T accuse-T / die-T die-T
'accused / dead'

c. címz-ett (*cf.* Meg-címz-em a level-et Ili-nek.)
address-T perf-address-DefObj.1Sg the letter-Acc Ili-Dat
'addressee' 'I address the letter to Ili.'

d. be-fő-tt / sül-t / köröz-ött
into-cook-T / fry-T / surround-T
'compote / roast / Liptauer'

e. Eljöttek *a* **szeret-t-ek* / ˇ*szeret-t-e-i-m* / **szeret-ett-je-i-m.*
come.Past.3Pl *the* *like-T-Pl* / *like-T-Poss-Pl-1Sg* / *like-T-Poss-Pl-1Sg*
Intended meaning: '*The / My / My beloved people* have come.'

e'. Ízlett neki **[a főz-(e)t]* / ˇ*[Ili főz-t-je]* / **[Ili főz-ött-je].*
like.Past.3Sg Dat.1Sg *the cook-T* / *Ili cook-T-Poss.3Sg* / *Ili cook-T-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'He liked *[what had been cooked] / [Ili's cooking] / [Ili's cooking].*'

The examples in (445b-e') above demonstrate TPD_{TH}-nouns which cannot be regarded as regularly derived representatives of this category, for different reasons.

In the case of the examples in (445b), the morphemic composition of the given TPD_{TH}-nouns is regular, but it is not the expected *-(Vt)t*-allomorph that appears in the lexicalized phonetic form. The regular conversional method of their derivation would yield the use of the short allomorph of the suffix *-(Vt)t*, but the potential phonetic forms derived in this way are unacceptable, as is illustrated by the parenthesized alternatives, which are, otherwise, (the only) acceptable phonetic forms (in other constructions; cf. (446)).

The instances of this irregular "allomorphic" lexicalization suggest that some preference for the long allomorph of the suffix *-(Vt)t* (with the geminated *-t*) is typical of TPD_{TH}-nouns to an even greater extent than of T_{TH}-nouns. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the phonetic form of the TPD_{TH}-noun *does* contain the short allomorph of the suffix *-(Vt)t*, which is the phonologically expectable alternative with verb stems with a *-Vl* ending (see, for instance, *sérül-t* 'get_injured-T' in (445a')).

The example in (445c) above is a fake TPD_{TH}-noun, because its denotatum corresponds to the dative case-marked Beneficiary (*Ili-nek* 'Ili-Dat') of the verbal argument structure behind the given TPD_{TH}-noun, and not to the accusative case-marked Theme (*a level-et* 'the letter-Acc'). The only "excuse" for this irregular type of derivation is that it is the Beneficiary that is [+HUMAN], and not the Theme. Recall that the demand for [+HUMAN] denotata (see the relevant comment on (434d-d') in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4) is a characteristic feature (of the interpretation) of T_{TH}-nouns, which serve as the input to the conversion deriving TPD_{TH}-nouns.

There are several TPD_{TH}-nouns, however, which have been lexicalized with a [–HUMAN] interpretation (445d). It is left to future research to decide whether we can say that there is an extraordinary semantic domain ('prepared foods') within which TPD_{TH}-noun formation, and perhaps T_{TH}-nominalization as well, can be regarded as productive derivations, or the examples in (445d) are simply fossils.

Our last examples in this series present problematic cases in the group of TPD_{TH}-nouns with a [+HUMAN] interpretation (445e) as well as in the exceptional group of TPD_{TH}-nouns with a [–HUMAN] interpretation (445e'). They are problematic due to their unexpected morphophonological structure (*szeret-t-e-*

instead of **szeret-ett-je-*, and *főz-t-je* instead of **főz-ött-je*). Note in passing that the phonetic form *szeretteim* 'my beloved people' lacks even the morphemic *-j-*, which has been claimed to be the emblematic feature of T_{TH}-nouns. Note also that the phonetic form *főzet* is associated with a special lexicalized meaning: 'herb potion'. If the [–HUMAN] (445d)-type is regarded as regularly derived TPD_{TH}-nouns, such nouns as *főzet* 'herb potion' and *főzelék* 'a Hungarian boiled vegetable dish thickened with sour cream and flour' are both to be regarded as (irregularly derived) lexicalized blocking forms of the potential TPD_{TH}-noun *főz-ött* 'cook-T'.

The forms *szeretteim* 'like.T.Poss.Pl.1Sg' (445e) and *főztje* 'cook.T.Poss.3Sg' (445e') are problematic also because they must come with a possessor, which obligatorily corresponds to the subject of the verbal argument structure behind their derivation. This latter fact suggests that the given constructions are T_{TH}-nouns while the irregular phonetic forms suggest an alternative hypothesis according to which they are lexicalized fossils. It is not clear either whether the interpretations of the given deverbal nominal constructions can be based on complex events, or they can only be associated with event types. The latter version would also be evidence for their status as fossilized TPD_{TH}-nouns; which would mean, however, that certain expressions can be fossilized as relational nouns. And once it is accepted that there are fossilized relational TPD-nouns, the existence of a thematically designated possessor will not serve any more as unquestionable evidence for a T-noun (or Ó-noun) status in the grammatical system. These serious theoretical questions are left to future research.

The series of examples in (446) below presents the family of *-(Vt)t*-constructions based on the verb *megvádol* 'accuse' according to the system sketched in (439-441). The family is worth reviewing because the corresponding TPD_{TH}-noun variant is slightly ("allomorphically") irregular (445b). Note that even the 3Sg non-definite past-tense verb form (446a), the non-agreeing T-participle (446b), and the T_{TH}-noun variant (446c) contain the short allomorph of the suffix *-(Vt)t* (compare these variants to (439a,c,b), respectively), due to the phonotactical structure of the basic verb (with its *-Vl* ending). The fossilized TPD_{TH}-noun variant is therefore exceptional in that it is isolated with its long *-(Vt)t*-allomorph.

As for the choice between the allomorphs of the possessedness suffix *-(j)A*, only the Theme-denoting nouns (the T_{TH}-noun (446c) and the TPD_{TH}-noun (446d)) contain the longer allomorph (with the morphemic *-j-*), while the other variants in question contain the shorter, *-j*-less allomorph. This is in total harmony with our observation illustrated in Table 29 in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4. For the sake of clarity, the following difference is worth mentioning. In the case of the T_{TH}-noun in (446c), the possessor must correspond to the input subject; that is, Péter is obligatorily to be understood as the person who accused Ili. In the case of the TPD_{TH}-noun in (446d), however, the possessor (*Péter*) can be understood as, for instance, the judge of Ili's trial, or a witness who takes part in the trial, or even an ordinary spectator of the trial.

(446) ● The system of *-(Vt)t*-constructions based on the verb *megvádol* 'accuse'

a. Péter tavaly meg-vádol-t / *meg-vádl-ott egy nő-t.
Péter last_year perf-accuse-Past.3Sg / perf-accuse-Past.3Sg a woman-Acc
'Péter accused a woman last year.'

a'. Péter tavaly meg-vádol-t-a / *meg-vádl-ott-a Ili-t.
Péter last_year perf-accuse-Past-DefObj.3Sg / perf-accuse-Past.DefObj.3Sg Ili-Acc
'Péter accused Ili last year.'

b. Ili volt *a Péter által tavaly meg-vádol-t/ *meg-vádl-ott nő.*
Ili be.Past.3Sg *the Péter by last_year perf-accuse-T / perf-accuse-T woman*
'Ili was *the woman that Péter accused last year.*'

b'. *A Péter ?(??meg-)vádol-t-a / *(*meg-)vádl-ott-a nő* kiborult.
the Péter (perf-)accuse-T-3Sg / (perf-)accuse-T-3Sg woman get_upset.Past.3Sg
'*The woman that Péter accused* got upset.'

c. Ili volt *Péter egyik tavalyi (?)meg-vádol-t-ja / *meg-vádl-ott-ja.*
Ili be.Past.3Sg *Péter one_of last_year.Adj perf-accuse-T-Poss.3Sg / perf-accuse-T-Poss.3Sg*
'Ili was *one of the people that Péter accused last year.*'

c'. *Ili tavalyi (?)meg-vádol-t-á-val / *meg-vádl-ott-á-val* Juli kiborult.
Ili last_year.Adj perf-accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / perf-accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins Juli get_upset.Past.3Sg
'Juli got upset *when Ili was accused last year.*'

d. Ili volt *Péter kedvenc tavalyi *vádol-t-ja /✓vádl-ott-ja.*
Ili be.Past.3Sg *Péter favorite last_year.Adj accuse-T-Poss.3Sg / accuse-T-Poss.3Sg*
'Ili was *Péter's favorite accused last year.*'

It is also worth noting that the "basic" verb *meg-vádol* 'perf-accuse' contains an exclusively perfectivizing preverb. As can be expected on the basis of our findings pertaining to ÁS-nouns and Ó-nouns (see, for instance, the relevant comments on (219) in 1.3.1.2.1), the T_{Ev}-noun (446c') and the T_{Th}-noun (446c) retain this while the TPD_{Th}-noun (446d) does not. As for T-participles, the non-agreeing T-participles (446b) retain exclusively-perfectivizing preverbs while the agreeing ones preferably do not (446b').

TPD_{Th}-nouns, due to their conversional derivation, are regularly homophonous with the corresponding T-nouns (445a-a'). Many TPD_{Th}-nouns, however, do not coincide phonetically with the corresponding T-nouns (447), as was observed in the relation of SED-nouns and the corresponding ÁS-nouns; see (221-223) in subsection 1.3.1.2.1. In cases like this, the "potential words" that the process of conversion would yield are blocked by idiosyncratic forms which already exist in the language (often due to the language reform in the 19th century); see the primeless and primed examples in (447), respectively (NB: the asterisks associated with potential regularly derived TPD_{Th}-nouns here do not mean that the given phonetic forms do not exist in Hungarian, as they are past tense forms of verbs, but they mean that they cannot be interpreted as nouns).

The morphological relation between the blocking idiosyncratic TPD_{Th}-noun forms and the corresponding input verbs shows a rather varied picture.

The first series in (447a') demonstrates the quite frequent *-Vnc* suffix. Note in passing that, in the case of the verb stem *küld* 'send', not only the irregularly derived version *küldönc* 'courier' exists, but also the regularly derived TPD_{Th}-noun variant *küldött* 'send.T' does (447a), but with a somewhat different meaning ('envoy').

The examples in (447b') present suffixes primarily typical of [–HUMAN] deverbal nominals (see also 1.3.1.6) but here they produce person denoting (blocking) TPD_{Th}-nouns.

The series in (447c') shows another type of blocking TPD_{TH}-noun form. Here there are common (relative) stems (e.g., *nyugdíj* 'pension' and *tan* 'doctrine') shared by the TPD_{TH}-nouns (*nyugdíjas* 'pensioner' and *tanonc* 'acolyte') and the corresponding verbs (*nyugdíjaz* 'pension off' and *tanít* 'teach').

The type shown in (447d-d') below is very rare among TPD_{TH}-nouns: the criterion of this type is that there must be a foreign stem whose original nominal version (*protezsé* 'protégé') and its appropriately "Hungarianized" verbal version (*protezsál* 'favor / lay on influence for someone') must simultaneously exist in Hungarian.

(447) ● Deriving TPD_{TH}-nouns: blocking forms

a. #küld-ött / *véd-ett / *kegyel-t / *lel-t
send-T / defend-T / favor-T / found-T

a'. küldönc / védenc / kegyenc / lelenc
courier / protégé / minion / foundling
'courier / protégé / minion / foundling'

b. *tanít-ott / *fog-ott
teach-T / capture-T

b'. tanítvány / fogoly
disciple / captive
'disciple / captive'

c. *nyugdíjaz-ott / *tanít-ott / *bérel-t
pension_off-T / teach-T / hire-T

c. nyugdíjas / tanonc / bérenc
pensioner / acolyte / hireling
'pensioner / acolyte / hireling'

d. protezsál-t
favor-T

d'. protezsé
protégé
'protégé'

Let us now turn to the question of the noun-like external distribution of TPD_{TH}-nouns.

As is illustrated in the series of examples in (448) by means of the TPD_{TH}-noun *vádlott* 'accused' discussed in (446d) above, a TPD_{TH}-noun has the external distribution of an ordinary noun: it can be used as a primary predicate (448a), as a (nominative case-marked) subject (448b), as an (accusative case-marked) object (448c), and as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (448d).

(448) ● The noun-like external distribution of TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. Én már *vádl-ott* vagyok.
I already *accuse-T* be.1Sg
'I already stand *accused*.'

b. *A vádl-ott* álljon fel!
the accuse-T stand.Subj.3Sg up
'*The accused* will rise!'

c. *A vádl-ott-at* tegnap kivégezték.
the accuse-T-Acc yesterday execute.Past.3Pl
'*The accused* was executed yesterday.'

d. Sokat beszéltek *a vádl-ott-ról.*
much.Acc talk.Past.3Pl *the accuse-T-Del*
'They talked a lot about *the accused.*'

Let us conclude this subsection with the question of whether complex-event denoting T_{Ev}-nouns have event-type denoting counterparts in the same way as complex-event-based T_{TH}-nouns have event-type-based TPD_{TH}-noun counterparts, and complex-event denoting ÁS-nouns have event-type denoting SED-noun counterparts. The examples in (449a-a') below present words which may fulfill this potential "SED_T-noun" role, at least on the basis of their meaning and certain aspects of their form, by which we mean the non-geminated *-t* in their *-At* ending, typical of T_{Ev}-nouns. Note that the presence of the vowel *-A-* in this "non-possessed" form of the suffix (*-At*) may have to do with the absence of the otherwise obligatorily successive possessedness suffix (cf. *-t-A* 'T-Poss'). Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that the presence of *-A-* in *-At* is forced by phonotactic rules of Hungarian; see, for instance, the noun *szolgálat* 'service' and the past-tense verb—and past participle and potential TPD_{TH}-noun form—*szolgált* 'served', both based on the verb stem *szolgál* 'serve'. We raise the hypothesis that the role of *-A-* in *-At* is exactly to differentiate the potential (historically primarily) event-type denoting *-At*-nouns (449a,a',c) from the Theme denoting TPD_{TH}-nouns (see *ítélet* 'judgment' versus *elítélt* 'convict', both based on the verb *ítél* 'judge').

Recall that T_{Ev}-nouns are characterized by a very restricted semantic domain. They have a "point-like temporal reference", which has so inherent a relationship to complex event denotation (exactly due to the temporal factor) that it is unclear whether it is possible at all to define semantically a corresponding temporally independent event type. Such *-At*-constructions as those exemplified in (449a-a') below do not show any signs of such a meaning component, but they denote event types in the general way typical of SED-nouns. Therefore, it is preferred to regard them as lexicalized forms, which can fit in the system of deverbal nominalizations as blocking forms which "block" the regular conversional derivation of potential SED-noun variants from the corresponding ÁS-nouns. In other words, in their "unequal competition", ÁS-nouns must presumably be regarded as the primary, or productive, conversional derivational source of event-type denoting expressions with T_{Ev}-nouns providing blocking forms (in the form of the conversionally resulting *-At*-nouns), and not *vice versa.* Therefore in the following subsections we do not investigate the properties of *-At*-nouns, since, as (the blocking forms of) SED-nouns, every claim that holds for regularly derived SED-nouns (1.3.1.2), also holds for them.

As was mentioned above, the examples in (449a-a'), chosen from the literature, present the core class of *-At*-nouns which denote event types or—not easily distinguished—their abstract results. As is illustrated in (449b-b'), there are many *-At*-nouns which denote results which are already not abstract but manifest themselves in groups of people (449b) or in objects (449b'). Many of the result denoting nouns were created (or resuscitated) in the course of the language reform

in the 19th century (see Bárczi, Benkő and Berrár 1999: 332); all types contain such examples (e.g., *káprázat* 'illusion' in (449a'), *egyesület* 'club' in (449b), and *füzet* 'booklet' in (449b')).

(449) ● The subtypes of *-At*-nouns

a. él-et / akar-at / felel-et
live-T / want-T / answer-T
'life / will / answer' (Dékány 2014: 322/(18))

a'. vadász-at / cseleked-et / szolgál-at / gyűlöl-et / javasl-at / kápráz-at
hunt-T / act-T / serve-T / hate-T / propose-T / blink-T
'hunting / action / service / hatred' (H. Varga 2008: 66) / 'proposal / illusion'

b. egyesül-et / társul-at
unite-T / associate-T
'club / association'

b'. főz-et / ir-at / füz-et
cook-T / write-T / bind-T
'[herb potion] / document / booklet' (H. Varga 2008: 66)

c. szeret-et
like-T
'love' (see (282) in subsection 1.3.1.2.3, sub V)

c'. lé-t / vol-t-a
be-T / be-T-Poss.3Sg
'being / [(someone's) being'] (see 1.3.1.2.3, sub I; and 1.3.1.4.3)

The last examples in (449c-c') present exceptional cases in "deviant" input verb classes (see (216) in subsection 1.3.1.1), in which exceptional cases are *ab ovo* expected to appear. The given examples are exceptional because the "competition" between ÁS-nominalization and T_{Ev}-nominalization has ended in favor of the latter in the following sense: it is the *-At*-noun that (primarily) plays the role of not only the event-type denoting deverbal nominal but also (or definitely preferably) of the complex-event denoting one. Note in passing that *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' is exceptional even relative to its exceptional status in that it has no non-possessed form (**vol-(a)t* 'be-T').

All in all, we follow Laczkó (2000a: 335) in regarding *-At*-nouns as not being results of any productive derivation, at least in the synchronic system of the language. We thus reject the challenging hypothesis that they are due to a productive conversion based on T_{Ev}-nouns. Instead, they form a huge group of lexicalized forms, outside which the potential event-type meanings are expressed by regularly derived ÁS-noun-based SED-nouns (450a'), or by the irregularly derived SED-nouns (450b',c',d',e') taken into account as forms blocking the regularly derivable ÁS-noun-based phonetic forms (see (221-223) in subsection 1.3.1.2.1).

(450) ● Non-existing (event-type denoting) *-At*-noun variants

a. *találkoz-at / *kiabál-at
meet-T / scream-T

a'. találkoz-ás / kiabál-ás
meet-ÁS / scream-ÁS
'meeting / sream'

b. *szán-at / *fél-et / *tűr-et
feel_compassion-T / be_afraid-T / tolerate-T

b'. szán-alom / fél-elem / tür-elem
feel_compassion-ALOM / be_afraid-ALOM / tolerate-ALOM
'compassion / fear / tolerance'

c. *gyilkol-at
murder-T

c'. gyilkos-ság
murderer-SÁG
'murder'

d. *ostroml-at / *csatáz-at
besiege-T / do_battle-T

d'. ostrom / csata
siege / battle
'siege / battle'

e. *operál-at / *szabotál-at
operate-T / sabotage-T

e'. operáció / szabotázs
operation / sabotage
'operation / sabotage'

To sum up, our discussion in what follows relies on the tentative hypothesis according to which there are productively derived complex-event denoting T_{EV}-nouns, complex-event-based Theme denoting T_{TH}-nouns and event-type-based Theme denoting TPD_{TH}-nouns—however narrow their operative domains are and however marked the resulting potential forms are. We do not hypothesize, however, that the event-type-based counterpart of T_{EV}-nouns form a productively derived group of "SED_T-nouns". We consider them only a huge group of fossilized words, which fit in the system of deverbal nominals as alternative phonetic forms the existence of which "blocks" the ÁS-noun-based conversion that is considered to be the regular way of producing event-type denoting (SED-)nouns.

1.3.1.4.2. Relation to the base verb

This subsection outlines the extent to which such verbal properties as argument structure (1.3.1.4.2.1) and information structure (1.3.1.4.2.2) are inherited in the case of T_{EV}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns; and how the type of the input verb affects this inheritance (1.3.1.4.2.3).

1.3.1.4.2.1. Argument-structure inheritance

As a point of departure, we suggest the following generalizations which are in harmony with the tendencies found in the case of the complex-event-based ÁS-nouns and Ó-nouns and the event-type-based counterparts of Ó-nouns, TPD-nouns (see the following subsections: 1.3.1.2.2.1; 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub IV; 1.3.1.3.2.1; 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub IV). On the one hand, T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns tend to inherit the argument structure of the input verb ("to the maximum possible extent") in connection with their complex-event basis. On the other hand, the event-type-based

TPD_{TH}-nouns inherit only the non-exclusively perfectivizing preverbs of the input argument structure.

In its pure form, this inheritance means that, apart from the change in syntactic category (from V to N), the argument structure of the verb remains unaffected by the derivational process: the number, the obligatory or optional character, the thematic function and the information-structural function of the arguments remain essentially the same. The non-oblique syntactic functions must change, due to the change in syntactic category.

Let us start with T_{EV}-nouns (451).

If the input argument structure is transitive, the possessor of the T_{EV}-noun corresponds to the input object (451a), and it cannot be omitted (451a'). The input subject need not be expressed in the T_{EV}-noun construction; moreover, its expression (by an *által*-phrase) is even less preferred (451a") than in the case of ÁS-nouns (see 1.3.1.2.2.3/IV-V).

If the input argument structure is intransitive, it is the input subject that corresponds to the possessor of the T_{EV}-noun (451b-b') which cannot be omitted here, either.

(451) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of T_{EV}-nouns

a. (?)*Amerika / *Kolumbusz fel-fedez-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött.
America / Columbus up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With America having been discovered,* a new age began.'

a'. **A fel-fedez-et-tel* új korszak kezdődött.
the up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*With the discovery,* a new age began.'

a". *Amerika* ??*[Kolumbusz által-i] / *?[Kolumbusz által való] fel-fedez-t-é-vel*
America Columbus by-Attr / Columbus by be.Part up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
új korszak kezdődött.
new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With America's discovery by Columbus*, a new age began.'

b. ?*Ili be-lép-t-é-vel a csoport-ba*
Ili into-step-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins the group-Ill
új korszak nyílt a kutatásainkban.
new age open.Past.3Sg the research.Poss.Pl.1Pl.Ine
'*With Ili joining the team,* a new age began in our research.'

b'. ??*Ilinek a csoport-ba való be-lép-t-é-vel*
Ili.Dat the group-Ill be.Part into-step-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
új korszak nyílt a kutatásainkban.
new age open.Past.3Sg the research.Poss.Pl.1Pl.Ine
Intended meaning: '*With Ili joining the team,* a new age began in our research.'

As for the oblique case-marked arguments in the input argument structure, they can appear either in the postnominal complement zone (451b) or in the prenominal modifier zone, in an attributivized form, namely in a *való*-construction (451b'). The latter option, however, is much less acceptable than in the case of ÁS-nouns (see (226b') in 1.3.1.2.2.1).

Let us now turn to T_{TH}-nouns (452). More or less, only transitive input argument structures are worth investigating (see the examples in (457) in subsection

1.3.1.4.2.3), as first, an input Theme is inevitable since (the denotatum of) the T_{TH}-noun must correspond to it, and second, the input argument structure must contain another non-oblique-case-marked argument to serve as the possessor of the output T_{TH}-noun, because T_{TH}-nouns pattern with Ó-nouns in requiring a thematic possessor (see 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub IV). The only solution in the basic group of input verbs is that the Theme receives the object grammatical function, with an Agent appearing as the "other non-oblique-case-marked argument", that is, as the subject. The possessor of the output T_{TH}-noun must therefore correspond to the input subject, while the input object "disappears" as an inheritable argument since it corresponds to (the denotatum of) the T_{TH}-noun.

(452) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of T_{TH}-nouns

a. *Péter tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-je* sikeres énekes lett.
Péter last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg successful singer become.Past.3Sg
'*The one who was discovered by Péter last year* became a successful singer.'

b. *[*?]A zsűri tavalyi ki-zár-t-ja a verseny-ből*
the jury last_year.Adj out-close-T-Poss.3Sg the competition-Ela
idén újra próbálkozott.
this_year again keep_trying.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*The one who was disqualified by the jury from the competition last year* tried again this year.'

b'. **A zsűrinek a verseny-ből való ki-zár-t-ja*
the jury.Dat the competition-Ela be.Part out-close-T-Poss.3Sg
idén újra próbálkozott.
this_year again keep_trying.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*The one who was disqualified by the jury from the competition* tried again this year.'

c. *[*?]Péter tavalyi alkalmaz-ott-ja a fénymásolás-ra*
Péter last_year.Adj employ-T-Poss.3Sg the copying-Ela
megbízhatóbb volt az utódjánál.
more_reliable be.Past.3Sg the successor.Poss.3Sg.Ade
Intended meaning: '*The one who was employed by Péter for copying last year* was more reliable than his successor.'

c'. **Péternek a fénymásolás-ra való tavalyi alkalmaz-ott-ja*
Péter.Dat the copying-Ela be.Part last_year.Adj employ-T-Poss.3Sg
megbízhatóbb volt az utódjánál.
more_reliable be.Past.3Sg the successor.Poss.3Sg.Ade
Intended meaning: '*The one who was employed by Péter for copying last year* was more reliable than his successor.'

As for the oblique case-marked arguments in the input argument structure, T_{TH}-noun constructions pattern with Ó-noun constructions in being not readily capable of hosting them (see (346) and (347) in 1.3.1.3.2.1 and 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub IV). The *való*-construction is not compatible with T_{TH}-noun constructions (452b',c'), and neither can they host the oblique case-marked arguments in their postnominal complement zone (452b,c). They also pattern with Ó-noun constructions in dispreferring a phonetically non-empty postnominal complement zone.

As was mentioned above, the (event-type-based) TPD_{TH}-nouns virtually do not inherit the input argument structure, just like other kinds of TPD-nouns (see (348-

350) in 1.3.1.3.2.1). Therefore, they require no possessor (453a). If they take a possessor, it does not (necessarily) correspond to any of the input arguments. In (453b), for instance, the possessor can be understood as, for instance, a judge, or a witness who takes part in Ili's trial, or even an ordinary spectator of trials. The last sentence in (453c) exemplifies a case in which the TPD_{TH}-noun has a temporal possessor. Recall that the application of a temporal possessor is used for demonstrating that a noun is not based on a complex event (see, for instance, the comments on (225) in 1.3.1.2.2.1, and 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub I.).

(453) ● No argument-structure inheritance in the case of TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. *A vádl-ott-at* tegnap kivégezték.
the accuse-T-Acc yesterday execute.Past.3Pl
'*The accused* was executed yesterday.'

b. Ili volt *Péter kedvenc vádl-ott-ja*.
Ili be.Past.3Sg *Péter favorite accuse-T-Poss.3Sg*
'Ili was *Péter's favorite accused*.'

c. Ili volt *az évtized legártatlanabb vádl-ott-ja*.
Ili be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_innocent accuse-T-Poss.3Sg*
'Ili was *the decade's most innocent accused*.'

1.3.1.4.2.2. Information-structure inheritance

Let us now turn to the question of the inheritance of information-structural functions from arguments of input verbs. We claim that T_{EV}-nouns (454a-a') and T_{TH}-nouns (454b-b') pattern with ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII) and Ó-nouns (1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VII), respectively, in being essentially capable of inheriting information structure, in connection with their complex-event derivational basis. TPD_{TH}-nouns (454c-c'), however, given that they pattern with other kinds of TPD-nouns (and ordinary nouns) in having no argument structure, also pattern with them in having no internal information structure, either.

In (454) below, the two kinds of tests applied are the same as those used in the case of ÁS-nouns and Ó-nouns (see the corresponding subsections 1.3.1.2.2.2 and 1.3.1.3.2.2). The fact that the test sentences in (454a,b), but not in (454c), are scopally ambiguous verifies that T_{EV}-noun and T_{TH}-noun constructions, in contrast to TPD_{TH}-noun constructions, have a noun-phrase-internal information structure (inherited from the input verbal construction; see the narrow-scope readings), in addition to the wide-scope readings (due to the matrix verbs). In the primed examples, such a syntactic context—namely, a quantified expression embedded in a wide-scope matrix focus—is constructed in which the existence of the relevant narrow-scope reading is easy to test, in the absence of the wide-scope reading of the quantifier tested. In total harmony with the results of the former test, T_{EV}-noun (454a') and T_{TH}-noun (454b') constructions, in contrast to TPD_{TH}-noun constructions (454c'), can be associated with the (exclusively available) narrow-scope reading, so only they have a noun-phrase-internal information structure.

(454) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of T_{Ev}-nouns and T_{Th}-nouns: Quantified possessor

a. [(?)]Új korszak kezdődött [[*mindkét sziget*] felfedez-t-é-vel].
new age begin.Past.3Sg *both island* discover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
narrow-scope reading: [?][NEW_AGE_BEGAN > BOTH_ISLANDS > DISCOVER]
'With *both islands* having been discovered, a new age began.'
wide-scope reading: [(?)][BOTH_ISLANDS > NEW_AGE_BEGAN > DISCOVER]
'In the case of *both islands*, a new age began when either of them had been discovered.'

a'. [(?)]Csak [[*mindkét sziget*] felfedez-t-é-vel]
only *both island* discover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
kezdődött igazán új korszak a telepesek életében.
begin.Past.3Sg really new age the settler.Pl life.Poss.3Sg.Ine
narrow-scope reading:
[(?)][ONLY_[BOTH_ISLANDS > DISCOVER] > NEW_AGE_BEGAN >]
'A really new age began in the settlers' lives only when *both islands* had been discovered.'
wide-scope reading: –

b. Megnyerheti a versenyt [[*mindkét mentor*] protezsál-t-ja].
win.Mod.DefObj.3Sg the competition.Acc *both mentor* favor-T-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: [??][MAY_WIN ⊇ [BOTH_MENTORS > FAVOR]]
'One who is favored by *both mentors* at the same time has a chance to win the competition.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_MENTORS > [MAY_WIN ⊇ FAVOR]]
'In the case of *both mentors*, the person who has been favored by either of them has a chance to win the competition.'

b'. [(?)]Csak [[*mindkét mentor*] protezsál-t-ja] nyerheti meg a versenyt.
only *both mentor* favor-T-Poss.3Sg win.Mod.DefObj.3Sg perf the competition.Acc
narrow-scope reading: [(?)][MAY_WIN ≡ [BOTH_MENTORS > FAVOR]]
Intended meaning: 'Only (the) one who is favored by *both mentors* at the same time has a chance to win the competition.'
wide-scope reading: –

c. Elítélték [[*mindkét ügy*] vádl-ott-já-t].
convict.Past.DefObj.3Pl *both case* accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CONVICT ⊇ [BOTH_CASES > ACCUSE]]
Intended meaning: 'The person who was an accused *in both cases* at the same time was convicted.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_CASES > [CONVICT ⊇ ACCUSE]]
'In the case of *both cases*, the person who was an accused in either of them was convicted.'

c'. *Csak [[*mindkét ügy*] vádl-ott-já-t] ítélték el.
only *both case* accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc convict.Past.DefObj.3Pl away
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[CONVICT ≡ [BOTH_CASES > ACCUSE]]
Intended meaning: 'Only the person who was an accused *in both cases* at the same time was convicted.'
wide-scope reading: –

It must be noted that the picture suggested by the data in (454a-b') above is misleading because more complex information structures (those that contain more than one operator) cannot really be inherited in the case of either T-noun type. Recall that ÁS-noun constructions quite readily host complex information structures, as is demonstrated, for instance, in (308-311) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII. As for Ó-noun constructions, they can also host complex information structures, but to a much lesser degree; see the series of examples in (409-412) in 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VII . It can be said, thus, that in the case of Ó-nominalization, the inheritance of complex information structures is rather a "theoretical possibility" than an actual practice

(that is, an attested fact) in language use. This holds for both kinds of T-nominalizations to an even greater degree. We claim (without illustration) that it is practically impossible to construct convincingly, or at least sufficiently, acceptable T_{Ev}-noun or T_{TH}-noun constructions with an internal information structure containing two operators.

This failure in information-structure inheritance can straightforwardly be attributed to the following semantic and syntactic factors, which simultaneously affect negatively the potential T-noun constructions in the given respect, as compared to their ÁS-noun and Ó-noun counterparts.

The first problem, which pertains to T_{Ev}-nouns as well as T_{TH}-nouns, has to do with the indirect semantic relationship between the denotatum type of T-noun and the complex events in their derivational basis. In contrast to ÁS-nouns, which directly denote complex events (just like the verbal constructions behind them), T_{Ev}-nouns denote points of time and T_{TH}-nouns denote persons. Suppose there is a very intricate complex event with respect to its information structure. It is almost the same as to whether we refer to it by means of a verbal construction or its ÁS-noun counterpart; what counts is that we often refer to the given situation precisely due to its intricacy (e.g., "it caught someone unawares..."). It is, however, quite unnatural to refer to a person or a point in time by means of such a complex event.

The second problem, which also pertains to both T-noun types, has to do with a certain syntactic possibility available to deverbal nominals to highly different extents: the compatibility of noun phrases with *való*-constructions embedded in them, which is of great importance since (attributivized) non-possessor arguments (even with some operator function) can ideally appear in *való*-constructions. As for the aforementioned differences, while ÁS-noun constructions readily host *való*-constructions, T_{Ev}-noun constructions score much worse in this respect (see (451b') in 1.3.1.4.2.1), and T_{TH}-noun constructions pattern with Ó-noun constructions in categorically rejecting them (see (452b',c') in 1.3.1.4.2.1).

The third problem also has to do with syntax: different deverbal nominal constructions can host arguments in their postnominal complement zone to different extents. This zone is also of great importance for the given reason: it can potentially host non-possessor arguments even with some operator function. In this respect, again, ÁS-noun constructions score best, with T_{Ev}-noun constructions scoring somewhat worse (see (451b) in 1.3.1.4.2.1), and T_{TH}-noun and Ó-noun constructions performing still worse (see (452b,c) in 1.3.1.4.2.1).

In the light of these three problems raised in connection with information-structure inheritance, let us now compare T_{Ev}-nouns to ÁS-nouns, on the one hand, and T_{TH}-nouns to Ó-nouns, on the other.

T_{Ev}-noun constructions are less felicitous than ÁS-noun constructions in all the three respects discussed above. Of these, the semantic difference (with respect to denotation: point in time *versus* complex event) is the most radical; we can, thus, chiefly attribute the low inclination of T_{Ev}-nouns to inherit complex information structures to the denotational difference. There is also the factor of substitutability to be considered: a T_{Ev}-noun construction can always be replaced with an ÁS-noun construction (but not *vice versa*), as was exemplified in (434b-b') and (435b-b') in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4. That is, it is not excluded *ab ovo* for an ÁS-

noun construction to refer to a point in time. Hence, if one happens to intend to denote a point in time by means of an information-structurally intricate complex event, the ÁS-noun construction is at their disposal as well as the T_{Ev}-noun construction, the latter being definitely more infelicitous in many respects.

As for T_{TH}-noun constructions, they pattern with their natural counterparts, $Ó_{AG}$-nouns constructions, in scoring much worse than ÁS-noun constructions in all three respects discussed above. As was illustrated in (409-412) in 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VII, the consequence of this multiple difference for Ó-nouns is that their constructions supplied with a highly complex internal information structure tend to scarcely reach the borderline of acceptability. Since T_{TH}-noun constructions are *ab ovo* much less acceptable than their $Ó_{AG}$-noun counterparts (see (437) in the introduction to 1.3.1.4), it is obvious that T_{TH}-noun constructions with a highly complex internal information structure will also be much less acceptable than their analogously constructed $Ó_{AG}$-noun counterparts; they, thus, will not reach the borderline of (sufficient) acceptability.

All in all, although the complex-event-based T-noun constructions are theoretically capable of hosting a verbal information structure, this capability remains a mere theoretical possibility once the given information structure is complex even to a slight extent.

1.3.1.4.2.3. Basic types of input verbs

This subsection outlines which basic verb types, listed in (215) in subsection 1.3.1.1, can serve as input to T_{Ev}-nominalization, T_{TH}-nominalization and TPD_{TH}-noun derivation.

First of all, it must be noted that verbs without arguments cannot serve as inputs to any of the three kinds of derivations, for different reasons. In the case of T_{Ev}-nominalization, the reason may have to do with the absence of a thematic possessor (see example (451a') in 1.3.1.4.2.1; see also (233c-c') in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub I, in which the irregularly derived SED-noun *pirkadat* 'dawn' is presented). In the case of the two Theme denoting deverbal nominalizations, it is simply the absence of a Theme that explains the lack of T_{TH}-noun and TPD_{TH}-noun constructions based on argumentless verbs.

As for verbs with arguments, as is illustrated in (455) below, their basic types can serve as input to T_{Ev}-nominalization, with slight differences. Unergative (455a) (and reflexive (455a')), unaccusative (455b) and transitive (455c) argument structures can all serve as fairly good inputs, while verbs with fully fledged oblique arguments in the postnominal complement zone are somewhat less acceptable inputs (455d).

(455) ● Input verb types in the case of T_{Ev}-nouns

a. (?)*Péter el-költöz-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött az életünkben.
Péter away-move-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
'*With Péter having moved away*, a new age began in our lives.'

a'. ?*Péter meg-borotválkoz-t-á-val* befejeződtek a reggeli szertartásaink.
Péter perf-shave_oneself-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins finish.Past.3Pl the morning.Adj ritual.Poss.Pl.1Pl
'*With Péter having shaved himself*, our morning rituals were finished.'

b. (?)*Az ősz el-érkez-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött az életünkben.
the fall away-arrive-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
'*With fall having set in*, a new age began in our lives.'

c. ?*A könyv meg-ír-t-á-val* új korszak kezdődött az életünkben.
the book perf-write-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
'*With the book written*, a new age began in our lives.'

d. ??*Péter át-költöz-t-é-vel Budá-ról Pécs-re*
Péter across-move-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins Buda-Del Pécs-Sub
új korszak kezdődött az életünkben.
new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
'*With Péter having moved from Buda to Pécs*, a new age began in our lives.'

If the input verb has a verbal modifier which is not a simple preverb, the acceptability of the resulting T_{Ev}-noun construction depends on the type of the verbal modifier. The crucial factor is the (a)telicity of the input verbal construction. The lative case-marked verbal modifiers exemplified in (456a,b) below, for instance, are indicators of telic T_{Ev}-noun constructions, which are (sufficiently) acceptable, as well as those based on input verbs with (historically also lative) preverbs (455a-d). The (accusative case-marked) bare noun phrases in the verbal modifier position, exemplified in (456c',d'), imply atelicity, so, in connection with the absence of a designated point in time to refer to (see the comments on (442d,d',f) in 1.3.1.4.1), the T_{Ev}-noun constructions based on the corresponding verbal constructions are fully unacceptable (456c,d).

(456) ● Input verb types with (non-preverb) verbal modifiers in the case of T_{Ev}-nouns

a. (?)*Péter Budá-ra költöz-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött az életünkben.
Péter Buda-Sub move-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
'*With Péter moving to Buda*, a new age began in our lives.'

b. ?*A herceg béká-vá változ-t-á-val*
the prince from-TrE turn-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
új korszak kezdődött az életünkben.
new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
'*With the prince turning into a frog*, a new age began in our lives.'

c. **Ili levél-ír-t-á-val* befejeződött a munka.
Ili perf-write-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins finish.Past.3Sg the work
Intended meaning: '*With Ili having written one or more letters,* the work was finished.'

c'. Ili tegnap egész este level-et írt.
Ili yesterday whole evening letter-Acc write.Past.3Sg
'Ili spent the whole of yesterday evening writing letters.'

d. **Ili adat-fel-dolgoz-t-á-val* befejeződött a munka.
Ili item-up-work-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins finish.Past.3Sg the work
Intended meaning: '*With Ili having processed the data,* the work was finished.'

d'. Ili tegnap egész este adat-ok-at dolgozott fel.
Ili yesterday whole evening item-Pl-Acc work.Past.3Sg up
'Ili spent the whole of yesterday evening data processing.'

e. *A gyerekeknek az újságpapírból való *montázs-csinál-t-á-val /*
the child.Pl.Dat the newspaper.Ela be.Part montage-do-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins /
(?)*montázs-csinál-ás-á-val* sikeresen befejeződött a projekt.
montage-do-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Ins successfully finish.Past.3Sg the project
'*With the children having made a montage from the newspapers,* the project was successfully finished.'

e'. A gyerekek két óra alatt montázs-t csináltak az újságpapírból.
the child.Pl two hour under montage-Acc do.Past.3Pl the newspaper.Ela
'The children made a montage from the newspapers in two hours.'

The final examples in (456e-e') present another layer of the problem discussed above. In spite of its telic character (456e'), the potential T_{Ev}-noun construction in (456e) is fully unacceptable, in contrast to the almost fully acceptable corresponding ÁS-noun construction (see also (456e)). This extreme degree of unacceptability ('*') cannot simply be attributed to the fact that T_{Ev}-noun constructions do not readily host the *való*-construction (cf. the grammaticality judgment '??' associated with example (451b') in 1.3.1.4.2.1). We argue, instead, that it must be attributed to the prototypical-Agent status of the possessor in (456e); see the relevant comment on (438) in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4 (NB: it is the object in the verbal modifier position that is [+affected] in (456e') so the Agent has no such feature, in contrast to the non-prototypical Agents exemplified in (455a,a',d)).

Let us now turn to the potential input argument-structure types of T_{Th}-nominalization.

It is obvious, first of all, that the input argument structure must contain a Theme, since this argument corresponds to (the denotatum of) the output T_{Th}-noun. An unergative verb, thus, cannot serve as input to T_{Th}-nominalization (457a). Nevertheless, this is only a necessary but not a sufficient condition, as is illustrated by the examples based on an unaccusative verb in (457b) below, which are scarcely more acceptable than the unergative-based example in (457a). T_{Th}-nouns, thus, pattern with Ó-nouns in requiring a thematic possessor (see 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub II, and 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub IV). Therefore, the ideal input to T_{Th}-nominalization is the transitive argument-structure type (457c). Yet, even transitivity is only a necessary, not sufficient condition, as is exemplified in (457c') below; as was discussed in connection with the examples in (437b',c',d',e') in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4, several (somewhat obscure) phonological, morphological and pragmatico-semantic factors have an effect on the acceptability of potential T_{Th}-noun constructions. The appearance of an oblique case-marked argument, however, worsens the acceptability only slightly, with the given argument occupying either a position in the postnominal complement zone (457d-d'), or a position in the prenominal complement zone (457e).

(457) ● Input verb types in the case of T_{TH}-nouns

a. **A mi tanszékünk tegnapi teniszez-ett-je-i-re*
the we department.Poss.1Pl yesterday.Adj play_tennis-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Sub
nagyon büszkék vagyunk.
very proud.Pl be.1Pl
Intended meaning: 'We are very proud of *the members of our department who played tennis yesterday*.'

b. *A mi tanszékünk tegnapi ??meg-beteged-ett-je-i / *?el-ájul-t-ja-i*
the we department.Poss.1Pl yesterday.Adj perf-get_ill-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg / away-faint-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg
már jól vannak.
already well be.3Pl
'*The members of our department who [got ill] / fainted yesterday* are now doing well.'

c. Találkoztál *Péter tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-jé-vel / meg-bíz-ott-já-val /*
meet.Past.2Sg *Péter last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / perf-trust-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins /*
protezsál-t-já-val / ?ki-tart-ott-já-val / ?támogat-ott-já-val / ?kezel-t-jé-vel?
favor-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / out-hold-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / support-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / treat-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
'Did you meet the person *whom Péter had discovered / charged / favored / kept / supported / treated last year*?'

c'. Ismerted *Péter tavalyi ??le-győz-ött-jé-t /*
know.Past.DefObj.2Sg *Péter last_year.Adj down-win-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc /*
**?meg-ver-t-jé-t / *?meg-talál-t-já-t / *?meg-öl-t-jé-t?*
perf-beat-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc/ perf-find-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc / perf-kill-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc
Intended meaning: 'Did you know the person *whom Péter had defeated / beaten / found / killed last year?*'

d. *?Péter tavalyi be-protezsál-t-ja a bizottság-ba* nem vált be.
Péter last_year.Adj into-favor-T-Poss.3Sg the committee-Ill not become.Past.3Sg into
'*The person whom Péter got into the committee last year* has not proved to be a good choice.'

d'. *?Péter tavalyi meg-hív-ott-ja a parti-ra* nagyon berúgott.
Péter last_year.Adj perf-invite-T-Poss.3Sg the party-Sub very get_drunk.Past.3Sg
'*The person whom Péter invited to the party last year* got very drunk.'

e. *?A cár tavalyi Szibériá-ba száműz-ött-je-i* fellázadtak.
the czar last_year.Adj Siberia-Ill banish-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg rebel.Past.3Pl
'*The people whom the czar banished to Siberia last year* rebelled.'

Let us conclude this subsection with an overview of the potential inputs to TPD_{TH}-noun derivation.

TPD_{TH}-nouns must obviously pattern with T_{TH}-nouns in requiring an input Theme (458a-c) since this argument corresponds to (the denotatum of) the output TPD_{TH}-noun. They also pattern with Ó-noun-based TPD-nouns in not depending on the occurrence of further arguments in the input (since such arguments are deleted anyway). Therefore, the unaccusative argument-structure type is an appropriate input (458a) as well as the transitive argument-structure types with (458c) or without (458b) oblique case-marked arguments. There are, however, no lexicalized examples of TPD_{TH}-nouns with a prenominal complement zone occupied by anything else but a non-exclusively perfectivizing preverb.

(458) ● Input verb types in the case of TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. fel-nő-tt / hal-ott / újszül-ött / sérül-t / károsul-t / rokkan-t
up-grow-T / die-T / new.born-T / get_injured-T / suffer_loss-T / decay-T
'adult / dead / new-born / [injured person] / [person suffering a damage] / [disabled person]'

b. prostituál-t / protezsál-t / [(állam-i) gondoz-ott]
prostitute-T / favor-T / state-Adj care-T
'whore / protégé / [child in a social care home]'

c. alkalmaz-ott / küld-ött / sért-ett / száműz-ött / vádl-ott /
employ-T / send-T / hurt-T / banish-T / accuse-T /
be-oszt-ott / meg-hív-ott / (első) ki-emel-t
into-devide-T / perf-invite-T / first out-raise-T
'employee / envoy / victim / exile / accused /
[staff member] / invitee / [(first) seed]'

It is worth noting that TPD_{TH}-noun derivation patterns with the system of participial derivations (see volume F) in that there is a significant difference between transitive and unaccusative inputs. While in the case of a transitive input the role of TPD_{TH}-noun derivation is selecting the Theme (of the two non-oblique-case-marked input arguments) as the denotatum of the resulting TPD_{TH}-noun, this selectional task is obviously meaningless in the case of an unaccusative input. In this latter case, instead, the expression of (related) meaning factors, such as result state, anteriority, and telicity (which are not associated with certain transitive-based TPD_{TH}-nouns, like, for instance, *állami gondozott* 'child in a social care home' in (458b)), plays an important role.

1.3.1.4.3. Restrictions on the derivational process

As observed in the previous subsections, T_{EV}-nominalization is much more restricted than ÁS-nominalization, and T_{TH}-nominalization is similarly more restricted than Ó-nominalization. Hence, both kinds of T-nominalization are basically expected to reject the "deviant" input verb classes (see (216) in subsection 1.3.1.1); in certain cases, however, due to the exceptional domain, it is exactly T_{EV}-nominalization that provides acceptable deverbal nominal constructions, instead of the otherwise much more productive ÁS-nominalization (see (449c-c') in 1.3.1.4.1).

Among the verbs that do not allow T-nominalization is to be mentioned the group of verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can' (459a). This restriction is not surprising in the light of the fact that, in contrast to traditional grammars (Keszler 2000: 315–318), in modern (basically generative) grammars, this suffix is considered to be not a derivational suffix but an inflectional one (Kenesei 1996, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a: 162), partly exactly because of its low inclination to undergo derivational processes (459b,c) (cf., for instance, ÁS-nominalization, see subsection 1.3.1.2.3).

(459) ● Input verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can'

a. A magyarok fel-fedez-het-t-ek néhány új bolygó-t.
the Hungarian.Pl up-cover-Mod-Past-3Pl some new planet-Acc
deontic meaning: 'The Hungarians were allowed to discover some new planets.'
epistemic meaning: 'The Hungarians might have discovered some new planets.'

b. **Néhány új bolygó fel-fedez-het-t-é-vel* megváltozhat a világ.
some new planet up-cover-Mod-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins change.Mod.3Sg the world
Intended meanings:
potential deontic meaning: '*When some new planets are allowed to be discovered*, the world might change.'
potential epistemic meaning: '*When some new planets might have been discovered*, the world might change.'

c. **A magyarok fel-fedez-het-ett-je* kiváló tudós.
the Hungarian.Pl up-cover-Mod-T-Poss.3Sg excellent scientist
Intended meanings:
potential deontic meaning: '*The person that the Hungarians have been allowed to discover* is an excellent scientist.'
potential epistemic meaning: '*The person that the Hungarians might have discovered* is an excellent scientist.'

In what follows, it will be outlined whether the deviant types of verbs summarized in (216A-E) in 1.3.1.2, sub III, allow T_{Ev}-nominalization, T_{TH}-nominalization and/or TPD_{TH}-noun derivation.

Let us start with an overview of the potential T-constructions based on the verb *van* 'be'. The verbal constructions in question reject T_{TH}-nominalization, just like intransitive verbs in general; see (457a-b) in 1.3.1.4.2.3. They also reject TPD_{TH}-noun derivation since, as *van*-constructions, they are not telic (see the relevant comment on (458) in 1.3.1.4.2.3). T_{Ev}-nominalization, however, quite readily accept certain copular (460a-c), existential (460d-d") as well as possessive (460e) *van*-constructions as inputs, yielding constructions of two special (competing) T-noun variants, *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' and *lét(e)* 'be.T(.Poss.3Sg)'. They are interesting because they do not denote points of time. Instead, they take over the role of ÁS-nouns in denoting the corresponding complex events themselves, as was presented in subsection I in 1.3.1.2.3 by using essentially the same copular (268-272), existential (273), and possessive (274-275) examples. As these examples showed, the T-nouns in question can also play the role of the SED-noun counterparts of the corresponding complex-event denoting forms (see also (460d") below).

As was mentioned in connection with (449c') in 1.3.1.4.1, *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg', in contrast to *lét* 'be.T' (460d"), is exceptional even relative to its exceptional status in that it has no non-possessed form (**vol-(a)t* 'be-T').

(460) ● Different uses of *van* 'be' in T_{Ev}-noun constructions

Copular use of *van* 'be': adjectival verbal modifier

a. *Péternek a gonosz vol-t-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the cruel be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was being cruel*.'

Copular use of *van* 'be': nominal verbal modifier

a'. (?)*Péternek a tanár vol-t-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the teacher be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was being a teacher*.'

Copular use of *van* 'be': adverbial verbal modifier

b. *Péternek az otthon lé-t-e / ?vol-t-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the home be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was at home*.'

Copular use of *van* 'be': oblique case-marked verbal modifier

c. ??*Péternek az iskolá-ban lé-t-e / vol-t-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Péter.Dat the school-Ine be-T-Poss.3Sg / be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter was at school.*'

Existential use of *van* 'be'

d. ??Kellemes meglepetés volt
pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
a (hideg) sör lé-t-e a hűtő-ben.
the cold beer be-T-Poss.3Sg the fridge-Ine
'It was a pleasant surprise *that there was some cold beer in the fridge.*'

d'. Már *Mari puszta lé-t-e* is idegesít.
even *Mari mere be-T-Poss.3Sg* also make_nervous.3Sg
'Even *Mari's mere existence* makes me nervous.'

d". Itt *a lé-t / *vol-(a)t* a tét.
here *the be-T / be-T* the put-T
'*Existence* is at stake.'

Possessive use of *van* 'be'

e. ??Mindenkit meglepett *Péter kocsijának a lé-t-e.*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter car.Poss.3Sg.Dat the be-T-Poss.3Sg*
'It was a surprise to everyone *that Péter had a car.*'

As potential inputs, auxiliary and modal verbs definitely reject both kinds of T-nominalization and TPD_{TH}-noun derivation.

As for raising verbs, both the subject-raising type (461a) and the object-raising type (461a') can more or less readily undergo T_{EV}-nominalization (461b)—provided that the constraint on telicity is satisfied (NB: an infelicitous syllabic pattern, that is, the geminate realization of the *-(Vt)t* suffix, worsens acceptability). With respect to T_{TH}-nominalization, subject-raising verbs (461c) pattern with "ordinary" unaccusative verbs (see (457b) in 1.3.1.4.2.3) in rejecting rather than accepting this kind of derivation, while object-raising ones (461c') essentially pattern with "ordinary" transitive verbs (see (457c-c') in 1.3.1.4.2.3) in accepting it to a somewhat greater (but quite speaker-dependent) extent.

(461) ● Raising verbs as input verbs

a. Péter ártatlan-nak bizonyult.
Péter innocent-Dat prove.Past.3Sg
'Péter proved innocent.'

a'. Péter-t ártatlan-nak nyilvánították.
Péter-Acc innocent-Dat declare.Past.3Pl
'Péter was declared innocent.'

b. *Péter ártatlan-nak* ?*bizonyul-t-á-val /* ??*nyilvánít-ott-á-val*
Péter innocent-Dat prove-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / declare-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
végre lezárhatták az ügyet.
at_last finish.Mod.Past.DefObj.3Pl the case.Acc
'*With Péter [having proved innocent] / [having been declared innocent],* the case could be finished at last.'

c. *?*A tanszék ártatlan-nak bizonyul-t-ja-i végre hazamehettek.*
the department innocent-Dat prove-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg at_last go_home.Mod.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*The members of the department who proved innocent* could go home at last.'

c'. ??*A bíró ártatlan-nak nyilvánít-ott-ja-i végre hazamehettek.*
the judge innocent-Dat declare-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg at_last go_home.Mod.3Pl
'*The people who the judge declared to be innocent* could go home at last.'

As for TPD_{TH}-noun constructions, we could not find any example in the raising types; we could only find a single example, which is based on the related group of object-*control* verbs; see (462) below.

(462) ● Object-control verbs as input verbs
(?)*A fog-va tart-ott-ról* a fogva tartó szervnek
the capture-Conv hold-T-Del the capture-Conv hold.ó body.Dat
nyilvántartást kell vezetni.
register.Acc must.3Sg keep.Inf
'The captor must keep a register of *the person kept in prison*.'

We conclude this subsection by investigating which types of psych-verbs (of the four + one types overviewed in subsection V in 1.3.1.2.3) can undergo T-nominalization and/or TPD_{TH}-noun derivation.

Let us start with T_{EV}-nominalization, which requires telicity and a non-oblique-case-marked argument from its input with a slight dispreference for obligatory oblique case-marked arguments (see (455) in 1.3.1.4.2.3). This generalization perfectly holds for the types given in (463a) and (463b) below with the slight difference in grammaticality judgments predicted (compare the examples in (463a'-a") and (463b')). As for the type given in (463f), the example in (463f') is even less acceptable than might be predicted on the basis of the oblique case-marked argument in the input. The reason for its (almost total) unacceptability is not clear since it cannot even be attributed to the infelicitous phonetic form of the verb stem *tetszik* 'please', either (cf. the examples in (c'-c") in Table 29 in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4, associated with the grammaticality judgment '??').

(463) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: I. Regular T_{EV}-noun constructions
a. {$Subject_{Experiencer}$, $Object_{Theme}$} telic
a'. *A főnök ?meg-szeret-t-é-vel / (?)meg-kedvel-t-é-vel* minden megváltozott.
the boss perf-like-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / perf-like-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins everything change.Past.3Sg
'*With the boss becoming liked,* everything changed.'
a". (?)*A vizsgálat eredményének a meg-tud-t-á-val* Ili kiborult.
the examination result.Poss.3Sg.Dat the perf-know-T-Poss.1Sg-Ins Ili get_upset.Past.3Sg
'Ili got upset *when she got to know the result of the investigation.*'
b. {$Subject_{Experiencer}$, $Oblique_{Theme}$} telic
b'. ??Új korszak kezdődött az életünkben
new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
Ili bele-szeret-t-é-vel a főnökbe.
Ili into-like-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins the boss.Ill
'A new age began in our lives *with Ili falling in love with the boss*.'

c. (?)*Az előadó meg-zavar-t-á-val*
the lecturer perf-disturb-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
érezhetően megváltozott a légkör a teremben.
significantly change.Past.3Sg the atmosphere the room.Ine
'The atmosphere in the room changed significantly when *someone distracted the lecturer*.'

d. {Object$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Subject$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic
d'. Péter-t meg-zavarta a zaj.
Péter-Acc perf-disturb.Past.DefObj.3Sg the noise
'The noise distracted Péter.'

e. {Subject$_{\text{Agent}}$, Object$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Oblique$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic
e'. Mari meg-zavarta Péter-t a kiabálásá-val.
Mari perf-disturb.Past.DefObj.3Sg Péter-Acc the shouting.Poss.3Sg-Ins
'Mari distracted Péter by her shouting.'

f. {Oblique$_{\text{Experiencer}}$, Subject$_{\text{Theme}}$} telic
f'. *Az új főnök meg-tetsz-ett-é-vel* *?(*Ilinek)*
the new boss perf-please-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins Ili.Dat
új korszak kezdődött az életünkben.
new age begin.Past.3Sg the life.Poss.1Pl.Ine
Intended meaning: '*With the new boss having struck our / Ili's fancy,* a new age began in our lives.'

As for the almost fully acceptable example in (463c) above, at first glance, it also seems to follow the generalization on the ideal inputs to T$_{\text{Ev}}$-nominalization, with its intended input transitive argument-structure type given in (463d). The only meaning, however, which can be associated with the sentence in (463c) relies only on another argument-structure type: the one given in (463e) and illustrated in (463e'). The crucial difference between (463d) and (463e) has to do with the Agent-like [+HUMAN] participant's "appearance" in the latter argument-structure type. Hence, T$_{\text{Ev}}$-nominalization perfectly patterns with ÁS- and Ó-nominalization in unambiguously associating the Agent-containing input argument-structure type with the potentially ambiguous output deverbal nominal constructions.

Remark 11. An independent survey concerning the grammaticality judgments of eight syntacticians different from the authors has revealed that there is a "dismissive dialect" whose speakers judge examples (463a',a",b',c) to be fully unacceptable ('*'), in contrast to the authors' basically permissive judgements ('(?)-??'). There is also another "dialectal group" whose members are only slightly more dismissive with respect to the four example types in question than the authors (with some rather unsystematic differences from the authors' judgements).

The microvariation revealed among Hungarian speakers requires future research; also see Remarks 12-13 (in subsection 1.3.1.4.4.2), 14 (in subsection 1.3.1.5.1), and 16 (in subsection 1.3.3.1.2).

It is worth noting that T$_{\text{Ev}}$-nominalization does not seem to "insist" on telicity in a certain group of psych verbs, as is demonstrated in (464a-b) below. The members of this group can be characterized as atelic transitive Subject-Experiencer verbs. Here belong verbs such as *szeret* 'like', *gyűlöl* 'hate', *utál* 'disgust', *imád* 'adore', and *tisztel* 'respect'. They are special because, just like the *volta-* and *lét(e)-*constructions in (460) above, their constructions do not denote points of time. Instead, they take over the role of ÁS-nouns in denoting the corresponding complex

events themselves; which implies that they also play the role of the SED-noun counterparts of the corresponding complex-event denoting forms (cf. *szeretet* 'love', *gyűlölet* 'hatred', *utálat* 'disgust', *imádat* 'adoration', *tisztelet* 'respect').

(464) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: II. Irregular T_{Ev}-noun constructions

a. {Subject$_{Experiencer}$, Object$_{Theme}$} atelic

b. Péter szereti / tiszteli a főnök-öt.
Péter like.DefObj.3Sg / respect.DefObj.3Sg the boss-Acc
'Péter likes / respects the boss.'

b'. ?*A főnöknek a feltétel nélkül való szeret-et-e / tisztel-et-e*
the boss.Dat the condition without be.Part like-T-Poss.3Sg / respect-T-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'It was a surprise to everyone *that the boss was liked / respected unconditionally*.'

c. {Subject$_{Experiencer}$, Oblique$_{Theme}$} atelic

c'. Péter tudott a csalás-ról.
Péter know.Past.3Sg the fraud-Del
'Péter knows about the fraud.'

d. A csalás *Péter tud-t-á-val* történt.
the fraud *Péter know-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins* happen.Past.3Sg
'The fraud took place with Péter's knowledge.'

d'. *Tud-t-om-mal (*a csalás-ról)* Ili ártatlan.
know-T-Poss.1Sg-Ins the fraud-Del Ili innocent
'[*As far as I know*] / [*With my knowledge about the fraud*], Ili is innocent.'

e. ?Már *a puszta tud-at, hogy Ili a városban van,*
even *the mere know-T that Ili the town.Ine be.3Sg*
kiborította Pétert.
make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg Péter.Acc
'Even *the mere awareness that Ili is in the town* made Péter angry.'

f. *Annak a tud-ás-a, hogy Ausztrália fővárosa Canberra,*
that.Dat the know-T-Poss.3Sg that Australia capital_city.Poss.3Sg Canberra
elvárható Pétertől.
expectable Péter.Abl
'It is expected from Péter *to know that the capital of Australia is Canberra*.'

Let us now consider another special psych-verb, whose T-constructions were mentioned in (443b) in 1.3.1.4.1. The acceptable examples in (464d-d') is based on the non-transitive atelic Subject-Experiencer argument-structure type given in (464c) (and exemplified in (464c')). As the relevant constructions denote complex events instead of points of time (just like the constructions shown in (464b')), they seem to play the role of ÁS-noun constructions. It can be observed that (i) the delative case-marked input argument cannot be expressed in the output (see (464d')), (ii) the second-person variants *tudtoddal* 'know.T.Poss.2Sg.Ins' and *tudtotokkal* 'know.T.Poss.2Pl.Ins' are unacceptable, and (iii) the Instrumental case marking cannot be replaced freely with an arbitrary case marking (e.g., * *tudtomból* 'know.T.Poss.1Sg.Ela', *tudtához* 'know.T.Poss.3Sg.All'). Therefore, the construction presented in (464d') can be regarded as a "semi-fossilized" one. Clarifying the role, in the system of deverbal nominals, of the non-possessed form

tudat 'know.T', exemplified in (464e) above (and its relation to the noun *tudat* 'conciousness'), is also left to future research, given that in other contexts (see (464f), for instance, but not in those demonstrated in (464d-e)), the regularly derived ÁS-noun (and/or SED-noun) form *tudás* 'know.ÁS' must be used.

Let us now turn to T_{TH}-nominalization. As was "calculated" in connection with the series of examples in (457) in 1.3.1.4.2.3, it all but requires transitive input argument-structure types with a Theme as its object (465a). We claim that this restriction also holds for psych-verbs; see (465b) below. Recall that the phonologically irregular form *szerette-* 'like.T.Poss-' in (465b') cannot be regarded as a regularly derived T_{TH}-noun: as was discussed in connection with (445e) in 1.3.1.4.1, this T-construction is rather to be regarded as a fossilized TPD_{TH}-noun that happens to be a relational word.

(465) ● Psych-verbs as input verbs: III. T_{TH}-noun constructions (and TPD_{TH}-nouns)

a. {$Subject_{Experiencer}$, $Object_{Theme}$} atelic

b. Tegnap találkoztam
yesterday meet.DefObj.1Sg
*Péter egyik tavalyi imád-ott-já-val / *?szeret-t-é-vel / ??kedvel-t-jé-vel.*
Péter one_of last_year.Adj admire-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / like-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / like-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
'Yesterday I met *the person whom Péter admired / loved / liked last year.*'

b'. *Péter szeret-t-e-i-t* én is kedvelem.
Péter like-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc I also like.DefObj.1Sg
'I'm also fond of *those whom Péter is fond of.*'

c. {$Object_{Experiencer}$, $Subject_{Theme}$} telic

c'. **[A zaj] meg-zavar-t-ja-i* kiborultak.
the noise perf-disturb-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg get_upset.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*Those who were disturbed by the noise* got upset.'

d. {$Subject_{Agent}$, $Object_{Experiencer}$, $Oblique_{Theme}$} telic

d'. *?*Péter meg-zavar-t-ja-i* kiborultak.
Péter perf-disturb-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg get_upset.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*Those who were disturbed by Péter* got upset.'

Note also that the "fifth" psychological argument-structure type (465d) can provide T_{TH}-noun constructions (465d') which are slightly more acceptable than those (465c') based on the (465c) type. How is this possible? The argument-structure type given in (465c) is correctly predicted to provide no acceptable T_{TH}-noun constructions (see (465c') above), since, despite the fact that the given argument-structure type is a transitive one, the object is not a Theme but an Experiencer. The latter fact also holds for the Agent-containing alternative argument-structure type given in (465d). It presumably counts, however, that, in the presence of the Agent, the Experiencer can be regarded as a [+affected] ("almost Theme") participant, which makes it possible for the argument-structure type in question to undergo T_{TH}-nominalization slightly more readily ('*?').

As for TPD_{TH}-nouns based on psych-verbs, we could not find examples unquestionable in every respect. The T_{TH}-nouns presented in (465b) above, for instance, cannot dispense with their thematic possessors, so they are not ideal candidates for being regarded as TPD_{TH}-nouns.

The potential TPD_{TH}-noun *őrült* 'go_crazy.T' ('madman') is one of our best candidates. The problem with this noun in the highly simplified thematic framework we use in this book is as follows. If its input verb *megőrül* 'go crazy' is taken to be a psych-verb, the denotatum of the corresponding TPD-noun corresponds to the input Experiencer (and not the implicit oblique case-marked stimulating Theme). If, however, the verb in question is not a psych-verb, its discussion does not belong to this subsection. A possible way out of this conflict may be to generalize the class of TPD_{TH}-nouns to a broader class of $TPD_{[+AFFECTED]}$-nouns or $TPD_{[+CHANGED]}$-nouns.

1.3.1.4.4. Nominal and verbal properties

This subsection outlines the verbal (1.3.1.4.4.1) and nominal (1.3.1.4.4.2) properties of the two kinds of T-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns on the basis of Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV). We will conclude this topic in a separate subsection (1.3.1.4.4.3) with a short summary of the observations and generalizations.

1.3.1.4.4.1. Verbal properties

Let us note in advance that, as for TPD_{TH}-nouns, we claim without exemplification that they pattern with other TPD-nouns (in patterning with ordinary nouns) in showing no verbal properties.

Let us start with the question of tense and mood, which Hungarian verbs prototypically express morphologically.

In harmony with the fact that tense and mood morphemes are inflectional, and not derivational, suffixes, simply there is no morphological way of attaching the derivational suffix *-(Vt)t* to the appropriately inflected verb forms. The intended tense can be figured out on the basis of such subsidiary grammatical clues as temporal adjectives. Anterior and posterior attributives, however, are not equal at all in this sense, presumably due to the natural relationship between the suffix *-(Vt)t* and anteriority in the Hungarian grammatical system (see (439-441) in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4).

As is illustrated below, T_{EV}-noun constructions, which *ab ovo* disprefer adjectival modification (466a), categorically reject attributive modifiers not referring to an anterior point in time (466a'). Example (466a") also illustrates that the T_{EV}-noun construction in question cannot be associated with a posterior meaning like 'Péter will be tortured today', only with an anterior one like 'Péter was tortured in an earlier period of this day'. T_{TH}-noun constructions also show some, but less radical, preference for anterior attributives (466b).

(466) ● T-nominalization of tensed verbs

a. ? *Péter tegnapi meg-kínoz-t-á-val* új korszak kezdődött.
Péter yesterday.Adj perf-torture-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With Péter tortured yesterday* a new age has begun.'

a'. *? *Péter holnapi meg-kínoz-t-á-val* új korszak kezdődik.
Péter tomorrow.Adj perf-torture-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*With Péter tortured tomorrow* a new age will begin.'

a”. ? *Péter mai meg-kínoz-t-á-val* új korszak kezdődik.
Péter today.Adj perf-torture-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.3Sg
‘*With Péter tortured today* a new age will begin.’

b. Találkozni fogok *Ili* ?*tegnapi* /??*holnapi meg-kínz-ott-já-val.*
meet.Inf will.1Sg *Ili yesterday.Adj / tomorrow.Adj perf-torture-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
‘I will meet *the person whom Ili [tortured yesterday] / [will torture tomorrow].*’

Let us now turn to the question of whether T-nouns pattern with verbs in having several paradigms (that is, “more than two” paradigms; see (398a-a”) in 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub II). We claim (without illustration) that the answer is negative in the case of all kinds of T-nouns. Thus, they pattern with ÁS-nouns and Ó-nouns in being highly nominal in this sense.

It is also a property typical of certain Hungarian verbal constructions that the verbal modifier may lose its immediately left-adjacent position to the stem of the verb. As was demonstrated in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub III, ÁS-noun constructions are partially verbal in this sense by permitting the negative particle (*nem* ‘not’) to appear inserted between the verbal modifier and the deverbal nominal head. In the case of T-nouns, the same tests simply cannot be carried out, presumably for semantic reasons, as is illustrated in (467) below. The problem is that a point in time (467a’) or a person (467b’) cannot be referred to by means of the negation of the occurrence of a complex event. Note in passing that the preverb cannot appear in a position preceded by the deverbal nominal head it belongs to in either kind of deverbal nominal constructions.

(467) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of T-nouns:
Sentential negation

a. Nem fedezték fel a szigetet.
not cover.Past.DefObj.3Pl up the island.Acc
‘The island has not been discovered.’

a’. *A sziget [*fel nem fedez-t-e-kor*] / [*nem fel-fedez-t-e-kor*]...
the island *up not cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp / not up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp*
Intended meaning: ‘*With the island not having been discovered...*’

b. Péter nem fedezte fel Dórit.
Péter not cover.Past.DefObj.3Sg up Dóri.Acc
‘Péter did not discover Dóri.’

b’. *Péter [*fel nem fedez-ett-je*] / [*nem fel-fedez-ett-je*]...
Péter *up not cover-T-Poss.3Sg / not up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: ‘*The person who was not discovered by Péter...*’

Let us now turn to the verbal property concerning the presence and obligatoriness of arguments, that is, the question of argument-structure inheritance. Our only task here is to summarize the findings given in the relevant subsection (1.3.1.4.2.1). The basic tendency can be captured as follows. It can be claimed, on the one hand, that T_{Ev}-nouns and T_{Th}-nouns pattern with ÁS-nouns and Ó-nouns, respectively, in inheriting the argument structure of the input verb “to the maximum possible extent” (and essentially in the same way), in connection with their complex-event basis. On the other hand, they are definitely less verbal than these other deverbal nouns, primarily because they provide *ab ovo* less acceptable potential constructions

on the basis of the same verbal constructions, meaning that the "maximum possible extent" refers to a somewhat lesser extent. Another difference only pertains to T_{EV}-noun constructions and their ÁS-noun counterparts: the former much less readily accept the *való*-construction, the ideal resort for oblique case-marked input arguments (NB: both T_{TH}-noun and Ó-noun constructions categorically reject the *való*-construction).

Note that the comparison above between T_{TH}-nominalization and Ó-nominalization pertains to the most efficient type of Ó-nominalization, which is $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization. It can be claimed, as a good approximation, that T_{TH}-nominalization is as effective as the less preferred type of Ó-nominalization, which is $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization. By this we mean that T_{TH}-nominalization patterns with $Ó_{LOC}$-nominalization in quite often providing potential deverbal nominal constructions which scarcely reach the borderline of acceptability or are absolutely unacceptable according to many speakers.

With respect to having accusative case-marked arguments, only idiom parts in the verbal modifier position come into play (see *csőd-öt* 'bankruptcy-Acc' in (468a) below, for instance). As is demonstrated in (468b), T_{EV}-noun constructions essentially pattern with ÁS-noun constructions in permitting such an accusative case-marked argument (in very special cases and in a highly speaker-dependent way). T_{TH}-nouns, however, do not provide acceptable constructions under the same circumstances, either with or without accusative case marking on the output counterpart of the input accusative case-marked verbal modifier (468c). This is probably simply due to the generally great difference in grammaticality judgments between the dispreferred T_{TH}-noun constructions and their $Ó_{AG}$-noun counterparts.

(468) ● Accusative case-marking in the case of T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns

a. Tegnap csőd-öt mondtak a számítógépeink / kollégáink.
yesterday bankruptcy-Acc say.Past.3Sg the computer.Poss.Pl.1Pl / colleague.Pl.Poss.1Pl
'Yesterday our computers / colleagues failed.'

b. *A számítógépek csőd-*(?-öt) mond-t-á-val*
the computer.Pl bankruptcy(-Acc) say-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
nehéz korszak kezdődött a kutatócsoport életében.
hard age begin.Past.3Pl the research_team life.Poss.3Sg.Ine
'*With the computers having failed,* a hard age began in the life of our research team.'

c. **A mi tanszékünk csőd-*(*?-öt) mond-ott-ja-i-t* kirúgták.
the we department.Poss.1Pl bankruptcy(-Acc) say-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc be_fired.DefObj.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*The members of our department who failed* were fired.'

Concerning adverbial and converbial modification, only the output counterparts of such input arguments in the verbal modifier position come into play. From a practical point of view, verbal constructions with such verb stems as *tart* 'keep', *hagy* 'leave', and *marad* 'stay' are worth investigating (469).

As such constructions are uniformly atelic, T_{EV}-nominalization seems to be *ab ovo* incompatible with adverbial and converbial modification (see the comments on (456c-d') in 1.3.1.4.2.3). As is demonstrated in (469d) below, however, once we can reinterpret a construction like this, due to some special context, as one referring to a point in time, the resulting T_{EV}-noun construction will reach the usual degree of acceptability ('(?)'). In the given example, the point in time in question is the one at

which, say, the parents could have switched off the light according to the usual evening habits but decided to do otherwise. T_{Ev}-nouns, thus, are not incompatible with adverbial and converbial modification.

As for T_{TH}-noun constructions, they reject adverbial modification (469a'), in contrast to similar $Ó_{AG}$-noun constructions (see (404b) in 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub VI), while they accept converbial modification (469b')—exclusively in the prenominal complement zone, of course. Note that the T_{TH}-noun construction presented in (469b') has a lexicalized TPD_{TH}-noun counterpart (469c), which is the only example of TPD_{TH}-nouns with an inherited converbial argument we know about.

(469) ● Potential adverbial and converbial modification of T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. Mari *jól / ébren* tartja Péteréket az ünnepek alatt.
Mari *well / awake* keep.DefObj.3Sg Péter.Apl.Acc the holiday.Pl under
'Mari takes good care of Péter and his friends during the holidays. / Mari keeps Péter and his friends awake during the holidays.'

a'. *Mari *jó / ??jól /*éber / *?ébr-en tart-ott-ja-i* nekem nem szimpatikusak.
Mari good / well / unsleeping / awake keep-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg Dat.1Sg not nice.Pl
'*The people of whom Mari takes good care of* are not likeable to me. / *The people who Mari keeps awake* are not likeable to me.

b. Péter *fog-va* tartotta Mariékat.
Péter *capture-Conv* hold.Past.DefObj.3Sg Mari.Apl.Acc
'Péter held Mari and her colleagues captive.'

b'. *Péter *fog-ott / (?)fog-va tart-ott-ja-i* elvesztették a reményt.
Péter capture-Part / capture-Conv hold-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg lose.Past.DefObj.3Sg the hope.Acc
'*Those who were held captive by Péter* lost hope.'

c. *(?)A fog-va tart-ott-ról* a fogva tartó szervnek nyilvántartást kell vezetni.
the capture-Conv hold-T-Del the capture-Conv hold.Ó body.Dat register.Acc must.3Sg keep.Inf
'The captor must keep a register of *the person kept in prison*.'

d. *(?)A lámpa ég-ve hagy-t-a-kor* még ébren volt a kisfiú.
the lamp burn-Conv leave-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp still awake be.Past.3Sg the boy
'*When someone left the light on*, the child was still awake.'

The last verbal property to investigate, following our usual protocol, has to do with information-structure inheritance. As was established in subsection 1.3.1.4.2.2, the two complex-event-based T-noun constructions, that is, T_{Ev}-noun and T_{TH}-noun constructions, are theoretically capable of hosting a verbal information structure. This capability, however, remains a mere theoretical possibility whenever the given information structure is complex at least to some extent. On the basis of this quite low level of efficiency in providing sufficiently acceptable potential T-noun constructions, we claim that T_{Ev}-nominalization and T_{TH}-nominalization are less verbal than ÁS-nominalization and Ó-nominalization, respectively.

1.3.1.4.4.2. Nominal properties

Let us start with the question of pluralization, the possibility of which is a nominal property.

T_{EV}-nouns, just like ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.2, sub I), cannot be pluralized, as is illustrated in (470a). The reason is probably the same as in the case of ÁS-nouns: verbs have no plural forms to denote the multiple occurrence of a complex event (Laczkó 2000a: 319), and complex-event denoting deverbal nominals pattern with them in this sense, presumably exactly due to the same denotational task, that is, their complex-event denoting function.

T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns, however, have plural forms (470b,c), just like ordinary common nouns, presumably due to the fact that what they denote are people, and not the complex events behind them.

(470) ● Pluralization in the case of T_{EV}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. *A film meg-néz-t-é-vel / *meg-néz-t-e-i-vel*
the film perf-disturb-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / perf-disturb-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Ins
megváltozott a véleményem a rendezőről.
change.Past.3Sg the oppinion.Poss.1Sg the director.Del
'*After watching the film (/several times),* my oppinion changed about the director.

b. Meghívták *Péter tavaly-i X-faktor-os fel-fedez-ett-je-i-t.*
invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl *Péter last_year-Adj X-Factor-Attr up-cover-T-Poss-Pl.3Sg-Acc*
'*The people whom Péter discovered last year in X-Factor* were invited.'

c. *A vádl-ott-ak* álljanak fel!
the accuse-T-Pl stand.Subj.3Pl up
'*The accused persons* must stand up!'

T_{EV}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns are all nominal from the point of view that they can have a possessor within the noun phrase they head, as is shown in (471a,c,d) below (on possessor selection, see subsection 1.3.1.4.2.1). In this respect, there is no significant difference in the degree of nominalness between the three groups. Nevertheless, we can observe quite radical differences between the three groups with respect to requirements concerning the person feature of the possessor and the overtness of the expression of the possessive relation. Similar, but less radical, differences were also observed in the case of $Ó_{AG}$-nouns and TPD_{AG}-nouns (see (418) in 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub II).

Let our point of departure be the case of TPD_{TH}-nouns, which pattern with ordinary nouns in dispensing with any possessor. In their case, personal pronouns are preferred in a neutral situation not to appear (471e), due to the obligatorily appearing agreement suffixes, in harmony with the pro-drop character of Hungarian.

In the case of T_{TH}-nouns, which typically require a thematic possessor (see the relevant comment on (457) in 1.3.1.4.2.3), the overt expression of this possessor seems to be slightly preferred (471d'), even at the cost of exposing the redundant personal pronouns.

In the case of T_{EV}-nouns, there are definitely radical differences in acceptability depending on the form of the possessor. Compared to the almost fully acceptable third-person variants with an overt non-pronominal possessor (471a), the variants with an overt pronominal possessor—in the same sentence-initial position—in (471a'-a") scarcely reach the borderline of acceptability ('??') while the variants with a non-overt possessor are unacceptable ('*?'). Note in passing in connection with (471a") that the form of the 3Pl personal pronoun *ők* 'they' as a possessor

coincides with that of the 3Sg personal pronoun (*ő* '(s)he'). Only the agreement suffix added to the possessee shows which 3rd personal pronoun (Sg/Pl) is the possessor (cf. the empty 3Sg agreement morpheme ('∅') with its 3Pl counterpart *-(U)k*). The phenomenon in the plural can also be regarded as an instance of anti-agreement (cf. Den Dikken 1999).

As is demonstrated in (471b-c'), other factors also count in acceptability. One factor is the number and person of the possessor: 3Sg possessors always score better than non-3Sg ones (compare (471b,c) to (471b',c')). The other factor is the sentence-internal position of the T_{EV}-noun construction in question. In focus, where it is obligatory to use the overt pronominal form, the appropriate T_{EV}-noun variant is quite acceptable ('(?)/?'); with a slight difference between the preferred 3Sg variant (471c) and the less preferred non-3Sg variant (471c'). In a postverbal position (471b-b'), however, where the neutral context disprefers the overt pronominal form, there is no convincingly acceptable variant (cf. (471a'-a")).

(471) ● Possessors of T_{EV}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. (?)*Dóri(-ék) meg-ismer-t-é-vel* Péter élete megváltozott.
Dóri(-Apl) perf-know-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins Péter life.Poss.3Sg change.Past.3Sg
'Péter's life changed *when he got to know Dóri (and her friends)*.'

a'. *A(z) *?(??én) meg-ismer-t-em-mel* Péter élete megváltozott.
the I perf-know-T-Poss.1Sg-Ins Péter life.Poss.3Sg change.Past.3Sg
'Péter's life changed *when he came to know me*.'

a". Ami Dóriékat illeti,
which Dóri.Apl.Acc concern.DefObj.3Sg
*a(z) *?(??ő) meg-ismer-t-ük-kel* Péter élete megváltozott.
the (s)he perf-know-T-Poss.3Pl-Ins Péter life.Poss.3Sg change.Past.3Sg
'As far as Dóri and her friends are concerned, Péter's life changed *when he came to know them*.'

b. Dórit azért kedvelem, mert a fiam élete megváltozott
Dóri that.Cau like.DefObj.1Sg because the son.Poss.1Sg life.Poss.3Sg change.Past.3Sg
a ??(?ő) meg-ismer-t-é-vel.*
the (s)he perf-know-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
'I like Dóri because my son's life changed *when he came to know her*.'

b'. Engem azért kedvelsz, mert a fiad élete megváltozott
me that.Cau like.2Sg because the son.Poss.2Sg life.Poss.3Sg change.Past.3Sg
*a(z) *?(*?én) meg-ismer-t-em-mel.*
the I perf-know-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
'You like me because your son's life changed *when he came to know me*.'

c. (?)Dórit azért kedvelem, mert *az ő meg-ismer-t-é-vel*
Dóri that.Cau like.DefObj.1Sg because *the (s)he perf-know-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
változott meg a fiam élete.
change.Past.3Sg perf the son.Poss.1Sg life.Poss.3Sg
'I like Dóri because my son's life changed *when he came to know HER*.'

c'. ?Azért kedvelsz engem, mert *az én meg-ismer-t-em-mel*
that.Cau like.2Sg me because *the I perf-know-T-Poss.1Sg-Ins*
változott meg a fiad élete?
change.Past.3Sg perf the son.Poss.1Sg life.Poss.3Sg
'Why do you like me? Is it because your son's life changed *when he came to know ME?*'

d. Dóri *Péter egyik tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-je* volt.
Dóri *Péter one_of last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins* be.Past.3Sg
'Dóri was *one of the people whom Péter discovered last year.*'

d'. Dóri *az* $^{(?)}$*(✓én) egyik tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-em* volt.
Dóri *the I one_of last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.1Sg-Ins* be.Past.3Sg
'Dóri was *one of the people whom Péter discovered last year.*'

e. Dóri *a(z)* $^{(?)}$*(én) kedvenc vádl-ott-am* – mondta a bíró.
Dóri *the I favorite accuse-T-Poss.1Sg* say.Past.DefObj.3Sg the judge
'"*Dóri is my favorite accused (defendant)*," said the judge.'

All in all, the fact that T_{TH}-nouns are slightly, and T_{EV}-nouns are highly sensitive to certain formal factors of the expression of the possessive construction they head means that (the "fully nominal") TPD_{TH}-nouns, (the almost fully nominal) T_{TH}-nouns and (the quite questionably nominal) T_{EV}-nouns occupy three different points on the scale of nominalness.

Remark 12. The independent survey mentioned in Remark 11 in subsection 1.3.1.4.3 concerning the grammaticality judgments of eight syntacticians different from the authors has revealed that there is a "dismissive dialect" whose speakers judge examples (471a',a",c') to be fully unacceptable ('*'), in contrast to the authors' basically more permissive and varying judgements ('?-*?'). As for examples (471a,c), judged to be almost acceptable by the authors, their judgement by the independent colleagues is extremely varied ('✓-*').

The microvariation revealed among Hungarian speakers requires future research.

Turning to the question of case marking, as was discussed in 1.3.1.4.1, T_{EV}-nouns can occur only with a few case suffixes (with ones that can designate points of time; see (442)), while T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns are completely nominal in the sense that they can occur with any kind of case marking (see the series of examples in (444) and in (448), respectively).

The next nominal property to discuss is adjectival modification.

T_{EV}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns are all unambiguously nominal in the trivial sense that, inside their prenominal modifier zone, they can be modified not by adverbs but by adjectives.

As is demonstrated in the series of examples in (472) below, however, T_{EV}-noun constructions cannot readily host adjectives (and other attributive constructions), either; only in quite a "selective" way with respect to their subtypes. Note that here only such adjectives come into play which could inevitably serve as potential counterparts of adverbs, converbs or oblique case-marked noun phrases in the input verbal constructions, as related to the complex-event denoting function of T_{EV}-nouns. T_{EV}-noun constructions, thus, are much less nominal in this sense than ÁS-noun constructions, in harmony with their quite questionable nominalness with respect to the formal expression of possessors.

(472) ● Adjectival modification of T_{EV}-nouns

a. Ameriká-t 1492-ben váratlan-ul fel-fedez-t-e egy olasz tengerész.
America-Acc 1492-Ine unexpected-Adv up-cover-Past-DefObj.3Sg a Italian sailor
'America had been discovered in 1492 unexpectedly by an Italian sailor.'

b. (?)*Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött.
America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With America's discovery* a new age began.'

c. *Amerika* ?*1492-es* /??*váratlan fel-fedez-t-é-vel* új korszak kezdődött.
America 1492-Adj / unexpected up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With America's unexpected discovery in 1492* a new age began.'

c'. *Amerika* ??*[Kolumbusz által-i] /* *[Kolumbusz által való] fel-fedez-t-é-vel*
America Columbus by-Attr / Columbus by be.Part up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
új korszak kezdődött.
new age begin.Past.3Sg
'*With America's discovery by Columbus*, a new age began.'

As is illustrated below, T_{TH}-noun constructions can host adjectives (and other attributive constructions) that have counterparts in the input verbal constructions (473b) as well as adjectives that adjoin to the noun heads "in their own right" as nouns (473c).

(473) ● Adjectival modification of T_{TH}-nouns

a. Találkozni fogok *Péter ... fel-fedez-ett-jé-vel.*
meet.Inf will.1Sg *Péter up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will meet *the person whom Péter discovered....*'

b. *...tegnap-i / győr-i /* ?*váratlan...*
yesterday-Adj / Győr-Adj / unexpected
'*...yesterday / [in Győr] / unexpectedly.*'

c. ... (?)*győr-i /* (?)*[kék szemű] /* ?*magas...*
Győr-Adj / blue eyed / tall
'*... and who is otherwise [an inhabitant of Győr] / blue-eyed / tall.*'

As is presented by the grammaticality judgments in (473b-c) above, the "inherited" type of adjective is slightly preferred, presumably due to the complex-event basis of T_{TH}-nouns. TPD_{TH}-noun constructions, however, cannot readily host "inherited" adjectives (474b), in harmony with their inheriting no verbal dependent structure whatsoever; but they can definitely readily host adjectives that adjoin to their heads in their own right as nouns (compare (474c) to (473c)).

(474) ● Adjectival modification of TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. Találkozni fogok *Péter kedvenc ... vádl-ott-já-val.*
meet.Inf will.1Sg *Péter favorite accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins*
'I will meet *Péter's favorite accused* (defendant)...'

b. ... ??*győr-i /* *tegnap-i /* *váratlan...*
Győr-Adj / yesterday-Adj / unexpected
Intended meaning: '*...who was accused [in Győr] / yesterday / unexpectedly.*'

c. ... *győr-i / [kék szemű] /* (?)*magas...*
Győr-Adj / blue eyed / tall
'*... and who is otherwise [an inhabitant of Győr] / blue-eyed / tall.*'

Let us now turn to the question of whether T_{Ev}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns are compatible with different degrees of referentiality.

T_{EV}-noun constructions essentially pattern with ÁS-noun constructions (as usual): they require an "at least specific" degree of denotation, in connection with the uniqueness typical of complex events; compare the grammaticality judgments associated with the definite (475a) and the specific (475b) T_{EV}-noun construction to the judgment associated with the non-specific indefinite one (475c). Note in passing that T_{EV}-nouns are *ab ovo* incompatible with the predicative function—expressed either by a bare noun phrase (475d) or by a definite one (see example (442a) in subsection 1.3.1.4.1)—due to the strong constraints on available case suffixes (cf. (325a-d) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub V).

(475) ● Degree of referentiality of T_{EV}-nouns

a. (?)*Ilinek a meg-vendégel-t-e-kor* elromlott a sütő.
Ili.Dat the perf-host-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp go_wrong.Past.3Sg the oven
'*When Ili was regaled,* the oven went wrong.'

b. ?*Ili egy meg-vendégel-t-e-kor* elromlott a sütő.
Ili a perf-host-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp go_wrong.Past.3Sg the oven
'(Last year we regaled Ili three times and Juli twice.) *On one of the occasions when Ili was regaled,* the oven went wrong.'

c. ??*Ili egy meg-vendégel-t-e-kor* elromlott a sütő.
Ili a perf-host-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp go_wrong.Past.3Sg the oven
'*On an occasion when Ili was regaled*, the oven went wrong.'

d. *Szerinted ez *fel-fedez-t-e-m-nek* minősülhet?
according_to.2Sg this *up-cover-T-Poss.1Sg-Dat* qualify.Mod.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'May it qualify as *my having been discovered?*'

Remark 13. The independent survey mentioned in Remark 11 in subsection 1.3.1.4.3 has revealed that the majority of speakers judge examples (475b,c) to be fully unacceptable ('*'), in contrast to the authors' more permissive judgements ('?-??'). The microvariation revealed among Hungarian speakers requires future research.

T_{TH}-nouns essentially pattern with $Ó_{AG}$-nouns; compare (476) below to (427) in 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub V. The slight difference between them is that, although T_{TH}-nouns are *ab ovo* less acceptable (and less homogeneous with respect to acceptability; cf. the primeless and primed examples in (476)) than their $Ó_{AG}$-noun counterparts, among the predicative variants, T_{TH}-nouns are somewhat more acceptable than $Ó_{AG}$-nouns (cf. (476d-d') and (427d)). This suggests that T_{TH}-nouns are somewhat more nominal than $Ó_{AG}$-nouns, at least in this respect.

(476) ● Degree of referentiality of T_{TH}-nouns

a. Dühös vagyok *Péternek a tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-jé-re*.
angry be.1Sg *Péter.Dat the last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with the person whom Péter discovered last year*.'

a'. ?Dühös vagyok *Ilinek a tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ott-já-ra*.
angry be.1Sg *Ili.Dat the yesterday.Adj perf-massage-T-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with the person whom Ili massaged yesterday*.'

b. Kizárólag *Péter egy tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-jé-re* vagyok dühös.
only *Péter a last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Sub* be.1Sg angry
'(In the last two years, a total of seven young singers were discovered by Péter and Robi.) I am angry only *with one of those whom Péter discovered last year*.'

b'. ?Kizárólag *Ili egy tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ott-já-ra* vagyok dühös.
only *Ili a yesterday.Adj perf-massage-T-Poss.3Sg-Sub* be.1Sg angry
'(In the last two days, a total of seven boys were massaged and/or trained by my two sisters, Ili and Piri.) I am angry only *with one of those whom Ili massaged yesterday*.'

c. (?)Dühös vagyok *Péter egy tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-jé-re*.
angry be.1Sg *Péter a last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with a person whom Péter discovered last year*.'

c'. ?Dühös vagyok *Ili egy tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ott-já-ra*.
angry be.1Sg *Ili a yesterday.Adj perf-massage-Ó-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with a person whom Ili massaged yesterday*.'

d. ??Te nem számítasz *tavalyi fel-fedez-ett-em-nek*.
you not count.2Sg *last_year.Adj up-cover-T-Poss.1Sg-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'You do not count *as a person whom I discovered last year*.'

d'. ??Te nem számítasz *tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ott-am-nak*.
you not count.2Sg *yesterday.Adj perf-massage-T-Poss.1Sg-Dat*
Intended meaning: 'You do not count *as a person whom I massaged yesterday*.'

TPD_{TH}-nouns, just like TPD_{AG}-nouns (see (428) in 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub V) are obviously completely nominal in the respect under investigation, as is illustrated in (477). As for the grammaticality judgment associated with the sentence in (477b), specific readings are *ab ovo* difficult to evoke.

(477) ● Degree of referentiality of TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. Dühös vagyok *[a vádl-ott-ra] / [Szilcz bírónak a vádl-ott-já-ra]*.
angry be.1Sg *the accuse-Sub / Szilcz judge.Dat the accuse-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with [the accused] / [judge Szilcz's accused (defendant)]*.'

b. (?)Kizárólag *[egy vádl-ott-ra] / [Szilcz bíró egy vádl-ott-já-ra]* vagyok dühös.
only *a accuse-T-Sub / Szilcz judge an accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Sub* be.1Sg angry
'(In the last two days, a total of seven accused and witnesses were interrogated by judge Szilcz and Taylor.) I am angry only *with [one of the accused] / [one of judge Szilcz's defendants]*.'

c. Dühös vagyok *[egy vádl-ott-ra] / [Szilcz bíró egy vádl-ott-já-ra]*.
angry be.1Sg *a accuse-T-Sub / Szilcz judge an accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Sub*
'I am angry *with [a defendant] / [a defendant of judge Szilcz's]*.'

d. Te nem számítasz *vádl-ott-nak / ?vádl-ott-am-nak*.
you not count.2Sg *accuse-T-Dat / accuse-T-Poss.1Sg-Sub*
'You do not count *[as a defendant] / [as a defendant of mine]*.'

The last nominal property we discuss is quantification and determination. As is illustrated in (478a-a") below, T_{EV}-noun constructions essentially pattern with ÁS-noun constructions (1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI) in not readily hosting quantifiers, especially non-specific ones (478a"), but readily hosting adjectival quantifiers (see *háromszori* 'three times.Adj' in (478a)). It can also be observed that T_{EV}-noun constructions can host only such quantifiers whose semantics is compatible with the special task of T_{EV}-nouns, which is to refer to points in time (see, for instance, *utolsó* 'last' in (478a)).

T_{TH}-noun constructions tend to pattern with Ó-noun constructions (1.3.1.3.4.2, sub VI): they are essentially compatible with quantifiers (478b-b'), but not with adjectival quantifiers (see the grammaticality judgment associated with *háromszori* 'three times.Adj' in (478b)).

TPD_{TH}-noun constructions pattern with ordinary nouns with respect to quantification: they can host quantifiers (478c-c') except for adjectival ones (see the grammaticality judgment associated with *háromszori* 'three times.Adj' in (478c)).

(478) ● Quantification and determination of T_{EV}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns

a. *A cikknek a(z) *?három / (?)utolsó / (?)háromszori*
the paper.Dat the three / last / three_times.Adj
át-olvas-t-á-val lezárult egy munka.
across-read-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins finish.Past.3Sg a job
'*When the paper had been read through [three times] / [for the last time] / [three times],* a job was finished.'

a'. ??*A cikk mindkét át-olvas-t-á-val* lezárult egy-egy munka.
the paper both across-read-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins finish.Past.3Sg one-one job
'*On both occasions when the paper had been read through,* a job was finished.'

a''. *A cikknek *?három / *?néhány / *?sok / ?minden*
the paper.Dat three / some / many / every
át-olvas-t-á-val lezárult egy-egy munka.
across-read-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins finish.Past.3Sg one-one job
'*On three / several / many / every occasion(s) when the paper had been read through,* a job was finished.'

b. *Péternek (?)[a három]/ (?)[az utolsó] / (?)mindkét / *?[a háromszori]*
Péter.Dat the three / the last / both / the three_times.Adj
meg-masszíroz-ott-ja kiborult.
perf-massage-T-Poss.3Sg get_upset.Past.3Sg
'*[The three] / [The last] / Both people whom Péter massaged* got upset. / *The person whom Péter massaged three times* got upset.'

b'. *Péternek ?három / (?)néhány / (?)sok / (?)minden meg-masszíroz-ott-ja*
Péter.Dat three / some / many / every perf-massage-T-Poss.3Sg
kiborult.
get_upset.Past.3Sg
'*Three / Some / Many / All people whom Péter massaged* got upset.'

c. *[A három]/ [Az utolsó] / Mindkét / *[a háromszori] vádl-ott*
the three / the last / both / the three_times.Adj accuse-T
kiborult.
get_upset.Past.3Sg
'*[The three] / [The last] / Both people who were accused* got upset. / *The person who was accused three times* got upset.'

c'. Kiborult *három / néhány / (?)sok / minden vádl-ott.*
get_upset.Past.3Sg *three / some / many / every accuse-T*
'*Three / Some / Many / All people who were accused* got upset.'

All in all, T_{EV}-nouns highly prefer the special adjectival mode of quantification while T_{TH}-nouns are almost as compatible with the regular ("nominal") mode of quantification as TPD_{TH}-nouns (and ordinary nouns). This means that, as compared to the group of T_{EV}-nouns weakly nominal in the given respect, the group of T_{TH}-nouns almost reaches full nominalness typical of TPD_{TH}-nouns.

1.3.1.4.4.3. Summary

We summarize our observations on verbal (1.3.1.4.4.1) and nominal (1.3.1.4.4.2) properties of T_{Ev}-nouns, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns in Table 30 below.

As can be seen, T_{TH}-nouns and TPD_{TH}-nouns are decisively not verbal but nominal, while T_{Ev}-nouns, overall, can be characterized by an at first glance surprising capability of showing neither verbal nor nominal properties, presumably related to the somewhat archaic character of this derivation and its (related) strongly narrowed semantic domain.

Similar to our practice applied so far in the corresponding summaries (see, for instance, Table 24 in subsection 1.3.1.2.4.3), these characterizations are presented by asterisks, question marks and check-marks in the table. As for the visual representation, recall that the lighter a cell is, the more nominal—and simultaneously the less verbal—the noun type is in the given respect. The symbol '—' means that the property in question cannot be tested.

Table 30: The degree of verbalness/nominalness of T-nominalizations

PROPERTIES		T_{Ev}-N	T_{TH}-N	TPD_{TH}-N
VERBAL	tense and mood	*	*	*
	two person/number paradigms of conjugation	*	*	*
	separability of preverb / verbal modifier	—	—	—
	presence / obligatoriness of arguments	(?)	?	*?
	accusative case-marked argument	*?	*	*
	adverbial modification	*?	*?	*
	information structure (internal scopes)	?	?	*
NOMINAL	pluralization	*	✓	✓
	possessive argument	✓	✓	✓
	case marking	??	✓	✓
	adjectival modification	??	(?)	✓
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality	??	(?)	✓
	quantification (and determination)	*?	(?)	✓

Let us highlight the important details.

TPD_{TH}-nouns are completely nominal, with the tiny exception that they inherit certain verbal modifiers in the "core" of input argument structures.

Of the two other groups, T_{Ev}-nouns show more verbal and less nominal properties than T_{TH}-nouns: they inherit the argument structure of their verbal inputs to a somewhat greater extent (due to the more likely hosting of oblique case-marked arguments), they cannot be pluralized, and they are more compatible with adjectival quantification than with the "regular" mode of quantification. Nevertheless, they are less verbal than ÁS-nouns, chiefly due to their weak capability of hosting "inherited" complex information structures and attributivized adverbial modifiers. Note in passing that T_{Ev}-nouns are less compatible with non-3Sg possessors than with 3Sg ones. It is left to future research to clarify whether this property is evidence for a less nominal status or it is a question of productivity.

T_{TH}-nouns essentially pattern with $Ó_{AG}$-nouns with respect to both verbal and nominal properties, with the proviso that their ordering relative to each other is very difficult, due to the fact that T_{TH}-nominalization typically provides quite marked potential forms. Exactly because of this latter factor, the most acceptable T_{TH}-noun constructions are not easy to unquestionably differentiate from (lexicalized relational) TPD_{TH}-noun constructions (which are, however, fully nominal).

1.3.1.5. HATNÉK-nominalization

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of a very special kind of nominalization, which will be referred to as HATNÉK-nominalization in accordance with our terminological practice, on the basis of the form of its (extremely complex) derivational suffix.

Since the topic is scarcely discussed in the literature (Klemm 1928: 62–67, Tompa 1959, 1961), here we present a set of data (partly based on Oszoli's (2014) work) chiefly as a point of departure for future research. That is, here (just like in the case of T-nominalization) we do not aim at the same level of accuracy as in the discussion of ÁS-nominalization and Ó-nominalization; nevertheless, our regular protocol of systematization of data is retained.

As was mentioned in connection with the example in (294c") in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub I., repeated here as (479a), *-hAtnék* is a fixed inseparable derivational suffix that is attached to the input verb (Tompa 1959). It is not simply the result of the free application of a conversional derivation to arbitrary conditional verb forms; see (294c"'), repeated here as (479b). This synchronically simplex form coincides with a sequence of three verbal suffixes (479c): the permissive modal suffix *-hAt* 'can', the conditional suffix *-né-*, and a number-person suffix *-k*, which refers to the first person suffix in present-day Hungarian, but it also has an archaic use as a third person suffix in the special group of *-ik*-verbs. According to Tompa (1959: 482), these three elements coalesced into the present-day deverbal nominalizer; which, by the way, can be followed by a possessive agreement suffix of any person and number (see, for instance, (479a) and (482a,e) in 1.3.1.5.1).

(479) ● Introductory illustration of HATNÉK-nominalization

a. Kiborítasz *az állandó lottóz-hatnék-od-dal.*
make_angry.2Sg *the permanent play_the_lottery-HATNÉK-Poss.2Sg-Ins*
'You make me angry *with your permanent desire to play the lottery*.'

b. *Kiborítasz *az állandó lottóz-hat-ná-l-od-dal.*
make_angry.2Sg *the permanent play_the_lottery-Mod-Cond-2Sg-Poss.2Sg-Ins*
Intended meaning: 'You make me angry *with your permanent desire to play the lottery*.'

c. Állandóan *lottóz-hat-né-k,* ha lenne elég pénzem.
permanently *play_the_lottery-Mod-Cond-[1/3]Sg* if be.Cond.3Sg enough money.Poss.1Sg
'*I could play the lottery* on a permanent basis if I had enough money.' /
archaic reading: '*She/He could play the lottery* on a permanent basis if I had enough money.'

The data in (480) below prove HATNÉK-nominalization to be (surprisingly) productive since neologisms (480a) and nonsensical verbs (480b) can readily serve as input.

(480) ● Is HATNÉK-nominalization a productive derivation?

a. Rám jött *a facebookoz-hatnék.*
Sub.1Sg come.Past.3Sg *the facebook-HATNÉK*
'I was overcome by *the desire to Facebook.*'

b. Péternek *gorpol-hatnék-ja* támadt ebben a hőségben.
Péter.Dat *gorp-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* come.Past.3Sg this.Ine the heat.Ine
'Péter was overcome by *the desire to gorp* in this heat.'

As for the meaning of HATNÉK-nouns, Tompa (1959: 485) establishes that they refer to some kind of a desire to perform the sort of action denoted by their verbal derivational basis; this kind of meaning is exemplified in (479a) and (480a,b) above. There is also a group of verbs denoting partially controllable actions, typically bodily/sound emissions, in the case of which the HATNÉK-nouns refer to some kind of urge (481).

(481) ● HATNÉK-nouns denoting some kind of urge
Nevet-hetnék-em / Tüsszent-hetnék-em / Ásít-hatnék-om van.
laugh-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg / sneeze-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg / yawn-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg be.3Sg
'*I* have *the urge to laugh / sneeze / yawn.*'

1.3.1.5.1. Form of the derived noun

The derived HATNÉK-nouns always involve the allomorphs *-hatnék* (482a,a',b,e) or *-hetnék* (482c,d), and their use depends on the rules of vowel harmony (1.1.1.2).

HATNÉK-nouns have the external distribution of a noun. The series of examples in (482) serves as an illustration of this fact.

(482) ● The noun-like external distribution of HATNÉK-nouns

a. A zavarodottságom oka *a legyőzhetetlen sír-hatnék-om.*
the confusion.Poss.1Sg reason.Poss.3Sg *the invincible cry-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg*
'The reason for my confusion is *my uncontrollable urge to cry.*'

a'. *Sír-hatnék-om* van.
cry-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg be.3Sg
'*I* am having *the urge to cry.*'

b. Rám jött *a sír-hatnék.*
Sub.1Sg come.Past.3Sg *the cry-HATNÉK*
'I was overcome by *the urge to cry.*'

c. Le tudtad győzni *a tüsszent-hetnék-ed-et?*
down can.Past.DefObj.2Sg win.Inf *the sneeze-HATNÉK-Poss.2Sg-Acc*
'Could you suppress *your urge to sneeze?*'

d. Péter *legyőzhetetlen tüsszent-hetnék-kel* küzdött.
Péter *invincible sneeze-HATNÉK-Ins* fight.Past.3Sg
'Péter was fighting *an uncontrollable urge to sneeze.*'

e. Veszekedés robbant ki *Péter tegnapi kocsmáz-hatnék-ja miatt.*
quarrel burst.Past.3Sg out *Péter yesterday.Adj go_out_to_pubs-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg because_of*
'A quarrel burst out *because of Péter's desire to go out to pubs yesterday.*' (based on Oszoli 2014: 6/(5c))

e'. Veszekedés robbant ki
quarrel burst.Past.3Sg out
Péter tegnapi, kocsmáz-ás-ról való ábrándoz-ás-a miatt.
Péter yesterday.Adj go_out_to_pubs-ÁS-Del be.Part daydream-ÁS-Poss.3Sg because_of
'A quarrel burst out *because of Péter's daydreaming about going out to pubs yesterday.*'

In (482a), there is a HATNÉK-noun used as a primary predicate. Example (482a') illustrates a typical case in which the HATNÉK-noun is also predicative, since, as a verbal modifier, it is the nominal part of a complex predicate. In (482b), a HATNÉK-noun is used as a (nominative case-marked) subject. A HATNÉK-noun can also be used as an (accusative case-marked) object (482c) or as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (482d). It can also be an argument of a postposition (482e).

All the HATNÉK-noun constructions in (482) above can (also) be interpreted as referring to definite desires or urges existing in definite periods of time. In this sense, thus, they can be regarded as complex-eventuality denoting deverbal nominal expressions, similar to ÁS-nouns (see the introduction to 1.3.1.2 and, for instance, subsection 1.3.1.2.1). The potentiality and abstractness that inevitably belongs to the meaning of every HATNÉK-noun, however, suggests that they must be regarded as event-type-based nouns; thus, in this respect they are similar to SED-nouns (see the introduction to 1.3.1.2). Nevertheless, there is no contradiction at all: HATNÉK-nouns can simultaneously be regarded as event-type *based* and complex-eventuality *denoting* deverbal nominals; we claim that they occupy their place in the system of Hungarian deverbal nominalizers just in this in-between way (see Table 36 in 1.3.1.7). In order to elucidate this difficult idea, it is worth fabricating and scrutinizing a whole story around (482e), for instance.

In the example in question, Péter's desire (expressed by the given HATNÉK-noun construction) is an eventuality (an existing state, this time, see Bach (1981)) which lasts, say, from 8 to 10 p.m. in a particular evening, which his wife would like to spend at home watching a romantic film together with her husband. Thus the denotatum specified in this fabricated story—the state of an existing desire, which could be paraphrased by means of the (complex-event denoting) ÁS-noun construction presented in (482e')—is a definite complex eventuality (just like the denotatum of the ÁS-noun construction). The object of the desire, however, which is the basis of derivation, is an abstract event type of going out to pubs created in Péter's mind on the basis of his and/or other people's earlier experiences related to this activity. It is not certain that the complex event of Péter's going out to pubs in the particular evening has been realized; and even if such a complex event has been realized (contrary to his wife's desire), the realized complex event is undoubtedly different from the earlier event type in Péter's mind.

All in all, the HATNÉK-noun construction demonstrated in (482e), together with all the HATNÉK-noun constructions presented in (482), must be taken to be an event-type-based complex-eventuality denoting deverbal nominal expression, compared to ÁS-noun constructions, which can be said to be complex-event-based complex-event denoting deverbal nominals, due to the total coincidence of the denotatum and the derivational basis in this group. It is also worth noting that this denoted complex eventuality is not the desire itself but the existing desire lasting for a certain period of time.

Do HATNÉK-nouns pattern with ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2) in having eventuality-type denoting counterparts? In other words, are there "HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns"?

Let us consider the minimal pair in (483a-a') below. Since the attribute *tegnapi* 'yesterday.Adj' in (483a) refers to a definite period of time, the given HATNÉK-noun construction is to be interpreted as a complex-eventuality denoting expression. As is exemplified in (483a'), however, this attribute can easily be replaced with one that refers to a vague discontinuous temporal entity (e.g., *állandó* 'constant'), which is straightforwardly incompatible with complex-eventuality denoting constructions but compatible with eventuality-type denoting ones. Nevertheless, note that there is no such difference between the phonetic forms of the two deverbal nouns in question as, for instance, the spectacular formal difference between the complex-event denoting ÁS-noun *megoperálás* 'perf.operate.ÁS' and its event-type denoting (blocking) SED-noun counterpart *operáció* 'operation' (see (223a-a') in 1.3.1.2.1). This makes it necessary to provide further evidence for the independent existence of a group of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns.

(483) ● Are there eventuality-type denoting HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns?

a. *Péter tegnapi kocsmáz-hatnék-ja* mindenkit kiborított.
Péter yesterday.Adj go_out_to_pubs-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'*Péter's urge to go out to pubs yesterday* made everyone angry.'

a'. *Péter állandó kocsmáz-hatnék-ja* mindenkit kiborít.
Péter constant go_out_to_pubs-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc make_angry.3Sg
'*Péter's constant urge to go out to pubs* makes everyone angry.'

b. ?Ez volt *a hét leglegyőzhetetlenebb sír-hatnék-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the week most_invincible cry-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the week's most i uncontrollable urge to cry.*'

b'. *Ez volt *Ili kedvenc nevet-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *Ili favorite laugh-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *Ili's favorite occasion when someone had the urge to laugh.*'

c. Rám tört *a sír-hatnék.*
Sub.1Sg come_over.Past.3Sg *the cry-HATNÉK*
'I was overcome by *the desire to cry.*'

d. ??Régóta kutatják *a sír-hatnék okait.*
for_a_long_time investigate.DefObj.3Pl *the cry-HATNÉK reason.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Acc*
'*Reasons for the urge to cry* have been investigated for a long time.'

d'. ?*A sír-hatnék* az egyik legrosszabb érzés.
the cry-HATNÉK the one_of worst feeling
'*The urge to cry* is one of the worst feelings.'

e. *[Az oroszlán]*$_{Agent/*Theme}$ *simogat-hatnék-ja* mindenkit megdöbbentett.
the lion stroke-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
meaning1 [Agent]: '*The lion's urge to stroke* shocked everyone.'
meaning2 [Theme] (intended): '*The urge to stroke the lion* shocked everyone.'

e'. *[Az oroszlán]*$_{Agent/Theme}$ *simogat-ás-a* mindenkit megdöbbentett.
the lion stroke-ÁS-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc shock.Past.3Sg
'*The stroke of the lion*$_{[Agent/Theme]}$ shocked everyone.'

Let us consider the test contexts which proved successful in distinguishing SED-nouns from ÁS-nouns (see the series of examples in (225) in 1.3.1.2.2.1). They all

have to do with the possessor in some way. There is a decisive property shared by all complex-eventuality denoting deverbal nominal constructions: they cannot dispense with a possessor (at least a reconstructable one) that corresponds to an unambiguously designated (non-oblique case-marked) input argument, that is, to the object or to the subject (NB: this does not necessarily mean that the presence of such a possessor inevitably implies the complex-eventuality status of the given deverbal nominal construction, as is exemplified in (225b)). An eventuality-type denoting deverbal nominal construction can contain no possessor at all (225e), or it can contain a possessor which is in such a loose semantic relation to the noun as a temporal expression, for instance (225c). Moreover, if the construction contains the expression *kedvenc* 'favorite', the semantic relation of the possessor to the eventuality is more or less totally arbitrary (225d).

Let us start the overview with the "temporal possessor test". Example (483b) above, with its grammaticality judgment '?', can be accepted as an argument for the independent existence of a group of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns. The 'favorite'-construction, however, is not compatible with *hAtnék*-nouns (483b'); the reason for this may be a general semantic incompatibility between desires/urges and the 'favorite'-construction (cf. **my favorite thirst*).

The example in (483c) suggests that a *hAtnék*-noun can easily dispense with a possessor; the grammaticality judgments ('??/?') associated with (483d-d'), however, show that the question is not so simple. How can this contradiction be reconciled?

Let our point of departure be the observation that there are no *hAtnék*-nouns in (traditional) dictionaries. On the basis of this, we can hypothesize that there are no *lexicalized* HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns. If this is true, the questionable status of the possessorless (483d-d') examples is not surprising but it is in total harmony with the plausible assumption that a deverbal nominal can only be regarded as an item of the lexicon if it can occur (in well-formed sentences) "freely", and not with an obligatory possessor (NB: such relational nouns as *anya* 'mother' and *szél* 'edge' are absolute roots).

Note, however, that the assumption that there are no lexicalized HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns does not exclude a hypothesis according to which speakers always create HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns "on-line". That is, in contrast to SED-nouns, the group of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns may be assumed to have the special property of containing no core subgroup of lexicalized elements, which may have to do with the following observation: there are no lexical items which can be straightforwardly regarded as irregularly derived ("blocking") HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns. The examples in (484) below support this claim by illustrating that only quite complex expressions can serve as more or less adequate synonyms for HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns, and not simple formal alternatives with the same verbal root but with a single different nominalizing derivational suffix. Only example (484c) might be evaluated as a blocking form according to our practice applied so far: here a combination of two derivational suffixes can be taken to serve as a substitute for *-hAtnék*. The interchangeability of the given phonetic forms, however, is problematic, as is illustrated in (484c'); the difference between the HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun and the noun *aluszékonyság* 'somnolence' is similar to that difference between *részeg* 'drunk' and *részeges* 'alcoholic'.

(484) ● No blocking forms in the case of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns?

a. *nevet-hetnék* versus *nevet-ő-görcs*
laugh-HATNÉK *laugh-Ó-cramp*
'*urge to laugh* versus *convulsions*'

b. *vizel-hetnék* versus *vizel-és-i inger*
urinate-HATNÉK *urinate-ÁS-Adj urgency*
'*urge to urinate* versus *urinary urgency*'

c. *al-hatnék* versus *alusz-ékony-ság*
sleep-HATNÉK *sleep-Adj-Nmn*
'*urge to sleep* versus *somnolence*'

c'. Sokaknak gyakran *al-hatnék-ja* */ *alusz-ékony-ság-a* van.
many_people.Pl.Dat often *sleep-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* */ sleep-Adj-Nmn-Poss.3Sg* be.3Sg
'Many often have [*an urge to sleep*] */ somnolence*.'

We hypothesize, thus, that the group of SED-nouns represents the default case with its (huge) subgroup consisting of lexicalized elements (NB: all irregularly derived SED-nouns are *per se* lexicalized). Even this group, however, must contain non-lexicalized, that is, "on-line created", elements, simply because lexicalization is a process, and processes must inevitably have transitory phases (in which the given potential phonetic forms are acceptable in certain sentential contexts but are still not items of the lexicon of speakers of Hungarian; cf. (362b) in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub III). The peculiar property of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns, thus, is that this group exclusively consists of elements to be created on-line, just like the complex-eventuality denoting groups (of ÁS-nouns and HATNÉK-nouns).

Let us now return to example (483c), in which the *hAtnék*-noun seems to dispense with a possessor. It must be noted, however, that the possessor is to be reconstructed; which means that the given deverbal nominal construction is created on-line. We need not decide at this point whether it is a complex-eventuality denoting HATNÉK-noun construction—with an implicit possessor (which must be reconstructed, by identifying it with the sublative case-marked argument of the verb), or a HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction, which (also) requires a possessor in connection with its non-lexicalized status, though a reconstructable possessor is sufficient.

The minimal pair in (483e-e') above shows that *hAtnék*-nouns do not pattern with *Ás*-nouns in producing ambiguity in their eventuality-type-based versions: the possessor of a transitive-verb-based *hAtnék*-noun can never correspond to the input Theme; it seems to "insist" on the Agent, or "at least" on an argument whose role contains a certain amount of agentivity (cf. (498c",d) in 1.3.1.5.2.3) (Dowty 1991). Nevertheless, the absence of ambiguity in the case of the *hAtnék*-noun construction exemplified in (483e) does not *ab ovo* exclude the HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun status, but can be regarded as a consequence of its non-lexicalized character. That it is created on-line may imply that the possessor cannot be chosen as freely as in the case of free lexical items but only certain embedding constructions license potential HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns. Observe that the temporal-possessor construction, exemplified in (483b) above, belongs to such licensing contexts of (on-line created) HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns. As a matter of fact, this context is the only one (so far) on the basis of which

(potential) HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns can quite reliably be distinguished from HATNÉK-nouns.

Moreover, this context is the only one so far on the basis of which the mere existence of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns can be raised at all. Let us therefore use temporal possessors in our tests to ensure that given *hAtnék*-nouns are undoubtedly HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns.

Another potential test to distinguish HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns and HATNÉK-nouns is the [postposition + *való*] test, which Laczkó (2000a: 316–318) used to distinguish ÁS-nouns from SED-nouns. Recall that this test relies on the specialty of Hungarian that postpositions can be attributivized by means of either the *-i* suffix, an adjectival derivational suffix, or the separate word *való*, one of the present participial counterparts of the copula *van* 'be' (1.3.1.2.1). This latter construction was claimed to unambiguously evoke the complex-event reading among *Ás*-nouns if (and only if) the former construction is also available.

Let us now investigate what the [postposition + *való*] test indicates in the case of *hAtnék*-nouns (485). The minimal pair in the (a)-examples demonstrates that HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns pattern with SED-nouns (485b') in rejecting the [postposition + *való*] construction (485a) while accepting the [postposition + *-i*] construction (485a').

(485) ● The application of the [postposition + *való*] test to *hAtnék*-nouns (compared to the case of ÁS- and SED-nouns)

a. *?Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible lunch after be.Part talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to talk after lunch*.'

a'. (?)Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible lunch after.Adj talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to talk after lunch*.'

b. *Ilinek az ebéd [után való] /(?)utáni meg-operál-ás-a* jól sikerült.
Ili.Dat the lunch after be.Part / after.Adj perf-operate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*Operating on Ili after lunch* was successful.'

b'. *Ilinek az ebéd *[után való] /✓utáni operáció-ja* jól sikerült.
Ili.Dat the lunch after be.Part / after.Adj operation-ÁS-Poss.3Sg well succeed.Past.3Sg
'*Ili's operation after lunch* was successful.'

c. Ránk tört *az ebéd [után való] /*?utáni beszélget-hetnék.*
Sub.1Pl come_over.Past.3Sg *the lunch after be.Part / after.Adj talk-HATNÉK*
'We were overcome by *a desire to talk after lunch*.' (complex eventuality)

c'. Ránk tört *az ebéd *[után való] /(?)utáni beszélget-hetnék.*
Sub.1Pl come_over.Past.3Sg *the lunch after be.Part/ after.Adj talk-HATNÉK*
'We were overcome by *the [usual] desire to talk after lunch*.' (eventuality type)

Do HATNÉK-nouns pattern with ÁS-nouns (485b) in accepting both postpositional constructions? This question cannot be answered easily due to the fact that, in the case of a *hAtnék*-noun construction devoid of a temporal possessor, a HATNÉK-noun cannot be distinguished from its potential HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun counterpart for the following reasons: (i) as was claimed above, they are inevitably homophonous due to their on-line creation, that is, there are no such spectacular differences as the one between, for instance, the complex-event denoting ÁS-noun *megoperálás*

'perf.operate.ÁS' and its (irregularly derived, "blocking") event-type denoting SED-noun counterpart *operáció* 'operation' in (485b-b'); (ii) a human possessor is inevitably to be interpreted in both types as an Agent (and it cannot be interpreted as a Theme).

The examples (485c-c') above suggest a negative answer to the question posed in the previous paragraph, because the *hAtnék*-noun interpretation evoked by the [postposition + *-i*] construction (485c') is slightly different from that evoked by the [postposition + *való*] construction (485c). As the translations show, in (485c) a definite desire is referred to without any antecedent, while in (485c') the type of chat after lunch is presupposed. An example of the latter case can be a situation in which a boss is often angry with his/her subordinates for spending much time chatting after lunch. The example in (485c) evokes no similar presupposition but it can be performed "out of the blue"; so it clearly refers to an individual complex eventuality. The alternative variant (485c'), however, primarily refers to the eventuality type discussed above, and the reference to the definite complex eventuality of the existing desire is due to the matrix verbal construction (*rám tört...* '... came over me'). We argue (on the basis of this construal) that this difference is suitable for distinguishing HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns from each other: the [postposition + *való*] construction is compatible only with HATNÉK-nouns, while the [postposition + *-i*] construction is compatible only with $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns.

Table 31 below summarizes the general strategy of using the [postposition + *való*] construction and the [postposition + *-i*] construction. Our point of departure (in the spirit of Laczkó (2000a: 316–318)), given in Table 31/I below, is that compatibility with the [postposition + *való*] construction is *ab ovo* a distinctive marker of complex-eventuality denoting deverbal nominal constructions, while the [postposition + *-i*] construction (*ab ovo*) has no such bias (but see the series of examples in (526) and Table 40 in 1.3.2.1.2.1, where we investigate the sporadic case in which postpositional phrases (probably) serve as arguments, and not as adjuncts). However, since the *-i* derivational suffix cannot be attached to oblique case suffixes (Laczkó 2000a: 317), language has recourse to the avoidance strategy demonstrated in Table 31/II below: eventuality-type denoting deverbal nominal constructions as well as complex-eventuality denoting constructions are permitted to occur with the [oblique + *való*] construction. As for *hAtnék*-noun constructions, another avoidance strategy can be observed (Table 31/III), in connection with the systematic homophony between their eventuality-type denoting and complex-eventuality denoting variants: in this group, a one-to-one correspondence emerges between the two subtypes and the two modes of attributivization, in the absence of distinguishable deverbal nominal forms.

Table 31: General distribution of the való*-construction and the attributivizer* -i *in complex-eventuality denoting and eventuality-type denoting deverbal nominal constructions*

I. *ÁS*-NOUN	POSTPOSITION + *VALÓ*	POSTPOSITION + *-I*
COMPLEX EVENT	✓	✓
EVENT TYPE	*	✓

II. *ÁS*-N & *HATNÉK*-N	OBLIQUE + *VALÓ*	OBLIQUE + *-I*
COMPLEX EVENTUALITY	✓	*
EVENTUALITY TYPE	✓	*

III. *HATNÉK*-N	POSTPOSITION + *VALÓ*	POSTPOSITION + *-I*
COMPLEX EVENTUALITY	✓	*
EVENTUALITY TYPE	*	✓

As in the case of ÁS-nouns and Ó-nouns (see (219) in 1.3.1.2.1 and (340) in 1.3.1.3.1, respectively), the preverbs of input verbs are worth investigating here, too. Do the "meaningless" (i.e., exclusively perfectivizing) input preverbs behave differently from the "meaningful" ones?

As is illustrated in the series of examples in (486), HATNÉK-nouns inherit both kinds of preverbs. Constructions containing exclusively perfectivizing preverbs are somewhat marked (486b'), presumably due to the eventuality-type derivational basis of all types of *hAtnék*-nouns. Nevertheless, as the translation given in (486b') suggests, preserving the preverb is the single solution in cases in which the speaker wants to express exactly the accomplishment of an activity as the object of the desire in question.

(486) ● Verbal modifiers in the case of HATNÉK-nouns

a. (?)Marira rátört *az ok nélkül való vissza-beszél-hetnék.*
Mari.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the reason without be.Part back-speak-HATNÉK*
'Mari was overcome by *the desire to talk back without reasons.*'

b. (?)Marira rátört *az óra alatt való fésülköd-hetnék.*
Mari.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the lesson under be.Part comb_oneself-HATNÉK*
'Mari was overcome by *the desire to comb herself during the lesson.*'

b'. ?Marira rátört *az ebéd előtt való meg-fésülköd-hetnék.*
Mari.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the lunch before be.Part perf-comb_oneself-HATNÉK*
'Mari was overcome by *the desire to do her hair by combing herself before lunch.*'

Note in passing that the slightly marked status ('(?)') of the preverbless construction in (486b) and the example in (486a) with a meaningful preverb can be attributed to the *való*-construction inserted in the given sentences in order to ensure the HATNÉK-

noun interpretation. That is, the *ab ovo* fully acceptable constructions become somewhat awkward exactly due to the test situation.

> Remark 14. The independent survey mentioned in Remark 11 in subsection 1.3.1.4.3 has revealed that with respect to the type exemplified (486b') there is a "entirely dismissive dialect", while for other speakers it is even more acceptable than for the authors. The microvariation revealed among Hungarian speakers requires future research.

Let us also investigate the question of preverb inheritance in the case of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns (487). As is expected, HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns inherit the meaningful preverb (487a), while preserving the exclusively perfectivizing preverb is a highly marked option here (487b'), which is in total harmony with their eventuality-type denoting character. The fact that the given HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction is not fully unacceptable may have to do with its "on-line created" status.

(487) ● Verbal modifiers in the case of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns

a. [(?)]Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb vissza-beszél-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible back-talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to talk back*.'

b. [(?)]Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb fésülköd-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible comb_oneself-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to comb oneself*.'

b'. [??]Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb meg-fésülköd-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible perf-comb_oneself-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to do one's hair by combing oneself*.'

We conclude this subsection with the question of whether *hAtnék*-nouns can be further derived. This question is of importance because there is a natural relationship between the possibility of readily serving as derivational input and being a lexical (and not "on-line created") item. We argue that *hAtnék*-nouns cannot serve as input to (further) derivation, as is illustrated in (488a). This observation can be regarded as another argument in favor of their peculiar property that even HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns are uniformly "on-line created" (NB: on-line-createdness does not totally exclude further-derivability but can be regarded as a factor that decreases its likelihood or readiness).

(488) ● Further-derivation of HATNÉK-nouns?

a. **nevet-hetnék-ség / * nevet-hetnék-es / *nevet-hetnék-ű / *nevet-hetnék-i*
laugh-HATNÉK-Nmn / laugh-HATNÉK-Adj / laugh-HATNÉK-Adj / laugh-HATNÉK-Adj

b. *csókolóz-hatnék-ság / indul-hatnék-ú / vereked-hetnék-i*
kiss_each_other-HATNÉK-Nmn / depart-HATNÉK-Adj / fight-HATNÉK-Adj
(Tompa 1959: 484)

Note in passing that Tompa (1959: 484) provides a few further-derived *hAtnék*-nouns, exemplified in (488b) above. On the basis of our mother tongue intuition, however, we claim without doubt that such expressions are totally unacceptable in present-day Hungarian (see also Oszoli 2014: 7). Nevertheless, there may be large speaker-dependent differences in accepting such further-derived *hAtnék*-nouns (especially in certain genres).

1.3.1.5.2. Relation to the base verb

This subsection outlines to what extent such verbal properties as argument structure (1.3.1.5.2.1) and information structure (1.3.1.5.2.2) are inherited in the case of *hAtnék*-nouns; and how the type of the input verb affects this inheritance (1.3.1.5.2.3).

1.3.1.5.2.1. Argument-structure inheritance

In the case of *hAtnék*-nouns, the following generalization can be formulated, at least as a "theoretical possibility" (and not as an actual practice), for both subtypes (due to the fact that even the eventuality-type denoting HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns are created on-line). Apart from the change in syntactic category (from V to N), the number, the obligatory or optional character, and the thematic function of the arguments tend to remain essentially the same, with the usual exception: the non-oblique syntactic functions must change, due to the change in syntactic category, in connection with the general fact that a noun has no subject and object, but only a position for a possessor—and an additional position in the prenominal complement zone for a non-fully-fledged argument.

First, let us consider HATNÉK-nouns, which are special just with respect to the constraint on non-oblique-case-marked arguments. For these, it is always the Agent(-like) input subject that corresponds to the possessor. This is either explicitly present (489a-a') or reconstructable in the sense that it must be identified with a certain argument within the clause (for instance, with the accusative case-marked argument in (489b), and with the sublative case-marked one in (489b')). Note that in the case of a reconstructable possessor (489b-b'), the HATNÉK-noun bears neither a possessedness suffix nor an agreement suffix. As for the former case, either the possessor appears within the HATNÉK-noun construction (489a), or it is separated from its possessee (489a'). Having recourse to a "split construction" is obligatory in the case typical of HATNÉK-nouns, in which the HATNÉK-noun construction serves as a verbal modifier (cf. (489a') and (489a")) since this kind of verbal modifier is obligatorily non-fully-fledged.

(489) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of HATNÉK-nouns:

I. Non-oblique-case-marked arguments: input subject

a. A kudarc oka *Ili legyőzhetetlen sír-hatnék-ja* volt.
the failure reason.Poss.3Sg *Ili invincible cry-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* be.Past.3Sg
'The reason for the failure was *Ili's uncontrollable urge to cry*.'

a'. *Julinak* is sajnos *sír-hatnék**(ˇ*-ja)* van.
Juli.Dat also unfortunately *cry-HATNÉK(-Poss.3Sg)* be.3Sg
'Unfortunately, *Juli* is also having *the urge to cry*.'

a". **[Juli sír-hatnék-ja]* van.
Juli *cry-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* be.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*Juli* is having *the urge to cry*.'

b. Pétert elfogta *a sír-hatnék(*-ja).*
Péter.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the cry-HATNÉK(-Poss.3Sg)*
'Péter was seized by *the desire to cry*.'

b'. Rám jött *a sír-hatnék(*-om).*
Sub.1Sg come.Past.3Sg *the cry-HATNÉK(-Poss.1Sg)*
'I was overcome by *the desire to cry*.'

With the input subject obligatorily corresponding to the possessor of the HATNÉK-noun, what happens to the input object (if the input verb is transitive)?

The fully unacceptable example in (490a'), based on an argument-structure type with a fully fledged object (490a), corroborates the generalization that the input object cannot appear as the possessor in a HATNÉK-noun construction even if this construction does not contain an (explicit) possessor. As is exemplified in (490a"), a fully fledged input object cannot appear (either with or without accusative case suffix) in the prenominal complement zone of a HATNÉK-noun, either.

All in all, fully fledged input objects cannot appear within HATNÉK-noun constructions in any way—at least preserving their fully fledged character.

(490) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of HATNÉK-nouns:
II. Non-oblique-case-marked arguments: input object

a. Ili (meg-)simogatja azt az oroszlánt.
Ili (perf-)stroke.DefObj.3Sg that.Acc the lion.Acc
'Ili strokes / is stroking that lion.'

a'. *Ilire rájött *annak a oroszlánnak a simogat-hatnék-ja.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *that.Dat the lion.Dat the stroke-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'Ili was overcome by *the desire to stroke that lion*.'

a". *Ilire rájött
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg
az [azt az oroszlánt] / [az az oroszlán] simogat-hatnék.
the that.Acc the lion.Acc / that the lion stroke-HATNÉK
Intended meaning: 'Ili was overcome by *the desire to stroke that lion*.'

b. Ili éppen oroszlán(oka)t / *?Simbát simogat.
Ili just lion.(Pl.)Acc / Simba.Acc stroke.3Sg
'Ili is stroking lions / Simba.'

b'. Ilire rájött *az oroszlán-simogat-hatnék.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the lion-stroke-HATNÉK*
'Ili was overcome by *the desire to stroke lions*.'

b". Ilire rájött *a legyőzhetetlen ?(*a) Simba-simogat-hatnék.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the invincible the Simba-stroke-HATNÉK*
'Ili was overcome by *the uncontrollable desire to stroke Simba*.'

As the example in (490b') above illustrates, however, the input object can appear in the prenominal complement zone of the HATNÉK-noun if it is based on a transitive argument-structure type with a non-fully-fledged object (490b).

Example (490b") presents a fairly acceptable ('?') exceptional case, in which the counterpart of a fully fledged object (*Simba*) appears in the prenominal complement zone of a HATNÉK-noun. Note, however, that the given type of example has a somewhat funny connotation, to which the licensing of the slight violation of our generalization on fully fledged input objects can be attributed, in addition to the following strange in-between status of personal names. Semantically, they are definite expressions, but they dispense with the definite article (on a register- or

dialect-dependent basis), so formally, they "look like" bare nouns, and bare nouns can readily occupy prehead positions (490b-b').

This special latter phenomenon suggests the following "fine-tuning" of our basic generalization on argument-structure inheritance of HATNÉK-noun constructions: the obligatoriness of certain input arguments (see the accusative case-marked proper name in (490b)) is "inherited" in a "weakened" way. In this particular case, a fully fledged input argument is licensed to correspond to a "positionally non-fully-fledged" output argument. In another type of case, illustrated in (491b-b') below, this "weakening" manifests itself as follows: while in the input verbal construction at least one of the possible oblique case-marked arguments is expected to be present in an "out-of-the-blue" context (cf. (491b) and (491c)), the corresponding HATNÉK-noun construction entirely dispenses with it (491b').

Compared to these cases that "weaken" the basic rule (according to which obligatorily input arguments must correspond to obligatorily appearing output arguments), the (a)-examples in (491) below illustrate the default case as follows. The verbal construction given in (491a) is fully unacceptable unless the sublative case-marked argument is present or reconstructable; and the corresponding HATNÉK-noun construction is also unacceptable (or perhaps very slightly less unacceptable) without the output counterpart of the sublative case-marked argument.

(491) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of HATNÉK-nouns:

III. Oblique-case-marked arguments

a. Péter rá-lőtt *(✓a medvére).
Péter onto-shoot.Past.3Sg the bear.Sub
'Péter shot at it / [the bear].' (intended meaning: "out-of-the-blue")

a'. Péterre rájött *a* *?(?)*medvére való) rá-lő-hetnék.*
Péter.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the bear.Sub be.Part onto-shoot-HATNÉK*
'Péter was overcome by *the desire to shoot (at the bear)*.'

b. ?Ili gyakran beszélget.
Ili often talk.3Sg
'Ili often talks.'

b'. Ilire rájött *a beszélget-hetnék.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the talk-HATNÉK*
'Ili was overcome by *the desire to talk*.'

c. Ili gyakran beszélget Marival a politikáról.
Ili often talk.3Sg Mari.Ins the politics.Del
'Ili often talks with Mari about politics.'

c'. Ilire rájött *a beszélget-hetnék Marival (?)(??a politikáról).*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the talk-HATNÉK Mari.Ins the politics.Del*
'Ili was overcome *the desire to talk with Mari (about politics)*.'

d. Ilire rájött *a Marival / politikáról való beszélget-hetnék.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the Mari.Ins / politics.Del be.Part talk-HATNÉK*
'Ili was overcome by *the desire to talk [with Mari] / [about politics]*.'

d'. Ilire rájött *a Marival*[??] *(*való) a politikáról való beszélget-hetnék.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the Mari.Ins be.Part the politics.Del be.Part talk-HATNÉK*
'Ili was overcome by *the desire to talk [with Mari] [about politics]*.'

e. [?]Ilire rájött *a politikáról való beszélget-hetnék Marival.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the politics.Del be.Part talk-HATNÉK Mari.Ins*
'Ili was overcome by *the desire to talk [with Mari] [about politics]*.'

f. *Beszélget-hetnék-em* támadt *Marival* [(?)][(?]*a politikáról).*
talk-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg come_over.Past.3Sg *Mari.Ins the politics.Del*
'I was overcome by *the desire to talk with Mari (about politics).*'

g. Elfogott *a Pécsre utaz-hatnék.*
seize.Past.3Sg *the Pécs.Sub travel-HATNÉK*
'I was seized by *the desire to travel to Pécs*.'

While it is "less obligatory" to express (the output counterparts of) the oblique case-marked arguments in HATNÉK-noun constructions, on the one hand, there is another (actually parallel) tendency according to which such arguments are sometimes not easy to express, on the other. Let us consider the decisive factors of this tendency. Our point of departure is a (fully acceptable) verbal construction containing two arguments in its postnominal complement zone (491c).

Such variants are tested in (491c') above in which the complement zone is fully or partly preserved. The grammaticality judgments show that it is almost impossible for both arguments to appear in the postnominal complement zone, and even the appearance of one of the oblique case-marked arguments yields a slight degree of markedness.

The *való*-construction seems to offer an optimal solution for expressing an oblique case-marked argument within HATNÉK-noun constructions (491d). The *való*-construction, however, is typically unsuitable for hosting more than one (oblique case-marked) arguments (491d'): stacking two or more *való*-constructions is fully unacceptable but stacking two or more arguments in one *való*-construction is highly marked, too.

It is possible to mix these solutions by placing one of the arguments in a *való*-construction and the other in the postnominal complement zone (491e). This is the best strategy, since the given example is fairly acceptable though still not perfect ('?').

In certain cases (491f), a HATNÉK-noun construction must be split (cf. (489a'), due to its serving as a verbal modifier, whose position is one of the positions in Hungarian that rejects right branching from the head; see also Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015: 9–14)). The oblique case-marked arguments of the HATNÉK-noun appear in this way postverbally, yielding a word-order variant that is as acceptable as the best, "mixed", solution, illustrated in (491e), in spite of the fact that this solution is not based on a mixed strategy of placing oblique case-marked arguments (cf. the highly marked example in (491c') above). A possible explanation for this surprisingly acceptable status of the variant in (491f) is the (somewhat theory-dependent) assumption that the split arguments in question are hosted in the postnominal complement zone of the verb, the filling of which is not subject to any constraint (491c).

Finally, if an oblique case-marked argument serves as a verbal modifier in the input verbal construction, its output counterpart can readily be hosted in the prenominal complement zone of the derived HATNÉK-noun (491g).

Let us now turn to the question of argument-structure inheritance in the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns. One of the basic rules of correspondence among input and output dependents is that the output possessor, whose (at least reconstructable) presence is obligatory (presumably due to the "on-line created" character of both types of *hAtnék*-nouns) can either correspond to the (Agent-like) input subject (492) or be a temporal expression (493).

As the grammaticality judgments associated with the examples in (492) below illustrate, this subtype of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun construction patterns with HATNÉK-noun constructions (489-491), presumably due to their shared "on-line created" character with the output possessor corresponding to the (Agent-like) input subject (492a-a').

As for the details, this subtype of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun construction also patterns with HATNÉK-noun constructions in the following respect: the possessor is either explicitly present (492a) or reconstructable by being identified with a certain argument within the clause (for instance, with the sublative case-marked argument in (492a')). In the latter case (492a'), the $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun can readily dispense with a possessedness suffix (and an agreement suffix), while in (492a") it is precisely the possessedness suffix (and the agreement suffix) that guarantees that the noun phrase in question is a $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun construction (cf. (489b')).

(492) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns I.

a. *Ilinek* időnként *legyőzhetetlen sír-hatnék-ja* szokott lenni.
Ili.Dat from_time_to_time *invincible cry-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* used_to.Past.3Sg be.Inf
'From time to time *Ili* has *an uncontrollable urge to cry*.'

a'. Ilire már megint rájött *a legyőzhetetlen sír-hatnék(?-ja).*
Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the invincible cry-HATNÉK(-Poss.3Sg)*
'*The uncontrollable urge* came over Ili again *to cry*.'

a". Rám jött *a* ??*(?)szokásos) sír-hatnék-om.*
Sub.1Sg come.Past.3Sg *the usual cry-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg*
'I was overcome by *the (usual) desire to cry*.'

b. Ilire már megint rájött *a legyőzhetetlen oroszlán-simogat-hatnék.*
Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the invincible lion-stroke-HATNÉK*
'Ili was overcome again by *the uncontrollable desire to stroke lions*.'

c. Ilire már megint rájött *a legyőzhetetlen*
Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the invincible*
?*[beszélget-hetnék Marival]* / (?)*[Marival való beszélget-hetnék].*
talk-HATNÉK Mari.Ins / Mari.Ins be.Part talk-HATNÉK
'Ili was overcome again by *the uncontrollable desire to talk with Mari*.'

c'. ?Ilire már megint rájött *a legyőzhetetlen*
Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the invincible*
politikáról való beszélget-hetnék Marival.
politics.Del be.Part talk-HATNÉK Mari.Ins
'Ili was overcome again by *the uncontrollable desire to talk with Mari about politics*.'

c”. Ilire már megint rájött *a legyőzhetetlen Pécsre utaz-hatnék.*
Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the invincible* *Pécs.Sub travel-HATNÉK*
‘Ili was overcome again by *the uncontrollable desire to travel to Pécs*.’

An input object can have a counterpart in a HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction on condition that it is not fully fledged (492b), because it can appear only in the (output) prenominal complement zone (see the comments on (490) above).

As for oblique case-marked input arguments, they can, and must, be inherited in the case of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions (492c-c’), just like in the case of HATNÉK-noun constructions, and according to the same conditions and strategies (as for the inheritance of oblique case-marked adjuncts, see (511) in 1.3.1.5.4.2). If a single oblique case-marked argument is involved, it can quite readily appear in the (output) postnominal complement zone, and even more readily in a *való*-construction (492c). If there is more than one oblique case-marked argument in the input, the best strategy to place them in the output HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction is the “mixed” strategy (see (492c’); cf. (491e)). This subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction also patterns with HATNÉK-noun constructions in readily inheriting an oblique case-marked input verbal modifier, by hosting it in the prenominal complement zone (see (492c”); cf. (491g)). Note in passing that *való*-constructions and such attributives as *legyőzhetetlen* ‘invincible’ are interchangeable (see (492c-c’)); and it is fairly speaker-dependent which order is preferred.

The subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction in which the possessor corresponds to a temporal expression, presented in (493a), uniformly shows a one grade lower level of acceptability with the same kinds of input verbal constructions; see the examples in (493c-d”).

First of all, however, let us consider (493b) below, which illustrates the fact that the input subject cannot have an output counterpart in the given HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun subtype, with the possessor being a temporal expression and the prenominal complement zone not being capable of hosting it (presumably due to the Agent-like character of the argument in question).

As is illustrated in (493c), however, the input object can readily occupy the aforementioned prenominal complement zone, on condition that it is not fully fledged. In this respect, thus, this HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction subtype also patterns with HATNÉK-noun constructions (490b’); see also (492b).

(493) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns:
II. Constructions with temporal possessors

a. Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb* [...].
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade* *most_invincible*
‘This was *the decade’s most uncontrollable urge/desire* [...].’

b. ?*(*gyermek-)sír-hatnék-ja*
(child-)cry-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
‘*(for children) to cry*’

c. ?*oroszlán-simogat-hatnék-ja*
lion-stroke-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
‘*to stroke lions*’

d. ??*[beszélget-hetnék-je Marival] /* ?*[Marival való beszélget-hetnék-je]*
talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg Mari.Ins / Mari.Ins be.Part talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*to talk with Mari*'

d'. ??*politikáról való beszélget-hetnék-je Marival*
politics.Del be.Part talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg Mari.Ins
'*to talk with Mari about politics*'

d". ?*Pécsre utaz-hatnék-ja*
Pécs.Sub travel-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*to travel to Pécs*'

Oblique case-marked input arguments can, and must, be inherited in the case of this HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction subtype (493d-d"), too. As was mentioned above, however, the resulting constructions are somewhat less acceptable than the corresponding HATNÉK-noun constructions (491c'-g) and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions with an agentive possessor (492c-c"). Thus, if a single oblique case-marked argument is involved (493d), it can more or less readily appear in a *való*-construction while its acceptability in the postnominal complement zone is already questionable. If there is more than one oblique case-marked argument in the input (493d'), even the best, "mixed", strategy (see (491e) and (492c')) provides constructions with questionable acceptability. This subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction also patterns with HATNÉK-noun constructions in quite readily inheriting an oblique case-marked input verbal modifier (493d"), by hosting it in the prenominal complement zone (see (491g) and (492c")).

We conclude this subsection with the illustration of a special type of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction (494), mentioned by Oszoli (2014: 26). It is special because even its status is difficult to decide: it is a hard methodological question whether this construction type must be described as a part of the standard Hungarian grammar or is to be regarded as a phenomenon that belongs to linguistic performance and not to competence.

Its strangest property is that even very long sequences of words can appear left-adjacent to the *hAtnék*-noun with a single stress on the first syllable of the entire sequence—as if this (potentially) huge conglomerate as a whole occupied the (otherwise "narrow") prenominal complement zone (494b-e'); the hyphenated spelling of the Hungarian sentences below expresses the peculiar stress pattern. Further arguments in favor of this construction type occupying the prenominal complement zone are that here (i) accusative case marking appears (here definitely obligatorily) on the counterparts of input objects (494b-d), (ii) oblique case-marked arguments (494c-e') and adjuncts (494b) appear in a non-attributivized form, (iii) adverbial (494f), converbial (494f') and postpositional (494c) elements can also appear (in a non-attributivized form). It is an argument against this approach, however, that (certain) operators can appear in the construction in question (494b-e'), which is otherwise not possible in the prenominal complement zone. Moreover, as the variants given in (494e) show, it is definitely preferred for this construction type to contain (certain kinds of) operators; see also (494e') and (689) in 2.1.1.4.

(494) ● The exceptional cases of inheritance of argument structure in the case of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns

a. Ilire már megint rájött [...].
Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg
'Ili was overcome by *a desire* [...].'

b. (?)*...a minden-hírt-kapásból-kommentál-hatnék*
the every-piece_of_news.Acc-promptly-comment-HATNÉK
'*... to comment on every piece of news promptly*'

c. (?)*...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 in every case only her husband*'

e. *...a* (?)*minden-/* ??*mindegyik-/ *négy-kollégával-össze-vesz-hetnék*
the every / all / four-colleague.Ins-together-lose-HATNÉK
'*...to quarrel with every / all / the four colleague(s)*'

e'. ... *?(?*a még-)az-anyjába-is-bele-köt-hetnék*
(the even-)the-mother.Poss.3Sg.Ill-also-into-bind-HATNÉK
'*...to pick a quarrel also (/even) with his mother*'

f. (?)*...az [ingyen-ebédel-hetnék] / [olcsón-söröz-hetnék]*
the free_of_charge-eat_lunch-HATNÉK / cheaply-drink_beer-HATNÉK
'*...[to eat lunch free of charge] / [to drink beer cheaply]*'

f'. ?*...a sírva-haza-rohan-hatnék*
the cry.Conv-home-run-HATNÉK
'*...to run home crying*'

It is also the systematic differences in grammaticality judgments between the variants investigated in (494e-e') that underlie our hypothesis that the acceptable examples all belong to the group of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions (and not to that of HATNÉK-noun constructions): referring to "institutionalized" events (e.g., quarrelling with colleagues or family members without mentioning specific details peculiar to the given Agent) is significantly preferred to referring to individual complex events.

Furthermore, the same differences—that is, the fact that it is possible to place only certain kinds of utterance chunks in the HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction subtype in question—may serve as evidence for regarding it as a phenomenon that belongs to the field of linguistic competence; nevertheless, its observationally adequate rule system may be regarded as a syntactic subsystem of a special register of a Hungarian generative grammar. Numerous empirical details as well as several theoretical and methodological questions, however, are left to future research. It is also an open question whether this "unbounded expandability" of the prenominal complement zone is restricted to HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions or it is also available for other deverbal nominal constructions.

1.3.1.5.2.2. Information-structure inheritance

Let us now turn to the question of the inheritance of information-structural functions from arguments of input verbs.

As is expected, HATNÉK-nouns (495a-a',c) pattern with ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII) in being essentially capable of inheriting information structure, in connection with their "on-line created" and complex-event-related character. As for $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun constructions, only inherited arguments can take internal scope: oblique case-marked non-possessor arguments (495d) and the possessor coinciding with the designated thematic possessor of the corresponding complex-event-related noun, that is, the Agent (495b-b'); free possessors are incapable of taking internal scope (495e). This is in total harmony with what was observed in connection with SED-noun constructions (compare (229b) to (228a) in 1.3.1.2.2.2; and see also the (b)-examples in (230-231)), so $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns pattern with SED-nouns in this respect, with the non-negligible difference that in the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun constructions, a free possessor practically cannot be anything else but a temporal expression.

All in all, both subtypes of *hAtnék*-nouns can be characterized by the (rather theoretical than practical) inclination to inherit information structure, with the expected restrictions concerning free possessors.

(495) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns

a. A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel töltötte el
the prime_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away
[[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja].
both coalition partner constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: ?[FRIGHTEN > BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.]
'It frightened the prime minister that *both coalition partners* had the desire to modify the constitution.'
wide-scope reading: ✓[BOTH_PARTNERS > FRIGHTEN > MODIFY_CONST.]
'In the case of *both coalition partners*, it frightened the prime minister that they had the desire to modify the constitution.'

a'. ?Csak [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja]
only *both coalition partner* constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
töltené el ijedséggel a miniszterelnököt.
fill.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away fright.Ins the prime_minister.Acc
narrow-scope reading:
?[ONLY_[BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.] > FRIGHTEN]
'Only the possibility that *both coalition partners* have the desire to modify the constitution would frighten the prime minister.'
wide-scope reading: –

b. A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel tölti el
the prime_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.DefObj.3Sg away
[[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] örökös alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja].
both coalition partner eternal constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: ?[FRIGHTEN > BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.]
'It frightens the prime minister that *both coalition partners* always have a desire to modify the constitution.'
wide-scope reading: ✓[BOTH_PARTNERS > FRIGHTEN > MODIFY_CONST.]
'In the case of *both coalition partners*, it frightens the prime minister that they always have a desire to modify the constitution.'

b'. ?Csak [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] örökös alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja]
only *both coalition partner* etenal constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
töltené el ijedséggel a miniszterelnököt.
fill.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away fright.Ins the prime_minister.Acc
narrow-scope reading:
?[ONLY_[BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.] > FRIGHTEN]
'Only the possibility that *both coalition partners* always have a desire to modify the constitution would frighten the prime minister.'
wide-scope reading: –

c. ?A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel töltötte el *a koalíciós partner minden körzetben való jelölt-állít-hatnék-ja.*
the prime_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away *the coalition partner every district.Ine be.Part candidate-nominate-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
narrow-scope reading: ?[FRIGHTEN > IN_EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]
'It frightened the prime minister that *the coalition partner had the desire to nominate a candidate in each district*.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[IN_EACH_DISTRICT > FRIGHTEN > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: 'In the case of every district, it frightened the prime minister that *the coalition partner had the desire to nominate a candidate in that particular district*.'

d. ??A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel töltötte el *az évtized első minden körzetben való jelölt-állít-hatnék-ja*
the prime_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away *the decade first every district.Ine be.Part candidate-nominate-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
a koalíciós partnere részéről.
the coalition partner.Poss.3Sg part.Poss.3Sg.Del
narrow-scope reading: ??[FRIGHTEN > IN_EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]
'*The decade's first case when the coalition partner had a desire to nominate a candidate in each district* frightened the prime minister.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[IN_EACH_DISTRICT > FRIGHTEN > NOMINATE]
Intended meaning: 'In the case of every district, *the decade's first case when the coalition partner had a desire to nominate a candidate in that particular district* frightened the prime minister.'

e. *Csak *mindkét ciklusnak a koalíciós partner részéről való alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja*
only *both cycle.Dat the coalition partner part.Poss.3Sg.Del be.Part constitution-modify-hatnék-Poss*
töltené el ijedséggel a miniszterelnököt.
fill.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away fright.Ins the prime_minister.Acc
narrow-scope reading: *[FRIGHTEN ≡ [BOTH_CYCLES > MODIFY_CONST.]]
Intended meaning: 'Only the possibility that the coalition partner has a (continuous) desire *during both policy cycles* to modify the constitution would frighten the prime minister.'
wide-scope reading: –

As for the details, examples (495a,b), in which the possessor serves as a quantifier, are scopally ambiguous; and as was explained in subsection 1.3.1.2.2.2, an available narrow-scope reading is to be regarded as evidence for a noun-phrase internal (i.e., "inherited") information structure. As for examples (495a',b',c,d,e), there is no ambiguity: only the (relevant) narrow-scope reading is available, which verifies information-structure inheritance here, too. Incidentally, the absence of the wide-scope reading can be attributed to two different constraints. In the case of examples (495a',b',e), the embedding (external) focus context makes it impossible for the

possessor in the given *hAtnék*-noun construction to simultaneously play the role of an external quantifier. In the case of examples (495c,d), in which an oblique case-marked argument serves as a quantifier, it is presumably due to the "too deeply embedded" position inside a *való*-construction of the given quantifier that the corresponding wide-scope readings are not available (cf. (354b) in 1.3.1.3.2.2).

Note in passing that the exceptional subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction illustrated in (494) in the previous subsection is also special with respect to information-structure inheritance: they can have only internal information structure, that is, a quantifier inside the construction in question cannot be interpreted externally (496). This constraint may have to do with our assumption that the given quantifier is "deeply embedded" in the typically huge one-stressed expression "enclosed" in the prenominal complement zone.

(496) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of the exceptional subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction
(?)Péterre már megint rájött
Péter.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg
a *minden-hírt*-kapásból-kommentál-hatnék.
the *every-piece_of_news.Acc*-promptly-comment-HATNÉK
narrow-scope reading: (?)[CAME_OVER > EACH_PIECE_OF_NEWS > COMMENT]
'Péter was overcome by the desire to comment on *every piece of news* promptly.'
~~wide-scope reading~~: *[EACH_PIECE_OF_NEWS > CAME_OVER > COMMENT]
Intended meaning: 'In the case of *every piece of news*, Péter was overcome by the desire comment on it promptly.'

We conclude this subsection with the question of the inheritance of complex information structures (containing two or more operators). The series of examples in (497) below illustrates that both HATNÉK-nouns (497a') and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns (497b') are surprisingly readily capable of inheriting even such complex information structures (at least theoretically), obviously due to their "on-line created" and eventuality-denoting character and the fact that *hAtnék*-nouns quite readily host fully fledged arguments in their postnominal complement zone as well as in *való*-constructions. Note in passing that the verbal construction presented in (497c) can also be interpreted with an inverse scope order, but here we intend to investigate HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions only with word-order reflecting complex information structures (cf. (312) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII).

(497) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns: complex information structures
a. Mindkét ügynök csak az igazgatóval tárgyalt.
both agent only the director.Ins negotiate.Past.3Sg
[BOTH_AGENTS > ONLY_WITH_THE_DIRECTOR > NEGOTIATE]
'In the case of both agents, it is only WITH THE DIRECTOR that each of them negotiated.'

a'. (?)Na például *mindkét ügynöknek a csak az igazgatóval való*
well for_instance *both agent.Dat the only thedirector.Ins be.Part*
tárgyal-hatnék-ja, az nagyon sértett minket.
negotiate-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg that very_much offend.Past.3Sg we.Acc
[OFFEND > BOTH_AGENTS > ONLY_WITH_THE_DIRECTOR > NEGOTIATE]
'Well for instance, *both agents' desire to negotiate only WITH THE DIRECTOR*, that offended us very much.'

b. Minden bevetődő ügynök csak az igazgatóval tárgyal.
every straggle_in.Part agent only the director.Ins negotiate.3Sg
[EVERY_AGENT > ONLY_WITH_THE_DIRECTOR > NEGOTIATE]
'In the case of every agent who straggles in, it is only WITH THE DIRECTOR that he negotiates.'

b'. ? Na például *minden bevetődő ügynöknek a csak az igazgatóval való*
well for_instance *every straggle_in.Part agent.Dat the only the director.Ins be.Part*
tárgyal-hatnék-ja, az nagyon sért minket.
negotiate-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg that very_much offend.3Sg we.Acc
[OFFEND > EVERY_AGENT > ONLY_WITH_THE_DIRECTOR > NEGOTIATE]
'Well for instance, *the desire of every agent who straggles in to negotiate only WITH THE DIRECTOR*, that offends us very much.'

c. Az ügynök csak az igazgatóval tárgyalt mindkét termékünkről.
the agent only the director.Ins negotiate.Past.3Sg both product.Poss.1Pl.Del
[ONLY_WITH_THE_DIRECTOR > BOTH_PRODUCTS > NEGOTIATE]
The meaning to be considered here: 'It is only WITH THE DIRECTOR that the agent negotiated about both products of ours.'

c'. ?? Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb csak az igazgatóval való*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible only the director.Ins be.Part*
tárgyal-hatnék-ja mindkét termékünkről.
negotiate-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg both product.Poss.1Pl.Del
[ONLY_WITH_THE_DIRECTOR > BOTH_PROCUCTS > NEGOTIATE] (a set of occasions is defined on the basis of this scopal relation)
'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to negotiate only WITH THE DIRECTOR about both products of ours*.'

There are, however, numerous restrictions on the inheritance of different operator combinations, due to the fact, for instance, that no (fully fledged) counterpart of a fully fledged input object can be hosted in a *hAtnék*-noun construction; but it goes far beyond the scope of this book to overview these. It is also worth mentioning that HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns with a non-operator temporal possessor practically cannot host complex information structures (497c'). The obvious reason is that a "temporal" HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction containing two oblique case-marked arguments is *ab ovo* too complex to be acceptable (see (493d") in the previous subsection), and the additional operator meaning contribution makes the construction type is even more difficult to comprehend (NB: it is speaker-dependent whether this "worsening" yields "almost full unacceptability ('*?'), or the construction in question still remains only "very marked" ('??')).

1.3.1.5.2.3. Basic types of input verbs

This subsection outlines which basic verb types, listed in (215) in subsection 1.3.1.1, can serve as input to the two types of *hAtnék*-nominalizations. They are worth treating together because there is only a slight difference between them with respect to grammaticality judgments (498a-a'), presumably due to their shared "on-line created" character.

The crucial factor is that an appropriate input argument-structure type must contain an Agent or Agent-like participant, that is, a participant who is capable of actively executing the desired action (that underlies certain *hAtnék*-nouns) or, at

least to a certain degree, volitionally controlling some kind of urge (that underlies another semantic subtype of *hAtnék*-noun).

In the absence of an Agent, verbs without arguments cannot serve as input to *hAtnék*-nominalization. The unergative argument-structure type, however, is definitely one of the ideal inputs, due to the Agent in the subject grammatical function (498b). Nevertheless, as was mentioned in the previous paragraph, even a lower-level or "divided" agentivity suffices. Therefore, reflexive (498c) and reciprocal (498c') input verbs, in the case of which the subject plays an Agent's role and a Theme's role simultaneously, also readily undergo *hAtnék*-nominalization, as well as bodily/sound emission verbs (498c"), in the case of which the subjects' (limited) agentivity manifests itself in exerting control over his/her urge. Even an *ab ovo* unaccusative verb (498d) may more or less readily undergo *hAtnék*-nominalization, on condition that the speaker attributes more volition(ality) to the subject than normal when the given event simply happens to the subject (NB: the "on-line created" character of both types of *hAtnék*-nouns supports the creation of such actual meanings; see also (362b) in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub III). Note that in the case of examples (498d,e), there are "extra" grammaticality judgments given, because in these cases the grammaticality judgments do not (completely) coincide with those given uniformly (as a default) in the embedding sentential contexts in (498a,a') containing the *hAtnék*-nouns in question.

(498) ● Input verb types in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns

a. *Ilinek a (tegnapi óra alatt való) folyamatos* [...] mindenkit kiborított.
Ili.Dat the yesterday.Adj lesson under be.Part continuous everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'*Ili's continuous* [...] *(during the yesterday's lesson)* made everyone angry.'

a'. ?Ez volt *az év legidegesítőbb* [...].
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_irritating*
'This was *the year's most irritating* [...].'

b. *énekelget-hetnék-je*
sing-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to sing*'

c. *fésülköd-hetnék-je*
comb_oneself-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to comb herself*'

c'. *amőbáz-hatnék-ja / vereked-hetnék-je*
playing_tic_tac_toe-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg / fight-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*desire to [play tic-tac-toe] / fight*'

c". *ásítoz-hatnék-ja / nevet-hetnék-je / tüsszög-hetnék-je*
yawn-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg / laugh-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg / keep_sneezing-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to yawn / laugh / sneeze*'

d. (?)/?? *el-ájul-hatnék-ja*
away-faint-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to faint*'

e. ✓/?? *kikéredzked-hetnék-je a vécé-re*
ask_for_permission-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg the toilet-Sub
'*urge to ask for permission to go to the toilet*'

e'. *vécé-re való kikéredzked-hetnék-je*
toilet-Sub be.Part ask_for_permession-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to ask for permission to go to the toilet*'

f. *papírrepülő-dobál-hatnék-ja*
paper_plane-throw-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*desire to throw paper planes*'

f'. *fogat-mos-hatnék-ja*
tooth.Acc-wash-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to clean one's teeth*'

g. *narancsmag-ki-köpköd-hetnék-je*
orange_pip-out-spit_out-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to spit out orange pips*'

g'. *mobiltelefon-ki-be-kapcsolgat-hatnék-ja*
mobile_phone-out-into-switch-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to switch on and off one's mobile phone*'

h. *vécé-re me-hetnék-je*
toilet-Sub go-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*urge to go to the toilet*'

Verbs with fully fledged oblique case-marked arguments can also serve as good inputs to both types of *hAtnék*-nominalization. The grammaticality judgments associated with (498e) show that a non-empty postnominal complement zone is much more acceptable in the case of HATNÉK-nouns than in the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns, while placing the oblique case-marked argument in a *való*-construction results in fully or almost fully acceptable constructions in the case of both types of *hAtnék*-nouns (498e'). In the case of oblique case-marked arguments which serve as verbal modifiers in the input, the prenominal complement zone of both types of *hAtnék*-noun readily hosts their output counterparts (498h).

Transitive argument structures can serve as input to *hAtnék*-nominalization only if the input object serves as a verbal modifier (498f,f'); see (the comments on) the series of examples in (490) in 1.3.1.5.2.1. We should call the reader's attention to the accusative case marking of the input object: it must be omitted in certain cases (498f) while it must be retained in others (498f'). We will return to this topic in connection with the series of examples in (504) in 1.3.1.5.4.1.

As is exemplified in (498g-g') above (but see (499) below), the double filling of the prenominal complement zone is not *ab ovo* prohibited, just like in the case of certain SED-noun constructions; see (242b-b") in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub IV. All the constructions in question pattern with each other in insisting on the following order of elements in the prenominal complement zone: the input Theme (without any explicit case marking) preceding a (simplex (498g) or complex (498g')) preverb. Note in passing that the exceptional subtype of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun, illustrated in (494) in 1.3.1.5.2.1, also licenses the appearance of huge sequences or words in the prenominal complement zone; (the observations provided in the given subsection suggest that) the emerging rule system of filling this zone, however, obviously follows an entirely different strategy.

In (499), we provide further data to the question of the double filling of the prenominal complement zone, which is not *ab ovo* prohibited, witnessed by (498g-

g'). Further observations can be made if the character of the preverb, one of the fillers in such constructions, is considered. The significant difference between the insertion of the preverb *fel* 'up' and that of the other two preverbs in the case of both the HATNÉK-noun constructions (499a) and the slightly less acceptable corresponding $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun constructions (499b) can be attributed to the difference that *fel* has no perfectivizing effect here, in contrast to the other two preverbs. Hence, although the (sometimes notable) difference between continuous/progressive and perfect input contents is *ab ovo* not impossible to indicate (see (486b-b') in 1.3.1.5.1), perfect verbal constructions undoubtedly much less readily undergo *hAtnék*-nominalization, especially at the cost of yielding output constructions with a double filled prenominal complement zone. As for the difference between *végig* 'through' and *el* 'away', it can be attributed to the fact that *végig*, in contrast to *el*, is not a prototypical preverb; thus, in a doubly filled prenominal complement zone, prototypical preverbs are more tolerated.

(499) ● Further input transitive verbs with different types of preverb in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns

a. A férjemre rájött *az ebéd után való*
the husband.Poss.1Sg.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the lunch after be.Part*
újság-($^{(?)}$*fel-/*$^{??}$*el-/*$^{*?}$*végig-)olvas-hatnék.*
newspaper-(up-/away-/through-)read-HATNÉK
'My husband was overcome by *the desire to read (out / through / through) the newspaper after lunch*.'

b. A férjemre gyakran rájön *az ebéd utáni*
the husband.Poss.1Sg.Sub often come_over.3Sg *the lunch after.Attr*
újság-($^{?}$*fel-/*$^{*?}$*el-/*végig-)olvas-hatnék.*
newspaper-(up-/away-/through-)read-HATNÉK
'My husband is often overcome by *the desire to read (out / through / through) the newspaper after lunch.*'

1.3.1.5.3. Restrictions on the derivational process

First to be mentioned, among the verbs that do not allow *hAtnék*-nominalization is the group of verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can' (500) (NB: one of the diachronic components of the complex *-hAtnék* suffix is the modal suffix *-hAt* but synchronically it plays no separate role in the derivational process, as was discussed in the introduction to 1.3.1.5). This restriction is not surprising in the light of the fact that this special subtype of verb can undergo none of the so far discussed deverbal nominalizations (see the corresponding subsections on "restrictions on the derivational process"), in line with a recent assumption (Kenesei 1996, Kiefer and Ladányi 2000a: 162) according to which the suffix *-hAt* 'can' is an inflectional and not a derivational suffix.

(500) ● Input verbs containing the suffix *-hAt* 'can'

*Péternek *nevet-het-hetnék-je* van.
Péter.Dat *laugh-Mod-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* be.3Sg
Intended meanings:
potential deontic meaning: 'Péter has *the desire to be allowed to laugh*.'
potential epistemic meaning: —

Since every "deviant" input verb class, given in (216) in subsection 1.3.1.1, contains a subject which is *per definitionem* not agentive, they are expected to reject *hAtnék*-nominalization. As is illustrated in the series of examples in (501) below, this prediction is entirely borne out. Note that we do not present the fully unacceptable test constructions in each subtype documented in the corresponding subsections.

(501) ● Deviant verbs as inputs to HATNÉK-nouns

A. *VAN* 'BE' : COPULAR USE

a. *?Pétert elfogta *a sztár-le-hetnék.*
Péter.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the star-be-HATNÉK*
Intended meaning: 'Péter was seized by *the desire to be a star*.'

B. AUXILIARY VERBS

b. *Pétert elfogta *az elmenni fog-hatnék.*
Péter.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the away.go.Inf will_be-HATNÉK*
Intended meaning: 'Péter was seized by *the desire to go away in the future*.'

C. MODAL VERBS

c. *?Pétert elfogta *a főzni tud-hatnék.*
Péter.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the cook.Inf can-HATNÉK*
Intended meaning: 'Péter was seized by *the desire to be a man who can cook*.'

D. RAISING VERBS

d. *?Pétert elfogta *a betegnek tűn-hetnék.*
Péter.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the ill-Dat seem-HATNÉK*
Intended meaning: 'Péter was seized by *the desire to be a man who seems to be ill*.'

E. PSYCH-VERBS

e. *?Ilire már megint rájött *a főnök-szeret-hetnék.*
Ili.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the boss-like-HATNÉK*
Intended meaning: 'Ili was overcome by *the urge to like the boss*.'

e'. ??Ilit elfogta *a főnökért való rajong-hatnék.*
Ili.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the boss.Cau be.Part be_keen_on-HATNÉK*
'Ili was seized by *the urge to be keen on the boss*.'

e". ?Péterre már megint rájött *a tesó-bosszant-hatnék.*
Péter.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the brother-annoy-HATNÉK*
'Péter was overcome by *the urge to annoy his brothers*.'

The grammaticality judgments associated with (501e',e") suggest that certain types of psych-verbs can serve as inputs to *hAtnék*-nominalization. The degree of agentivity of the input subjects underlies the difference between these cases and the others illustrated in (501): the subject of the verb *rajong* 'be_keen_on' is an unusually active Experiencer (501e'), while the verb *bosszant* 'annoy' definitely has an argument structure version which contains, in addition to the stimulating Theme (e.g., Péter's annoying action) and the Experiencer (the brother), an agentive subject (Péter), who volitionally annoys the Experiencer according to the meaning we must associate with the given *hAtnék*-noun construction (501e"). Recall that the argument-structure type in question is exactly the exceptional "4+1st" psych-verb type first illustrated in (287) in 1.3.1.2.3, sub V.

Note that the not fully unacceptable ('*?') status of the examples in (501a,c,d,e) is due to the fact that, in humorous contexts (in which they might be associated with even better grammaticality judgments (cf. Oszoli 2014: 25–28), the speaker can

attribute some "extra agentivity" to certain input subjects, presumably due to the "on-line created" character. These are cases in which no agentivity is referred to in the original lexical meaning of the corresponding verb (just like in the case of the construction illustrated in (362b) in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub III). The speaker exploits his/her world knowledge while hinting at the much work required to acquire starhood (501a) or cooking skills (501c), or the endeavor to make it seem that someone is ill (501d) or loves the boss (501e). The question of grammaticality judgments is a serious problem left to future research.

1.3.1.5.4. Nominal and verbal properties

This subsection outlines the verbal (1.3.1.5.4.1) and nominal (1.3.1.5.4.2) properties of the two kinds of *hAtnék*-nouns on the basis of Table 23 (1.3.1.1, sub IV). We will conclude this topic in a separate subsection (1.3.1.5.4.3) with a short summary of the observations and generalizations.

1.3.1.5.4.1. Verbal properties

Let us start with the question of tense and mood, which Hungarian verbs prototypically express morphologically.

In harmony with the fact that tense and mood morphemes are inflectional, and not derivational, suffixes, simply there is no morphological way of attaching the derivational suffix *-hAtnék* to appropriately inflected verb forms. Recall that one of the diachronic components of the complex *-hAtnék* suffix is the conditional mood suffix *-n(A)*, but synchronically it plays no separate role in the derivational process, as was discussed in the introduction to 1.3.1.5. Nevertheless, it is worth noting at this point that the [*-hAt+-n(A)*] combination of verbal suffixes can be associated with a *desire* meaning only non-compositionally (only in this unit), in which case the speaker's desire is referred to (e.g., *haza-me-hetné-l* 'home-go-HATNA-2Sg' means that 'I wish you went home'), instead of the subject's desire (which would be a plausible compositional meaning); see Alberti, Dóla and Kleiber (2014: 190). Thus there is an independent *-hAtn(A)* inflectional suffix according to this observation, which may be related to the *-hAtnék* derivational suffix, which can also denote desire. The compositional combination of the two suffixes in question refers to no desire (e.g., *haza-me-het-né-l (ha...)* 'home-go-Mod-Cond-2Sg (if...)' means that 'you would be allowed to go home (on condition that...)').

Let us now turn to the question of whether HATNÉK-nouns pattern with verbs in having several paradigms (that is, "more than two"; see (398a-a") in 1.3.1.3.4.1, sub II). We claim (without illustration) that the answer is negative in the case of HATNÉK-nouns as well as in the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns. Thus, they pattern with ÁS-nouns, Ó-nouns and T-nouns in being highly nominal in this sense.

It is also a property typical of certain Hungarian verbal constructions that the verbal modifier may lose its immediate left-adjacent position to the stem of the verb. As is illustrated in (502a-a') below, HATNÉK-nouns (just like ÁS-nouns; see 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub III) are partially verbal in this sense by (more or less readily) permitting the negative particle (*nem* 'not') to appear inserted between the verbal modifier and the deverbal nominal head. Note in passing that the fact that the tested examples in question are significantly less acceptable than their positive

counterparts (which are fully acceptable) does not necessarily mean that HATNÉK-nouns and their preverbs cannot be separated from each other due to some kind of *formal* prohibition. The low level of acceptability is perhaps to be attributed to some kind of semantic incompatibility between the negative particle and some decisive feature of HATNÉK-nominalization (the strong correlation between negation and verbalness or a potential decreasing influence of negation on the degree of agentivity).

(502) ● Separability of verbal modifiers in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns: Sentential negation

a. Elfogott *a(z otthonról való)* *?[ki-nem-mozdul-hatnék] /*
seize.Past.3Sg *the home.Del be.Part out-not-move-HATNÉK*
**[nem-ki-mozdul-hatnék].*
not-out-move-HATNÉK
'I was seized by *the desire not to go out (from home).*'

a'. Tegnap elfogott *a* *??[fel-nem-kel-hetnék] / *[nem-fel-kel-hetnék].*
yesterday seize.Past.3Sg *the up-not-get_up-HATNÉK / not-up-get_up-HATNÉK*
'Yesterday I was seized by *the desire not to get up.*'

b. Kiborít *Ili örökös (otthonról való)* *??[ki-nem-mozdul-hatnék-ja]/*
make_angry.3Sg *Ili eternal home.Del be.Part out-not-move-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg /*
**[nem-ki-mozdul-hatnék-ja].*
not-out-move-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*Ili's constant desire not to go out (from home)* makes me angry.'

b'. Kiborít *Ili örökös* **?[fel-nem-kel-hetnék-je] /*[nem-fel- kel-hetnék-je].*
make_angry.3Sg *Ili eternal up-not-get_up-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg / not-up-get_up-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'*Ili's constant desire not to get up* makes me angry.'

c. Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb otthonról való*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible home.Del be.Part*
**?[ki-nem-mozdul-hatnék-ja] / *[nem-ki-mozdul-hatnék-ja].*
out-not-move-*HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* / not-out-move-*HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to not to go out from home.*'

c'. Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible*
**?[fel-nem-kel-hetnék-je] / *[nem-fel-kel-hetnék-je].*
up-not-get_up-*HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg* / not-up-get_up-*HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to not get up.*'

In the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns (502b-c'), the insertion of the negative particle results in (even) less acceptable ('??'/ '*?') constructions, especially in the subtype of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun construction with a temporal possessor (502c-c'). Nevertheless, the in-between position of the negative particle is somewhat better in the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns than it is when the negative particle appears before the verbal modifier, which is fully unacceptable in the case of all subtypes of *hAtnék*-noun construction (502a-c').

Let us now turn to the next verbal property, which is the presence and obligatoriness of arguments, that is, the question of argument-structure inheritance. Our only task here is to summarize the findings given in the relevant subsection (1.3.1.5.2.1).

The basic tendency is that both types of *hAtnék*-nouns essentially pattern with ÁS-nouns in almost completely inheriting the argument structure of the input verb, in connection with their "on-line created" character.

In the case of HATNÉK-nouns, the counterpart of the Agent(-like) input subject is always expressed since it obligatorily corresponds to the (output) possessor (which is either explicitly present or, at least, reconstructable in the sense that it must be identified with a certain argument within the clause). In the case of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns, however, the possessor can also be a temporal expression; and in this subtype of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun construction, the input subject cannot be expressed in the output in any way. Thus, in this respect, $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns can be regarded as somewhat less verbal than HATNÉK-nouns.

As for the other non-oblique case-marked argument, that is, the input object, it can appear in the prenominal complement zone of the *hAtnék*-noun if it is based on a transitive argument-structure type with a non-fully-fledged object. Fully fledged input objects, however, cannot appear within *hAtnék*-noun constructions in any way—at least while preserving their fully fledged character. This is the only significant difference with respect to the verbal property of argument-structure inheritance between *hAtnék*-nouns and ÁS-nouns.

As for the inheritance of oblique case-marked arguments, both types of *hAtnék*-nouns readily inherit them, with their obligatoriness somewhat weakened. Such arguments can appear either in the postnominal complement zone of *hAtnék*-nouns, or, preferably, in a *való*-construction; even if more than one oblique case-marked argument is present, they can be expressed (the "mixed" strategy offers the best, quite acceptable, constructions).

All in all, both types of *hAtnék*-nouns are almost as highly verbal with respect to argument-structure inheritance as ÁS-nouns, and they are significantly more verbal than (the not event denoting) Ó-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns, chiefly due to the fact that the latter types of deverbal nominal constructions cannot readily host (the output counterparts of) oblique case-marked arguments.

With respect to having accusative case-marked arguments, (both types of) *hAtnék*-nouns are significantly more verbal than all other types of deverbal nominals. One reason for this evaluation is that the accusative case marking is to be retained *obligatorily* if the *hAtnék*-noun construction is based on an idiom with an accusative case-marked object serving as a verbal modifier (503). Thus there is no such variation in the given respect as in the case of ÁS-nouns, for instance; see (260-262) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI.

(503) ● Accusative case-marking in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns:
I. Idioms

a. Ilire tegnap rájött *a főnökből való gúny *(?)-t) űz-hetnék.*
Ili.Sub yesterday come_over.Past.3Sg *the boss.Ela be.Part mock(-Acc) chase-HATNÉK*
'Yesterday Ili was overcome by *the desire to make a fool of the boss*.'

a'. Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible*
*főnökből való gúny *(?-t) űz-hetnék-je.*
boss.Ela be.Part mock(-Acc) chase-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to make a fool of the boss*.'

b. Ilire tegnap rájött *a világ*(?)-ot) lát-hatnék.*
Ili.Sub yesterday come_over.Past.3Sg *the world(-Acc) see-HATNÉK*
'Yesterday Ili was overcome by *the desire to see the world*.'

b'. Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb világ*(?)-ot) lát-hatnék-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible world(-Acc) see-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to see the world*.'

The other, presumably more important, reason for evaluating *hAtnék*-nouns as significantly more verbal than all other types of deverbal nominals is that, in the case of *hAtnék*-nouns, even output counterparts of certain input objects serving as verbal modifiers in non-idiomatic expressions retain their accusative case marking (504b-b'). We can establish, as a first approximation, that the retention of accusative case marking depends on phonological properties of the given objects; one-syllable roots, for instance, are more likely to show the property in question than longer roots (see (504c-c'); cf. (504b-b')). Another interesting observation is illustrated in (504d-d') below: if the accusative case marking is retained on the Theme argument of the input verb, the denoted desire is directed towards the speaker's own hair, while the variant without the accusative case marking rather suggests that the given *hAtnék*-noun denoted a desire to wash someone else's hair, which is a realistic interpretation in the case of a hairdresser who happens to be fed up with cutting hair and wants to do something else (see also (623) in 1.4.2.1.1, sub D).

(504) ● Accusative case-marking in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns: II. Non-idioms

a. Ilire rájött *az ebéd előtt való [...].*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the lunch before be.Part*
'Ili was overcome by *the desire to* [...] *before lunch*.'

a'. Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd előtti [...].*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible lunch befor.Attr*
'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to* [...] *before lunch*.'

b. *[fog*(?)-at) mos-hatnék]/ [hal*(?)-at) e-hetnék]*
tooth(-Acc) wash-HATNÉK / fish(-Acc) eat-HATNÉK
'*[clean her teeth] / [eat some fish]*'

b'. *[fog*(??)-at) mos-hatnék-ja] / [hal*(??)-at) e-hetnék-je]*
tooth(-Acc) wash-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg / fish(-Acc) eat-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*[clean teeth] / [eat fish]*'

c. *[pulóver(?)(*?-t) mos-hatnék] / [édesség(?)(*?-et) e-hetnék]*
pullover(-Acc) wash-HATNÉK / sweets(-Acc) eat-HATNÉK
'*[wash pullovers] / [eat sweets]*'

c'. *[pulóver(?)(*-t) mos-hatnék-ja] / [édesség(?)(*-et) e-hetnék-je]*
pullover(-Acc) wash-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg / sweets(-Acc) eat-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'*[wash pullovers] / [eat sweets]*'

d. *haj*[?]*(*[(?)]*-at) mos-hatnék*
*hair(-Acc) wash-*HATNÉK
'*wash hair*'

d'. *haj*[??]*(*[(?)]*-at) mos-hatnék-ja*
*hair(-Acc) wash-*HATNÉK*-Poss.3Sg*
'*wash hair*'

Note in passing that accusative case-marked objects also "retain" their case marking in the case of the exceptional subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction (illustrated in (494b-d) in 1.3.1.5.2.1).

Let us now turn to the next verbal property, namely, the question of adverbial modification. Recall that, in contrast to verbs (and such non-finite verb-like categories as participles, converbs and infinitives), nouns can be characterized by the prohibition against adverbial modification belonging immediately to the noun head. In this respect, both types of *hAtnék*-nouns unambiguously belong to the family of nouns.

With respect to adverbial (505a,a',b,b') and converbial (505a",b") modification (as well as postpositional modification (505a,b)), only the output counterparts of such input arguments in the verbal modifier position come into play. As is exemplified below, their appearance in the prenominal complement zone is blocked neither in the HATNÉK-noun type (505a-a") nor in the HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun type (505b-b"). Therefore, both types can be evaluated to be as verbal as ÁS-nouns.

(505) ● Potential adverbial and converbial modification of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns

a. [(?)]Iliéket elfogta *a nyári szünidő alatt való*
Ili.Apl.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the summer.Adj holiday under be.Part*
külön / együtt / [híd alatt] lak-hatnék.
*separately / together / bridge under live-*HATNÉK
'Ili and her friends were seized by *the desire to live separately / together / [under the bridge] during the summer holiday*.'

a'. [(?)]A gyerekekre rájött *az éjfél után való ébren marad-hatnék.*
the child.Pl.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the midnight after be.Part awake stay-*HATNÉK
'The children were overcome by *the desire to stay awake after midnight*.'

a". [(?)]A vendégeket elfogta *az ok nélkül való*
the guest.Pl.Acc seize.Past.DefObj.3Sg *the reason without be.Part*
állva marad-hatnék.
*stand.Conv remain-*HATNÉK
'The guests were seized by *the desire to remain standing without reasons*.'

b. [?]Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible*
külön / együtt / [híd alatt] lak-hatnék-ja.
*separately / together / bridge under live-*HATNÉK*-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to live separately / together / [under the bridge]*.'

b'. ?Ez volt *az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_invincible*
éjfél utáni ébren marad-hatnék-ja.
midnight after.Adj awake stay-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the decade's most uncontrollable desire to stay awake after midnight*.'

b". ?Ez volt *az évtized legindokolatlanabb állva marad-hatnék-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_unjustifiable stand.Conv remain-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's most unjustifiable desire to remain standing*.'

Note in passing that adverbial and converbial modification is also possible in the exceptional subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction (see (494f-f') in 1.3.1.5.2.1), which is in total harmony with our hypothesis that the peculiar properties of this special subtype exactly have to do with the extraordinary expansion of the prenominal complement zone.

The last verbal property in our usual protocol has to do with information-structure inheritance. As was established in subsection 1.3.1.5.2.2, both HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns are readily capable of hosting (even quite complex) internal information structures, which, nevertheless, can be regarded rather as a "theoretical possibility" than an actual practice (that is, an attested fact) in language use. Their readiness to undergo information-structure inheritance is obviously due to their "on-line created" and eventuality-denoting character and the fact that *hAtnék*-nouns quite readily host fully fledged arguments in their postnominal complement zone as well as in *való*-constructions. Thus, HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns are more verbal with respect to information-structure inheritance than the non-event denoting deverbal nominals, namely Ó-nouns and T$_{TH}$-nouns, and almost reach the verbalness level of ÁS-noun constructions. Nevertheless, for obvious reasons, HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions with a temporal possessor practically cannot host complex information structures.

1.3.1.5.4.2. Nominal properties

Let us start with the question of pluralization, the possibility of which is a nominal property.

HATNÉK-nouns, just like ÁS-nouns (1.3.1.2.4.2, sub I) and T$_{EV}$-nouns (1.3.1.4.4.2), cannot be pluralized, as is illustrated in (506a). The reason is probably the same as in the case of ÁS-nouns: verbs have no plural forms to denote the multiple occurrence of a complex eventuality (Laczkó 2000a: 319), and complex-eventuality denoting deverbal nominals pattern with them in this sense, presumably exactly due to the same denotational task, that is, their complex-eventuality denoting function.

(506) ● Pluralization in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns

a. *A gyerekekre rájöttek *a lefekvés előtt való*
the child.Pl.Sub come_over.Past.3Pl *the go_to_bed.ÁS before be.Part*
sír-hatnék-ok / nyafog-hatnék-ok.
cry-HATNÉK-Pl / whine-HATNÉK-Pl
Intended meaning: 'Children were overcome by *the urges to cry / whine before going to bed*.'

b. Ezek voltak *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this.Pl be.Past.3Pl *the year most_invincible*
??*sír-hatnék-ja-i* / *?*nyafog-hatnék-ja-i.*
cry-HATNÉK-Poss-Pl.3Sg / whine-HATNÉK-Poss-Pl.3Sg
'These were *the year's most uncontrollable urges to whine*.'

HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns cannot be pluralized either (506b). This may have to do with the fact that these nouns have not been lexicalized, that is, they can be characterized as constructions which are as "on-line created" as HATNÉK-noun constructions. The plural form of *sírhatnék* 'cry.HATNÉK' is somewhat better presumably due to its "almost lexicalized" status (coming from its frequent occurrence).

All in all, *hAtnék*-nouns are not nominal with respect to pluralization (with a very slight difference between the two subtypes).

Remark 15. Tibor Laczkó (p.c., March 2015) called our attention to an exception to the above-discussed generalization on (the failure of) pluralization. As is illustrated in (i) below, there is a very special way of pluralization which a HATNÉK-noun can more or less undergo. Its exceptional character has to do with such factors as that the members of the given group have already explicitly mentioned separately (see the translation in (i)) and a demonstrative pronoun (e.g., *ezek* 'these' in (i)) helps evoking these "separate mentionings". Hence, we consider this phenomenon to be a spurious type of pluralization, which patterns with the exceptional kind of quantification illustrated in (515a') in this subsection.

(i) ?*Ezek az ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-ek* viszont
this.Pl the lunch after be.Part talk-HATNÉK-Pl however
egészen különböző indíttatásúak voltak.
completely different motivated.Pl be.Past.3Pl
'(Péter had a desire to talk after lunch, and Mari also had a desire to talk after lunch.) *These desires to talk after lunch*, however, had completely different motivations.'

From the point of view that they can have a possessor within the noun phrase they head, HATNÉK-nouns (507a-a') and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns (507b-b') are both totally nominal (on possessor selection, see subsection 1.3.1.5.2.1), with no difference in the degree of nominalness between the two groups.

Note that HATNÉK-noun and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions pattern with (the also "on-line created") ÁS-noun and T$_{EV}$-noun constructions in not dispensing with an (at least reconstructable) possessor (see (483d) in 1.3.1.5.1, cf. (225e') in 1.3.1.2.2.1 and (451a') in 1.3.1.4.2.1). They, however, pattern with ordinary nouns, and not with T$_{EV}$-nouns, for instance ((471a-c') in 1.3.1.4.4.2) in the following two respects. First, they show no sensitivity to differences in the number and person of the possessor, as the plural non-third-person possessors illustrate in (507) (cf. (482) in 1.3.1.5.1). Second, they prefer possessive personal pronouns only in non-neutral situations, in connection with the obligatorily appearing agreement suffixes, in harmony with the pro-drop character of Hungarian (compare the primeless and primed examples in (507)).

(507) ● Possessors of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns
a. A kudarc oka *a (?)ti) legyőzhetetlen sír-hatnék-otok* volt.
the failure reason.Poss.3Sg *the you$_{Pl}$ invincible cry-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl* be.Past.3Sg
'The reason for the failure was *your uncontrollable urge to cry*.'

a'. *A ti legyőzhetetlen sír-hatnék-otok* volt a kudarc oka.
the you$_{Pl}$ invincible cry-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl be.Past.3Sg the failure reason.Poss.3Sg
'It was *your uncontrollable urge to cry* that was the reason for the failure (and not ours).'

b. Sírba visz *a (*?*)*ti) örökös lefekvés előtti sír-hatnék-otok.*
grave.Ill bring.3Sg *the you$_{Pl}$ eternal go_to_bed.ÁS before.Adj cry-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl*
'*Your eternal urge to cry before going to bed* will kill me.'

b'. *A ti örökös lefekvés előtti sír-hatnék-otok* visz sírba.
the you$_{Pl}$ eternal go_to_bed.ÁS before.Adj cry-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl bring.3Sg grave.Ill
'It is *your eternal urge to cry before going to bed* that will kill me (and not theirs).'

The series of examples in (508) below concerns the allomorphs of the possessedness suffix *-(j)A*. The *-ja* allomorph attaches to *hAtnék*-nouns with (predominantly) back vowels (508a), and, in the case of *hAtnék*-nouns with (predominantly) front vowels, it is also the allomorph containing *-j-* (i.e., *-je*) that is highly preferred (508b). Phonotactically similar ordinary words (ending in *-ék*) present an opposite tendency, as is demonstrated in (508b-b'): here the *-a/e* allomorphs must be chosen.

(508) ● Forms of the possessedness suffix on *hAtnék*-nouns

a. **Ásítoz-hatnék-a / ✓Ásítoz-hatnék-ja* van.
gape-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg/ gape-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg be.3Sg
'*(S)he* has *the urge to gape*.'

a'. *?Tüsszent-hetnék-e / ✓Tüsszent-hetnék-je* van.
sneeze-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg/ sneeze-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg be.3Sg
'*(S)he* has *the urge to sneeze*.'

b. Ez *Ili ajándék-a / *ajándék-ja / ✓szándék-a / *szándék-ja*.
this *Ili present-Poss.3Sg / present-Poss.3Sg / intention-Poss.3Sg / intention-Poss.3Sg*
'This is *Ili's present / intention*.'

b'. Ez *Ili emlék-e / *emlék-je / ✓menedék-e / *?menedék-je*.
this *Ili memory-Poss.3Sg / memory-Poss.3Sg / shelter-Poss.3Sg / shelter-Poss.3Sg*
'This is *Ili's memory / shelter*.'

What makes this comparison very interesting from a theoretical point of view is Den Dikken's (2015) hypothesis on the independent "morphemic status" of a derivational suffix *-j-* responsible for the expression of *alienable* interpretation between possessor and possessee (see the introduction to 1.3.1.4 and Table 29 within it). The highly preferred status of the *-jA* allomorphs over the *-A* allomorphs among *hAtnék*-nouns may be attributed to the possessor's uniform Agent thematic role, because Agents are claimed (e.g., by Marantz 1984 and Kratzer 1996) to stand in a non-intrinsic (hence, alienable) relation to their predicates (NB: the "possessed" *hAtnék*-noun corresponds to the input verbal predicate in the derivational relationship in question).

Let us now turn to the question of case marking. As was discussed in connection with the series of examples in (482) in 1.3.1.5.1, HATNÉK-nouns are completely nominal in the sense that they can occur with any kind of case marking. The same holds for HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns; though, especially in the subtype in which the possessor is a temporal expression, it is not easy to construct sufficiently

acceptable examples (509), presumably due to the "on-line created", and not lexicalized, character of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns.

(509)● The noun-like external distribution of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns

a. (?)Attól tartok, hogy rátok tör majd
that.Abl be_afraid.1Sg that Sub.2Pl come_over.3Sg then
az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-je.
the year most_invincible lunch after.Adj talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'I'm afraid that *the year's most uncontrollable urge to talk after the lunch* will come over you.'

b. ?Attól tartok, hogy nagyon nehezen küzditek majd le
that.Abl be_afraid.1Sg that very difficultly defeat.DefObj.2Pl then down
az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-jé-t.
the year most_invincible lunch after.Adj talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg-Acc
'I'm afraid that it will be very hard for you to defeat *the year's most uncontrollable urge to talk after the lunch*.'

c. ?Attól tartok, hogy nagyon nehezen küzdötök majd meg
that.Abl be_afraid.1Sg that very with_difficulty defeat.2Pl then perf
az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-jé-vel.
the year most_invincible lunch after.Adj talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg-Ins
'I'm afraid that it will be very difficult for you to defeat *the year's most uncontrollable urge to talk after the lunch*.'

d. ??Attól tartok, hogy elkéstek majd az értekezletről
that.Abl be_afraid.1Sg that be_late.2Pl then the meeting.Del
az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-je miatt.
the year most_invincible lunch after.Adj talk-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg because_of
'I'm afraid that you'll be late for the meeting because of *the year's most uncontrollable urge to talk after the lunch*.'

The next nominal property to discuss is adjectival modification.

A HATNÉK-noun construction cannot be modified by an adjective or attributive expression that serves as a counterpart of an adverb (e.g., *némán* 'speechless.Adv') or a converb (e.g., *szunyókálva* 'nap.Conv') in the corresponding input verbal construction, as is illustrated in (510a) below. The corresponding *való*-constructions yield no convincingly acceptable variants, either (510b). The reason is not clear in the light of the fact that ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns are compatible with either simplex adjectives or *való*-constructions (see (323) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub IV).

Neither can a HATNÉK-noun be readily modified convincingly ('??') by an adjective which is meant to be adjoined to the HATNÉK-noun head in its own "nominal" right, independent of any kind of verbal derivational basis. This is presumably due to the fact that an adjective like *legyőzhetetlen* 'invincible', for instance (which undoubtedly pertains to the "output" desire interpretation), inevitably evokes the corresponding HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun reading (510c).

(510) ● Adjectival modification of HATNÉK-nouns

a. Péterre rájött *az ebéd után való*
Péter.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the lunch after be.Part*
?/?néma /*szunyókáló /*?/*[fa alatti] ücsörög-hetnék.*
speechless / nap.Part / tree under.Attr sit_around-HATNÉK
'Péter was overcome by *the desire to sit around speechlessly / napping / [under the tree] after lunch*.'

b. Péterre rájött
Péter.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg
a [??némán /?szunyókálva /(?)[fa alatt] való] ücsörög-hetnék.*
the speechless.Adv / nap.Conv / tree under be.Part sit_around-HATNÉK
'Péter was overcome by *the desire to sit around speechlessly / napping / [under the tree] after lunch*.'

c. ??Péterre rájött *a legyőzhetetlen, [ebéd után való] /*
Péter.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg *the invincible lunch after be.Part /*
[fa alatt való] ücsörög-hetnék.
tree under be.Part sit_around-HATNÉK
'Péter was overcome by *the uncontrollable desire to sit around [after lunch] / [under the tree]*.'

A HATNÉK-noun can readily be modified only by such attributivized output counterparts of input postpositional phrases which appear as a *való*-construction, as is exemplified in (510b) above; a modifier derived by means of the attributivizer *-i* is not compatible with HATNÉK-nouns (510a), since it inevitably evokes the corresponding $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun reading (see (485) and Table 31/III in 1.3.1.5.1).

Using a *való*-construction in the output HATNÉK-noun construction is also preferred in the case of input oblique case-marked adjuncts to using the simplex adjectivalized form derived by means of *-i*; see (511a) below. Observe that this latter form lacks the particular (input) locative case marking (*-ban* 'Ine'), which, however, does not mean that it cannot serve as an ideal method of modification in certain deverbal nominal constructions, namely, in the event-type denoting SED-noun constructions (511b'). The also complex-event denoting ÁS-nouns (511a') pattern with HATNÉK-nouns (511a) in preferring (though only slightly) the *való*-construction in expressing oblique case-marked input adjuncts.

As for (eventuality-type denoting) $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns, input oblique case-marked adjuncts cannot be expressed (at least in a sufficiently acceptable form) in the output in either way discussed, as is exemplified in (511b) below. A possible reason for this may be the consequence of the following two observations. First, in the case of an eventuality-type denoting deverbal nominal, using the *való*-construction is dispreferred if it has an alternative. Second, this alternative (*kenyai* 'Kenyan'), in the absence of the input locative case suffix (*-ban* 'Ine'), is rather to be interpreted as a modifier taken by the $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun head in its own "nominal" right (which, by the way, results in the spurious reading 'Kenyan desire').

There is, therefore, a significant difference between expressing oblique case-marked input arguments and oblique case-marked input adjuncts in $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun constructions. In the case of arguments, only the *való*-construction comes into play, yielding acceptable output constructions (see (492c) and (493d) in 1.3.1.5.2.1), since the oblique case suffix must be retained in the course of derivation (NB: a

SED-noun expression like *kenyai csalódás* 'Kenya.Adj disappointment', for instance, cannot be associated with the meaning 'disappointment with Kenya', only with a meaning like 'disappointment with something or someone in Kenya'). In the case of adjuncts, however, the *való*-construction is "suppressed" due to the available alternative *-i*-construction, but this is a "spurious competition" since the *-i*-construction is preferably meant to be taken by the HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun head in its own "nominal" right, and not as the counterpart of an adjunct in the input verbal construction.

(511) ● Adjectival modification of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns *versus* that of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns

a. Elfogott *a* ??*kenyai* /(?)*[Kenyában való] vadász-hatnék.*
seize.Past.3Sg *the Kenyan / Kenya.Ine be.Part hunt-HATNÉK*
'I was seized by *the desire to hunt in Kenya*.'

a'. Leégtem *a* ?*kenyai* /(?)*[Kenyában való] vadász-ás-unk alatt.*
get_sunburnt.Past.1Sg *the Kenyan / Kenya.Ine be.Part hunt-ÁS-Poss.1Pl under*
'I got sunburnt *while we were hunting in Kenya*.'

b. Ez volt *életem leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *life.Poss.1Sg most_invincible*
??*kenyai* /??*[Kenyában való] vadász-hatnék-ja.*
Kenyan / Kenya.Ine be.Part hunt-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'This was *my life's most uncontrollable desire to hunt in Kenya*.'

b'. Ez volt *életem legizgalmasabb*
this be.Past.3Sg *life.Poss.1Sg most_exciting*
kenyai /??*[Kenyában való] vadászat-a.*
Kenyan / Kenya.Ine be.Part hunting-Poss.3Sg
'This was *my life's most exciting hunting in Kenya*.'

HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions (just like HATNÉK-noun constructions; see (510a)) cannot be modified by an adjective or attributive expression that serves as a counterpart of an adverb or a converb in the corresponding input verbal construction, as is illustrated in (512a) below. The corresponding *való*-constructions yield no acceptable variants, either (see (512b), cf. (510b)). These facts may also be explained on the basis of the above-discussed "spurious competition" between the simplex adjective and the *való*-construction.

A HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun can be modified by an adjective which is meant to be adjoined to the nominal head in its own "nominal" right, independent of any kind of verbal derivational basis (see *leglegyőzhetetlenebb (vágy)* 'most invincible (desire)' in (512c)). In this respect, thus, HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns pattern with TPD-nouns (NB: the property they all share is that none of them denote complex eventualities). The example in (512d) can serve as a test of the generalization concerning the interpretation of adjectives in HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions: it is not ambiguous, but its single meaning is the one according to which the desire is modified by the given adjective (*mohó* 'greedy').

(512) ● Adjectival modification of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns

a. Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible*
*[?]*néma /*szunyókáló /* [(?)]*[fa alatti] ücsörög-hetnék-je.*
*speechless / nap.Part / tree under.Attr sit_around-*HATNÉK
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to sit around speechlessly / napping / [under the tree]*.'

b. Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible*
*[?]*némán / [?]szunyókálva / *[fa alatt] való ücsörög-hetnék-je.*
*speechless.Adv / nap.Conv / tree under be.Part sit_around-*HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to sit around speechlessly / napping / [under the tree] / napping*.'

c. [(?)]Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd utáni ücsörög-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible lunch after.Attr sit_around-*HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to sit around after lunch*.'

d. [?]Péterre már megint rájött *a mohó vodka-vedel-hetnék.*
Péter.Sub already again come_over.Past.3Sg *the greedy vodka-drink-*HATNÉK
[?]meaning 1: 'Péter was overcome again by *a greedy desire to drink vodka*.'
*meaning 2: 'Péter was overcome again by *a desire to drink vodka greedily*.'

Let us investigate input postpositional adjuncts again. A HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun can readily be modified only by such attributivized output counterparts of input postpositional phrases which are derived by means of the attributivizer *-i*, as is exemplified in (512a,c) above; a modifier which appears as a *való*-construction is not compatible with HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns (512b), since it inevitably evokes the corresponding HATNÉK-noun reading (see (485) and Table 31/III in 1.3.1.5.1).

Note in passing that in the exceptional subtype of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun construction illustrated in (494) in 1.3.1.5.2.1, input adverbial, converbial and postpositional adjuncts as well as oblique case-marked adjuncts appear without any change (in their category and form) in (presumably in the prenominal complement zone of) the output deverbal nominal constructions.

All in all, HATNÉK-nouns form the least nominal class with respect to adjectival modification in the group of deverbal nominals, since they can "inherit" only certain kinds of input adjuncts. HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns, however, are as nominal as TPD-nouns, because they can readily be modified by adjectives taken by the nominal head in its own "nominal" right.

Let us now turn to the question of whether HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns are compatible with different degrees of referentiality.

As is shown in the series of examples in (513) and (514) below, both types essentially pattern with T$_{EV}$-nouns (see (475) in 1.3.1.4.4.2) in requiring an "at least specific" degree of denotation, probably in connection with their shared "on-line created" character. We offer the following generalization: it requires lexicalization for a deverbal nominal to be compatible with all the four degrees of referentiality (i.e., to pattern with ordinary nouns).

(513) ● Degree of referentiality of HATNÉK-nouns

a. (?)*A tegnapi ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-ed*
the yesterday.Adj lunch after be.Part chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Sg
mindenkit kiborított.
everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'*Your desire to chat after lunch yesterday* made everyone angry.'

b. ?*Egy májusi ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-ed*
a May.Adj lunch after be.Part chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Sg
viszont mindenkit kiborított.
however everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
'(Last year the desire often came over you to chat after lunch. Sometimes we definitely enjoyed these conversations.) *One occasion*, however, when *you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch in May*, made everyone angry.'

c. ??Hát például mindenkit kiborított
well for_instance everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
egy májusi ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-ed.
a May.Adj lunch after be.Part chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Sg
'(Why do people avoid me?) Well for instance, an occasion made everyone angry when *you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch in May*.'

d. *Szerintem ez a vágyunk még nem minősül
according_to.1Sg this the desire.Poss.1Pl yet not qualify.3Sg
(ebéd után való) beszélget-hetnék(-ünk)-nek.
lunch after be.Part chat-HATNÉK(-Poss.1Pl)-Dat
Intended meaning: 'According to me, this desire does not qualify *as a / our desire to chat (after lunch)*.'

d'. *Beszélget-hetnék-em* van.
chat-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg be.3Sg
'*I* have *the urge to chat*.'

The non-referential (d)-examples in (513-514) are somewhat problematic. The predicative use is unacceptable in (513d) above, indeed, while the bare noun (phrase) in the complex [nominal+verbal] predicate that constitutes the fully acceptable example given in (513d') is not easy to classify (this HATNÉK-noun looks like a substance noun rather than a predicate). As for the two variants presented in (514d) below, the one with the possessedness suffix is fully unacceptable, indeed, while the possessedness-suffixless variant is quite acceptable, as if we occasionally accepted the $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun construction in question as a lexicalized expression (in connection with its institutionalized character).

(514) ● Degree of referentialiy of $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns

a. (?)Ez volt *az év leglegyőzhetetlenebb ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-je.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the year most_invincible lunch after.Attr chat-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the year's most uncontrollable urge to chat after lunch*.'

a'. (?)*Az ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék* egyszer mindenkire rátör.
the lunch after.Attr chat-HATNÉK once everyone.Sub come_over.3Sg
'*The desire to chat after lunch* once comes over everyone.'

b. ?*Egy ilyen ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-et*
*a such lunch after.Attr chat-*HATNÉK*-Acc*
nehéz elfojtani.
hard suppress.Inf
'(Last year the desire came over you or me to chat after lunch.) It is hard to suppress *such a desire to chat after lunch*.'

c. Már megint rám tört
already again Sub.1Sg come_over.Past.3Sg
*egy *?(??kisebb,) ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék.*
*a lesser lunch after.Attr chat-*HATNÉK*
Intended meaning: 'I am overcome by *a (little) desire again to chat after lunch*.'

d. Szerintem ez a vágyunk még nem minősül
according_to.1Sg this the desire.Poss.1Pl yet not qualify.3Sg
(ebéd utáni) beszélget-hetnék?(-ünk)-nek.*
*lunch after be.Part chat-*HATNÉK*(-Poss.1Pl)-Dat*
'According to me, this desire does not qualify *as a desire (of ours) to chat (after lunch)*.'

The last nominal property we discuss is quantification and determination.

HATNÉK-noun constructions essentially pattern with ÁS-noun and T_{EV}-noun constructions (see 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI and (478) in 1.3.1.4.4.2, respectively) in not readily hosting "regular" quantifiers (515a-a"), especially non-specific ones (515a"). This presumably has to do with the fact that the decisive feature of a HATNÉK-noun is referring to a definite complex eventuality, so quantification, which requires an eventuality set to quantify over, is *ab ovo* incompatible with HATNÉK-noun constructions, typically yielding uncertain and speaker-dependent grammaticality judgments. As for the special "adjectival" mode of quantification, HATNÉK-nouns are not compatible with it, either; see the grammaticality judgments associated with *háromszori* 'three times.Adj' and *gyakori* 'often.Adj' in (515a). The reason for this must also be that the decisive feature of a HATNÉK-noun is referring to a definite complex eventuality. It is not surprising, thus, that the most acceptable HATNÉK-noun construction is the one containing the quantifier-determiner *mindkét* 'both' (515a'); this can be attributed to its simultaneous specific and distributive character: it functions as if it separately referred to two complex eventualities.

(515) ● Quantification and determination of HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns

a. A múlt héten *a(z) *?három / ??utolsó /*háromszori /*gyakori,*
the last week.Sup *the three / last / three_times.Adj / often.Adj*
ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-etek kiborította a főnököt.
*lunch after be.Part chat-*HATNÉK*-Poss.2Pl* make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss.Acc
Intended meaning: 'Last week *the [three occasions] / [last occasion] / [three occasions] / [often occasions] when you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch* made the boss very angry.'

a'. ?A múlt héten *mindkét, ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-etek*
the last week.Sup *both lunch after be.Part chat-*HATNÉK*-Poss.2Pl*
kiborította a főnököt.
make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss.Acc
'Last week *both occasions when you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch* made the boss angry.'

a''. *A múlt héten kiborította a főnököt
the last week.Sup make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss.Acc
három / néhány / sok / minden, ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-etek.
three / some / many / every lunch after be.Part chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl
Intended meaning: 'Last week *three / some / many / every occasion(s) when you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch* made the boss angry.'

b. A múlt héten *a(z)* *?*három* / ??*utolsó* / **háromszori* / (?)*gyakori,*
the last week.Sup *the three / last / three_times.Adj / often.Adj*
ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-etek kiborította a főnököt.
lunch after.Attr chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss.Acc
Intended meaning: 'Last week *the [three occasions] / [last occasion] / [three occasions] / [frequent occasions] when you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch* made the boss very angry.'

b'. ??A múlt héten *mindkét, ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-etek*
the last week.Sup *both lunch after.Attr chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl*
kiborította a főnököt.
make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss.Acc
'Last week *both occasions when you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch* made the boss angry.'

b''. A múlt héten kiborította a főnököt
the last week.Sup make_angry.Past.DefObj.3Sg the boss.Acc
*?*három* / *?*néhány* / **sok* / ?*minden, ebéd utáni beszélget-hetnék-etek.*
three / some / many / every lunch after.Attr chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl
Intended meaning: 'Last week *three / some / many / every occasion(s) when you were overcome by the desire to chat after lunch* made the boss angry.'

Since HATNÉK$_{SED}$-noun constructions denote eventuality types, it is not *ab ovo* impossible to quantify over them, but as they are not based on (countable) lexicalized nouns, they prefer the special "adjectival" mode of quantification; see the grammaticality judgment associated with the adjective *gyakori* 'often.Adj' in (515b) above, which refers to uncountable frequency. Due to their in-between categorial status and eventuality-denoting function, the non-specific universal quantifier-determiner *minden* 'every' is more or less compatible with them (515b''), in contrast to *mindkét* 'both', for instance (cf. the primed examples in (515)), but grammaticality judgments are uncertain and speaker-dependent in this area, too.

All in all, given the regular mode of quantification in this domain, both *hAtnék*-noun types can be characterized by a very low degree of nominalness, obviously due to the shared property of the absence of being lexicalized.

1.3.1.5.4.3. Summary

We summarize our observations on verbal (1.3.1.5.4.1) and nominal (1.3.1.5.4.2) properties of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns in Table 32 below.

As can be seen, HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns are basically as verbal as ÁS-nouns (see Table 24 in subsection 1.3.1.2.4.3), showing some verbal properties to a great, and some to a lesser but still significant extent. The quite high degree of verbalness in the case of both types of *hAtnék*-nouns presumably has to do with their "on-line created" status and the related fact that the nouns in question have no (necessarily lexicalized) blocking forms. HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns also pattern with ÁS-

nouns in being poorly nominal in every respect except for the three in which deverbal nominals typically "score well" (namely, 'possessive argument', 'case marking' and 'adjectival modification'). HATNÉK-nouns are even less nominal, since their constructions do not readily host adjectives, so in this respect HATNÉK-nouns pattern with T_{Ev}-nouns.

As in our practice applied so far in the corresponding summaries (see, for instance, Table 24 in subsection 1.3.1.2.4.3), the presence or absence (or degrees) of verbal and nominal properties are presented by check-marks, asterisks and question marks in the table. As for the visual representation, recall that the lighter a cell is, the more nominal—and simultaneously the less verbal—the noun type is in the given respect.

Table 32: The degree of verbalness/nominalness of hAtnék-*nominalizations*

PROPERTIES		HATNÉK-NOUN	$HATNÉK_{SED}$-NOUN
VERBAL	tense and mood	*	*
	two person/number paradigms of conjugation	*	*
	separability of preverb / verbal modifier	??	*?
	presence / obligatoriness of arguments	(?)	(?)
	accusative case-marked argument	??	?
	adverbial modification	??	??
	information structure (internal scopes)	(?)	?
NOMINAL	pluralization	*	*?
	possessive argument	✓	✓
	case marking	✓	(?)
	adjectival modification	??	✓
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality	??	??
	quantification (and determination)	*?	*?

Let us highlight the critical details.

We consider it a crucial verbal property that *hAtnék*-nouns obligatorily retain the accusative case marking of certain arguments even if they are not idiom chunks.

Furthermore, both HATNÉK-nouns and $HATNÉK_{SED}$-nouns essentially inherit the input argument and information structure, obviously due to their "on-line created" and eventuality-denoting character and the fact that they quite readily host fully fledged arguments in the postnominal complement zone as well as in *való*-constructions. They are highly verbal in these crucial respects.

Nevertheless, we must be aware of the fact that the inheritance of complex argument and/or information structures can be regarded rather as a "theoretical possibility" than as an actual practice (that is, an attested fact) in language use, especially in the subtype of $HATNÉK_{SED}$-noun construction with a temporal possessor. $HATNÉK_{SED}$-nouns, however, have another subtype, the "exceptional" one illustrated in (494) in 1.3.1.5.2.1, in the case of which practically complete verbal structures are "encapsulated" in the extraordinarily expanded prenominal complement zone, preserving such verbal characteristics as accusative case marking

and non-attributivized adverbial, converbial, postpositional and oblique case-marked phrases. It is an open methodological question, however, whether this subtype can be taken into consideration at all, and to what degree. It must also be noted at this point that even the mere differentiation of HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns from HATNÉK-nouns is a question that requires much future research, in spite of the careful argumentation on the basis of which we made this distinction in 1.3.1.5.1 in total harmony with the practice ultimately based upon the ÁS-/SED-noun distinction (Laczkó 2000a).

The important elements of attributing an essentially poor degree of nominalness to both types of *hAtnék*-nouns (and not only to the complex-eventuality denoting type) are that they cannot be pluralized, they are not compatible with (the regular method of) quantification and they do not readily form non-specific and predicative phrases.

1.3.1.6. Further types of deverbal nominalization

This short subsection is devoted to the overview of the non-productive deverbal nominalizers in Hungarian (and ones which might be regarded as productive deverbal nominalizers over certain, narrow but sufficiently precisely definable, domains but whose productive status has not been unquestionably demonstrated yet).

We collected the non-productive Hungarian deverbal nominalizers on the basis of H. Varga (2008), in addition to Kiefer (2000a), and we systematized them according to their status as blocking forms of (regularly derived potential) SED-nouns (Table 33) and TPD-nouns (Tables 34-35). The following strong generalization underlies this treatment: every deverbal nominalizer (in Hungarian) derives a nominal construction that denotes such a participant in the verbal construction of the derivational basis that can be captured as its Agent, Instrument, Location or Theme, which are exactly referred to by the different TPD-noun subtypes, or as the event itself (the "Davidsonian event argument" (Davidson 1967, Parsons 1995)), which is referred to by SED-nouns. In other words, we claim that the relevant data suggest that there are no deverbal nominalizers that can immediately be attached to verb stems which cannot be placed in any (one) of these categories. It must be noted that a number of nouns of a foreign origin end in sequences like *-ció* or *-ens*, for instance; some of these have to do with deverbal nominalization, as is exemplified by the minimal pairs *operáció* 'operation' *versus operál* 'operate' and *asszisztens* 'assistant' *versus asszisztál* 'assist' (and in this sense, *-ció* and *-ens* may be regarded as derivational suffixes, see (223) in 1.3.1.2.1), but they do not attach to a complete verb stem in Hungarian (cf. **operálció*, **asszisztálens*), so we do not deal with them in this subsection. Note in passing that that numerous nouns ending in *-ció* have no verbal counterpart at all in Hungarian (e.g., *aukció* 'auction', *evolúció* 'evolution', *fikció* 'fiction', *opció* 'option', *tradíció* 'tradition').

In addition to empirical observations, this generalization is based on the following plausible hypothesis. It is exactly the above-discussed subtypes of non-productive deverbal nominalizers that exist in Hungarian—according to the possible basic relationships between verbs and dependents; which has the advantageous consequence that each non-productive deverbal nominalizer automatically obtains a

rich linguistic characterization merely on the basis of its membership in the given TPD-noun subtype or the SED-noun type; see the relevant subsections 1.3.1.2-1.3.1.4. That is, they are claimed to behave in the same way as regularly derived lexicalized members of the given subtypes do: they are as verbal and as nominal as their regularly derived counterparts, which means that they, for instance, pattern with them in argument-structure inheritance. They also pattern with them in selecting the appropriate input argument-structure types, in *not* inheriting verb-like information structure, and in potentially having a possessor whose semantic role is not determined by the input verbal argument-structure type or in dispensing with any possessor.

Table 33: Deverbal nominalizers deriving blocking forms in the group of SED-nouns (regularly derived by means of -Ás*)*

TYPE	SUFFIX	VERB STEM	DERIVED FORM
SED-nouns	*-Ó*	*találkozik* 'meet' *esküszik* 'swear'	*találkozó* 'meeting' *esküvő* 'wedding'
	-At	*vadászik* 'hunt' *szeret* 'love'	*vadászat* 'hunting' *szeretet* 'love'
	-(Vt)t	*kel (a nap)* 'rise (the sun)' *nyugszik (a nap)* 'set (the sun)'	*napkelte* 'sunrise' *napnyugta* 'sunset'
	-(A)tAl	*behoz* 'import' *kivisz* 'export'	*behozatal* 'import' *kivitel* 'export'
	-AlOm	*szán* 'feel compassion' *fél* 'be afraid of'	*szánalom* 'compassion' *félelem* 'fear'
	-(A)dAlOm	*fáj* 'hurt' *forr* 'boil'	*fájdalom* 'pain' *forradalom* 'revolution'
	-Ály	*szenved* 'suffer' *aszik* 'dry up'	*szenvedély* 'passion' *aszály* 'drought'
	-Ány	*nyit* 'open'	*nyitány* 'overture'
	-(V)mÁny	*tanul* 'study'	*tanulmány* 'studying'
	-OmÁs	*vall* 'confess'	*vallomás* 'confession'
	-sÁg	*ver* 'defeat'	*vereség* 'defeat'

Let us make some short comments on the non-productive deverbal nominalizers presented in Table 33 above and in Tables 34-35 below.

The attentive reader can observe that all the productive deverbal nominalizers *-Ás*, *-Ó* and *-(Vt)t* (or their homonymic and semantically related counterparts) additionally exhibit various non-productive (deverbal nominalizing) functions. The *-Ás* suffix, for instance, which is productive in forming SED-nouns (Table 33) can play the role of a non-productive deverbal nominalizer in either of the subtypes TPD_{AG}-nouns, TPD_{INST}-nouns, TPD_{LOC}-nouns (Table 34) and TPD_{TH}-nouns (Table 35).

Our second note pertains to a difficulty that emerged in the case of SED-nouns: it is not easy to distinguish the clear case when an event is denoted from a case when it is rather the abstract result of the given event (see *szánalom* 'compassion' in Table 33, for instance, and the relevant comment on (449a-a') in 1.3.1.4.1) or an incorporated theme cumulated as the result of the event (see *nyitány* 'overture' in Table 33) that is denoted.

Table 34: Deverbal nominalizers deriving blocking forms in the group of Ó-noun-based TPD-nouns (regularly derived by means of -Ó)

TYPE	SUFFIX	VERB STEM	DERIVED FORM
TPD_{AG}-nouns	*-Ár*	*fut* 'run' *(fémet) olvaszt* 'found metal'	*futár* 'courier' *(fém)olvasztár* '(metal) founder'
	-nOk	*ír* 'write' *mér* 'measure'	*írnok* 'clerk' *mérnök* 'engineer'
	-Ász	*épít* 'build' *lő* 'shoot'	*építész* 'architect' *lövész* 'shooter'
	-Ás	*vezet* 'manage' *hírt szerez* 'acquire news'	*vezetés* 'management' *hírszerzés* 'intelligence'
	-cs	*rikkant* 'shout'	*rikkancs* 'paperboy'
TPD_{INST}-nouns	*-Ás*	*borít* 'cover' *(be)kerít* 'encircle'	*borítás* 'coating' *kerítés* 'fence'
	-Ály	*tart* 'keep' *enged* 'permit'	*tartály* 'container' *engedély* 'permission'
	-ék	*bizonyít* 'prove' *vezet* 'carry'	*bizonyíték* 'evidence' *vezeték* 'wire'
	-Al / -Ál	*fed* 'cover' *fon* 'weave'	*fedél* 'lid' *fonal* 'yarn'
	-Vcs	*szív* 'absorb' *ken* 'lubricate'	*szivacs* 'sponge' *kenőcs* 'ointment'
	-AttyÚ	*szív* 'absorb' *dug* 'plug in'	*szivattyú* 'pump' *dugattyú* 'piston'
	-Asz	*csíp* 'pick' *dug* 'plug in'	*csipesz* 'tweezers' *dugasz* 'plug'
	-ÓkA	*néz* 'watch'	*nézőke* '(rear) sight'
TPD_{LOC}-noun	*-(O)dA*	*süt* 'bake' *önt* 'pour'	*sütöde* 'bakery' *öntöde* 'foundry'
	-Ás	*lakik* 'live' *kereskedik* 'trade'	*lakás* 'flat' *kereskedés* 'shop'
	-ÓkA	*jár* 'go'	*járóka* 'playpen'
$TPD_{INST/LOC}$-noun	*-ÓkA*	*mászik* 'crawl' *ül* 'sit'	*mászóka* 'playpen' *ülőke* 'seat'

Our third note pertains to a favorable consequence of the classification of the Hungarian non-productive deverbal nominalizers in the TPD- and the SED-noun types. Such cases of compound-word formation as *fémolvasztár* 'metal founder' and *hírszerzés* 'intelligence' (i.e., 'team of intelligence agents') in Table 34, for instance, are (automatically) accounted for (including subtle details of argument-structure inheritance and meaning factors).

Table 35: Deverbal nominalizers deriving blocking forms in the group of (T_{TH}-noun-based) TPD_{TH}-nouns (regularly derived by means of -(Vt)t*)*

TYPE	SUFFIX	VERB STEM	DERIVED FORM
TPD_{TH}-nouns	*-At*	*ad* 'give' *fűz* 'bind'	*adat* 'piece of data' *füzet* 'booklet'
	-Ás	*mond* 'say' *rak* 'put'	*mondás* 'phrase' *rakás* 'pile'
	-(A)tAl	*iszik* 'drink' *eszik* 'eat'	*ital* 'drink' *étel* 'food'
	-AlOm	*kíván* 'require' *fél* 'be afraid of'	*kívánalom* 'requirement' *félelem* 'fear'
	-(A)dAlOm	*jön* 'come' *ír* 'write'	*jövedelem* 'income' *irodalom* 'literature'
	-sÁg	*kíván* 'wish' *nyer* 'win'	*kívánság* 'wish' *nyereség* 'profit'
	-Onc	*küld* 'send' *véd* 'protect'	*küldönc* 'messenger' *védenc* 'protégé'
	-cs	*habar* 'scramble' *teker* 'roll'	*habarcs* 'mortar' *tekercs* 'scroll'
	-ék	*habar* 'scramble' *kever* 'mix'	*habarék* 'hodgepodge' *keverék* 'mixture'
	-(A)dék	*söpör* 'sweep' *nemz* 'generate'	*söpredék* 'scum' *nemzedék* 'generation'
	-(A)lék	*oszt* 'divide' *tölt* 'fill'	*osztalék* 'share profits' *töltelék* 'stuffing'
	-(A)ték	*hagy* 'divide'	*hagyaték* 'share profits'
	-(V)mÁny	*ad* 'give' *fest* 'paint'	*adomány* 'donation' *festmény* 'painting'
	-vÁny	*ás* 'dig' *ültet* 'plant'	*ásvány* 'mineral' *ültetvény* 'plantation'
	-Ány	*tölt* 'fill'	*töltény* 'cartridge'
	-omás	*lát* 'see'	*látomás* 'vision'
	-AndÓ	*oszt* 'divide' *tesz* 'do'	*osztandó* 'dividend' *teendő* 'something to do'
	-ÓkA	*mond* 'say' *iszik* 'drink'	*mondóka* 'nursery rhyme' *itóka* 'drink'

Our last note pertains to the non-productive deverbal nominalizer *-AndÓ*, which is homophonous with the future (or posterior) passive participial derivational suffix in Hungarian (see volume F); see Table 35. Recall that the deverbal nominalizers *-Ó* and *-(Vt)t*, which are productive in certain domains and non-productive in others, also have participial counterparts (see (334) and (439) in the introductory parts of subsections 1.3.1.3 and 1.3.1.4, respectively). We claim on the basis of the relevant literature (Kiefer 2000a) and our empirical observations that the system of Hungarian deverbal nominalizers is asymmetric in the sense that *-AndÓ* has no homophonous productive deverbal-nominalizer counterpart. Note that there is a deontic and/or posterior component in the meaning of *-AndÓ*-nouns (*teendő*, for instance, means 'something which must/will be done') obviously due to the presence of this meaning component in the participial derivational suffix *-AndÓ*, which does not appear in the meanings of other TPD_{TH}-nouns.

1.3.1.7. Summary

This subsection provides a short global summary of the different deverbal nominalizations in Hungarian (1.3.1.2-1.3.1.5).

According to our primary classification, the derivational basis of ÁS-nominalization, $Ó_{AG}$-, $Ó_{INST}$-, $Ó_{LOC}$- and $Ó_{EXP}$-nominalization, and T_{EV}- and T_{TH}-nominalization is a definite complex event, as is presented in the first row of Table 36 below; and their output is an "on-line created" (not lexically stored) deverbal nominal construction, which is, hence, inevitably regularly derived by means of the corresponding derivational suffixes *-Ás*, *-Ó* and *-(Vt)t*, respectively (NB: sporadic counterexamples can be found in the case of such deviant input verbs as *van* 'be' and *szeret* 'like', for instance, in the case of which *volta* 'be.T.Poss.3Sg' and *szeretet* 'like.T' can serve as ÁS-nouns instead of *levés* and *szeretés*). The denotatum is either the input complex event itself—in the case of ÁS-nominalization and T_{EV}-nominalization—or a designated participant of the input complex event—in the case of $Ó_{\Theta}$-nominalizations and T_{TH}-nominalization. An $Ó_{AG}$-noun construction, for instance, denotes the Agent of the complex event. Note that a T_{EV}-noun construction is more or less compatible only with case suffixes with which it forms an expression referring to a point in time (namely, to the cumulative point of the input complex event), so T_{EV}-noun constructions might immediately be construed as expressions denoting points in time.

Table 36: Derivational basis and output denotation of different types of nominalizations

DENOTATION / BASIS	COMPLEX EVENT	EVENT TYPE		NON-EVENTIVE
COMPLEX EVENT	ÁS, T_{EV}			$Ó_{AG/INST/LOC}$, T_{TH}
EVENT TYPE	HATNÉK	$HATNÉK_{SED}$	SED	$TPD_{AG/INST/LOC/TH}$

The above-discussed complex-event-based deverbal nominals (except for T_{EV}-nouns) can undergo conversion, yielding deverbal nominals in each type denoting

event types (or "simple events", so they are called SED-nouns) and Agents, Instruments, Locations and Themes of event types (TPD_{Θ}-nouns), as is presented in Table 36. Their semantic basis is not a definite complex event any more, but a non-specific and typically underspecified event type. There is a large number of lexical items that can be regarded on the basis of formal and semantic criteria as "irregularly derived" members of these types, which "block" the regular, conversional, form of derivation. Thus, these substitute for the regularly derived potential SED-nouns and TPD_{Θ}-nouns in the lexicon. In Table 36 above, the black zone indicates the domain of lexical(ized) items. The gray zone indicates the fact that lexicalization is a process, so even the groups of SED-nouns and TPD_{Θ}-nouns are assumed to contain "on-line created" constructions (in the transitory phases of lexicalization).

We have demonstrated that, on the basis of the usual criteria concerning productive deverbal nominalizations, there is also a complex-event denoting "HATNÉK-nominalization" in Hungarian (1.3.1.5), with its event-type denoting version, which we have dubbed $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-noun formation. What is special in the case of *hAtnék*-nominalizations, is that both HATNÉK-nouns and $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns can be characterized simultaneously, on the one hand, by an event-type basis (and not only $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns), and, on the other hand, by their "on-line created" character (and not only HATNÉK-nouns). There are, therefore, no lexicalized $\text{HATNÉK}_{\text{SED}}$-nouns.

In Table 36, the uniformly "on-line created" deverbal nominal constructions can be found in the white cells. It is exactly this group whose members, obviously in connection with their "close relationship" to the input verbal construction, can be characterized by information-structure inheritance in the strongest sense that all their fully fledged output arguments are potential internal-scope takers. SED-noun constructions (independent of their lexicalized (and possibly irregularly derived) or on-line created status) also quite readily inherit information structure if non-possessor arguments are considered; see (230b) and (231b) in 1.3.1.2.2.2 and (306-307) in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII (see also subsections 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.2.1). This group, thus, can be characterized by partial information-structure inheritance.

As is shown in Table 36, the Hungarian deverbal nominalizations can be regarded as forming a definitely compact and complete system, which stands in an interesting relationship with Hungarian participles—at least at the cost of such assumptions that T_{TH}-nominalization belongs to the (synchronic) system in spite of the high number of quite poorly acceptable ("on-line created") T_{TH}-noun constructions. Another argument in favor of this system is the attractive generalization that each non-productive Hungarian deverbal nominalizer can be classified as a "blocking form" in one of the productive non-complex-event-based deverbal nominal types; see subsection 1.3.1.6.

Table 37 below provides a summary of the correspondence between the non-oblique-case-marked arguments in the input verbal construction and in the output deverbal nominal construction in the non-deviant cases in which an Agent and/or a Theme are considered. The column and row headings present the possible input and output argument-structure constructions; or more precisely, a common broader set of argument structure types, in which the type with neither an Agent nor a Theme

('∅∅') is not a possible input while the type consisting of a fully fledged Agent and an also fully fledged Theme is not a possible output. Note that 'XX' indicates the latter case as follows: the first and the second 'X' indicate that the Agent and the Theme obtain fully fledged non-oblique-case-marked expression, respectively. This configuration is impossible since only the possessor function is available to a fully fledged non-oblique-case-marked argument in a nominal construction. Although the prenominal complement zone can also host a non-oblique-case-marked argument, an Agent or a Theme can occupy this zone only in a non-fully-fledged form; 'x' indicates places for non-fully-fledged arguments. The verbal input can contain a non-fully-fledged Theme as a verbal modifier either with a fully fledged Agent ('Xx') expressed as a subject ('So', where the lower-case 'o' refers to the fact that the object is not fully fledged) or without an Agent ('∅x'; in this latter case, the verbal modifier is a non-fully-fledged Theme-subject, as is indicated by the 's' in the last column of Table 37).

Table 37: Non-oblique-case-marked Agent and Theme in the input verbal construction (expressed as subject/object, or as a verbal modifier, or not expressed) and their output expression in the possessor grammatical function and in the prenominal complement zone of the deverbal nominal construction

IN CLAUSE IN DP	∅∅	X∅ (S)	Xx (So)	XX (SO)	∅X (S)	∅x (s)
∅∅		th-Ó			$^{?}T_{TH}$	
X∅ (Pos)		ÁS ad-Ó HATNÉK T_{EV}		T_{TH}		
Xx (Pos+comp)			ÁS ad-Ó HATNÉK			
XX (—)						
∅X (Pos)				ÁS T_{EV} th-Ó	ÁS T_{EV}	
∅x (comp)			$^{?}$th-Ó			$^{?}$ÁS

The gray cells in the diagonal of Table 37 above can "almost" capture the relevant correspondence between the "distinguished" (i.e., non-oblique-case-marked) input and output arguments in the case of ÁS-nominalization. The diagonal configuration essentially expresses the following uniformity between input and output: if, and only if, an argument is fully fledged in the input, it is also fully fledged in the

output. If, for instance, the input realization of an ⟨Agent, Theme⟩ pair is an argument structure with a fully fledged subject and an accusative case-marked verbal modifier (thus, 'Xx' is realized as 'So'), the nominal output must consist of a fully fledged agentive possessor accompanied with a non-fully-fledged Theme in the prenominal complement zone (thus, 'Xx' appears as 'Pos+comp'). If, however, the input consists of a single fully fledged Theme ('∅X'), which means an unaccusative input argument-structure type ('S': a subject with no object), this Theme is realized as a fully fledged possessor in the output (hence, '∅X' appears as 'Pos').

The two cells in the diagonal exceptional in the sense discussed in the previous paragraph are those belonging to the empty argument-structure type, which is an excluded input (see 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub I), and to the argument-structure type with two fully fledged non-oblique-case-marked arguments, which is an excluded output, as has been mentioned. The latter argument-structure type is not excluded as an input, however, as the black cell presents in Table 37: in the corresponding output, the counterpart of the input object plays the possessor grammatical function, at the cost of the "suppression" of the Agent (as in the course of passivization).

T_{EV}-nominalization, HATNÉK-nominalization and the adjunctive subtype of Ó-nominalization ('ad-Ó') realize the same correspondence between "distinguished" input and output arguments as ÁS-nominalization does, but over narrower domains. HATNÉK-nominalization, for instance, requires a fully fledged input Agent (whose desire the given output HATNÉK-noun denotes), just like adjunctive Ó-nominalization (in the latter case, the Agent's instrument is denoted by the output adjunctive $Ó_{INST}$-noun construction, or the place is denoted (by an $Ó_{LOC}$-noun) where the Agent is acting). T_{EV}-nominalization, however, suffices with a fully fledged Theme ('∅X'), but does not license an input argument-structure type consisting of a fully fledged subject and an accusative case-marked verbal modifier ('Xx'), probably due to the "too agentive polarity" of the subject appearing together with an object that it exerts some impact upon (see the introduction to 1.3.1.4 and Table 29 within it).

It is obvious why the cells in the diagonal in Table 37 do not contain any reference to the thematic subtypes of Ó-nominalization and T_{TH}-nominalization: in the former case, the input subject denotationally corresponds to the complete output Ó-noun construction, while, in the latter case, the input object corresponds to the complete output T_{TH}-noun construction. These input arguments, thus, have no counterparts in the output argument structures, excluding the uniformity between the relevant properties of the input and those of the output. Decreased argument-structure types will correspond to the richer licensed input argument-structure types. Even an empty output argument structure is possible: it corresponds to an unergative input ('X∅') in the case of $Ó_{AG}$-nominalization; while, in the case of T_{TH}-nominalization, unaccusative inputs ('∅X') provide not fully unacceptable potential empty argument-structure types (compare (457b) to (457a) in subsection 1.3.1.4.2.3).

As for (obligatory and optional) oblique case-marked input arguments, they tend to be inherited unchanged (basically together with their obligatory or optional status), to the maximum extent that certain constraining circumstances permit. The

less verbal a given deverbal nominalization is, the more constraints tend to emerge. In T_{TH}-noun constructions, for instance, which are relatively less verbal among the complex-event-based group of deverbal nominalizations, such constraints emerge as those that oblique case-marked arguments are not readily hosted in the postnominal complement zone and that *való*-constructions are not at the disposal in the prenominal modifier zone, either.

The lengthy subsection on deverbal nominalization (1.3.1) is now concluded with Table 38 below, which is a unified table based on the tables given in the summaries 1.3.1.2.4.3, 1.3.1.3.4.3, 1.3.1.4.4.3, and 1.3.1.5.4.3. It provides a comparative demonstration of the hybrid nature of the Hungarian deverbal nominal constructions.

Table 38: The degree of verbalness/nominalness of different nominalizations

	PROPERTIES	HN	HN_{SED}	ÁS	T_{EV}	Ó$_\theta$	T_{TH}	SED	TPD_θ	TPD_T	irreg.
VERBAL	tense and mood	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	two person/number paradigms	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	separability of verbal modifier	?*	?*	??	—	??	—	?*	*	—	*
	presence / obligatoriness of arg.	(?)	(?)	✓	(?)	?	?	?	??	*?	*
	accusative case-marked arg.	??	?	*?	*?	*	*	*	*	*	*
	adverbial modification	??	??	*?	*?	*?	*?	*?	*?	*	*
	information structure	(?)	?	(?)	?	*?	*?	?	*	*	*
NOMINAL	pluralization	*	*?	*	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	possessive argument	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	case marking	✓	(?)	✓	??	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	adjectival modification	??	✓	✓	??	?	(?)	✓	✓	✓	✓
	definiteness / referentiality	??	??	??	??	?	(?)	(?)	✓	✓	✓
	quantification / determination	?*	?*	?*	?*	(?)	(?)	(?)	✓	✓	✓

ÁS-nominalization, both types of *hAtnék*-nominalization (abbreviated as 'HN' and 'HN_{SED}' in Table 38) and the (somewhat archaic) T_{EV}-nominalization, obviously due to their event denoting character, result in significantly more verbal forms than the non-event-denoting Ó-nominalization, (the less productive) T_{TH}-nominalization, and SED-noun formation, which is the event-type-based and event-type-denoting counterpart of the complex-event-based and complex-event-denoting ÁS-nominalization. Parallel to this, the latter group of deverbal nominalizations is more nominal than the former group. Both groups, however, are significantly more verbal than the (event-type-based non-event-type-denoting) TPD-noun formations. We also investigated irregular *Ás*-nouns (which do not denote events) and irregular *Ó*-nouns (which predominantly denote events): they pattern with ordinary (non-deverbal) nouns in showing all the nominal properties considered and none of the verbal properties considered.

1.3.2. Deadjectival nouns

We follow SoD-NP (1.3.2) now in discussing the formation of deadjectival nouns; since not only verbs but also adjectives can form the basis of derived nouns. In Hungarian, this form of nominalization is achieved through suffixation or conversion, whereby some suffixes are (essentially) productive, while others are non-productive, see Table 39 below.

Subsection 1.3.2.1 is concerned with the derivational suffixes *-sÁg* and *-itás*, while 1.3.2.2 deals with nouns derived via conversion from adjectives. Following our protocol used in the description of deverbal nominals (1.3.1), both subsections discuss the form of the derived noun, the relation between the derived nouns and the input adjectives, the restrictions on the derivational processes, and the adjectival and nominal properties of the derived nouns. Non-productive deadjectival nominalizers will be shown in subsection 1.3.2.3. A short summary (1.3.2.4) concludes this subsection on deadjectival nominals.

Table 39: Deadjectival nominalization types

TYPE	EXAMPLE	SUBSECTION
SÁG-nominalization	[Péter *gonosz-ság-a*] mindenkit meglepett. Péter *evil-SÁG-Poss.3Sg* everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg 'The fact that Péter *[is evil]* was a surprise to everyone.'	1.3.2.1
conversional nominalization	Ekkor belépett a szobába [egy *órá-s / skót*]. then enter.Past.3Sg the room.Ill an *watch-S / Scot* 'Then a *watchmaker* / *Scot* entered the room.'	1.3.2.2
non-productive kinds of nominalization	*kicsi-ke / üdvös-ke / apró-d* *small-Dim / benign-Dim / small-Dim* '*sweetie / fave / henchman*'	1.3.2.3

As for the basic characteristics of the resulting deadjectival nominals, *sÁg*-nouns largely pattern with either ÁS-nouns or SED-nouns with respect to nominal properties since they denote eventualities, while the deadjectival nominals created through conversion from (the quite defective class of) *-(V)s*-adjectives pattern with

ordinary nouns (and TPD_{AG}-nouns) in having all nominal properties in connection with their denoting persons.

1.3.2.1. Deadjectival SÁG*-nominalization and the derivational suffix* -itás

This section primarily discusses the deadjactival nominalizer *-sÁg*, which is claimed by Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: subsection 4.1.1) to be productive in its use when the output construction denotes the abstract property that is expressed by the input adjectival construction.

The productive meaning of *-sÁg* is exemplified in (516a) below. As is pointed out by these authors (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: subsection 4.1.3), the same type of meaning is derived by means of the suffix *-itás*, which has a foreign origin, if the adjectival stems it is attached to have a foreign origin (516b). They also note, however, that adjectives of a foreign origin with certain endings (namely, *-(iszt)ikus*, *-mán*, *-mer*, and *-ózus*) require the *-sÁg* suffix (516b'), and not *-itás* (NB: there are a few counterexamples like *plasztícitás* 'plasticity' and *viszkozitás* 'viscosity', which are much more frequent than their regularly derived alternatives *plasztikusság* and *viszkózusság*).

(516) ● Derivational suffixes *-sÁg* and *-itás*

a. *csinos-ság / kövér-ség*
pretty-SÁG / fat-SÁG
'*being pretty / fat*'

b. *modern-itás / kommunikatív-itás*
modern-ity / communicative-ity
'*modernity / communicativeness*'

b'. *specifikus-ság / rigorózus-ság*
specific-SÁG / rigorous-SÁG
'*specificity / rigour*'

c. *édes-ség / savanyú-ság / szép-ség*
sweet-SÁG / sour-SÁG / beautiful-SÁG
'*candy / pickles / beauty (i.e., beautiful woman)*'

d. *bróker-ség / katona-ság / király-ság / marha-ság*
broker-SÁG / soldier-SÁG / king-SÁG / cattle-SÁG
'*[being a broker] / army / kingdom / poppycock*'

The (deadjectival) *-sÁg* suffix also has irregular uses, when the derived nouns denote different sorts of concrete entities (516c). Note that the *-sÁg* suffix can serve as a denominal nominalizer, too (516d); it is subsection 1.3.3.1 that is devoted to the discussion of this use.

In what follows, we will discuss the deadjectival nominalizers *-sÁg* and *-itás* in the framework applied in the discussion of deverbal nominalizers, somewhat diverging from Kiefer and Ladányi's (2000b) basically morphological approach.

1.3.2.1.1. Form of the derived noun

It is a straightforward analogy between *sÁg*-nominalization and ÁS-nominalization that the denotation of the output construction is the same as that of the derivational input (given the productive uses).

The analogy suggests a possible difference between a complex-eventuality denoting and an eventuality-type denoting version in the case of *sÁg*-nouns, too. Recall that the term *eventuality* is used to cover both states and events, following Bach (1981). As is exemplified in (517) below, *sÁg*-nominalization has a version producing complex-state denoting nouns, which we have dubbed SÁG-nouns, while there is a group of *sÁg*-nouns whose members denote state types. The latter group will be called SSD-nouns (i.e., 'simple-state denoting nouns') by analogy, after SED-nouns (i.e., 'simple-event denoting nouns'). It will be demonstrated in what follows that the analogy extends to such properties as, on the one hand, the "on-line created" nature of SÁG-noun constructions, which permits only derived forms ending in *-sÁg*, and, on the other hand, the decisively lexicalized nature of SSD-nouns, among which there are different kinds of blocking forms, beside the regularly (that is, conversionally) derived forms, ending in *-sÁg*.

This is illustrated in (517a-a') below as follows. There is a complex-state denoting meaning ('be being emotional'), which must be expressed by the regularly derived form *labilisság* 'labile.SÁG', which, in spite of its sounding quite artificial (see the grammaticality judgment '?' in (517a)), cannot be replaced with the lexicalized form *labilitás* 'lability' of a foreign origin in the given context. This latter form, as is presented in (517a') below, unequivocally belongs to a state-type denoting meaning, which is totally unavailable to the regularly derived (obviously on-line created) *sÁg*-noun variant.

On the basis of data like these, we analyze *-itás* as a derivational suffix providing blocking forms for the group of SSD-nouns, whose regularly derived basic subset consists of regularly derived *sÁg*-nouns. We do not follow Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b) in considering *-itás* a separate productive derivational suffix (whose productivity pertains to a well-defined subset of input adjectives of a foreign origin). That is why we discuss the deadjectival derivational suffixes *-sÁg* and *-itás* together in this subsection (1.3.2.1).

It is also hinted in (517a) below that an [adjective + *volta*] construction has the same meaning as the corresponding SÁG-noun construction does. Recall that both constructions were analyzed in 1.3.1.2.3, sub I, as alternative outputs of an [adjective + copula] input construction with different realizations of the ÁS-noun form based on the copula *van* 'be' (268). In that subsection, thus, the SÁG-noun construction was presented as a "*van*-free construction", based on a verbal input (where the given verb is the copula). Note that it is a theory-specific question whether the SÁG-noun construction is regarded as the output of an input verbal construction, whose complex-eventuality denoting character is exactly due to the copular component of the derivational input, or it is regarded as the output of an input construction that consists of a single adjective, with no copular "help". It would not be pertinent to decide on a question like this in our resource grammar; the (output) SÁG-noun construction itself, however, is undoubtedly to be scrutinized, and the inevitably existing adjectival component of its derivational basis can serve as a natural point of departure for the systematic discussion of the construction in question.

(517) ● Types of *sÁg*-nouns

a. *Ilinek a szakítás után való* ?*labilis-ság-a* /*?*labil-itás-a* /
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part labile-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / labile-ity-Poss.3Sg /
(?)*[labilis vol-t-a]* nem lep meg.
labile be-T-Poss.3Sg not surprise.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Ili was being emotional after the break-up* was no surprise to me.'

a'. Ilire nem jellemző *a* *?*labilis-ság* /✓*labil-itás.*
Ili.Sub not typical *the labile-SÁG / labil-ity*
'*Lability* is not typical of Ili.'

b. ?*Ilinek a szakítás után való [feltűnő szép-ség-e]* /
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part striking beautiful-SÁG-Poss.3Sg /
[feltűnően szép vol-t-a] sokkolta az exbarátját.
strinkigly beautiful be-T-Poss.3Sg shock.Past.DefObj.3Sg the ex_boyfriend.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'*The fact that Ili was being strikingly beautiful after the break-up* shocked her ex boyfriend.'

b'. *A szép-ség* mulandó.
the beautiful-SÁG transient
'*Beauty* is transient.'

b''. Belépett *egy karibi szép-ség.*
enter.Past.3Sg *a Caribbean beautiful-SÁG*
'*A Caribbean beauty* entered the room.'

c. *A régen látott unokaöcsém* ??*magas-ság-a* /(?)*[magas vol-t-a]*
the long_ago see.Part nephew.Poss.1Sg tall-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / tall be-T-Poss.3Sg
?*alacsony-ság-a* /(?)*[alacsony vol-t-a]* mindenkit meglepett.
short-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / short be-T-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc suprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that my long-lost nephew is tall / short* was a surprise to everyone.'

c'. *A régen látott unokaöcsém magas-ság-a /*alacsony-ság-a* 140 cm.
the long_ago see.Part nephew.Poss.1Sg tall-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / short-SÁG-Poss.3Sg 140 cm
'*The height of my long-lost nephew* is 140 centimeters.'

We demonstrate in the three (b)-examples that the same adjective can serve as a derivational basis for deriving all *sÁg*-noun types: a (more or less acceptable) complex-state denoting SÁG-noun construction (517b), a state-type denoting SSD-noun (517b'), and an irregular *sÁg*-noun, denoting not an abstract entity but a human being (517b''). In this case, no blocking form appears, due to the non-foreign origin of the given adjective.

It must be noted that, on the basis of the analogy between ÁS-nominalization and SÁG-nominalization, the *való*-construction in (517b) serves the purpose of rendering it unquestionable that the given deadjectival nominal construction denotes a complex eventuality. The low level of acceptability, however, which is, moreover, so speaker-dependent that certain speakers clerly reject the SÁG-noun construction in question, raises two, interrelated, questions. First, are complex-state denoting constructions compatible with the *való*-construction at all (given what was said about its requirements exactly in connection with the series of examples in (268), in which a [postposition + *való*] construction proved to be incompatible with the relevant adjectival constructions)? Second, what kinds of adjectives are suitable for serving as input to the complex-state denoting SÁG-nominalization? Are there any convincingly suitable adjectives at all?

As for the first question, the *való*-construction is undoubtedly sensitive to the type of eventuality. We are led to the conclusion on the basis of the grammaticality judgments associated with the examples containing this construction that it prefers well-defined temporal intervals underlying the given eventuality. A telic event, for instance, is *ab ovo* based on a well-defined temporal interval since it has a clear-cut cumulative point, the goal itself, but it is also obvious that there are distinct points in time when this goal has not reached yet. In the case of such an atelic but dynamic event as *ugrálás* 'bouncing', for instance, it is also clear that the event contains different moments, which inevitably "span" an interval. A state, however, contains no distinguishable points in time (at least as is encoded in language). Being emotional or beautiful, for instance, is primarily an assertion pertaining to a single point in time. It is possible, obviously, to define an interval as the sum of the successive points in time when the given state holds true, but this operation is only a secondary possibility for turning an *ab ovo* point-like eventuality into an interval-based one. All this can serve as an explanation for the fact that the *való*-construction is readily compatible with telic events while its association with states provides potential nominal constructions on the verge of acceptability.

The answer to the second (and third) question above is that (prototypically) stage-level adjectives more readily undergo SÁG-nominalization than individual-level adjectives (Kratzer 1995), and, parallel to this, they are more readily compatible with the *való*-construction; compare, for instance, the almost fully acceptable SÁG-noun construction based on the stage-level adjective *csinos* 'pretty' in (518b) below to the marked ones based on the basically individual-level adjectives *szép* 'beautiful' and *magas* 'tall' in (517b,c) above. Note in passing that, although the adjective *labilis* 'emotional' is a stage-level adjective, the SÁG-noun construction based on it (517a) is as marked as the SÁG-noun constructions in (517b,c), presumably due to the fact that it has a perfect lexicalized SSD-noun counterpart, which renders the regularly derived form strikingly artificial. Recall that the same could be observed in the case of the (false) competition between lexicalized blocking TPD-nouns and regularly derived Ó-nouns (see (341-343) in 1.3.1.3.1).

The variants tested in (517c-c') above also exemplify an instance of "false competition". As *magasság* 'tall.SÁG' has an irregular *sÁg*-noun interpretation (517c'), namely, *height*, this interpretation suppresses the potential complex-state denoting SÁG-noun interpretation. This suppressive effect does not prevail in the case of *alacsonyság* 'short.SÁG' (517c) since it has no irregular *sÁg*-noun interpretation (517c'). It also must be noted that *magas* 'tall' and *alacsony* 'short' are *ab ovo* individual-level adjectives so it needs to be explained why it is possible at all to base quite acceptable nominal constructions on them (517c). The explanation has to do with a secondary interpretation according to which the complex eventuality denoted is the event of *perceiving* the given property (i.e., the event of the two-hour-long meeting with the nephew during which he struck the speaker as being surprisingly tall or short) and not the original state (of the nephew's being tall or short, which lasts for 57 years).

This last case also shows that although there is a straightforward correlation between complex-state denoting SÁG-noun constructions and stage-level

predication, prototypically individual-level adjectives can also undergo complex-eventuality-based nominalization more or less readily (‘(?)’/‘?’), due to the above-discussed possibility for reinterpretation.

Let us now turn to the usual question of allomorphs and external distribution.

The derived SÁG-nouns always involve the allomorphs *-ság* (518) or *-ség* (517b), and their use depends on the rules of vowel harmony (1.1.1.2).

The SÁG-nouns unequivocally have the external distribution of a noun. The series of examples in (518) serves as an illustration of this fact.

(518) ● The noun-like external distribution of SÁG-nouns

a. ? Ami leginkább meglepett,
what mostly surprise.Past.3Sg
az *Ilinek a szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-a* volt.
that *Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg* be.Past.3Sg
‘What surprised me mostly was the fact that *Ili was being strikingly pretty after the break-up*.’

b. (?) *Ilinek a szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-a*
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
‘*The fact that Ili was being strikingly pretty after the break-up* was a surprise to everyone.’

c. (?) *Ilinek a szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-á-t*
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc
sokan észrevették.
many.people notice.Past.DefObj.3Sg
‘*The fact that Ili was being strikingly pretty after the break-up* was noticed by many.’

d. (?) *Ilinek a szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-á-ról*
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Del
sokan beszéltek.
many.people notice.Past.DefObj.3Sg
‘*The fact that Ili was being strikingly pretty after the break-up* was being talked about by many.’

e. (?) *Ilinek a szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-a miatt*
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Del because_of
sokan gúnyolódtak az exbarátjával.
many.people mock.Past.3Pl the ex_boyfriend.Poss.3Sg.Ins
‘*Due to the fact that Ili was being strikingly pretty after the break-up,* her ex boyfriend was being mocked by many.’

In (518a) above, there is a (definite) SÁG-noun construction used as a primary predicate. In (518b), a SÁG-noun is used as a (nominative case-marked) subject. A SÁG-noun can also be used as an (accusative case-marked) object (518c) or as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (518d). It can also be an argument of a postposition (518e).

SSD-nouns also have the external distribution of a noun. The series of examples in (519) serves as an illustration of this fact with the same types of grammatical functions.

(519) ● The noun-like external distribution of SSD-nouns

a. Ez *az igazi bőkezű-ség*!
this *the real generous-SÁG*
'This is *real generosity*.'

b. *A bőkezű-ség* ritka erény manapság.
the generous-SÁG rare virtue nowadays
'*Generosity* is a rare virtue these days.'

c. *A bőkezű-ség-et* manapság kevesen értékelik.
the generous-SÁG-Acc nowadays few_people appreciate.3Pl
'*Generosity* is appreciated by few these days.'

d. *A bőkezű-ség-en* manapság mindenki meglepődik.
the generous-SÁG-Sup nowadays everyone surprise.3Sg
'*Generosity* is a surprise to everyone these days.'

e. *A bőkezű-ség miatt* még senki nem ment tönkre.
the generous-SÁG because_of yet no-one not go.Past.3Sg stump.Sub
'*Because of generosity,* no-one has gone bankrupt yet.'

Irregular *sÁg*-nouns can also be characterized by a complete noun-like distribution, see the series of examples in (520) below.

(520) ● The noun-like external distribution of irregular *sÁg*-nouns

a. Ez *a legfinomabb savanyú-ság!*
this *the most_delicious sour-SÁG*
'These are *the most delicious pickles*.'

b. *A savanyú-ság* már elfogyott.
the sour-SÁG already run_out.Past.3Sg
'We have already run out of *pickles*.'

c. *A savanyú-ság-ot* mindenki szereti.
the sour-SÁG-Acc everyone like.DefObj.3Sg
'Everyone likes *pickles*.'

d. *A savanyú-ság-hoz* nem illik a kóla.
the sour-SÁG-All not fit.3Sg the coke
'Coke is not compatible *with pickles*.'

e. A lekvár *a savanyú-ság mellett* van.
the marmalade *the sour-SÁG next_to* be.3Sg
'The marmalade is *next to the pickles*.'

In contrast to the "on-line created" SÁG-noun constructions, among SSD-nouns, beyond a basic subset of regularly (i.e., conversionally) derived phonetic forms (521a), there are also lexicalized phonetic forms (521b',c',d',e'), which block the use of the corresponding regularly derived potential phonetic forms (521b,c,d,e). Note that in certain cases there coexist regularly derived SSD-noun forms (521d) and their otherwise lexicalized counterparts (521d').

(521) ● Deriving SSD-nouns: regularly derived and blocking forms

a. statikus-ság / morózus-ság / efemer-ség
static-SÁG / morose-SÁG / ephemeral-SÁG
'staticity / morosity / ephemerality'

b. *?stabil-ság / *rekurzív-ság / ??spontán-ság / *?labilis-ság
stable-SÁG / recursive-SÁG / spontaneous-SÁG / labile-SÁG
b'. stabil-itás / rekurziv-itás / spontane-itás / labil-itás
stable-ITÁS / recursive-ITÁS / spontaneous-ITÁS / labile-ITÁS
'stability / recursivity / spontaneity / lability'
c. *?optimista-ság / ??szervilis-ség
optimistic-SÁG / servile-SÁG
c'. optimizmus / szervilizmus
'optimism / servilism'
d. ?monogám-ság / ??homofób-ság / ?nimfomán-ság
monogamous-SÁG / homophobic-SÁG / nymphomaniac-SÁG
d'. monogámia / homofóbia / nimfománia
'monogamy / homphobia / nimphomania'
e. (?)türelmes-ség / ?egészséges-ség / ?jóságos-ság / ✓szigorú-ság
patient-SÁG / healthy-SÁG / kindly-SÁG / rigorous-SÁG
e'. türelem / egészség / jóság / szigor
'patience / health / kindness / rigor'

Let us overview the types of blocking.

There are no alternative (non-productive) "Hungarian" derivational suffixes (cf. (221a',b',c') in 1.3.1.2.1 and (343c') in 1.3.1.3.1, for instance), but all such derivational suffixes (*-itás*, *-izmus*, *-ia*) are of a foreign origin (see (521b',c',d') above, respectively). Note in passing that these derivational suffixes of a foreign origin share the property of having no alternative allomorphs (according to vowel harmony).

In (521e'), the input adjectives (e.g., *türelmes* 'patient') are derived from nouns (*türelem* 'patience'), and (hence) the corresponding SSD-noun variants can be the original input noun stems themselves (cf. (222a',b') in 1.3.1.2.1 and (343d') in 1.3.1.3.1). Note in passing that the regularly obtainable "further derived" phonetic forms tend to be somewhat marked but far from being unacceptable (521e).

1.3.2.1.2. Relation to the base adjective

This subsection outlines to what extent argument structure (1.3.2.1.2.1) is inherited in the case of SÁG- and SSD-nouns; and how the type of the input adjective affects this inheritance (1.3.2.1.2.3). It is also investigated, following our practice applied in the case of each type of deverbal nominalization, whether SÁG- and SSD-noun constructions have internal information structures (1.3.2.1.2.2). We claim (without illustration) that irregular *sÁg*-nouns do not inherit argument structure and have no (internal) information structure, either.

1.3.2.1.2.1. Argument-structure inheritance

Apart from the change in syntactic category (from Adj to N), the number, the obligatory, optional or non-fully fledged character, and the thematic role of the arguments remain essentially the same, with the usual exception concerning non-oblique-case-marked arguments. As no adjective has an object, here this "exception" manifests itself in the simple form that the input subject must correspond to the output possessor. It is worth noting in advance that it is oblique

case-marked arguments whose output appearance will produce interesting phenomena.

Let us now take a look at the details. In the case of a SÁG-noun, the output possessor (e.g., *Ilinek* 'Ili.Dat' in (522b) below) must correspond to the input subject (522a), which a SÁG-noun construction cannot dispense with (522b'), at least in an out-of-the-blue (i.e., not reconstructable) interpretation. SSD-nouns, however, can readily dispense with possessors (522c), though the free selection of possessors, typical of event(uality)-type-based deverbal nominals (see the illustration in (225) in 1.3.1.2.2.1), is not typical of them: SSD-noun constructions are compatible neither with temporal possessors (522d) nor with "*favorite*-constructions" (522d'). This fact can be attributed to the same factor to which the weak compatibility of *sÁg*-noun constructions with the *való*-construction was attributed in 1.3.2.1.1; see the relevant comments on the series of examples in (517). Note that the marked status of (522b) below also illustrates this partial incompatibility. As for temporal possessors (522d), we claim that they also require nominal constructions denoting (preferably telic, but at least dynamic) eventualities based on well-defined temporal intervals. In other words, "clear-cut cases" (e.g., periodic occasions of traveling home within a temporal interval) are to be compared with each other in the interpretation of temporal-possessor constructions, instead of *ab ovo* point-like states (like occasions of "being emotional").

(522) ● Possessors of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Ili hetekig *labilis* volt a szakítás után.
Ili week.Pl.Ter *labile* be.Past.3Sg the break_up after
'Ili was *emotional* after the break up for weeks.'

b. ?*Ilinek a szakítás után való labilis-ság-a* nem lepett meg.
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part labile-SÁG-Poss.3Sg not surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Ili was being unstable after the break-up* was no surprise to me.'

b'. *?*A szakítás után való labilis-ság* nem lepett meg.
the break_up after be.Part labile-SÁG not surprise.Past.3Sg perf
Intended meaning: '*Being unstable after a break-up* was no surprise to me.'

c. (?)*A szakítás utáni labilitás* természetes állapot.
the break_up after.Adj lability natural state
'*Being unstable after a break-up* is a natural state.'

d. ??Ez volt *az évtized legindokolatlanabb / [leghosszabban elhúzódó] labilitása.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the decade most_unjustifiable / longest.Adv drag_on.Part lability.Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the decade's [most unjustifiable] / [longest lasting] lability*.'

d'. *Ez volt *a valóságshow nézőinek a kedvenc labilitása.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the reality_show viewer.Poss.Pl.3Sg.Dat the favorite lability.Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the case of someone's being emotional which the reality show viewers liked the most*.'

Since an adjective has no object, we can now turn to oblique case-marked arguments.

The series of examples in (523) below illustrates the expected behavior, according to which (the output counterpart of) the (obligatory) oblique case-marked

argument of the input adjective (523a) can quite readily appear in the output SÁG-noun construction either prenominally, in a *való*-construction (523b), or postnominally, in the complement zone (523b'). The input case marking, as is expected, is retained in both cases. The same holds for the corresponding SSD-noun constructions (523c-c').

(523) ● Obligatory oblique case-marked arguments of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Péter a vizsga után *jártas* volt *(✓a nyelvészet-ben).
Péter the exam after *be_experienced* be.Past.3Sg the linguistics-Ine
'Péter was (being) *experienced* (in linguistics) after the exam.'

b. *Péternek a *(?)nyelvészet-ben való) jártas-ság-a*
Péter.Dat the linguistics-Ine be.Part be_experienced-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
a vizsga után senkit nem lepett meg.
the exam after no-one.Acc not surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter was experienced (in linguistics) after the exam* was no surprise to anyone.'

b'. *Péternek a vizsga után való jártas-ság-a*
Péter.Dat the exam after be.Part be_experienced-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
**(?)a nyelvészet-ben)* senkit nem lepett meg.
the linguistics-Ine no-one.Acc not surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter was experienced (in linguistics) after the exam* was no surprise to anyone.'

c. *A *(✓nyelvészet-ben való) jártas-ság* manapság ritka erény.
the linguistics-Ine be.Part be_experienced-SÁG nowadays rare virtue
'*Being experienced (in linguistics)* is a rare virtue these days.'

c'. *A jártas-ság *(?a nyelvészet-ben*) manapság ritka erény.
the be_experienced-SÁG the linguistics-Ine nowadays rare virtue
'*Being experienced (in linguistics)* is a rare virtue these days.'

In the case of both types of *sÁg*-nouns, thus, the *való*-constructions are highly acceptable with the oblique case-marked arguments (but not with adjuncts; compare (523b,c) to (523b',c'), and see also (547) in 1.3.2.1.4.2). This observation is in total harmony with the observations made in connection with analogous examples of ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions, summarized below in Table 40/I. Namely, oblique case-marked arguments readily appear in *való*-constructions in the prenominal modifier zone, presumably due to the fact that, at least in this zone, there is no alternative for their placement (in the absence of, say, such an alternative as the [postposition + *-i*] expression in the case of postpositional phrases).

The series of examples in (524-525) below, however, provide a much more articulated picture. The difference may have to do with the obligatory *versus* optional character of the given oblique case-marked arguments (compare the (a)-examples in (523) and (524-525)).

In (524), (the output counterpart of) the optional oblique case-marked argument of the input adjective (524a) cannot (readily) appear in the output SÁG-noun construction either prenominally, in a *való*-construction (524b), or postnominally, in the complement zone (524b'). As for the corresponding SSD-noun constructions, they are even more unacceptable, as is exemplified in (524c"), at least if we attempt to retain the case marking. If the original illative case suffix, however, is replaced with the postposition *iránt* 'towards', the resulting SSD-noun constructions, surprisingly, will be fully acceptable; see (524c-c'). This is especially surprising in

the light of the fact that the given replacement is totally excluded either in the case of the adjectival input (524a) or in the case of the corresponding SÁG-noun constructions (524b").

As for the status of the postpositional phrases headed by *iránt* 'towards', we raise the hypothesis that they are not "inherited arguments" but (freer) lexical-semantic dependents of the noun head that can be called "conceptual arguments" (see the comments on *által* 'by' in connection with (241) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub IV, and see also 2.1.1.2.2).

(524) ● Optional oblique case-marked arguments of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns I.

a. Péter *szerelmes* (Mari-ba / *[Mari iránt]).
Péter *be_in_love* Mari-Sub / Mari towards
'Péter is *in love* (with Mari).'

b. ??*Péter Mari-ba való szerelmes-ség-e* senkit sem lepett meg.
Péter Mari-Sub be.Part be_in_love-SÁG-Poss.3Sg no-one.Acc either surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter is in love with Mari* was no surprise to anyone.'

b'. ??*Péter szerelmes-ség-e Mari-ba* senkit sem lepett meg.
Péter be_in_love-SÁG-Poss.3Sg Mari-Sub no-one.Acc either surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter is in love with Mari* was no surprise to anyone.'

b". **Péter [Mari iránt való szerelmes-ség-e] /[szerelmes-ség-e Mari iránt]*
Péter Mari towards be.Part be_in_love-SÁG-Poss.3Sg/ be_in_love-SÁG-Poss.3Sg Mari towards
senkit sem lep meg.
no-one.Acc either surprise.3Sg perf
Intended meaning: '*The fact that Péter is in love with Mari* was no surprise to anyone.'

c. *Péter Mari iránti szerelm-e* senkit sem lep meg.
Péter Mari towards.Attr love-Poss.3Sg no-one.Acc either surprise.3Sg perf
'*Péter's love towards Mari* is no surprise to anyone.'

c'. *Péter szerelm-e Mari iránt* senkit sem lep meg.
Péter love-Poss.3Sg Mari towards no-one.Acc either surprise.3Sg perf
'*Péter's love towards Mari* is no surprise to anyone.'

c". **Péter [Mari-ba való szerelm-e] /[szerelm-e Mari-ba]*
Péter Mari-Sub be.Part love-Poss.3Sg / love-Poss.3Sg Mari-Sub
senkit sem lep meg.
no-one.Acc either surprise.3Sg perf
Intended meaning: '*Péter's love towards Mari* is no surprise to anyone.'

In (525) below, (the output counterpart of) the optional oblique case-marked argument of the input adjective (525a) cannot (readily) appear in the output SÁG-noun construction in a *való*-construction (525b), while postnominally, in the complement zone, its appearance is "only" marked (525b'). As for the corresponding SSD-noun constructions, this time there is no sufficiently acceptable way of expressing the oblique case-marked argument in question. Retaining the input case suffix yields variants with a questionable acceptability (525c-c'), and replacing it with some kind of postposition is even less viable (525c").

(525) ● Optional oblique case-marked arguments of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns II.

a. Ili tegnap *részeg* volt (a vodká-tól).
Ili yesterday *drunk* be.Past.3Sg the vodka-Abl
'Ili was *drunk* (from vodka) yesterday.'

b. ??*Ilinek a vodká-tól való tegnapi részeg-ség-e*
Ili.Dat the vodka-Abl be.Part yesterday.Adj drunk-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Ili was drunk from vodka yesterday* was a surprise to everyone.'

b'. ?*Ilinek a tegnapi részeg-ség-e a vodká-tól* mindenkit meglepett.
Ili.Dat the yesterday.Adj drunk-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the vodka-Abl everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Ili was drunk from vodka yesterday* was a surprise to everyone.'

b''. **Ilinek a vodka miatt való tegnapi részeg-ség-e*
Ili.Dat the vodka because_of be.Part yesterday.Adj drunk-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Ili was drunk from vodka yesterday* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. ??*A vodká-tól való részeg-ség* egy sajátos érzés.
the vodka-Abl be.Part drunk-SÁG a peculiar feeling
'*Being drunk from vodka* is a peculiar feeling.'

c'. ??*A részeg-ség a vodká-tól* egy sajátos érzés.
the drunk-SÁG the vodka-Abl a peculiar feeling
'*Being drunk from vodka* is a peculiar feeling.'

c''. *A *?[vodka miatti részeg-ség]/*[részeg-ség a vodka miatt]*
the vodka because_of.Attr drunk-SÁG / drunk-SÁG the vodka because_of
egy sajátos érzés.
a peculiar feeling
'*Being drunk from vodka* is a peculiar feeling.'

All in all, with respect to the inheritance of oblique case-marked arguments in the case of *sÁg*-nouns, there are (at least) three significantly different patterns: such arguments can either retain their case marking (523), or replace it with a postposition, at least in the case of SSD-nouns (see (524) above and (531-533) in 1.3.2.1.2.3), or cannot be expressed in any satisfactory way (525).

A postpositional phrase can also serve as an argument, or at least an optional argument-like dependent, beside an adjective as well as (quite sporadically) beside a verb, as is exemplified in (526a) below; though, as is pointed out in *SoD-NP* (p. 331), "it is often not possible to give a clear-cut answer to the question whether a certain constituent functions as an adjunct or as a complement [i.e., argument]." Instead of entering into the intricate details of this problem, let us investigate the possible ways of expressing such an argument in the corresponding output nominal constructions. As in the case of oblique case-marked arguments, postpositional phrases are plausibly predicted to be hosted either in the postnominal complement zone or in the prenominal modifier zone.

As is exemplified in (526b,c), the prenominal complement zone quite readily hosts postpositional arguments in their original form (526a), in the case of complex-

eventuality SÁG-nouns and ÁS-nouns (526b) as well as eventuality-type denoting SSD-nouns and SED-nouns (526c).

(526) ● The output expression of postpositional arguments, including the question of the distribution of the [postposition + *való*] construction and the *-i* attributivizer in the case of arguments of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns (compared to the case of arguments of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns)

a. Péter *szomorú / búslakodik* a szakítás miatt.
Péter *sad / mope.3Sg* the break_up because_of
'Péter [*is being sad*] / *mopes* about the break-up.'

b. (?)*Péternek a tegnapi szomorú-ság-a / búslakod-ás-a*
Péter.Dat the yesterday.Adj sad-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / mope-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
a szakítás miatt elgondolkodtatta a jelenlévőket.
the break_up because_of make_think.Past.DefObj.3Sg the people_present.Pl.Acc
'*The fact that Péter was sad yesterday because of the break-up* made the people present think.'

b'. (?)*Péternek a szakítás [miatt való] / miatti*
Péter.Dat the break_up because_of be.Part / because_of.Attr
tegnapi szomorú-ság-a elgondolkodtatta a jelenlévőket.
yesterday.Adj sad-SÁG-Poss.3Sg make_think.Past.DefObj.3Sg the people_present.Pl.Acc
'*The fact that Péter was sad yesterday because of the break-up* made the people present think.'

b''. *Péternek a szakítás [miatt való] / miatti*
Péter.Dat the break_up because_of be.Part / because_of.Attr
tegnapi búslakod-ás-a elgondolkodtatta a jelenlévőket.
yesterday.Adj mope-ÁS-Poss.3Sg make_think.Past.DefObj.3Sg the people_present.Pl.Acc
'*The fact that Péter was moping yesterday because of the break-up* made the people present think.'

c. Meglehetősen tipikus a lányoknál
quite typical the girl.Pl.Ade
a ?*szomorú-ság / (?)búslakod-ás a szakítás miatt.*
the sad-SÁG / mope-ÁS the break_up because_of
'*The sadness because of break-ups* is typical of girls.'

c'. Meglehetősen tipikus a lányoknál
quite typical the girl.Pl.Ade
a szakítás ??*[miatt való] /✓miatti szomorú-ság.*
the break_up because_of be.Part / because_of.Attr sad-SÁG
'*The sadness because of break-ups* is typical of girls.'

c''. Meglehetősen tipikus a lányoknál
quite typical the girl.Pl.Ade
a szakítás ?*[miatt való] /✓miatti búslakod-ás.*
the break_up because_of be.Part / because_of.Attr mope-SÁG
'*Moping because of break-ups* is typical of girls.'

In the prenominal modifier zone, postpositional arguments can be attributivized in two ways, namely, by means of the [postposition + *való*] construction or by means of the [postposition + *-i*] construction. The latter construction is compatible with all the four variants (526b',b'',c',c''). Recall that Laczkó (2000a: 316–318) argues that the [postposition + *való*] construction has the function in Hungarian to distinguish complex-event denoting nominals from event-type denoting nominals in the way that it unambiguously evokes the complex-event reading, being incompatible with

the event-type denoting reading (see the relevant comments on (219) in 1.3.1.2.1). It must be noted, however, that Laczkó takes into account only the basic case in which the given postpositional phrases (unquestionably) serve as adjuncts. Examples (526c'-c") above present a somewhat different picture (especially in the case of SED-nouns (526c")), in that eventuality-type denoting nominals reject the [postposition + *való*] construction to a significantly lesser degree if the given input postpositional phrase is argument-like (NB: complex-eventuality denoting nominals are completely compatible with the [postposition + *való*] construction even if the given postpositional phrases are argument-like, see (526b',b")). This observation might contribute to the investigation of the recalcitrant universal problem of distinguishing arguments from adjuncts and/or making a sophisticated distinction between degrees of argumenthood (*SoD-NP*:331).

Table 40 below summarizes the possible ways of expressing oblique case-marked and postpositional arguments in the prenominal modifier zone of *sÁg*-nouns and *Ás*-nouns (for the same kinds of adjuncts, see Table 41 in subsection 1.3.2.1.4.2).

Table 40: The distribution of the való*-construction and the* -i *attributivizer in the case of arguments of* Ás*-nouns and* sÁg*-nouns*

I. *ÁS*-NOUN	POSTPOSITION + *VALÓ*	POSTPOSITION + *-I*	OBLIQUE + *VALÓ*	OBLIQUE + *-I*
COMPLEX EVENT	✓	✓	✓	*
EVENT TYPE	?	✓	✓	*

II. *SÁG*-NOUN	POSTPOSITION + *VALÓ*	POSTPOSITION + *-I*	OBLIQUE + *VALÓ*	OBLIQUE + *-I*
COMPLEX STATE	(?)	(?)	(?)/??	*
STATE TYPE	??	✓	✓/??/*	*

The global picture is that in the case of postpositional arguments, the difference between *sÁg*-nouns and *Ás*-nouns is almost negligible (the corresponding *sÁg*-noun constructions are one degree less acceptable), while in the case of oblique case-marked arguments, *sÁg*-nouns (in contrast to *Ás*-nouns) show an astonishing variability (see the series of examples in (523-525)), especially given the fact that the *való*-construction has no alternative in this field. Discovering the reasons for this requires much future research, presumably into eventuality types; and the obligatory *versus* optional character of oblique case-marked arguments (if they are all unequivocally arguments at all) is sure to count as well.

Another zone that is to be taken into account to host input arguments is the prenominal complement zone. The series of examples in (527) below illustrates the relevant possibilities.

In contrast to Hungarian verbs, which often appear with a verbal modifier, it occurs only sporadically that an adjective takes a (non-fully-fledged) argument in its prehead complement zone (which constitutes a single phonological unit together with the given argument with a single stress on its first syllable). The complex adjectival expressions in (527a,b,c) serve as illustrations of two different subtypes.

In (527a), the adjective *kész* 'ready' has a sublative case-marked argument (*napra* 'day.Sub'), whose counterpart case marked in the same way readily appears both in a SÁG-noun construction (527a') and in an SSD-noun construction (527a").

In (527b), such an adjective is presented whose argument that can also appear in the argument structure as a fully fledged sublative case-marked argument (*éhes a pénzre* 'hungry the money.Sub') this time appears as a non-fully-fledged prehead argument without any explicit case suffix. The counterpart of this special argument readily appears both in a SÁG-noun construction (527b') and in an SSD-noun construction (527b"), having retained its non-fully-fledged status, its prehead position (in the prenominal complement zone of the nominal head) and having no explicit case suffix.

The specialty of the examples in (527c',c") has to do with the fact that the argument of the prehead complement zone of the fully acceptable SÁG-noun construction (527c') and SSD-noun construction (527c") show the same three properties, while the (potential) input adjectival construction (527c) itself is somewhat marked (and/or artificially constructed "backwards").

(527) ● Arguments in the prenominal complement zone of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Ili a vizsga után *nap-ra-kész* volt a politikából.
Ili the exam after *day-Sub-ready* be.Past.3Sg the politics.Ela
'Ili was being *up-to-date* on politics after the exam.'

a'. *Ilinek a vizsga után való nap-ra-kész-ség-e a politikából*
Ili.Dat the exam after be.Part day-Sub-ready-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the politics.Ela
még engem is meglepett.
even me also surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Ili was being up-to-date on politics after the exam* was a surprise even to me.'

a". *A poltikából való nap-ra-kész-ség* kevésbé jellemző a lányokra.
the politics.Ela be.Part day-Sub-ready-SÁG less typical the girl.Pl.Sub
'*Being up-to-date on politics* is less typical of girls.'

b. Péter *pénz-éhes* volt a lottó ötös után is.
Péter *money-hungry* be.Past.3Sg the lottery quintuple after also
'Péter was being *greedy for money* even after winning the lottery.'

b'. *Péternek a lottó ötös után való immár*
Péter.Dat the lottery quintuple after be.Part now
indokolatlan pénz-éh-ség-e még engem is meglepett.
groundless money-hungry-SÁG-Poss.3Sg even me also surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Péter was being groundlessly greedy for money after winning the lottery* was a surprise even to me.'

b". *Az indokolatlan pénz-éh-ség* manapság gyakori.
the groundless money-hungry-SÁG-Poss.3Sg nowadays often.Adj
'*The groundless greed for money* is frequent these days.'

c. ?Péter szerint Ili *pénisz-irigy.*
Péter according_to Ili *penis-envious*
'According to Péter Ili has *penis envy*.'

c'. (?)Ilinek a szakítás után való *pénisz-irigy-ség-e* nem lepett meg.
Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part *penis-envious-SÁG-Poss.3Sg* not surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Ili was having penis envy after the break-up* was no surprise to me.'

c". Ilire nem jellemző *a pénisz-irigy-ség.*
Ili.Sub not typical *the penis-envious-SÁG*
'*Penis envy* is not typical of Ili.'

d. Itt minden diák *találékony.*
here every student *ingenious*
'Here every student is *ingenious*.'

d'. ??*A vizsga alatt való diák-találékony-ság* nem lepett meg.
the exam under be.Part student-ingenious-SÁG not surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that students were being ingenious during the exam* was no surprise to me.'

d". (?)A tanári cselek fennakadtak
the teacher.Adj trick.Pl get_stuck.Past.3Pl
a diák-találékony-ság kikezdhetetlen pajzsán.
the student-ingenious-SÁG impenetrable shield.Poss.3Sg.Sup
'The teachers' tricks *got stuck on the impenetrable shield of ingeniousness of students*.'

In the last example, the adjectival input (527d) is such that it is not capable of taking a non-fully-fledged argument in its prehead complement zone: it has only one argument, the subject, which certainly cannot appear in such a position. Contrary to this, this adjectival input can serve as a derivational basis of an almost fully acceptable SSD-noun construction with a non-fully-fledged counterpart of the input subject in the prenominal complement zone (527d"). As for the corresponding SÁG-noun construction (527d'), its status is questionable.

All in all, in the case of both SÁG-nominalization and SSD-noun derivation, the output expression of the derivationally corresponding arguments is essentially unequivocally (and quite trivially) predictable, with the exception of a certain subgroup of oblique case-marked arguments, which tend to appear as postpositional phrases in SSD-noun constructions.

1.3.2.1.2.2. Information-structure inheritance

We are now seeking narrow-scope readings in sentences containing *sÁg*-noun constructions in the usual way (see subsection 1.3.1.2.2.2, for instance), in order to test whether they have an internal information structure (at least as a theoretical possibility).

Since the topic is not discussed in the literature, here we present a set of data chiefly as a point of departure for future research. That is, we do not aim at the same level of accuracy as in the discussion of information-structure inheritance in the case of ÁS-nominalization (see 1.3.1.2.2.2, and 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII). However, it is unclear what kind of derivational basis serves as the source of the "inherited" information structures; it would inevitably contain theory-dependent elements to decide whether the source of information structure is the mere adjectival

construction or some kind of complex predicate with a copula in its center (see (268) in 1.3.1.2.3, sub I).

Let us take a look at the details. The (ambiguous) example in (528a) below can be interpreted (not only with a wide-scope reading but also) with a narrow-scope reading, so this SÁG-noun construction can have an internal information structure, in harmony with its complex-eventuality denoting character. The same is verified by the unambiguous example in (528a'), in which, due to the matrix focus construction, only the relevant narrow-scope reading is available (on this method of testing, see, for instance, (352a') in 1.3.1.3.2.2).

(528) ● Internal information structure in the case of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns:

Quantified possessor

a. ?Kiborított tegnap [*mindkét barátom* labilis-ság-a].
make_angry.Past.3Sg yesterday *both* *friend.Poss.1Sg* labile-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: ?[MAKE_ANGRY > BOTH_FRIENDS > EMOTIONAL]
'The situation in which *both of my friends* were being emotional made me angry yesterday.'
wide-scope reading: ?[BOTH_FRIENDS > MAKE_ANGRY > EMOTIONAL]
'In the case of *each of my two friends*, the fact that he was being emotional made me angry yesterday.'

a'. ?Csak [*mindkét barátom* labilis-ság-a] borítana ma ki.
only *both* *friend.Poss.1Sg* labile-SÁG-Poss.3Sg make_angry.Cond.3Sg today out
narrow-scope reading: ?[ONLY [BOTH_FRIENDS > EMOTIONAL] > MAKE_ANGRY]
'It is only a situation in which *both of my friends* are being emotional which would make me angry today.'
wide-scope reading: –

b. Kiborít [*mindkét barátom* labilitás-a].
make_angry.3Sg *both* *friend.Poss.1Sg* lability-Poss.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *?[MAKE_ANGRY > BOTH_FRIENDS > LABILITY]
Intended meaning: 'The lability in the case of *both of my friends* simultaneously makes me angry.'
wide-scope reading: ✓[BOTH_FRIENDS > MAKE_ANGRY > LABILITY]
'In the case of *each of my two friends*, his lability makes me angry.'

b'. *?Csak [*mindkét barátom* labilitás-a] borítana ki.
only *both* *friend.Poss.1Sg* lability-Poss.3Sg make_angry.Cond.3Sg out
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *?[ONLY [BOTH_FRIENDS > LABILITY] > MAKE_ANGRY]
Intended meaning: 'It is only the lability in the case of *both of my friends* simultaneously that would make me angry.'
wide-scope reading: –

As for the SSD-noun constructions exemplified in (528b-b') above, the same tests show that the relevant narrow-scope readings are not available. This suggests the generalization that SSD-nouns have no internal information structure, they thus pattern rather with TPD-nouns than with SED-nouns. At the moment, thus, we restrict ourselves to the investigation of SÁG-noun constructions with respect to information-structure inheritance; nevertheless, we are aware of the fact that the aforementioned (strong) generalization concerning SSD-noun constructions require much future research.

The series of examples in (529) below illustrates that it is not excluded (at least theoretically) that a SÁG-noun construction has a complex internal information structure (529b,b'), which contains, say, two operators ordered scopally, just like in the input (529a). Note that it is the 'for instance'-construction that guarantees the

unity of the SÁG-noun constructions and the internal interpretation of the inspected information structures (on this method of testing, see, for instance, (304a') in 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII). In the particular cases, the quantifier can appear as a possessor while the other operator in its scope can be expressed either in the postnominal complement zone (529b), or in the prenominal complement zone embedded in an "attributivizing" *való*-construction (529b'). As the grammaticality judgments show ('?'), both solutions are somewhat marked; this fact, however, is not at all surprising, given that the "on-line created" SÁG-noun head *dühösség* 'angry.SÁG' is itself *ab ovo* marked due to its artificial character, and the high degree of complexity is also a factor that decreases acceptability.

(529) ● Internal information structure in the case of SÁG-nouns: Complex information structures

a. Mindkét kollégám csak a késés miatt volt dühös.
both colleague.Poss.1Sg only the being_late because_of be.Past.3Sg angry
[BOTH_COLLEAGUES > ONLY_ABOUT_BEING_LATE > ANGRY]
'Both of my colleagues were angry only about being late.' [Context: I was late and left the DVD at home.]

b. ?Na például [*mindkét kollégámnak a dühös-ség-e*
well for_instace *both colleague.Poss.1Sg.Dat the angry-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
csak a késés miatt], az kellemes meglepetés volt.
only the being_late because_of that pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of each of my two colleagues it was only my being late that he was angry about*, that was a pleasant surprise.'

b'. ?Na például [*mindkét kollégámnak a csak a késés miatt*
well for_instace *both colleague.Poss.1Sg.Dat the only the being_late because_of*
való dühös-ség-e], az kellemes meglepetés volt.
be.Part angry-SÁG-Poss.3Sg that pleasant surprise be.Past.3Sg
'Well for instance, *the fact that in the case of each of my two colleagues it was only the being late that he was angry about,* that was a pleasant surprise.'

1.3.2.1.2.3. Basic types of input adjectives

This subsection discusses adjectives which are regular in the sense that they can serve as primary predicates and the [Adj N] attributive constructions containing them as 'Adj' denote a subset of the denotatum of the single N (cf. Kiefer (2000b: 188); see also subsection 1.3.2.1.3). *Csinos* 'pretty', for instance, qualifies as regular according to this definition, since, first, it can serve as a predicate (530a), and, second, the "subset condition" is verified as follows in (530a') below due to the tautological character of this sentence: the set of pretty actresses is a subset of the set of actresses (while, for instance, the set of alleged spies is not a subset of the set of spies; see (534a') in 1.3.2.1.3).

In what follows, different input argument-structure types will be overviewed, in harmony with our practice applied in the systematizing description of deverbal nominals (that of *hAtnék*-nouns, for instance (see 1.3.1.5.2.3)). Since it turned out in the subsection on argument-structure inheritance (1.3.2.1.2.1) that the output realizations of the three different types of input arguments, namely, subject, oblique

argument, and postpositional phrase, are independent of each other, the discussion here can simply be restricted to the overview of the possible input types.

Since there is no adjectival argument-structure type without a subject, the simplest input argument-structure type to be discussed is the one consisting of a single subject (530a). As was established in subsection 1.3.2.1.2.1, the input subject always corresponds to the output possessor, whose expression is obligatory in the case of SÁG-nouns (530b), and is an option in the case of SSD-nouns (530c-c'). As was hinted above, this correspondence between the input subject and the output possessor holds independently of the presence of further arguments in the input argument-structure type (531-533).

(530) ● Input argument structures with only one argument in the case of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Ili tegnap *csinos* volt.
Ili yesterday *pretty* be.Past.3Sg
'Ili was being *pretty* yesterday.'

a'. *A csinos színésznők* mind színésznők.
the pretty actress.Pl all actress.Pl
'*Pretty actresses* are all actresses.'

b. ? *Ili tegnapi csinos-ság-a* mindenkit meglepett.
Ili yesterday.Adj pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Ili was being pretty yesterday* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. *A csinos-ság* önmagában kevés.
the pretty-SÁG oneself.Ine insufficient
'*Being pretty* alone is not sufficient.'

c'. *Ili csinos-ság-a* mindig megteszi a maga hatását.
Ili pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg always do.DefObj.3Sg the itself effect.Poss.3Sg.Acc
'*Ili's prettiness* always has its effect.'

The second input argument-structure type to be discussed is the one consisting of a subject and an oblique case-marked argument (531a). In the case of SÁG-nouns, the input oblique case marking must be retained, but the acceptability of the resulting potential output constructions shows a great variety (from '(?)' to the more typical '??' (531b)), as is summarized in Table 40/II in 1.3.2.1.2.1. In the case of SSD-nouns, the retention of the input oblique case marking yields potential output constructions the acceptability of which shows an even greater variety (from '✓' to '*', as is also summarized in Table 40/II in 1.3.2.1.2.1). Instead of the (rather) unacceptable potential SSD-noun constructions, however, it is typical that a fully acceptable output argument structure is available in which the input oblique case marking is replaced with a postposition (see (531c) below, as well as the (c)-examples in (524) in 1.3.2.1.2.1).

(531) ● Input argument structures with an input subject and an oblique case-marked argument in the case of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Ili tegnap *türelmes* volt a gyerekek-kel.
Ili yesterday *patient* be.Past.3Sg the kid.Pl-Ins
'Ili was being *patient* with the kids yesterday.'

b. ??*Ili tegnapi türelmes-ség-e a gyerekek-kel* mindenkit meglepett.
Ili yesterday.Adj patient-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the kid.Pl-Ins everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Ili was patient with Mari yesterday* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. *A gyerekek iránti türelem* ritka erény manapság.
the kid.Pl towards.Attr patience rare virtue nowadays
'*Patience with kids* is a virtue these days.'

If the input argument-structure type contains a postpositional phrase beside the inevitable subject (532a), it must be retained, yielding fairly acceptable SÁG-noun constructions (532b) and SSD-noun constructions (532c).

(532) ● Input argument structures with an input subject and a postpositional argument in the case of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Ili tegnap *boldog* volt az osztályzatai miatt.
Ili yesterday *happy* be.Past.3Sg the mark.Poss.Pl.3Sg because_of
'Ili was being *happy* because of her marks yesterday.'

b. ?*Ili tegnapi boldog-ság-a az osztályzatai miatt* érthető.
Ili yesterday.Adj happy-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the mark.Poss.Pl.3Sg because_of understandable
'*The fact that Ili was being happy because of her marks yesterday* is understandable.'

c. ?*Az osztályzatok miatti boldog-ság* ritka manapság.
the mark.Pl because_of.Attr happy-SÁG rare nowadays
'*Being happy because of marks* is rare these days.'

The last series of examples presents the case in which the input argument-structure type contains two further arguments beside the subject (533a). The presence of the third argument in the output *sÁg*-noun construction does not worsen acceptability significantly.

In the case of SÁG-noun constructions, the grammaticality judgment '??' is more due to the oblique case-marked argument itself (cf. (531b)) than the appearance of the third argument, as the variants in the (b)-examples show. It is worth noting that the marked "on-line created" SÁG-noun form *dühösség* 'anger.Adj.SÁG' *ab ovo* makes it impossible to create an output argument-structure type variant which reaches a degree of acceptability better than '?'.

(533) ● Input argument structures with an input subject and two further arguments in the case of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Péter *dühös* Ili-re / *[Ili iránt] az ügy miatt.
Péter *be_angry* Ili-Sub / Ili towards the case because_of
'Péter is *angry* with Ili about the case.'

b. *Péter* ?(??*Ili-re való) dühös-ség-e az ügy miatt*
Péter Ili-Sub be.Part be_angry-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the case because_of
senkit sem lepett meg.
no-one.Acc either surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter was angry (with Ili) about the case* was no surprise to anyone.'

b'. *Péternek az ügy miatt való dühös-ség-e* ?(??*Ili-re)*
Péter.Dat the case because_of be.Part be_angry-SÁG-Poss.3Sg Ili-Sub
senkit sem lepett meg.
no-one.Acc either surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter was angry (with Ili) about the case* was no surprise to anyone.'

c. *Péter* (?)*Ili iránti* *düh-e* *az ügy miatt*
Péter *Ili towards.Attr* *anger-Poss.3Sg* *the case* *because_of*
senkit sem lepett meg.
no-one.Acc either surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*Péter's anger (with Ili) about the case* was no surprise to anyone.'

c'. *Péternek az ügy miatti* *düh-e* (?*Ili iránt)*
Péter.Dat *the case* *because_of.Attr* *anger-Poss.3Sg* *Ili towards*
senkit sem lepett meg.
no-one.Acc either surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter was angry (with Ili) about the case* was no surprise to anyone.'

c". *Péter* (?)*[Ili iránti* *düh-e]* */?[düh-e* *Ili iránt]*
Péter *Ili towards.Attr* *anger-Poss.3Sg* */* *anger-Poss.3Sg* *Ili towards*
senkit sem lepett meg.
no-one.Acc either surprise.Past.3Sg perf
'*The fact that Péter was angry with Ili* was no surprise to anyone.'

In the case of SSD-noun constructions (533c-c"), the two postpositional phrases in the output variants (one of which corresponds to the input sublative case-marked argument, cf. (531c) above) can definitely be readily accommodated, since both the postnominal complement zone and the prenominal modifier zone (via an accommodating *való*-construction) are capable of hosting them. The appearance of the third argument, thus, does not worsen acceptability significantly (533c-c'), just as in the case of SÁG-nouns. It is rather the placement of the *iránt* phrase in the postnominal complement zone itself that yields markedness ('?'), see (533c").

It also happens, at least sporadically, that an input oblique case-marked argument corresponds to a non-fully-fledged argument in the prenominal complement zone of the output *sÁg*-noun construction, as was demonstrated in the series of examples in (527) in 1.3.2.1.2.1. Recall that in this type of example, the input case marking is often absent from the output construction, as is also illustrated by the *sÁg*-noun constructions *testvérféltékenység* 'sibling.~~Sub~~.jealous.SÁG' ('jealousy of siblings') and *vitaminszegénység* 'vitamin.~~Ine~~.poor.SÁG' ('vitamin deficiency').

1.3.2.1.3. Restrictions on the derivational process

This subsection discusses adjectives that do not undergo *sÁg*-nominalization.

First of all, *irregular* adjectives cannot serve as input to *sÁg*-nominalization. An adjective counts as irregular if it is not regular, where regular adjectives were defined in subsection 1.3.2.1.2.3 as follows: they can serve as primary predicates and the [Adj N] attributive constructions containing them as 'Adj' denote a subset of the denotatum of the single N (cf. Kiefer 2000b: 188). The intensional adjective *állítólagos* 'alleged', for instance, qualifies as irregular according to this definition, since, first, it cannot serve as a predicate (534a), and, second, the "subset condition" is violated because the (otherwise fully acceptable) relevant sentence variant in (534b) below is not a tautology: the set of alleged spies is not (necessarily) a subset of the set of spies (while, for instance, the set of thin spies is a subset of the set of spies; see (534b'), and see also (530a-a') in 1.3.2.1.2.3).

(534) ● Criteria to distinguish regular adjectives from irregular ones

a. **Az a kém egykori / állítólagos.*
that the spy former / alleged

a'. *Az a kém sovány / öreg.*
that the spy thin / old
'*That spy is thin / old.*'

b. *Az egykori / állítólagos kémek,* azok mind kémek.
the former / alleged spy.Pl that.Pl all spy.Pl
'*The former / alleged spies* are all spies.'

b'. *A sovány / öreg kémek,* azok mind kémek.
the thin / old spy.Pl that.Pl all spy.Pl
'*The thin / old spies* are all spies.'

Irregular adjectives, thus, reject *sÁg*-nominalization, which is illustrated by the two-sentence-story variants presented in (535a-a'). Note in passing that the phonetic form *állítólagosság* 'alleged.SÁG' itself is sometimes used but as an irregular *sÁg*-noun (as the Hungarian translation of what (German) conjunctive verbs express).

(535) ● Irregular adjectives as inputs to *sÁg*-nominalization

a. Megérkezett *az az egykori / állítólagos kém.*
arrive.Past.3Sg *that the former / alleged spy*
'*The former / alleged spy* has arrived.'

a'. *Sokan vitatják *az egykori-ság-át / állítólagos-ság-át.*
many.people debate.DefObj.3Pl *the former-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc / alleged-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
Intended meaning: 'There is debate over the hypothesis that he is a former / alleged spy [and not an active spy].'

There are two further groups of adjectives which systematically reject *sÁg*-nominalization according to Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 166).

One group is that of adjectives derived by means of the suffix *-nyi* '-ful' (536a), which is classified as a fairly productive derivational suffix, and "serves to express approximate measure" (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 194).

(536) ● Further groups of adjectives rejecting *sÁg*-nominalization

a. *liter-nyi* → **liter-nyi-ség*
liter-ful *liter-ful-SÁG*
'*appr. one liter*' Intended meaning: '*being approximately one liter*'

b. *figyelm-es* → *figyelm-es-ség*
attention-ed *attention-ed-SÁG*
'*attentive*' '*attention* / [*being attentive*]'

b'. *polc-os* → **?polc-os-ság*
shelf-ed *shelf-ed-SÁG*
'*having / containing shelves*' Intended meaning: '*the state / status of containing shelves*'

The other "deviant" group is a certain subset of adjectives derived by means of the suffix *-Vs* '-ed' (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 166). While members with an abstract meaning of this subset readily undergo *sÁg*-nominalization (536b), the members whose meaning is not abstract usually reject it (536b').

It must be noted, however, that even the assumption that *-nyi* '-ful' and *-Vs* '-ed' are adjectivalizers is questioned nowadays (Kenesei 2014: section 5).

1.3.2.1.4. Nominal and adjectival properties

SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns being deadjectival nominals, this subsection outlines their adjectival (1.3.2.1.4.1) and nominal (1.3.2.1.4.2) properties. We will conclude this topic in a separate subsection (1.3.2.1.4.3) with a short summary of the observations and generalizations.

1.3.2.1.4.1. Adjectival properties

Let us start with the question of argument-structure inheritance, which was a constant property considered in the case of deverbal nominals (1.3.1).

As was demonstrated in subsections 1.3.2.1.2.1 and 1.3.2.1.2.3, SÁG-nouns essentially inherit input arguments. First of all, they obligatorily inherit the input subject; nevertheless, the acceptability of the output constructions depends on such "side-effects" as the sometimes artificial character of the deadjectival nominal head itself and the sometimes awkward expressibility of other input arguments. Second, obligatory oblique case-marked arguments are also inherited readily (see (523b-b') in 1.3.2.1.2.1). Third, of optional arguments, SÁG-nouns inherit postpositional phrases somewhat more readily ('?') than oblique case-marked arguments ('??'); see (532b) and (531b) in 1.3.2.1.2.3, respectively. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the argumenthood of these optional dependents is not beyond doubt; it requires future research to verify that they are not adjuncts. Sporadically, certain (typically oblique case-marked arguments) are hosted in the prenominal complement zone of the output SÁG-noun construction, see (527) in 1.3.2.1.2.1.

As for SSD-nouns, what is beyond doubt is that obligatory oblique case-marked arguments are inherited, as was presented in (523c-c') in 1.3.2.1.2.1. Other types of input arguments are not necessarily expressed in the output SSD-noun constructions. The possessor, thus, is not obligatory, but it cannot be claimed that this position is semantically free, since only the output counterpart of the input subject can occupy it (cf. (522d-d') in 1.3.2.1.2.1). Optional oblique case-marked arguments are even more problematic: their case-suffix preserving output expression is very marked ('??') or absolutely impossible (see (525c-c') and (524c") in 1.3.2.1.2.1, respectively) while the status of their output expression in the form of postpositional phrases (see (524c-c'), for instance) is difficult to decide: we hypothesize that they are rather conceptual arguments (i.e., elements of Laczkó's (2000a: 293–303) *fogalmi keret* 'conceptual frame', newly taken by the noun head, see also 2.1.1.2.2) than "inherited arguments" (NB: the question of (degrees of) argumenthood is one of the most recalcitrant problems of today's formal linguistics).

Let us now consider a property peculiar to adjectives, namely, the possibility of expressing comparison.

As is exemplified in (537) below, neither the comparative form (537a) nor the superlative form (537b) of an adjective can undergo *sÁg*-nominalization (537a',b'). The same holds for the special group of adjectives whose comparative and superlative forms lack the otherwise obligatorily explicitly appearing comparative suffix *-(V)bb* (537c), as is illustrated in (537c').

Note in passing that there is an irregular *sÁg*-noun which is (non-productively) derived from the comparative form of an adjective (537d) (on a seemingly similar expression, *többség* 'majority', see 1.3.4).

(537) ● Expressing degrees of comparison in the case of *sÁg*-nouns

a. Mari *sovány-abb* Ilinél.
Mari *thin-Comp* Ili-Ade
'Mari is *thiner* than Ili.'

a'. *Mindenkit meglepett *Mari sovány-abb-ság-a (Ili-nél).*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Mari thin-Comp-SÁG-Poss.3Sg Ili-Ade*
Intended meaning: '*The fact that Mari is thiner (than Ili)* was a surprise to everyone.'

b. Mari *a leg-sovány-abb* (a csapatban).
Mari *the most-thin-Comp* the group.Ine
'Mari is *the thinnest* (in the group).'

b'. *Mindenkit meglepett *Mari leg-sovány-abb-ság-a (a társaságban).*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *Mari most-thin-Comp-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the group.Ine*
Intended meaning: '*The fact that Mari is the thinnest (in the group)* was a surprise to everyone.'

c. Ez a könyv *a(z) alsó / [leg-alsó* (a kupacban)].
this the book *the bottom / most-bottom* the stack.Ine
'This book is *the bottom / [is the bottommost (in the stack)]*.'

c'. **A keresett könyv (leg-)alsó-ság-a (a kupacban)* kiborított.
the sought book most-bottom-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the stack.Ine make_angry.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*The fact that the book I sought was the bottom(most) one (in the stack)* made me angry.'

d. *kis-ebb-ség*
little-Comp-SÁG
'*minority*'

We follow *SoD-NP* in investigating the question of modification by intensifiers, which is peculiar to adjectives, but we will consider two independent factors of this possibility: it can be investigated (i) whether a *sÁg*-noun can be modified by intensifiers, and (ii) whether the same adverbial modifiers that can be combined with the input adjectives (538a) can also be attached to the corresponding output *sÁg*-noun constructions—in the same form.

As is exemplified below, the answer to the latter question is definitely 'no' in the case of both SÁG-nouns (538b) and SSD-nouns (538c), while the answer to the former is 'yes' in both types (538b',c'). Deadjectival nominals, thus, do not pattern with adjectives in the *formal* property of accepting adverbial intensifiers, because they do not accept adverbial modification in general. They do pattern with adjectives, however, in the *semantic* property of having expressible degrees (but see (544) in the next subsection (1.3.2.1.4.2) for a more sophisticated picture). As for irregular *sÁg*-nouns, they pattern with ordinary nouns in accepting modification by intensifiers in neither way (538d) (NB: extraordinary sweets are not sweets which are extraordinarily sweet; the intensifier modifying the noun, thus, evaluates the category the noun itself denotes, and not the property the input adjective denotes).

(538) ● Modification by intesifiers in the case of *sÁg*-nouns

a. Piri *feltűnő-en / rendkívül* szép.
Piri *striking-Adv / remarkably* beautiful
'Piri is (being) *strikingly / remarkably* beautiful.'

b. *Piri tegnapi *feltűnő-en / rendkívül* (való) szép-ség-e
Piri yesterday.Adj *striking-Adv / remarkably* be.Part beautiful-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
nagyon meglepett.
very.much surprise.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*The fact that Piri was being strikingly / remarkably beautiful yesterday* was a great surprise to me.'

b'. Piri tegnapi *feltűnő / rendkívül-i* szép-ség-e
Piri yesterday.Adj *striking / remarkably-Adj* beautiful-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
nagyon meglepett.
very.much surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Piri was being strikingly / remarkably beautiful yesterday* was a great surprise to me.'

c. *Piri *feltűnő-en / rendkívül* (való) szép-ség-e
Piri *striking-Adv / remarkably* be.Part beautiful-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
mindenkit meglep.
everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*Piri's striking / remarkable beauty* is a surprise to everyone.'

c'. Piri *feltűnő / rendkívül-i* szép-ség-e mindenkit meglep.
Piri *striking / remarkably-Adj* beautiful-SÁG-Poss.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg
'*Piri's striking / remarkable beauty* is a surprise to everyone.'

d. *Ezek a *feltűnő / rendkívül-i* édes-ség-ek nagyon drágák.
these the *striking / remarkably-Adj* sweet-SÁG-Pl very expensive.Pl
Intended meaning: 'These sweets which are *strikingly / remarkably* sweet are very expensive.'
(Non-intended meaning: 'These *salient(ly elegant) / special(ly delicious)* sweets are very expensive.')

The next adjectival property has to do with the fact that in Hungarian adjectives can be inflected. They can bear, for instance, the general plural suffix *-(V)k* (if the adjective is predicative (539a), and not attributive (539a')). As is exemplified in (539b), however, such inflected forms cannot undergo *sÁg*-nominalization. This is in harmony with the general fact that inflectional suffixes cannot be followed by derivational suffixes.

(539) ● Inflected adjectives as input to *sÁg*-nominalization

a. [A fiú *sovány.*] / [A fiú-k *sovány-ak.*]
the boy *thin* / the boy-Pl *thin-Pl*
'[The boy is *thin.*] / [The boys are *thin.*]'

a'. [*A sovány fiú* áll.] / [*A sovány(*-ak) fiú-k áll-nak.*]
the thin boy stand.3Sg / *the thin(-Pl) boy-Pl* stand-3Pl
'[*The thin boy* is standing.] / [*The thin boys* are standing.]'

b. Irigylem *a fiú-k sovány-ság-á-t /*sovány(-ak)-ság-á-t.*
envy.1Sg *the boy-Pl thin-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc / thin(-Pl)-Acc-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'I envy *the thinness of the boys*.'

The next topic to be discussed is whether *sÁg*-nouns can appear in the prenominal modifier zone, which is the place of attributive adjectives. As was exemplified in (103c-e) in 1.1.2.1, certain kinds of nominal expressions (e.g., proper nouns and names of occupations) can also appear here. As is illustrated in (540b), however, *sÁg*-nouns do not belong to these groups of nominal expressions. Although the *sÁg*-noun can appear immediately adjacent to the noun head, as is exemplified in (540b'), in this case it occupies a position in the prenominal complement zone, forming a compound word with the noun, which is verified by the unstressed status of the noun head (cf. the stressed status of the noun head in (540b); also see 1.4.1).

(540) ● *SÁg*-nouns as prenominal modifiers

a. A *beteg* gyerek levert volt.
the *sick* kid depressed be.Past.3Sg
'The *sick* kid was depressed.'

b. *A megállapított ['*betegség* 'stádium] függ a társadalmi helyzettől.
the diagnosed *ill.SÁG* stage depend.3Sg the social status.Abl
Intended meaning: 'The diagnosed stage of *illness* depends on the social status.'

b'. A megállapított ['*betegség* °stádium] függ a társadalmi helyzettől.
the diagnosed *ill.SÁG* stage depend.3Sg the social status.Abl
'The diagnosed stage of *illness* depends on the social status.'

The last adjectival property to be discussed pertains to the fact that adjectives, in contrast to participles, can (readily) form complex predicates with the copula (541a) and with such (raising) verbs as *tűnik* 'seem' (541a'). As the same examples show, nouns (e.g., *tanár* 'teacher'), as a rule, can also appear in these functions/positions; and the same holds for SSD-nouns as well (541c-c'). It cannot be decided, thus, whether this possibility, in the case of SSD-nouns, is due to their input adjectival character or to their output nominal character. That is why this property will not be considered (neither as an adjectival nor as a nominal property) in Table 42 in 1.3.2.1.4.3, primarily devoted to the comparison of the input and the output categorial characteristics.

(541) ● *SÁg*-nouns forming complex predicates with *van* 'be' and *tűnik* 'seem'

a. Ili *okos / tanár / *haza-ballag-ó / *?fel-pofoz-ott* volt.
Ili *smart / teacher / home-walk-Part / up-slap-Part* be.Past.3Sg
'Ili was *smart* / [*a teacher*] / [*one walking home*] / [*one slapped in the face*].'

a'. Ili *okos-nak / tanár-nak / *haza-ballag-ó-nak / ??fel-pofoz-ott-nak* tűnt.
Ili *smart-Dat / teacher-Dat / home-walk-Part-dat / up-slap-Part-Dat* seem.Past.3Sg
'Ili seemed to be *smart* / [*a teacher*] / [*one walking home*] / [*one slapped in the face*].'

b. ?Ami leginkább meglepett,
what mostly surprise.Past.3Sg
az *Ilinek a szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-a* volt.
that *Ili.Dat the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg* be.Part.3Sg
'What surprised me mostly is the fact that *Ili was being strikingly pretty after the break-up*.'

b'. *?Amit láttam, az *a szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-od-nak*
which.Acc see.Past.1Sg that *the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
tűnt, nem egy szokásos színházi megjelenésnek.
seem.Part.3Sg not a usual theater.Adj appearance.Dat
Intended meaning: 'What I noticed seemed to be *your being strikingly pretty after the break-up* and not a usual appearance in a theater.'

c. Ez *szerelem* volt, nem *puszta felajzott-ság*.
this *love* be.Past.3Sg not *mere excited-SÁG*
'This was *love* and not *mere excitedness*.'

c'. Ez Ili szemében *bőkezű-ség-nek / szerelem-nek* tűnhet.
this Ili eye.Poss.3Sg.Ine *generous-SÁG-Dat / love-Dat* seem.Mod.3Sg
'This can be seem in Ili's eyes as *generosity / love*.'

As for *sÁg*-nouns, they are related to denoting particular eventualities to such an extent that they can more or less participate in an identifying predication (541b), but, in general, they are not suitable for serving as predicates (541b'); see also (550d) in 1.3.2.1.4.2.

1.3.2.1.4.2. Nominal properties

Let us start with the question of pluralization, the possibility of which is primarily a nominal property (NB: adjectives can also be pluralized but only in the predicative function).

SÁG-nouns (542a) and SSD-nouns (542b) are poorly nominal in this sense, because they cannot (readily) be pluralized, obviously due to the fact that they denote eventualities which are not well-defined to the extent that they could be readily "counted", as was thoroughly discussed in 1.3.2.1.1 (see the relevant comments on the series of examples in (517)). Nevertheless, in the case of SSD-nouns, some kind of pluralization is not totally excluded, as is shown in (542b'-b"), which can be attributed in both cases to some kind of type shift; the highly marked (and fairly speaker-dependent) status ('??') is then exactly the "cost" of (recognizing) this type shift. As the translation shows, the type shift in (542b') is that the given SSD-noun practically functions as a blocking SED-noun (instances of events of behaving stingily is referred to). As for (542b"), we consider the phenomenon illustrated to be similar to the type shift of (otherwise non-pluralizable) substance nouns, discussed in subsection 1.2.2.2.2.

Irregular *sÁg*-nouns pattern with ordinary nouns with respect to pluralization: they can be freely pluralized (542c).

(542) ● Pluralization in the case of SÁG-nouns, SSD-nouns and irregular *sÁg*-nouns

a. *?*Ili feltűnő csinos-ság-a-i* mindenkit megleptek.
Ili striking pretty-SÁG-Poss-Pl.3Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Pl
Intended meaning: '*The occasions when Ili was being strikingly pretty* were a surprise to everyone.'

b. *Marira gyakrabban rátörnek *az önző-ség-ek*,
Mari.Sub more_often take_over.3Pl *the selfish-SÁG-Pl*
mint *a bőkezű-ség-ek*.
than *the generous-SÁG-Pl*
Intended meaning: '*Selfishness* takes over Mari more often than *generosity* does.'

b'. ??Utálom *az efféle garasos-ság-ok-at.*
hate.DefObj.1Sg *the this_kind stingy-SÁG-Pl-Acc*
'I hate *these kinds of instances of behaving stingily*.'

b''. ??*A különböző típusú önző-ség-ek-et*
the different type.Attr selfish-SÁG-Pl-Acc
sokszor próbálták elkülöníteni.
many_times attempt.Past.DefObj.3Pl distinguish.Inf
'*Different types of selfishness* have been attempted to be distinguished from each other many times.'

c. Megérkeztek *a karibi szép-ség-ek.*
arrive.Past.3Pl *the Caribbean beautiful-SÁG-Pl*
'*The Caribbean beauties* have arrived.'

All in all, SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns, in contrast to irregular *sÁg*-nouns, are definitely not nominal; due to the possibility of type shift, however, we consider SSD-nouns somewhat more nominal than SÁG-nouns.

Given that they can have a possessor (in any person and number) within the noun phrase they head, SÁG-nouns (543a) and SSD-nouns (543a') are both totally nominal with no difference in the degree of nominalness between the two groups. Irregular *sÁg*-nouns, obviously, are also totally nominal in the given respect (543a'') since they can be expected to pattern with ordinary nouns. Note that in Hungarian an adjective *ab ovo* cannot bear a possessive suffix (543b), so in the case of *sÁg*-nouns, the capability of taking a possessor is undoubtedly due to their output nominalness, and not to their adjectival input.

(543) ● Possessors of SÁG-nouns, SSD-nouns and irregular *sÁg*-nouns

a. (?)*A szakítás után való feltűnő csinos-ság-otok*
the break_up after be.Part striking pretty-SÁG-Poss.2Pl
mindenkit meglepett.
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that you were being strikingly pretty after the break-up* was a surprise to everyone.'

a'. *A gyakori labilitás-od* aggaszt minket.
the frequent lability-Poss.2Sg worry.3Sg we.Acc
'We are worried about *your frequent lability*.'

a''. Ez *a kedvenc savanyú-ság-unk.*
this *the favorite sour-SÁG-Poss.1Pl*
'These are *our favorite pickles*.'

b. *Belépett a szobába *a bőkezű-m.*
enter.Past.3Sg the room.Ill *the generous-Poss.1Sg*
Intended meaning: '*The generous person of mine* entered the room.'

Let us now turn to the question of case marking.

As was discussed in connection with the series of examples in (518), (519) and (520) in 1.3.2.1.1, *sÁg*-nouns can occur with any kind of case marking. Hence, they are completely nominal in this sense. Note in passing that, as adjectives can also bear case suffixes (see (541a') in 1.3.2.1.4.1), having this property is not so decisive as was in the case of deverbal nominals (since verbs cannot bear case suffixes).

The next nominal property to discuss is adjectival modification. It can be claimed in general that *sÁg*-noun types are all nominal in that they can be modified

by adjectives (and not by adverbs). The topic will be elaborated on according to the types of input adverbs and other categories which can serve as input to output adjectives or attributive expressions (within *sÁg*-noun constructions), see the series of examples from (544) to (549).

Let us start with adverbial intensifiers. As was presented in the series of examples in (538) in subsection 1.3.2.1.4.1, adverbial intensifiers, at least certain ones, can readily be expressed beside *sÁg*-nouns as well; due to the change in syntactic category from Adj to N, obviously, the category of the intensifier must also be changed, from Adv to Adj. Nevertheless, as is illustrated in (544) below, there are surprisingly great idiosyncratic differences in the acceptability of the potential *sÁg*-noun constructions containing some kinds of counterparts of the most frequent adverbial intensifiers. These differences do not come from the SÁG-noun / SSD-noun difference; that is why the adjectival-intensifier variants presented in (544c) can serve (with the same grammaticality judgments) as fillers of both the SÁG-noun matrix constructions in (544b) and the SSD-noun matrix constructions in (544b'); and the same holds for the adjectival-intensifier variants presented in (544e-e') and the matrix SÁG-noun constructions in (544d) and SSD-noun constructions in (544d') that belong to these "fillers" (i.e., (544e-e')).

(544) ● Adjectival modification of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns: I. Intensifiers as inputs

a. Péter *nagyon / elég(-gé)* kövér volt.
Péter *very / quite(-TrE)* fat be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was *very / quite* fat.'

a'. Péter *nagyon / elég(-gé) / teljesen / fél-ig* felkészült volt.
Péter *very / quite(-TrE) / completely / half-Ter* prepared be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was (being) *very / quite / completely / half* prepared.'

b. Komoly csalódást jelentett nekünk *Péternek a(z)* [(c)] *kövér-ség-e.*
serious disappointment.Acc mean.Past.3Sg Dat.1Pl *Péter.Dat the* *fat-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'*The fact that Péter was* [(c)] *fat* was a serious disappointment to us.'

b'. Nem egészséges *a* [(c)] *kövér-ség.*
not healthy *the* *fat-SÁG*
'It is not healthy to *be* [(c)] *fat*.'

c. *?nagy / ??nagyfokú / *[nagyon való] / *elégséges / *[elég(-gé) való]*
big / big_degree.Attr / very be.Part / sufficient / quite(-TrE) be.Part
Intended meaning: '*very / very / very / quite / quite*'

d. Engem is meglepett *Péternek a(z)* [(e/e')] *felkészült-ség-e.*
me also surprise.Past.3Sg *Péter.Dat the* *prepared-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'*The fact that Péter was* [...] *prepared* was a surprise to us.'

d'. Péterre nem jellemző *a(z)* [(e/e')] *felkészült-ség.*
Péter.Sub not be_typical *the* *prepared-SÁG*
'*Being* [(e/e')] *prepared* is not typical of Péter.'

e. *?nagy / (?)nagyfokú / *[nagyon való] / (?)elégséges / *[elég(-gé) való]*
big / big_degree.Attr / very be.Part / sufficient / quite(-TrE) be.Part
'*very / very / very / quite / quite*'

e'. *?teljes / (?)[teljes mértékű] / *[teljesen való] / *[fél-ig való]*
complete / complete degree.Attr / completely be.Part / half-Ter be.Part
'*completely / completely / completely / half*'

It can be observed, first of all, that adverbial intensifiers are not compatible with the *való*-construction. Secondly, the straightforward adjectival counterpart of the intensifier *nagyon* 'very' is the adjective *nagy* 'big'; but this adjective cannot serve as an intensifier in the *sÁg*-noun construction presented in (544c). In the *sÁg*-noun construction presented in (544e), however, *nagy* 'big' is quite acceptable in the same role. This fact may have to do with the fact that *nagy* 'big' is so basic (and multifunctional) an adjective that it is a difficult (and quite context-dependent) task to recognize it in certain contexts in its intensifier function. The alternative form *nagyfokú* 'big_degree.Attr' can more or less substitute for it (544c,e). Thirdly, the adverbial intensifiers *elég* 'quite' and *teljesen* 'completely' also stand in an "ambivalent" relation to their straightforward adjectival counterparts, as is presented also in (544c, e-e') above. Finally, the adverbial intensifier *félig* 'half.Ter' (544a') simply has no adjectival counterpart (cf. (544e')).

Let us now investigate other kinds of adverbs, which are given below separated in two rows of examples, since certain adverbs are closely related to the stage-level interpretation (545a) while others to the individual-level interpretation (545a'). The adjectival counterparts of the members of the former group and the latter group, on the basis of this difference, are expected to be compatible with SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns, respectively (see the relevant comments on (517) in 1.3.2.1.1). As is exemplified below, the resulting SÁG-noun constructions (545b) and SSD-noun constructions (545b') are fully acceptable.

(545) ● Adjectival modification of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns: II. Further types of adverbs as inputs

a. Péter *akkor / látszólag / állítólag* vidám volt.
Péter *at_that_time / apparently / allegedly* cheerful be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was being cheerful *[at that time]* / *apparently* / *allegedly*.'

a'. Péter *egykor / állandóan* vidám volt.
Péter *in_former_times / permanently* cheerful be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was cheerful *[in former times]* / *permanently*.'

b. Elgondolkodtatott minket
make_think.Past.3Sg we.Acc
Péternek a(z) akkori / látszólagos / állítólagos vidám-ság-a.
Péter.Dat the at_that_time.Adj / apparent / alleged cheerful-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*The fact that Péter was being cheerful [at that time] / apparently / allegedly* made us think.'

b'. *A(z) egykori / állandó vidám-ság* már a múlté.
the former / permanent cheerful-SÁG already the past.Posr
'*The former / permanent cheerfulness* is already a thing of the past.'

Note in passing that among the adjectives presented in (545b-b') there can be found those defined as irregular in subsection 1.3.2.1.3, namely, *egykori* 'in_former_times.Adj' and *állítólagos* 'alleged'. On the basis of this observation, we hypothesize that irregular adjectives, which are not suitable for serving as predicates, can readily serve as attributes of *sÁg*-nouns.

As a source of an attributive expression in a *sÁg*-noun construction, a converb is also a possibility (546a). As is exemplified below, neither SÁG-nouns (546b) nor SSD-nouns (546b') are compatible either with an attributive *való*-construction containing the original converb nor the participial counterpart of the converb.

(546) ● Adjectival modification of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns: III. Converbs as inputs

a. Péter kapott egy [*megfelelően be-hűt-ve* rendkívül finom] pezsgőt.
Péter get.Past.3Sg a *properly into-chill-Conv* highly delicious champagne.Acc
'Péter got a champagne which is, *properly chilled*, highly delicious.'

b. Pétert meglepte a pezsgő *megfelelően* *?[*be-hűt-ve való*] /
Péter.Acc surprise.Past.DefObj.3Sg the champagne *properly into-chill-Conv be.Part* /
**be-hűt-ött* rendkívüli finom-ság-a.
into-chill-Part remarkable delicious-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
Intended meaning: 'The fact that the champagne, *properly chilled,* was being highly delicious was a surprise to Péter.'

b'. *Nem jellemző a pezsgőidre a *megfelelően* [*be-hűt-ve való*] /
not typical the champagne.Poss.Pl.2Sg the *properly into-chill-Conv be.Part*/
**be-hűt-ött* rendkívüli finom-ság.
into-chill-Part remarkable delicious-SÁG
Intended meaning: 'Being highly delicious, *when properly chilled,* is not typical of your champagnes.'

Further potential sources of attributive expressions in *sÁg*-noun constructions are oblique case-marked and postpositional adjuncts (547a). A SÁG-noun construction (547b) can host an attributive *való*-construction containing the corresponding input oblique case-marked or postpositional adjunct but only at a highly marked level of acceptability (547c), while, as is expected, an SSD-noun construction (547b') is not compatible at all with the corresponding *való*-constructions (547c'). As for the potential [postposition + *-i*] constructions (see *tenger melletti* 'sea beside.Attr' in (547c-c')), they are highly marked in the case of both types of *sÁg*-noun construction (547b-b'). As for the attributive counterpart (see *nagyvárosi* 'city.Adj' in (547c-c')) of the input oblique case-marked noun phrase (see *a nagyvárosban* 'the city.Ine' in (547a)), it is unacceptable in the case of both types of *sÁg*-noun construction (547b-b'). This may have to do with the loss of information encoded in the input form (namely, in the inessive case suffix) but absent from the output attributive form (due to the deletion of the oblique case suffix in question).

(547) ● Adjectival modification of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns: IV. Postpositions and oblique case-marked noun phrases as inputs

a. Péter náthás volt *[a nagyváros-ban]/[a tenger mellett].*
Péter have_a_cold be.Past.3Sg *the city-Ine / the sea beside*
'Péter had a cold *[in the city]/[at the seaside].*'

b. Bosszantott minket *Péternek a* [(c)] *náthás-ság-a.*
make_angry.Past.3Sg we.Acc *Péter.Dat the have_a_cold-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'*The fact that Péter had a cold* [(c)] made us angry.'

b'. Péterre nem jellemző *a* [(c')] *nátha.*
Péter.Sub not be_typical *the cold*
'*Having a cold* [(c')] is not typical of Péter.'

c. *?*nagyvárosi* / *??[nagyváros-ban való]* / *??[tenger melletti]/* *??[tenger mellett való]*
city.Adj / city-Ine be.Part / sea beside.Attr/ sea beside be.Part
Intended meaning: '*[in the city]* / '*[in the city]/[at the seaside]/[at the seaside]*'

c'. *?*nagyvárosi / *[nagyváros-ban való] / ??[tenger melletti]/*[tenger mellett való]*
city.Adj / city-Ine be.Part / sea beside.Attr/ sea beside be.Part
Intended meaning: '*[in a city] / '[in a city] / [at the seaside] / [at the seaside]*'

The examples in (548a,b) below (as well as (518b) in 1.3.2.1.1) present a picture which is radically different from that presented in (547c-c') above. Overall, the observations can be summarized as follows: *sÁg*-noun constructions (and, especially, SÁG-noun constructions) show great variation in grammaticality judgments associated with examples containing [postposition/oblique + *való*] and [postposition + *-i*] constructions, in contrast to the stable ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions (see the primed examples in (548)). The reasons for the high lability of *sÁg*-noun constructions (in the relevant respect) are left for future research, but, presumably, among the relevant factors are: (i) affinity for stage-level interpretation, (ii) the type of the adjunct (temporal adjuncts are preferred, which tend to trigger the adequate interpretation) and (iii) homophony of the SÁG-noun with the corresponding SSD-noun counterpart (otherwise the SÁG-noun sounds artificial). As is illustrated in (548a', a",b', b"), ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions are not sensitive to these factors.

(548) ● The distribution of the [postposition + *való*] construction and the *-i* attributivizer in the case of adjuncts of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns (compared to the case of adjuncts of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns)

a. (?)*A modelleknek a bemutató [előtt való] / előtti*
the model.Pl.Dat the fashion_show before be.Part / before.Attr
feltűnő sovány-ság-a megbotránkoztatta a jelenlévőket.
striking thin-SÁG-Poss.3Sg shoch.Past.DefObj.3Sg the people_present.Pl.Acc
'*The fact that the models were strikingly thin before the fashion show* shocked the people present.'

a'. *A modelleknek a bemutató [előtt való] / előtti*
the model.Pl.Dat the fashion_show before be.Part / before.Attr
feltűnő le-fogy-ás-a megbotránkoztatta a jelenlévőket.
striking down-lose_weight-ÁS-Poss.3Sg shoch.Past.DefObj.3Sg the people_present.Pl.Acc
'*The fact that the models had strikingly lost weight before the fashion show* shocked the people present.'

a". *A modelleknek a tavalyi [tenger mellett való] / [tenger melletti] / [nagyvárosban való] / nagyvárosi nyaral-ás-a*
the model.Pl.Dat the last_year.Adj sea beside be.Part / sea beside.Attr / city.Ine be.Part / city.Adj have_holiday-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
megbotránkoztatta a jelenlévőket.
shoch.Past.DefObj.3Sg the people_present.Pl.Acc
'*The fact that the models had a holiday last year [at the sea] /[at the sea] /[in the city] /[in the city]* shocked the people present.'

b. Tipikus jelenség *a modelleknek*
typical phenomenon *the model.Pl.Dat*
*a bemutató *?[előtt való] /✓előtti feltűnő sovány-ság-a.*
the fashion_show before be.Part / before.Attr striking thin-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*The striking thinness of models before fashion shows* is a typical phenomenon.'

b'. Tipikus jelenség *a modelleknek*
typical phenomenon *the model.Pl.Dat*
a bemutató *?*[előtt való] /✓előtti drasztikus fogy-ás-a.*
the fashion_show before be.Part / before.Attr drastic lose_weight-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*The drastic weight decrease of models before fashion shows* is a typical phenomenon.'

b". Tipikus jelenség *a modelleknek*
typical phenomenon *the model.Pl.Dat*
a *?*[tenger mellett való] /✓[tenger melletti] /*
the sea beside be.Part / sea beside.Attr /
✓*[nagyvárosban való] /✓nagyvárosi nyaral-ás-a.*
city.Ine be.Part / city.Adj have_holiday-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'It is a typical phenomenon *in the case of models to have a holiday [at the sea] /[at the sea] /[in a city] /[in a city]*.'

Tables 41/I-II below make it possible to compare the unstable nature of the data pertaining to the acceptability of the relevant SÁG-noun and SSD-noun constructions to the stability of the data pertaining to that of ÁS-noun and SED-noun constructions. It is also worth comparing these data (pertaining to adjuncts) to the analogous data in Tables 40/I-II in 1.3.2.1.2.1 (pertaining to arguments).

Table 41: The distribution of the való*-construction and the* -i *attributivizer in the case of adjuncts of* sÁg*-nouns and* Ás*-nouns*

I. *ÁS*-NOUN	POSTPOSITION + *VALÓ*	POSTPOSITION + *-I*	OBLIQUE + *VALÓ*	OBLIQUE + *-I*
COMPLEX EVENT	✓	✓	✓	*
EVENT TYPE	*?	✓	✓	*

↓

II. *SÁG*-NOUN	POSTPOSITION + *VALÓ*	POSTPOSITION + *-I*	OBLIQUE + *VALÓ*	OBLIQUE + *-I*
COMPLEX STATE	(?)-??	(?)-??	(?)-??	*
STATE TYPE	*?/*	✓-??	*	*

Irregular *sÁg*-nouns, as is expected, pattern with ordinary nouns in adjectival / attributive modification (549).

(549) ● Adjectival modification of irregular *sÁg*-noun
Érkezett egy *karcsú / fiatal / ideges / egykori* karibi szép-ség.
arrive.Past.3Sg a *slim / young / nervous / former* Caribbean beautiful-SÁG
'There has arrived a *slim / young / nervous / former* Caribbean beauty.'

Let us now turn to the question of whether SÁG-nouns, SSD-nouns and irregular *sÁg*-nouns are compatible with different degrees of referentiality.

As the "function" of SÁG-noun constructions is to refer to definite eventualities underlied by well-defined temporal intervals, they pattern with ÁS-noun and T_{Ev}-noun constructions in requiring an "at least specific" degree of denotation. This explains why the indefinite construction in (550c) and the (bare) predicative construction in (550d) are unacceptable (NB: a predicative SÁG-noun construction can be acceptable if it is simultaneously definite, as is exemplified by the identifying sentence in (518a) in 1.3.2.1.1). As for the specific indefinite construction in (550b), it is very difficult to grasp the intended non-out-of-the-blue reading, so its somewhat marked status ('?') is not surprising.

(550) ● Degree of referentiality of SÁG-nouns

a. (?)*A (szakítás után való) csinos-ság-od* mindenkit meglepett.
the break_up after be.Part pretty-SÁG-Poss.2Sg everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that you were being pretty (after the break-up)* was a surprise to everyone.'

b. ?*Egy szakítás után való rendkívüli csinos-ság-od*
a break_up after be.Part remarkable pretty-SÁG-Poss.2Sg
még engem is meglepett.
even me also surprise.Past.3Sg
Context: In the past years, you broke up three times and were hit by cars four times. '*An occasion when you were being remarkably pretty after one of the break-ups* was a surprise even to me.'

c. Egyszer nagyon meglepett
once very.much surprise.Past.3Sg
egy *?(??*szakítás után való) rendkívüli csinos-ság-od.*
a break_up after be.Part remarkable pretty-SÁG-Poss.2Sg
'*Once an occasion when you were being remarkably pretty (after a break-up)* was a great surprise to me.'

d. *Ami valóban meglep, az
what really surprise.3Sg that
rendkívüli csinos-ság-a (egy szakítás után) egy régi barátomnak.
remarkable pretty-SÁG-Poss.2Sg a break_up after an old friend.Poss.1Sg.Dat
Intended meaning: 'What is a real surprise to me is *an occasion when an old friend of mine is being remarkably pretty (after a break-up).*'

Due to the fact that SSD-nouns are lexicalized by default, they can more or less readily form predicative constructions (551d), definite constructions, which are practically generic (551a), and a special subtype of specific indefinite constructions (those referring to a kind; see (551b)). The potential indefinite construction is

unacceptable (551c), presumably because a felicitous indefinite reference would require a delimited eventuality.

(551) ● Degree of referentiality of SSD-nouns

a. (?)*A rendkívüli csinos-ság* manapság nem jellemző a meghallgatásokon.
the remarkable pretty-SÁG nowadays not typical the casting.Pl.Sup
'*Remarkable prettiness* is not typical at castings these days.'

b. *Egy *(?ennyire feltűnő) csinos-ság-ot* nehéz túlszárnyalni.
a so striking pretty-SÁG-Acc hard overcome.Inf
Context: Three years ago there was an occasion when you were strikingly pretty after a break-up.
'It will be hard to overcome *(so striking a) prettiness*.'

c. *?Nehéz túlszárnyalni *egy feltűnő csinos-ság-ot.*
hard overcome.Inf *a striking pretty-SÁG-Acc*
Intended meaning: 'It will be hard to overcome *such a striking prettiness*.'

d. ?Szerintem ez még nem minősül *feltűnő csinos-ság-nak.*
according_to.1Sg this yet not qualify.3Sg *striking pretty-SÁG-Dat*
'According to me, this does not qualify *as remarkable prettiness.*'

The irregular *sÁg*-noun constructions, in harmony with their highly nominal character so far observed, are compatible with all the four degrees of referentiality (552). They (also) pattern with ordinary nouns in yielding the specific indefinite interpretation somewhat less readily (552b).

(552) ● Degree of referentiality of irregular *sÁg*-nouns

a. *A karibi szép-ség* tegnap megérkezett.
the Caribbean beautiful-SÁG yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg
'*The Caribbean beauty* arrived here yesterday.'

b. (?)Tegnap végre megérkezett *egy karibi szép-ség.*
yesterday at_last arrive.Past.3Sg *a Caribbean beautiful-SÁG*
'(We have been waiting for two Caribbean and three Scandinavian beauties.) Yesterday *a Caribbean beauty* arrived here at last.'

c. Tegnap érkezett *egy karibi szép-ség.*
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *a Caribbean beautiful-SÁG*
'Yesterday there arrived here *a Caribbean beauty*.'

d. Ő igazi *karibi szép-ség.*
she real *Caribbean beautiful-SÁG*
'She is *a real Caribbean beauty.*'

The last nominal property we discuss is quantification and determination.

Both SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns are unequivocally incompatible with regular modes of quantification (553a-b), due to the fact that their denotata are not well-defined, countable eventualities underlied by delimited temporal intervals, but states characterizing entities primarily in a single point in time, as was expounded in connection with the series of examples in (517) in subsection 1.3.2.1.1. That is why even (non-nominal) adjectival quantification fails unless the quantifier is uncountable, compare *háromszori* 'three times.Adj' to *gyakori* 'often.Adj' in (553a,b).

(553) ● Quantification and determination of SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. Mindenkit meglepett *a szakítások után való*
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg *the break_up.Pl after be.Part*
**három / *mindkét / *utolsó / *?háromszori / ?gyakori csinos-ság-od.*
three / both / last / three_times.Adj / often.Adj pretty-SÁG-Poss.2Sg
Intended meaning: '*[The three] / Both / [The last] / [The three] / [The frequent] occasion(s) when you were being pretty after (the) break-ups* surprised everyone.'

a'. *Mindenkit meglepett
everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
három / néhány / sok / minden, szakítás után való csinos-ság-od.
three / some / many / every break_up after be.Part pretty-SÁG-Poss.2Sg
Intended meaning: '*Three / some / many / every occasion(s) when you were being pretty after (the) break-ups* surprised everyone.'

b. **?[A három] / *?Mindkét / *?[Az utolsó] / *[A háromszori] / ??[A gyakori]*
the three / both / the last / the three_times.Adj / the often.Adj
szép-ség mulandó.
beautiful-SÁG transient
Intended meaning: '*[The three] / Both / [The last] / [The three] / [The frequent] kind(s) of beauty* is/are transient.'

b'. *(?)[A három] / ✓Mindkét / (?)[Az utolsó] / *[A háromszori] / ?[A gyakori]*
the three / both / the last / the three_times.Adj / the often.Adj
fajta szépség mulandó.
type beautiful-SÁG transient
'*[The three] / Both / [The last] / [The three] / [The frequent] kind(s) of beauty* is/are transient.'

b''. *Minden (?)fajta) szép-ség* mulandó.
every type beautiful-SÁG transient
'*The beauty of anything that is (being) beautiful* is transient.' / '*Every kind of beauty* is transient.'

c. Szerintem van *három / néhány / sok *?(✓fajta) szép-ség.*
according_to.1Sg be.3Sg *three / some / many type beautiful-SÁG*
Intended meaning: 'In my opinion, there are *three / [a few] / many kinds of beauty*.'

The regular modes of quantification function in the case of SSD-nouns if they have undergone a special type shift yielding kinds (those of beauty, in this particular case), as is exemplified in (553b',c). Such countable adjectival quantifiers as *háromszori* 'three_times.Adj' are not compatible with this kind denoting reading, presumably due to the fact that its regular counterpart, the numeral *három* 'three' is the perfect solution (553c). As for such uncountable adjectival quantifiers as *gyakori* 'often.Adj', they are quite acceptable in the constructions in question, perhaps in the absence of a regular-quantifier counterpart (553c). As for the quantifier *minden* 'every', it is compatible with SSD-nouns (also without type shift triggered by *fajta* 'kind') in the special construction presented in (553b''); whose decisive feature may be that the given version of *minden* takes (uncountable) substance nouns (cf. *[Minden bor] vízzé változott* '[All wine] became water'), instead of forming such countable expressions as *minden bor* 'every wine' with the intended meaning 'every bottle of wine' or 'every kind of wine'.

Irregular *sÁg*-nouns are unequivocally nominal with respect to quantification: they are fully compatible with the regular ways of quantification while they reject adjectival quantification (554).

(554) ● Quantification and determination of irregular *sÁg*-nouns

a. Tegnap megérkezett *[a három]/ mindkét / [az utolsó] / (?)minden*
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *the three / both / the last / every*
**[a háromszori] /*[a gyakori] karibi szép-ség.*
the three_times.Adj / the often.Adj Caribbean beautiful-SÁG
'*[The three] / Both / [The last] / Every / [The three] / — Caribbean beauty(-ies)* arrived.'

b. Érkezett tegnap *három / néhány / sok karibi szép-ség* is.
arrive.Past.3Sg yesterday *three / some / many Caribbean beautiful-SÁG* also
'Yesterday there also arrived *three / [a few] / many Caribbean beauties*.'

1.3.2.1.4.3. Summary

We summarize our observations on adjectival (1.3.2.1.4.1) and nominal (1.3.2.1.4.2) properties of SÁG-nouns, SSD-nouns and irregular *sÁg*-nouns in Table 42 below.

Similar to our practice applied so far in the corresponding summaries (see, for instance, Table 24 in subsection 1.3.1.2.4.3), the presence or absence (or degrees) of (input) adjectival and (output) nominal properties are presented by check-marks, asterisks and question marks in the table. As for the visual representation, the lighter a cell is, the more nominal—and simultaneously the less adjectival—the noun type is in the given respect.

It can be seen that irregular *sÁg*-nouns are completely nominal, having all the nominal and none of the adjectival properties, while SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns show a rather varied picture in both respects.

Table 42: The degree of adjectivalness/nominalness of sÁg*-nominalizations*

PROPERTIES		SÁG-NOUN	SSD-NOUN	IRREGULAR *SÁG*-NOUN
ADJECTIVAL	presence of arguments	?	*?	*
	degrees of comparison expressed	*	*	*
	modification by adverbs	*	*	*
	modification by intensifiers	?	?	*
	inflection of the adjectival stem	*	*	*
	serves as a prenominal modifier	*	*	*
NOMINAL	pluralization	*	*?	✓
	possessive argument	✓	✓	✓
	case marking	✓	✓	✓
	adjectival modification	(?)	(?)	✓
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality	??	?	✓
	quantification (and determination)	*	*?	✓

There are three details worth highlighting.

First, SÁG-nouns are considered to be significantly different from SSD-nouns only with respect to argument-structure inheritance. What underlies this difference is that while SÁG-nouns more or less inherit oblique case-marked arguments (always) in a case-suffix preserving way, in the case of SSD-noun constructions this

is only rarely the case. It often occurs in SSD-noun constructions that an input oblique case-marked argument cannot be expressed in a sufficiently acceptable form, or can be expressed but only in the form of a postpositional phrase, which we analyze as a conceptual argument "newly taken" by the SSD-noun head. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the whole analysis of argument-structure inheritance is so theory-dependent that our evaluation is no more than a point of departure for future research.

Second, the only adjectival property which (more or less) uniformly holds for SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns is their modifiability by intensifiers (cf. (538) in 1.3.2.1.4.1 and (544) in 1.3.2.1.4.2). Nevertheless, it must be noted that even this evaluation is only due to the separation of the "semantic side" of intensification (see the fourth adjectival property in Table 42) from the "formal side", according to which the input adverbial intensifiers cannot be retained at all in their original (adverbial) form, but must be converted into adjectives, in harmony with the generalization that nouns cannot be modified by adverbs (see the third adjectival property in Table 42).

Third, SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns are not nominal with respect to pluralization, indefinite reference and (regular) quantification. These are exactly the properties related to the fact that they do not denote well-defined (countable) eventualities underlied by reliably delimited temporal intervals.

1.3.2.2. Conversional forms of nominalization

Nouns can also be derived from certain classes of adjectives by conversion.

Three types of such adjective classes are discussed by Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 189–191), which share the property of being derived from nouns by means of the adjectival derivational suffix *-(V)s*, see the (a)-examples in (555) (on another approach to the function of the suffix *-(V)s*, see Kenesei (2014: section 5)). In one type, the input adjective refers to the property of acting with sports equipment, goods or products, or of having, using, repairing or servicing something (555a). In the other two types, the adjective refers to the property of belonging to and/or operating in an institution (555a'), or to the property of playing a musical instrument (555a"). The derived noun is an occupation name; and such other functions of the adjectival derivational suffix *-(V)s* as deriving collective names, for instance, are not productive, as is illustrated in (555b) below.

(555) ● Conversions from Adj to N

a. *gördeszká-s / újság-os / órá-s / asztal-os*
skateboard-S / newspaper-S / clock-S / table-S
'*skateboarder / [newspaper vendor] / watchmaker / woodworker*'

a'. *főiskolá-s / postá-s*
college-S / post_office-S
'*undergrad / postman*'

a". *dob-os / klarinét-os*
drum-S / clarinet-S
'*drummer / [clarinet player]*'

b. *akác-os / nád-as / *szőlő-s / *pálmá-s*
acacia-S / sedge-S / grape-S / palm-S
'*[acacia grove] / [reed bed] / vineyard / [forest of palm trees]*'

c. Belépett a kocsmába *egy finn és két svéd.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *a Finn and two Swede*
'*A Finn and two Swedes* entered the pub.'

c'. Belépett a kocsmába *egy finn nő és két svéd férfi.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *a Finn woman and two Swedish man*
'*A Finnish woman and two Swedish men* entered the pub.'

c". Belépett a kocsmába *egy londoni és két birminghami* ??*(férfi).*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *a London.Adj and two Birmingham.Adj man*
'*A Londoner and two Brummies* entered the pub.'

d. Találkoztál már *az új pandol-os-sal*?
meet.Past.2Sg already *the new pandol-S-Ins*
'Have you already met *the new pandoler?*'

d'. Belépett a kocsmába *egy umbur és két ebre.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *an Umbur and two Ebre*
'*An Umbur and two Ebre*s entered the pub.'

There is also a type of adjective (referring to the property of having to do with a given nation) which can serve as input to derivation of person denoting nouns by conversion. As is exemplified in (555c) above, this type of derivation is productive, as compared, for instance, to the type of derivation presented in (555c"), in which the examples are highly marked on an "out-of-the-blue" (i.e., non-elliptical) interpretation. In this latter type, the intended input of conversion is an adjective derived from the name of a city or town (or other settlement) by means of the adjectival derivational suffix *-i.*

The examples in (555d-d') above, in which nonsensical input adjectives are tested (namely, two fictive nationality names *Umbur* and *Ebre*, and an adjective derived from the fictive noun *pandol* by means of the adjectival derivational suffix *-(V)s*), suggest that the types of derivation claimed to be productive above are indeed productive.

We claim that both of these types pattern with ordinary nouns, as is expected on the basis of the fact that they denote persons. We will be thoroughly illustrating this statement (only) in the case of the occupation-denoting nouns—hence, ODN-nouns—, presented in the (a)-examples in (555) above, since they are discussed in the most relevant literature (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b).

1.3.2.2.1. Form of the derived noun

As ODN-nouns denote occupations in the bare predicative use, and they denote representatives of these occupations, that is, persons, in the referential use, they are (correctly) expected to be state-type-based, and not complex-state-based, deadjectival nominals.

Do ODN-nouns pattern with TPD_{AG}-nouns in having complex-eventuality-based counterparts?

In the case of TPD_{AG}-nouns, these counterparts are the group of Ó-nouns, which are based on sophisticated complex-event denoting verbal constructions (see

subsection 1.3.1.3.1). The question is whether the adjectival input can provide a complex-state basis for the potential counterparts of ODN-nouns. It is shown in (556b) below that, although it is not *ab ovo* excluded to assume a complex-state-based counterpart (e.g., 'to be (being) a watchmaker' on a stage-level interpretation) for an ODN-noun (i.e., 'to be a watchmaker', on an individual-level interpretation, see (556a)), this possibility is not restricted to ODN-nouns based on *-(V)s*-adjectives, but also holds for such absolute nominal stems as *pék* 'baker', for instance. That is why we attribute the appearance of the special stage-level interpretation in the case of *-(V)s*-nouns (and arbitrary common nouns) to the general type-shifting mechanism we dubbed "quotational mood" in the comments on (381b') in 1.3.1.3.3, sub I (instead of assuming a complex-eventuality-based type of occupation-denoting deadjectival nominal).

(556) ● The derivational basis of ODN-nouns

a. Péter *órá-s / pék* volt a 80-as években.
Péter *clock-S / baker* be.Past.3Sg the 80-Adj year.Pl.Ine
'Péter was *a watchmaker / baker* in the eighties.'

b. Tegnap Péter *"órá-s" /"pék"* volt.
yesterday Péter *clock-S / baker* be.Past.3Sg
'Yesterday Péter was being *a watchmaker / baker* (in the sense, say, that he played the given role in a game or a play).'

Let us start the illustration of ODN-nouns patterning with ordinary nouns by showing that they can be characterized by a complete noun-like distribution, see the series of examples in (557) below.

(557) ● The noun-like external distribution of ODN-nouns

a. Péter *órá-s / [a legjobb órá-s].*
Péter *clock-S / the best clock-S*
'Péter is *[a watchmaker] / [the best watchmaker]*.'

b. *Az órá-s* már hazament.
the clock-S already go_home.Past.3Sg
'*The watchmaker* has already gone home.'

c. *Az órá-s-t* már hazaküldték.
the clock-S-Acc already send_home.Past.3Sg
'*The watchmaker* has already been sent home.'

d. *Az órá-s-ról* sokan beszélnek.
the clock-S-Del many.people speak.3Pl
'Many speak *about the watchmaker*.'

e. *Az órá-s miatt* csuktak le.
the clock-S because_of close.Past.3Pl down
'I was imprisoned *because of the watchmaker*.'

In (557a), there are ODN-noun constructions, a bare one and a definite one, used as primary predicates. In (557b), an ODN-noun is used as a (nominative case-marked) subject. An ODN-noun can also be used as an (accusative case-marked) object (557c) or as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (557d). It can also be an argument of a postposition (557e).

Let us now turn to the form of ODN-nouns. As was discussed above, ODN-nouns, due to their conversional derivation from *-(V)s*-adjectives, are regularly homophonous with them, so they are expected to end in *-(V)s*. Several ODN-nouns, however, do not coincide phonetically with the corresponding *-(V)s*-adjectives, but the "potential words" that the process of conversion would yield (see the primeless examples in (558) below) are blocked by idiosyncratic forms which already exist in the language, as the primed examples in (558) illustrate (on lexical blocking, see Kiefer and Ladányi (2000a: 157) and Rainer (1988)).

The morphological relation between the blocking idiosyncratic ODN-noun forms and the potential regularly derived noun-based adjectival phonetic forms ending in *-(V)s* is as follows: the blocking forms are immediately derived from these basic nouns by attaching to them non-productive denominal nominalizers such as the Hungarian suffixes *-Ász* (558a') or *-nOk* (558b'), or, in the case of nouns of a foreign origin, the suffix *-ista* , also of foreign origin (558c').

(558) ● Deriving ODN-nouns

a. *?vad-as / *cipő-s / ✓hal-as
wild-S / shoe-S / fish-S
'hunter / shoemaker / [fish dealer]'

a'. vadász / cipész / halász
'hunter / shoemaker / fisherman'

b. *dal-os / *pohar-as / *gond-os / *ügy-es (*but:* ✓pénzügy-es)
song-S / glass-S / problem-S / case-S (money.case-S)

b'. dalnok / pohárnok / gondnok / ügynök (*but:* *pénzügynök)
'minstrel / cup-bearer / caretaker / agent ([financial expert])'

c. *futball-os / *gimnázium-os / ✓oboá-s
football-S / high_school-S / oboe-S

c'. futballista / gimnazista / oboista
'footballer / [high school student] / oboist'

Note in passing that it sometimes happens that a regularly derived ODN-noun phonetic form coexists with a blocking form either with a different meaning (compare *halas* 'fish dealer' in (558a) and *halász* 'fisherman' in (558a')) or with the same meaning (compare *oboás* in (558c) and *oboista* 'oboist' in (558c')).

1.3.2.2.2. Argument and information structure

ODN-nouns pattern with TPD_{AG}-nouns (see (348) 1.3.1.3.2.1) in dispensing with any dependent (559a-a') due to their lexicalized status or taking a possessor as a conceptual argument (559a-c).

The given possessor is primarily in a semantic relation to the noun that can be calculated on the basis of world knowledge. In the case of such occupations as *postás* 'postman', for instance, the beneficiaries of the service (s)he provides are the default possessors (559a). In the case of musicians, however, the default possessor is the orchestra (and/or its distinguished members), see (559a').

(559) ● Argument structure of ODN-nouns

a. Megbetegedett *a postá-s(-unk).*
become_ill-Past.3Sg *the post_office-S(-Poss.1Pl)*
'*The / Our postman* became ill.'

a'. Megbetegedett *a klarinét-os(-unk).*
become_ill-Past.3Sg *the clarinet-S(-Poss.1Pl)*
'*The / Our clarinet player* became ill.'

b. Péter lett *az év postá-s-a.*
Péter become.Past.3Sg *the year post_office-S-Poss.3Sg*
'Péter became *the postman of the year*.'

c. *Nekem ő a kedvenc postá-s-om* a csapatban.
I.Dat (s)he the favorite post_office-S-Poss.1Sg the team.Ine
'He is *my favorite postman* in the team.'

The possessor can also be in such a loose semantic relation to the noun as a temporal expression, for instance (559b). Moreover, if the construction contains the expression *kedvenc* 'favorite', the semantic relation of the possessor to the eventuality is practically totally arbitrary (559c).

ODN-nouns also pattern with TPD_{AG}-nouns in not having an internal information structure, as the two kinds of tests demonstrate in (560a-b) below (cf. (352b-b') in 1.3.1.3.2.2, respectively). The potentially ambiguous sentence in (560a) is unambiguous; it has only a wide-scope reading, and lacks the narrow-scope reading which could serve as evidence for having an internal information structure. As for (560b), it cannot be associated with any meaning: the irrelevant wide-scope reading is here blocked by embedding the given ODN-noun construction in a matrix focus context, and the narrow-scope reading under investigation is not available, due to the exact lack of internal information structure.

(560) ● Internal information structure in the case of ODN-nouns

a. Megbetegedett [*mindkét nagynéném* postá-s-a].
become_ill.Past.3Sg *both aunt.Poss.1Sg* post_office-S-Poss.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[BECOME_ILL ⊇ [BOTH_AUNTS > POSTMAN]]
Intended meaning: '(Each of my aunts has two postmen, of whom one is common in the sense that he delivers letters to both of them.) *My two aunts'* common postman became ill.'
wide-scope reading: [[BOTH_AUNTS > [BECOME_ILL ⊇ POSTMAN]]]
'In the case of *both of my aunts*, the postman of each of them became ill.'

b. *Csak [*mindkét nagynéném* postá-s-a] betegedett meg.
only *both aunt.Poss.1Sg* post_office-S-Poss.3Sg become_ill.Past.3Sg perf
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *[BECOME_ILL ≡ [BOTH_AUNTS > POSTMAN]]
Intended meaning: '(Each of my aunts have two postmen, of whom one is common in the sense that he delivers letters to both of them.) Only *my two aunts'* common postman became ill.'
wide-scope reading: –

At this point, we generally overview basic and deviant input argument-structure types; see subsections 1.3.2.1.2.3 and 1.3.2.1.3 in the case of *sÁg*-nouns, for instance. However, since the relevant set of input *-(V)s*-adjectives shows no variety with respect to argument-structure types relative to the single type presented in (559a-a'), there is no need for such an overview here; nevertheless, we call the

reader's attention to subsection 1.3.2.2.3.1, in which relevant properties of the (somewhat defective) input *-(V)s*-adjectives will be discussed.

1.3.2.2.3. Nominal and adjectival properties

As we follow Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 189–191) in categorizing ODN-nouns as deadjectival nominals, this subsection outlines their adjectival (1.3.2.2.3.1) and nominal (1.3.2.2.3.2) properties. We will conclude this topic in a separate subsection (1.3.2.2.3.3) with a short summary of the observations and generalizations.

1.3.2.2.3.1. Adjectival properties

Let us now take into account the adjectival properties considered in the case of *sÁg*-nouns (1.3.2.1.4.1), starting with the question of argument-structure inheritance, which was a constant property considered in the case of deadjectival nominals (1.3.2) as well as in the case of deverbal nominals (1.3.1).

The series of examples in (561) illustrates the quite special inheritance of the single argument of the input adjective. The alternative answers presented in (561b,c,d,e) to the (common) question in (561a) (pertaining to someone's occupation) are to be understood as follows. It is obvious that the predicatively used output nouns (561c,d,e) have one argument, which is the pronominal subject; the predicatively used noun *asztalos* 'be a woodworker' in (561c), for instance, forms a predicative unit with the pronoun *ő* '(s)he' as its argument (561c'-c"). It is somewhat more difficult (and quite theory-dependent) to precisely resolve the argument structures of the two elements of the input attributive construction. What is certain is that the nominal element of the attributive construction has an argument exactly in the same way as was discussed above; the predicatively used noun *mester* 'be a master' in (561b), for instance, is a part of a predicative unit with the pronoun *ő* '(s)he' as its argument (561b'). The semantic contribution of the adjectival component of the attributive construction can then be construed (in a somewhat simplified manner) as another predicate about the same subject which adds some specifying information to the information provided by the noun; particularly, for instance, the person who is claimed to be a master is simultaneously claimed to have to do with tables (561b'). The attributive construction as a whole, thus, ultimately provides the information that someone is "a master in woodworking". That is, it is predicated about the same referent x that he is a master and that he has to do with tables (561b"). All in all, it is this special argument of the (special) adjective that is inherited by the ODN-noun.

(561) ● "Argument-structure inheritance" of ODN-nouns

a. Mi ő?
what (s)he
'What is he?'

b. Ő *asztal-os*$_{\text{Adj}}$ *mester.*
(s)he *table-S* *master*
'He is *a master woodworker.* / He is *a woodworker.*'

b'. [he is a master] and [he has to do with tables]

b''. be_a_master(x) & have_to_do_with_tables(x)

c. Ő *asztal-os*$_{\text{N}}$.
(s)he *table-S*
He is *a woodworker.*'

c'. [he is a woodworker]

c''. be_a_woodworker(x)

d. Ő *gitár-os*$_{\text{Adj}}$ *utcazenész.* → Ő *gitár-os*$_{\text{N}}$.
(s)he *guitar-S* *street_musician* (s)he *guitar-S*
'He is *a guitar playing street performer.* He is *a guitar player.*'

e. Ő *főiskolá-s*$_{\text{Adj}}$ *fiú.* → Ő *főiskolá-s*$_{\text{N}}$.
(s)he *college-S* *boy* (s)he *college-S*
'He is *an undergrad boy.* He is *an undergrad.*'

f. Belépett a szobába *a(z) asztal-os*$_{\text{N}}$ */ gitár-os*$_{\text{N}}$ */ főiskolá-s*$_{\text{N}}$.
enter.Past.3Sg the room.Ill *the table-S* */ guitar-S* */ college-S*
'*The woodworker / [guitar player] / undergrad* entered the room.'

The word *gitáros* 'guitar.S' in (561d) above as an adjective, thus, can be construed as a predicate with the underspecified meaning 'have to do with a guitar or guitars'. The argument of this predicate is inherited by the output predicate 'be a guitar player'. In a similar way, the word *főiskolás* 'college.S' in (561e) as an adjective, thus, can be construed as a predicate with the underspecified meaning 'have to do with a college or colleges'. The argument of this predicate is inherited by the output predicate 'be an undergrad'.

It must also be noted that if the ODN-noun is used (not predicatively but) referentially, the (above-discussed) single argument of the input *-(V)s*-adjective corresponds to (the denotatum of) the output ODN-noun itself, see (561f). ODN-nouns, thus, pattern with TPD$_{\text{AG}}$-nouns (and Ó-nouns) in this respect, too (see 1.3.1.3.2.1).

As is exemplified in (562a) below, the above-discussed *-(V)s*-adjectives are defective in that they cannot be used as predicates on their own, perhaps due to their underspecified meaning. As could be seen in (561) above, they can be used (and interpreted) only as attributive components of an attributive construction, within which the underspecified adjectival meaning can be interpreted as a "specifying" contribution to the meaning of the nominal head of the given attributive construction. The underspecified semantics of *-(V)s*-adjectives is also illustrated in (563a') below, in which the same *-(V)s*-adjective *asztalos* 'table.S' serves as a modifier of another kind of noun, namely, *szoba* 'room'. Here, the underspecified semantic content 'have to do with a table or tables' is specified as 'containing a table or tables', due to the particular "matrix semantics"; since a room is not capable of producing or selling tables, but can be claimed to contain a table or tables.

Since the adjectival property of being capable of serving as a predicate (see subsection 1.3.2.1.4.1) does not hold for *-(V)s*-adjectives, it is pointless to investigate the inheritance of this property in the case of ODN-nouns.

(562) ● Adjectival properties of the potential adjectives serving as input to ODN-nouns I.

a. *Péter / *?[Ez a szoba] *asztal-os*.
Péter / this the room *table-S*
Intended meaning: 'Péter / [This room] *has to do with a table or tables*.'

b. *Péter *asztal-os-abb* mester Jánosnál.
Péter *table-S-Comp* master János.Ade
Intended meaning: 'Péter and János are masters, and Péter *has to do with tables to a greater extent*.'

b'. *?Ez *asztal-os-abb* szoba annál a szobánál.
this *table-S-Comp* room that.Ade the room.Ade
Intended meaning: 'This room *has to do with tables to a greater extent* than that room does *(in the sense that, say, there are more or better tables in this room than in that one)*.'

c. *Péter egy *elég(-gé) / nagyon / feltűnően asztal-os* mester.
Péter a *quite(-TrE) / very / strikingly table-S* master
Intended meaning: 'Péter is a master who *has to do with tables to a sufficient / great / striking extent (given, say, the number or the quality of the tables produced by him)*.'

c'. *?Ez egy *elég(-gé) / nagyon / feltűnően asztal-os* szoba.
this a *quite (-TrE) / very / strikingly table-S* room
Intended meaning: 'This is a room which *has to do with tables to a sufficient / great / striking extent (given, say, the number or the quality of the tables in it)*.'

c''. *Péter egy *elég(-gé) / nagyon / feltűnően asztal-os*.
Péter a *quite (-TrE) / very / strikingly table-S*
Intended meaning: appr. 'Péter is *a woodworker to a sufficient / great / striking extent*.'

d. *Belépett a kocsmába az az *[állítólag / egykor asztal-os]* mester.
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill that the *allegedly / in_former_times table-S* master
Intended meaning: 'The master who *[allegedly has] / [used to have] to do with tables* entered the pub.'

d'. ??Beléptem abba az *[állítólag / egykor asztal-os]* szobába.
enter.Past.1 that.Ill the *allegedly / in_former_times table-S* room.Ill
'I entered the room which *[allegedly has] / [used to have] to do with tables (in the sense that there [is allegedly] / [used to be] at least one table in it)*.'

d''. *Belépett a kocsmába az az *állítólag / egykor asztal-os*.
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill that the *allegedly / in_former_times table-S*
Intended meaning: '*That alleged / former woodworker* entered the pub.'

It is overviewed in (562b-d'') above which further adjectival properties the defective class of *-(V)s*-adjectives also lacks. They have no three degrees of comparison (562b-b'); that is, they have no comparative or superlative forms. Nor can they be modified by intensifiers (562c-c''). They cannot readily be modified by other kinds of adverbs, either (562d-d''). Note in passing that the adjectival counterparts of the adverbs presented in (562d''), and partly those of the intensifiers presented in (562c''), can appear as prenominal modifiers of ODN-nouns, see (565c-d'') in 1.3.2.2.3.2.

It would be pointless, thus, to consider the question of the inheritance of these three adjectival properties.

The only adjectival property that the input *-(V)s*-adjectives have (in addition to argument-structure inheritance) is the property of being capable of serving as a prenominal modifier (563a-a'), as was seen in (561b,d,e) above, too. As is

exemplified in (563b) below (which presents the same construction as was presented in (103c) in 1.1.2.1, for instance), this property could theoretically be regarded as one which can be inherited. It cannot be decided, however, whether this possibility, in the case of ODN-nouns, is due to their input adjectival character or due to their output nominal character (now see the (d)-example in (103) in 1.1.2.1, in which a proper name appears as a prenominal modifier). That is why this property will not be considered (either as an adjectival or as a nominal property) in Table 43 in 1.3.2.2.3.3, primarily devoted to the presentation of the ratio of the input and the output categorial characteristics.

(563) ● Adjectival properties of the potential adjectives serving as input to ODN-nouns II.

a. Péter egy *asztal-os* mester.
Péter a *table-S* master
'Péter is a master who *has to do with tables, in the sense that he produces tables*.'

a'. Végre kaptam egy *asztal-os* szobát.
at_last get.Past.1Sg a *table-S* room.Acc
'At last, I managed to get a room which *has to do with tables, in the sense that there is at least one table in it*.'

b. Találkoztál az *asztal-os* barátommal?
meet.Past.2Sg the *table-S* friend.Poss.1Sg.Ins
'Have you met my *woodworker* friend?'

1.3.2.2.3.2. Nominal properties

Let us start with the question of pluralization, the possibility of which is primarily a nominal property. Note that adjectives can also be pluralized in Hungarian but only in the predicative function which is not available to the input *-(V)s*-adjectives, as was illustrated in (562a) in 1.3.2.2.3.2.

As is illustrated in (564a) below, ODN-nouns pattern with ordinary nouns with respect to pluralization: they can be totally freely pluralized.

(564) ● Pluralization and possessors of ODN-nouns

a. Tegnap megérkeztek *az asztal-os-ok.*
yesterday arrive.Past.3Pl *the table-S-Pl*
'*The woodworkers* arrived yesterday.'

b. *Péter asztal-os-a* jobb *a ti asztal-os-otok-nál.*
Péter table-S-Poss.3Sg better *the you*$_{Pl}$ *table-S-Poss.3Sg-Ade*
'*Péter's woodworker* is better than *your*$_{Pl}$ *woodworker*.'

From the point of view that they can have a possessor (in any person and number) within the noun phrase they head, ODN-nouns are totally nominal. This is illustrated in (564b) above. Thus, they pattern with ordinary nouns in this respect, too. Recall that in Hungarian an adjective cannot bear a possessive suffix (see (543b) in 1.3.2.1.4.2), so in the case of ODN-nouns, as well as in the case of *sÁg*-nouns, the capability of taking a possessor is undoubtedly due to their output nominalness, and not to their adjectival input.

Let us now turn to the question of case marking.

As was discussed in connection with the series of examples in (557) in 1.3.2.2.1, ODN-nouns can occur with any kind of case marking. Hence, they are

completely nominal in this sense, too. Recall that, as adjectives can also bear case suffixes (see (541a') in 1.3.2.1.4.1), having this property is not so decisive as was in the case of deverbal nominals (since verbs cannot bear case suffixes).

The next nominal property to discuss is adjectival modification. It can be claimed that, as is expected, ODN-nouns are totally nominal in this respect.

First of all, they can take adjectival and attributive prenominal modifiers on the basis of their own nominal right (565a)—in the sense that ODN-nouns denote persons and the given attributes pertain to personal properties, independent of the occupation they refer to.

In the second type of adjectival modification, exemplified in (565b) below, the attributes have to do with the given occupation, so the attributes are taken on the basis of the own nominal right of the output ODN-nouns in this type, too. Note that certain attributes can occur in both types but with different interpretations. *Győri* 'Győr.Adj', for instance, can refer to the town where someone lives "as a private person" in the first type (565a), totally independent of his or her occupation, while the same expression can refer to the place where (s)he works as a woodworker in the second type (565b).

(565) ● Adjectival modification of ODN-nouns

a. Belépett a kocsmába *az a magas/ jóképű / részeges / győri asztal-os.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *that the tall / handsome/ alcoholic / győr.Adj table-S*
'*That woodworker who [is tall / handsome / alcoholic] / [lives in Győr]* entered the pub.'

b. Belépett a kocsmába *az a kiváló / győri asztal-os.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *that the excellent / Győr.Adj table-S*
'*That woodworker who [is an excellent expert of woodworking] / [works in Győr]* entered the pub.'

c. Belépett a kocsmába *az az állítólagos / egykori asztal-os.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *that the alleged / in_former_times.Adj table-S*
'*That alleged / former woodworker* entered the pub.'

d. Belépett a kocsmába *az a(z) *elégséges / ?nagy asztal-os.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *that the sufficient / great table-S*
'*That sufficient / great woodworker* entered the pub.'

d'. Belépett a kocsmába *az a(z) *elégséges / ✓nagy gitár-os.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *that the sufficient / great guitar_player-S*
'*That sufficient / great guitar player* entered the pub.'

d". Belépett a kocsmába *az a feltűnő asztal-os / gitáros.*
enter.Past.3Sg the pub.Ill *that the striking table-s / guitar_player-S*
'*That striking woodworker / [guitar player]* entered the pub.'

Are there cases in which the attributive modifier of an ODN-noun corresponds to an adverbial modifier of the input adjective (via some kind of inheriting mechanism associated with the derivation of the deadjectival nominal)? Examples (565c-d") above present potential examples of this type. That is not the case, however, because the expected input constructions are unacceptable, testified by (562c",d") in 1.3.2.2.3.1. This fact suggests that the attachment to ODN-nouns presented in (565c-d") of irregular adjectives (see (534) in 1.3.2.1.3) and of intensifiers does not constitute a third type of adjectival modification.

The attributive constructions with irregular adjectives, presented in (565c), belong to the second type, in which the noun as an occupation name is modified.

That is, it is claimed, for instance, that someone is not a woodworker but is only alleged to be a woodworker (and not his or her personhood is questioned). The attributive constructions with intensifier adjectives, presented in (565d-d"), show a much varied picture, even in two respects. First, the acceptability of the given attributive constructions depends on both the intensifier and the ODN-noun. *Elégséges* 'sufficient', for instance, is uniformly unacceptable (565d-d') while *nagy* 'great' is more or less acceptable depending on the given occupation name, perhaps in connection with celebrity culture in certain professions (565d-d'); these cases, thus, belong to the second type of interpretation, in which the noun as an occupation name is modified. *Feltűnő* 'striking', however, can readily modify an ODN-noun but the interpretation of the corresponding attributive constructions belongs to the first type, in which "private persons" are characterized (565d").

Let us now turn to the question of whether ODN-nouns are compatible with different degrees of referentiality.

The tested ODN-noun constructions, in harmony with their highly nominal character observed so far, are compatible with all the four degrees of referentiality (566). They (also) pattern with ordinary nouns in yielding the specific indefinite interpretation somewhat less readily (566b).

(566) ● Degree of referentality of ODN-nouns

a. *Az asztal-os* tegnap végre megérkezett.
the table-S yesterday at_last arrive.Past.3Sg
'*The woodworker* arrived here yesterday at last.'

b. (?)Tegnap végre megérkezett *egy asztal-os*.
yesterday at_last arrive.Past.3Sg *a table-S*
'(We have been waiting for two woodworkers and three mechanics.) Yesterday *a woodworker* arrived here at last.'

c. Tegnap érkezett *egy asztal-os*.
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *a table-S*
'Yesterday there arrived here *a woodworker*.'

d. Péter *nagyon jó asztal-os*.
Péter *very good table-S*
'Péter is *a very good woodworker*.'

The last nominal property we discuss is quantification and determination.

ODN-nouns are unequivocally nominal with respect to quantification: they are fully compatible with the regular modes of quantification (567a-b) while they reject adjectival quantification (567c).

(567) ● Quantification and determination of ODN-nouns

a. Tegnap megérkezett *[a három]/ mindkét / [az utolsó] / (?)minden asztalos.*
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *the three / both / the last / every table-S*
'Yesterday *[the three] / both / [the last] / every woodworker(s)* arrived.'

b. Érkezett tegnap *három / néhány/ (?)sok asztal-os* is.
arrive.Past.3Sg yesterday *three / some / many table-S* also
'Yesterday there also arrived *three / [a few] / many woodworkers*.'

c. *Tegnap megérkezett *[a háromszori] / [a gyakori] asztal-os*.
yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg *the three_times.Adj / the often.Adj table-S*
Intended meaning: '*[The three] / — woodworkers* arrived.'

All in all, ODN-nouns are perfectly nominal in every relevant respect (just like TPD_{AG}-nouns, which also denote persons).

1.3.2.2.3.3. Summary

We summarize our observations on adjectival (1.3.2.2.3.1) and nominal (1.3.2.2.3.2) properties of ODN-nouns in Table 43 below.

Similar to our practice applied so far in the corresponding summaries (see, for instance, Table 42 in subsection 1.3.2.1.4.3), the presence or absence (or degrees) of (input) adjectival and (output) nominal properties are presented by check-marks, asterisks and question marks in the table. As for the visual representation, the lighter a cell is, the more nominal—and simultaneously the less adjectival—the noun type is in the given respect. The symbol '—' means (here) that the (otherwise adjectival) property in question does not hold for the (defective) relevant input adjectives.

Table 43: The degree of adjectivalness/nominalness of ODN-nouns

PROPERTIES		ODN-NOUN
ADJECTIVAL	presence of arguments	??
	degrees of comparison expressed	—
	modification by adverbs	*
	modification by intensifiers	—
	inflection of the adjectival stem	—
NOMINAL	pluralization	✓
	possessive argument	✓
	case marking	✓
	adjectival modification	✓
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality	✓
	quantification (and determination)	✓

It can be seen that ODN-nouns are completely nominal: they have all the nominal and practically none of the adjectival properties. As for the first adjectival property, namely, the property of having arguments, the discussion of the series of examples in (561) in subsection 1.3.2.2.3.1 presents the dilemmas on the status of the single potential argument of ODN-nouns, which is the subject of (predicatively used) ODN-nouns.

The question of intensifiers is also worth a comment. The corresponding cell is deleted, not due to the total absence of ODN-noun constructions with intensifiers (in the adjectival form) but due to the fact that the potential input *-(V)s*-adjectives reject intensifiers. The appearance of intensifiers in certain ODN-noun constructions, thus, cannot be regarded as evidence for the inheritance of the input adjectival character in the course of derivation.

1.3.2.3. Other methods of deadjectival nominalization

This short subsection is devoted to the overview of the non-productive deadjectival nominalizers in Hungarian.

In contrast to the large number of non-productive deverbal nominalizers (presented in subsection 1.3.1.6), there are only a few sporadically occurring non-productive deadjectival nominalizers, which are all diminutive derivational suffixes (NB: diminutive derivational suffixes are *ab ovo* denominal nominalizers, see (587) in 1.3.3.2). Three of them are presented in the series of examples in (568) below.

One is the *-kA* suffix, which is held to serve as a less productive alternative to the preferred productive diminutive denominal nominalizer *-(V)cskA* (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 168–170). It is illustrated in (568a) that the *-kA* suffix cannot be regarded as a productive deadjectival nominal because it does not always form person denoting nouns even in the domain of hair colors. In (568a'), a special subclass of *-kA*-nouns is presented, which are fully acceptable only when associated with a 1Sg possessor and which typically occur in a vocative construction.

(568) ● Non-productive deadjectival nominalizers

a. Meghívtam a buliba *egy* (?)*vörös-ké-t / *barná-cská-t / *?dagi-ká-t.*
invite.Past.3Sg the party.Ill *a red-Dim-Acc / brown-Dim-Acc / fat-Dim-Acc*
'I invited *a red-haired / brown-haired / fatty woman* to the party.'

a'. Gyere ide, ?*kicsi-ke / ˇkicsi-ké-m / *kicsi-ké-nk!*
come.Subj.2Sg here *small-Dim / small-Dim-Poss.1Sg / small-Dim-Poss.1Pl*
'Come here, *sweetie / [my dear] / [our dear]*!'

b. Meghívtam a buliba *egy apró-d-ot* is.
invite.Past.3Sg the party.Ill *a small-Dim-Acc* also
'I also invited *a henchman* to the party.'

c. Megpillantottam *egy zöld-i-ké-t.*
catch_sight_of.Past.3Sg *a green-Dim-Dim-Acc*
'I caught sight of *a greenfinch*.'

In (568b) above, the diminutive derivational suffix *-d* is illustrated in a lexicalized word, in which it is to be regarded as a (non-productive) deadjectival nominalizer. The suffix *-d* has and used to have several functions in Hungarian (Bárczi, Benkő and Berrár 1999: 320). As a diminutive denominal nominalizer, it is not productive any more. It only sporadically occurs in common nouns in present-day Hungarian, but can be observed in numerous proper nouns (e.g., *Árpád* (person name), *Kakasd* (settlement name)). According to Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 191), it productively functions as a derivational suffix of fraction numbers (e.g., *negy-ed* 'four-D' ('¼' or *n-ed* 'n-D' ('$^1/_n$')) and of ordinal numbers (e.g., *negy-ed-ik* 'four-D-Ord' ('fourth') or *n-ed-ik* 'n-D-Ord' ('n-th')).

In the (sporadically appearing) third type, illustrated in (568c) above, a combination of the nickname deriving *-i* suffix and the diminutive suffix *-kA* serves as a deadjectival nominalizer (see (587c) in 1.3.3.2).

The words derived in the ways presented in (568a-c) above are lexicalized elements which basically pattern with ordinary nouns with respect to showing the characteristic nominal properties.

1.3.2.4. Summary

There are three groups of productively derived deadjectival nominals: the complex-state denoting SÁG-nouns, which are "created on-line", their state-type denoting (lexicalized) counterparts, the SSD-nouns (1.3.2.1), and the (also lexicalized) person denoting nouns derived by means of conversion from (the quite defective class of) *-(V)s*-adjectives (i.e., ODN-nouns) or nationality names (1.3.2.2).

The two classes of *sÁg*-nouns, as they denote eventualities, largely pattern with ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns, respectively, with respect to nominal properties. The person denoting nouns pattern with ordinary nouns (and TPD_{AG}-nouns) in having all nominal properties following from their denoting persons.

In contrast to the large number of non-productive deverbal nominalizers (presented in subsection 1.3.1.6), there are only a few sporadically occurring non-productive deadjectival nominalizers, which are all diminutive derivational suffixes.

1.3.3. Denominal nouns

Suffixation of nouns to form new nouns can be achieved by means of the eventuality denoting -sÁg suffix, a few subcategory preserving denominal nominalizers and a few non-productive denominal nominalizers; subsections 1.3.3.1-1.3.3.3 will discuss these types of nominalization, respectively. A short summary (1.3.3.4) concludes this subsection on denominal nominals.

Table 44: Denominal nominalization types

TYPE	EXAMPLE	SUBSECTION
(denominal) SÁG-nominalization	[Péter *dékán-ság-a*] rövid ideig tartott. Péter *dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg* short time.Ter last.Past.3Sg 'The period when Péter *was the dean* was of short duration.'	1.3.3.1
subcategory preserving kinds of nominalization	Ekkor belépett [*a dékán-né / fiú-cska / dir-i*]. then enter.Past.3Sg *the dean-NÉ / boy-Dim / director-Dim* 'Then *the [wife of the dean] / [little boy] / [director$_{informal}$]* entered the room.'	1.3.3.2
non-productive kinds of nominalization	*hal-ász / ügy-nök / dékán-ia / kalif-átus / cic-us* *fish-Nmn / case-Nmn / dean-Nmn / caliph-Nmn / cat-Dim* '*fisherman / agent / [dean's office] / caliphate / kitty*'	1.3.3.3

As for the basic characteristics of the resulting denominal nominals, denominal *sÁg*-nouns are surprisingly different from deadjectival *sÁg*-nouns, in spite of their basic patterning with deadjectival *sÁg*-nouns in dividing into a complex-state denoting and a state-type denoting subtype. As for subcategory preserving denominal nouns, they (obviously) preserve the degree of nominalness of their input, too.

1.3.3.1. Denominal SÁG*-nominalization*

This section discusses the denominal nominalizer *-sÁg*, which is claimed by Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 165–167) to be productive in its use when the output construction denotes the abstract property of being such as what is denoted by the input nominal construction. On the basis of this meaning, its relatedness to the

deadjectival nominal *sÁg*-noun (1.3.2.1) is undoubted; nevertheless, their syntactic behavior is different to a greater extent than it might be expected.

The productive meaning of *-sÁg* is exemplified below by means of a newly coined (569a) and a nonsensical noun (569a') as input; although this productivity extends only to the quite small domain of occupations and other functions concerning human activities and roles (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 166). Nouns denoting real objects, for instance, cannot undergo *sÁg*-nominalization (569b). Animal names cannot readily undergo this productive type of *sÁg*-nominalization, either (569b'), but there are speaker-dependent differences in this respect. Nevertheless, there are many lexicalized nouns derived from animal names by means of the derivational suffix *-sÁg* (569c), but they have (specially anthropomorphized, typically pejorative) meanings different from the one associated with productively derived *sÁg*-nouns (as was outlined in the previous paragraph).

(569) ● Denominal derivational suffix *-sÁg*

a. *A menedzser-ség / cár-ság* sok teherrel jár.
the manager-SÁG / tzar-SÁG much burden.Ins go.3Sg
'*Being a manager / tzar* brings much burden.'

a'. *A pandolos-ság* sok teherrel jár.
the pandoler-SÁG much burden.Ins go.3Sg
'*Being a pandoler* brings much burden.'

b. *?Megkérdőjelezem ennek a tákolmánynak *a szék-ség-é-t.*
question.DefObj.1Sg this.Dat the botchery.Dat *the chair-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
Intended meaning: 'I question that this botchery is *a chair*.'

b'. ??Kétlem ennek az állatnak *a gnú-ság-á-t / tigris-ség-é-t.*
doubt.DefObj.1Sg this.Dat the animal.Dat *the gnu-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc / tiger-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
'I doubt whether this animal is *a gnu / tiger*.'

c. *marha-ság / szamár-ság / malac-ság / tetű-ség / *tigris-ség / *kacsa-ság*
cattle-SÁG / donkey-SÁG / piglet-SÁG / louse-SÁG / tiger-SÁG / duck-SÁG
'*poppycock / poppycock / obscenity / villainy / — / —*'

c'. *katona-ság / hallgató-ság / erdő-ség / *néző-ség / *virág-ság*
soldier-SÁG / listener-SÁG / forest-SÁG / spectator-SÁG / flower-SÁG
'*army / audience / forestry / [group of spectators] / [flowery meadow]*'

c''. *király-ság / herceg-ség / *cár-ság*
king-SÁG / prince-SÁG / tzar-SÁG
'*kingdom / principality / [the tzar's empire]*'

Other two typical non-productive uses of the denominal nominalizer *-sÁg* are illustrated in (569c'-c'') above: by means of this suffix, it is possible to derive collective nouns (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b: 167) and names of territories governed by the person denoted by the nominal derivational basis, respectively. For its further non-productive uses, see subsection 1.3.3.3.

1.3.3.1.1. Form of the derived noun

The first question discussed in this subsection is whether (productively derived) denominal *sÁg*-nouns pattern with deadjectival *sÁg*-nouns (1.3.2.1.1) in forming

two subtypes, namely, that of complex-state denoting SÁG-nouns and that of state-type denoting (or "simple state denoting") SSD-nouns.

The series of examples in (570) below suggests a basically positive answer to this question, somewhat depending on the subtype of the noun serving as the derivational basis. The subtypes we consider relevant are as follows: (i) functions (570b-b") with three subordinate subtypes which are occupations and qualifications (570b), positions (570b'), and ranks (570b"), (ii) (kinship) relations (570c), (iii) proper names (570d). A noun referring to a position (related to a definite term of office), for instance, readily undergoes *-sÁg*-nominalization, especially when the resulting *sÁg*-noun refers to the state of just being in the middle of holding the office, that is, when it counts as a SÁG-noun (570b'). It can be established generally in (570b-d) that SÁG-nouns are more acceptable than (or at least as acceptable as) their SSD-noun counterparts, which express such *facts* that someone has a function (instead of referring to the *state* of his or her acting in the given function; see the relevant translations).

(570) ● Types of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. A pályázat elbírálásánál figyelembe lett véve *Ilinek a(z)* [(b-d)].
the tender evaluation.Poss.3Sg.Ade attention.Ill be.Past.3Sg take.Conv *Ili.Dat the*
'The fact that *Ili was* [(b-d)] was taken into account in the evaluation of the tender.'

b. ?*bróker-ség-e* / ?*közgazdász-ság-a*
broker-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / economist-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*[being a broker] / [an economist]*'

b'. *dékán-ság-a* /?*dékán-ság-a*
dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*[being a dean] / [a dean]*'

b". (?)*báróné-ság-a* /?*bárónő-ség-e*
baroness-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / baroness-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*[being a baroness (i.e., being the wife of a baron)] / [a baroness (i.e., the female ruler of a barony)]*'

c. (?)*anya-ság-a* /??(?*többszörös*) *anya-ság-a*
mother-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / multiple mother-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*[being a mother] / [a mother]*'

d. ?*Esterházy-né-ság-a* /?*Esterházy-ság-a*
Estherházy-NÉ-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / Esterházy-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
'*[being Mrs. Esterházy] / [an Esterházy]*'

We consider *delimitedness* (see 1.3.1.2.3, sub I) to be the factor which makes the denominal SÁG-noun denoting the complex state of holding an office (570b') the most acceptable example. The point is that in the case of a position it is not only a fact of the world that it is based on a temporal interval that has a beginning and an end but this fact is also encoded in language. Although an occupation like *brókerség* 'being a broker' (570b), for instance, can also be associated in the real world with a certain temporal interval in the case of a given person's biography (while (s)he works as a broker), this function is not associated with such "predefined" term of office which would get encoded in language. The same difference between "encoded" and "non-encoded" delimitedness of temporal basis can serve as a straightforward explanation for the significant difference in grammaticality

judgments associated with the *when*-constructions (containing denominal SÁG-noun constructions) presented in (571a,b) below. While one can readily refer to the definite individual complex state of someone's holding a (dean) position with a prototypically predefined term of office (571a), it sounds deliberately artificial ('??') to refer to the potential complex state of having a (bricklayer) occupation (571b).

In what follows, we will use the *when*-construction presented in (571a) as a verification of a certain denominal *sÁg*-noun construction being a complex-state denoting SÁG-noun construction, just like the [postposition + *való*] construction was used to indicate the (complex-event denoting) ÁS-noun character of certain *Ás*-nouns. As is illustrated in (571a',b'), the [postposition + *való*] construction is scarcely compatible with denominal *sÁg*-noun constructions (with a slight difference between constructions based on "well-delimited" and "weakly-delimited" temporal basis), presumably due to the homogeneous event structure typical of nouns (i.e., due to the absence of any linguistically encoded increments, or at least multifariosity or heterogeneity, in the structure of the temporal basis of eventualities denoted by predicatively used nouns). It is worth comparing the constructions presented in (571b") with each other and with the one in (571b) with respect to their compatibility with the [postposition + *való*] construction: the "linguistically dynamicized" (i.e., verb-based) ÁS-noun construction with the noun head *kőműveskedés* 'bricklayer.V.ÁS' is almost fully acceptable while the "linguistically static" (copular-construction-based) ÁS-noun construction patterns with the given denominal SÁG-noun construction in definitely rejecting the [postposition + *való*] construction.

(571) ● Characterization of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. *Péter dékán-ság-a idején* prosperált a kar.
Péter dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the faculty
'The faculty prospered *when Péter was the dean*.'

a'. *Péternek a (*[??]*rendszerváltás után való) dékán-ság-a*
Péter.Dat the regime_change after be.Part dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
komoly terhet jelentett a családjának.
serious burden.Acc mean.Past.3Sg the family.Poss.3Sg.Dat
'*Péter's being a dean (after the regime change)* meant a huge burden on his family.'

b. [??]*Péter kőműves-ség-e idején* prosperált a cég.
Péter bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the firm
'The firm prospered *when Péter was the bricklayer*.'

b'. *Péternek a* [??]*(*[*??]*szünidő alatt való) kőműves-ség-e*
Péter.Dat the holiday under be.Part bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
komoly terhet jelentett a családjának.
serious burden.Acc mean.Past.3Sg the family.Poss.3Sg.Dat
'*Péter's being a bricklayer (during the holidays)* meant a huge burden on his family.'

b". *Péternek a szünidő alatt való *[kőműves vol-t-a] /*
Péter.Dat the holiday under be.Part bricklayer be-T-Poss.3Sg /
[(?)]*kőműves-ked-és-e* nagyon meglepett.
bricklayer-Vrb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg very.much surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The fact that Péter was being a bricklayer during the holidays* was a great surprise to me.'

c. *A* [(?)]*dékán-ság / *[(?)]*kőműves-ség / *[?]*báró-ság / *[(?)]*anya-ság / *[?]*Esterházy-ság*
the dean-SÁG / bricklayer-SÁG / baron-SÁG / mother-SÁG / Esterházy-SÁG
manapság nem kifizetődő.
nowadays not pay_off
'*Being a(n) dean / bricklayer / baron / mother / Esterházy* does not pay off nowadays.'

c'. Ki meri vitatni *Arisztid* [?]*dékán-ság-á-t / *[*?]*kőműves-ség-é-t /*
who dare.DefObj.3Sg question.Inf *Arisztid dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc / bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc/*
[(?)]*báró-ság-á-t / *[✓]*apa-ság-á-t / *[?]*Esterházy-ság-á-t?*
baron-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc/ father-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc/ Esterházy-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc
'Who dares question *the fact that Arisztid was a(n) dean / bricklayer / baron / father / Esterházy*?'

d. *Arisztidnak a* [(?)]*[kőműves vol-t-a] / *kőműves-ked-és-e*
Arisztid.Dat the bricklayer be-T-Poss.3Sg / bricklayer-Vrb-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
mindig mindenkit meglep.
always everyone.Acc surprise.3Sg
'*Arisztid's being a bricklayer* is always a surprise to everyone.'

d'. *A kőműves* [*?]*lét / *volt / *lev-és* manapság nem kifizetődő.
the bricklayer be.T / be.T / be-ÁS nowadays not pay_off
Intended meaning: '*Being a bricklayer* does not pay off nowadays.'

Example (571c) above illustrates that (possessorless, hence) state-type denoting SSD-noun constructions are (almost fully) acceptable, with slight differences in grammaticality judgments between the subtypes proposed in connection with (570) above, which are presumably to be attributed to such factors as the lexicalized status and the frequent use of *apaság* 'paternity', on the one hand, and the obviously "on-line created" character of the expression *Esterházyság* 'Esterházy.SÁG', on the other.

If a possessor appears in the denominal SSD-noun constructions, however, the resulting potential denominal SSD-noun constructions (575c') show a strikingly great variety with respect to acceptability, with the occupation name forming the least acceptable—moreover, definitely unacceptable ('*?')—construction. It is worth noting that, in this latter case, the competing (semantically basically equivalent) copular-construction-based *volta*-construction (575d) is almost fully acceptable, in contrast to the *-(s)kVdik*-verb-based SED-noun construction (see also (575d)). Note also that in (575b") the grammaticality judgments associated with the same two alternative deverbal nominal constructions as complex-eventuality denoting ÁS-noun constructions are exactly the opposite (i.e., the *-(s)kVdik*-verb-based ÁS-noun construction is the acceptable one). Note in passing, without illustration, that the corresponding *volta*-constructions are more or less acceptable as alternatives to the other (sufficiently acceptable) denominal SSD-noun constructions presented in (575c). This means that in the case of the occupation-name-based possessive denominal SSD-noun construction (*Arisztid kőművessége* 'Arisztid bricklayer.SÁG.Poss.3Sg'), and only in this case, the possessive *volta*-construction (*Arisztid kőműves volta* 'Arisztid bricklayer be.T.Poss.3Sg') can be regarded as functioning as a blocking form. This fact is strange since the possessorless counterpart of the occupation-name-based denominal SSD-noun construction is not "blocked" but is itself quite acceptable, as was shown in (575c). This ambivalent behavior can be attributed to the fact that the possessive *volta*-

construction simply has no possessorless ("*volt*-construction") counterpart (see the comments on (460d") in 1.3.1.4.3), and the other potential copular-construction-based SED-noun constructions, also presented in (575d'), are not acceptable here, either. What remains unclear, thus, is why the non-occupation-name-based possessive denominal SSD-noun constructions do not show the same blocking phenomenon.

Let us now turn to the question of the external distribution of denominal *sÁg*-nouns.

SÁG-nouns have the external distribution of nouns. The series of examples in (572) below serves as an illustration of this fact with the same types of grammatical functions.

(572) ● The noun-like external distribution of denominal SÁG-nouns

a. (?)Ami leginkább meghatározta a kar arculatát,
what mostly determine.Past.DefObj.3Sg the faculty image.Poss.3Sg.Acc
az *Péternek a dékán-ság-a* volt.
that *Péter.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg* be.Past.3Sg
'What mostly determined the image of the faculty was the fact that *Péter was the dean.*'

b. *Péternek a dékán-ság-a* nyolc évig tartott.
Péter.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg eight year.Ter last.Past.3Sg
'*The period when Péter was the dean* lasted for eight years.'

c. *Péternek a dékán-ság-á-t* megszenvedte a kar.
Péter.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Acc suffer.Past.DefObj.3Sg the faculty
'The faculty suffered *from Péter's being the dean.*'

d. *Péternek a dékán-ság-á-ról* sokat fognak beszélni.
Péter.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg-Del much.Acc will.3Pl speak.Inf
'They will speak a lot about *the period when Péter was the dean.*'

e. *Péter dékán-ság-a után* káosz lett úrrá a karon.
Péter dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg after chaos become.Past.3Sg lord.TrE the faculty.Sup
'*After the period of Péter's being the dean,* the faculty appeared to be in a state of chaos.'

In (572a) above, there is a (definite) denominal SÁG-noun construction used as a primary predicate. In (572b), a SÁG-noun is used as a (nominative case-marked) subject. A SÁG-noun can also be used as an (accusative case-marked) object (572c) or as the head of an oblique case-marked noun phrase (572d). It can also be an argument of a postposition (572e).

Denominal SSD-nouns also have the external distribution of nouns. The series of examples in (573) below serves as an illustration of this fact with the same types of grammatical functions.

(573) ● The noun-like external distribution of denominal SSD-nouns

a. A legjobb szakma *a kőműves-ség!*
the best profession *the bricklayer-SÁG*
'The best profession is *bricklayerhood.*'

b. *A kőműves-ség* ritka foglalkozás manapság.
the bricklayer-SÁG rare occupation nowadays
'*Bricklayerhood* is a rare occupation these days.'

c. *A kőműves-ség-et* manapság kevesen értékelik.
the bricklayer-SÁG-Acc nowadays few_people appreciate.3Pl
'*Being a bricklayer* is appreciated by few these days.'

d. *A kőműves-ség-gel* manapság sokat lehet keresni.
the bricklayer-SÁG-Ins nowadays much.Acc be.Mod.3Sg earn_money.Inf
'One can earn much money *by being a bricklayer* these days.'

e. *A kőműves-ség iránt* manapság növekszik az érdeklődés.
the bricklayer-SÁG towards nowadays grow.3Sg the interest
'There is growing interest *in being a bricklayer* these days.'

Let us conclude this subsection with the usual question of blocking phenomena, which emerged not only in the case of (certain types of) deverbal nominalization (see (221-223) in 1.3.1.2.1, for instance) but also in the case of deadjectival nominalization (see (521) in 1.3.2.1.1 and (558) in 1.3.2.2.1).

Denominal *sÁg*-nouns pattern with deadjectival *sÁg*-nouns (as well as *Ás*-nouns, for instance) in having eventuality-type denoting variants primarily derived from complex-eventuality denoting variants via conversion. Nevertheless, among the eventuality-type denoting variants (and only among them), there are irregularly derived "blocking" forms. This time, however, we claim that not only denominal SÁG-nouns but even denominal SSD-nouns have the property of never being blocked by irregularly derived phonetic forms, that is, all SSD-nouns end in *-sÁg*.

As is pointed out by Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 166), however, another kind of blocking emerges, in the course of which a lexicalized phonetic form derived by means of a non-productive version of *-sÁg* (574b) blocks the potential SSD-noun derived regularly (via conversion) from its (also regularly derived) SÁG-noun counterpart (574b').

How can the intended meaning then be expressed in a case like this? As was illustrated in (571d') above, the *volta*-construction has no possessorless counterpart (see also (574b')). It is the *-(s)kVdik*-verb-based SED-noun construction, thus, that must serve as a "last resort", as is also illustrated in (574b') below, in spite of the fact that otherwise, as is shown in (571d) above, this verb-based construction is not appropriate to serve as the basis of an eventuality-type denoting construction. Accounting for the competition among these nominal constructions with basically the same (eventuality-type denoting) meaning still requires much future research.

The special kind of blocking defined in the last but one paragraph cannot be observed in the case of denominal SÁG-nouns: the regularly derived SÁG-noun *királyság*, for instance (574a'), is fully acceptable in an appropriate context in its productively calculable meaning (i.e., 'being a king'), though the same phonetic form has another, lexicalized, meaning ('kingdom'), presented in (574a).

(574) ● Blocking effects in the case of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. Pál volt a legerősebb ember *a király-ság-ban*.
Pál be.Past.3Sg the strongest man *the king-SÁG-Ine*
'Pál was the strongest man *in the kingdom.*'

a'. *Mátyás király-ság-a idején* prosperált az ország.
Mátyás king-SÁG-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the country
'The country prospered *when Mátyás was the king*.'

b. *A katona-ság* megvédte az országot.
the soldier-SÁG defend.Past.DefObj.3Sg the country.Acc
'*The army* defended the country.'

b'. *A *[?]katona-ság-gal / *[katona volt-tal] / ˇkatoná-skod-ás-sal*
the soldier-SÁG-Ins / soldier be.T-Ins / soldier-Vrb-ÁS-Ins
manapság sokat lehet keresni.
nowadays much.Acc be.Mod.3Sg earn_money.Inf
Intended meaning: 'These days, one can earn much money *by being a soldier*.'

1.3.3.1.2. Argument and information structure

In the course of denominal nominalization, there is no change in syntactic category, since both the input and the output are nouns; nevertheless, the input dependent frame does not remain unchanged (cf. subsection 1.3.3.2), but there is a correspondence between output and input whose fundamental feature—namely, the output expression of the input subject—is the same as in the case of deadjectival *sÁg*-nominalization.

In the case of a denominal SÁG-noun, thus, the input subject (e.g., *Péter* in (575a) below) must correspond to the output possessor (575b), which a SÁG-noun construction cannot dispense with (575b'), at least in an out-of-the-blue (i.e., not reconstructable) interpretation.

(575) ● Possessors of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. Péter nyolc évig *dékán* volt.
Péter eight year.Ter *dean* be.Past.3Sg
'Péter was *a dean* for eight years.'

b. *Péternek a dékán-ság-a* nyolc évig tartott.
Péter.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg eight year.Ter last.Past.3Sg
'*The period when Péter was the dean* lasted for eight years.'

b'. **A dékán-ság* nyolc évig tartott.
the dean-SÁG eight year.Ter last.Past.3Sg
Intended meaning: '*The period when someone was the dean* lasted for eight years.'

c. Ez volt *az évszázad leghosszabb dékán-ság-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the century longest dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the century's longest lasting period of someone's being a dean*.'

c'. Ez volt *az évszázad legrövidebb báró-ság-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the century shortest baron-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *the century's shortest lasting period of someone's being a baron*.'

d. Ez volt *Péter kedvenc dékán-ság-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *Péter favorite dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
'This was *Péter's favorite period of being a dean*.'

d'. *Ez volt *a titkárnő kedvenc dékán-ság-a.*
this be.Past.3Sg *the secretary favorite dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg*
Intended meaning: 'This was *the secretary's favorite period when someone (else) was the dean*.'

Denominal SSD-nouns, however, can readily dispense with possessors, as was presented in (571c) in subsection 1.3.3.1.1, but, as was shown in (571c'), their compatibility with a possessor that happens to correspond to the input subject (of

their SÁG-noun counterparts) highly depends on the SSD-noun subtype (with the occupation denoting subtype being the less acceptable). As for the "*favorite*-construction", denominal SSD-nouns are quite readily compatible with them, on condition that the possessor of the given SSD-noun corresponds to the input subject (575d), and not to another human participant (575d'). Temporal expressions, however, can quite readily serve as possessors of denominal SSD-nouns (575c), even in cases in which there is no underlying linguistically encoded "term of office" but individual stories must be figured out in order to interpret the given nominal construction. The example in (575c') above, for instance, is acceptable, in spite of the fact that such story should be imagined, say, as this one: Arisztid was made a baron on a Tuesday (instead of having been born to be a baron), but two days later he was accused of having betrayed the king and he got deprived of his short-lived barony.

Given that in SÁG-nominalization it is the input subject that an output possessor corresponds to, the question arises as to how an input possessor (which is possible, given that the input is also a noun, see *a bölcsészkar* 'the faculty_of_humanities' in (576a) below) can be expressed in the output construction.

As is exemplified in (576b), it is impossible to simultaneously express both the input subject (*Péter*) and the input possessor (*a bölcsészkar* 'the faculty of humanities') as output possessors; of the two, only the input subject can correspond to the possessor of a denominal SÁG-noun. We add to this (without illustration) that replacing either (or both) NAK possessor(s) with an unmarked possessor and/or interchanging them would not improve the acceptability of the given construction. Not expressing the input subject in the output construction is no solution, either: such an operation presumably inevitably yields a potential SSD-noun construction, but even this construction is not acceptable, either (576b'), independently of its SÁG-noun or SSD-noun status.

Example (576b") presents two more or less acceptable solutions to the problem of expressing (a counterpart of) the input possessor in the output. Of them, the "more acceptable" construction is the one in which the input possessor appears in an attributivized form, while the "less acceptable" one is actually derived from another input structure, which is shown in (576a') below, also via attributivization by means of a *való*-construction. As the grammaticality judgment associated with this latter construction ('??') indicates, an [oblique case-marked noun phrase + *való*] construction can provide as poorly acceptable a SÁG-noun construction as a [postposition + *való*] construction, see (571a') in 1.3.3.1.1.

(576) ● Different input dependents of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. Péter *a bölcsészkar új dékán-ja.*
Péter *the faculty_of_humanities new dean-Poss.3Sg*
'Péter is *the new dean of the faculty of humanities*.'

a'. Péter *az új dékán a bölcsészkaron.*
Péter *the new dean the faculty_of_humanities.Sup*
'Péter is *the new dean in the faculty of humanities*.'

b. *Péternek* [(?)]*(*a bölcsészkarnak) a dékán-ság-a idején*
Péter.Dat the faculty_of_humanities.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup
prosperált az egyetem.
prosper.Past.3Sg the university
Intended meaning: '*During the period when Péter was the dean (of the faculty of humanities)*, the university prospered.'

b'. **A bölcsészkarnak a dékán-ság-a* manapság nem kifizetődő.
the faculty_of_humanities.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg nowadays not pay_off
Intended meaning: '*Being the dean of the faculty of humanities* does not pay off.'

b''. *Péternek a* [(?)]*bölcsészkari / *[??]*[bölcsészkaron való]*
Péter.Dat the faculty_of_humanities.Adj / faculty_of_humanities.Sup be.Part
dékán-ság-a idején prosperált az egyetem.
dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the university
'*During the period when Péter was the dean (of the faculty of humanities)*, the university prospered.'

c. *Péternek a dékán-ság-a a bölcsészkaron*
Péter.Dat the dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the faculty_of_humanities.Sup
[sikeres időszak volt] / [??][mindenkit meglepett].
successful period be.Past.3Sg / everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The period when Péter was the dean in the faculty of humanities* was [a successful period] / [a surprise to everyone].'

c'. *A* [(?)]*[bölcsészkari dékán-ság]/ *[?]*[dékán-ság a bölcsészkaron]*
the faculty_of_humanities.Adj dean-SÁG / dean-SÁG the faculty_of_humanities.Sup
manapság nem kifizetődő.
nowadays not pay_off
'*Being a dean in the faculty of humanities* does not pay off these days.'

The *sÁg*-noun construction presented in (576c) above is the true(st) reflection of the input nominal construction shown in (576a') in that (also) the postnominal status of the superessive case-marked dependent is retained. As a SÁG-noun construction, it is fully acceptable; denominal SÁG-noun constructions, thus, do not reject the filling of the postnominal zone (NB: at this point, we do not intend to decide the status of the superessive case-marked dependent, that is, whether it is an argument, a conceptual argument, or an adjunct, cf. 2.1.1.2.2). As an SSD-noun construction, it is scarcely acceptable, at least in (576c); which is presumably for the usual reason: possessive SSD-noun constructions are typically poorly acceptable (with the possessor corresponding to the input subject, compare (571c) with (571c') in 1.3.3.1.1). Omitting the possessor provides acceptable SSD-noun constructions; see the second variant in (576c'). As for the first variant in (576c'), this possessorless denominal SSD-noun construction containing an attributive, which can be regarded as a counterpart of the SÁG-noun construction presented in (576b''), is even more acceptable. Note in passing that it cannot be decided (at least in some straightforward, theory-independent, way) whether *bölcsészkari* 'faculty_of_humanities.Adj' is (i) an attributivized counterpart of the input possessor in the dependent structure shown in (576a), or (ii) that of the superessive case-marked noun phrase in (576a') (NB: in this latter construal, the attributivization involves loss of case information; cf. (547) in 1.3.2.1.4.2), or

(iii) the unchanged counterpart of an *ab ovo* attributive input (*bölcsészkari dékán* 'faculty_of_humanities.Adj dean', cf. (582-583) in subsection 1.3.3.1.3).

> Remark 16. According to the independent survey mentioned in Remark 11 in subsection 1.3.1.4.3, the second construction type presented in (576c), in which *dékánság* 'being a dean' refers to a fact and not a period of time, projects sharp dividing lines between at leat three dialects (with the authors' grammaticality judgments adequately reflected by the '??' marking): four syntacticians categorically rejected it ('*'), three found it perfect (and one judged its status unclear ('??')). The microvariation revealed among Hungarian speakers requires future research.

Let us now investigate postpositional dependents. The example in (577a) below provides an appropriate input.

The *sÁg*-noun construction presented in (577b) is the true(st) reflection of the given input nominal construction in that even the postnominal status of the postpositional phrase is retained. As a SÁG-noun construction, it is almost fully acceptable, in harmony with what was observed in connection with (576c) above. As an SSD-noun construction, however, it is scarcely acceptable, at least in (577b); the reason for this is also the one mentioned in connection with (576c): possessive SSD-noun constructions are typically poorly acceptable. Omitting the possessor, however, yields acceptable SSD-noun constructions; see (577c) below.

Example (577c') presents three different alternatives to (577c) in which the output counterpart of the input postpositional phrase is an attributive expression. The variant containing a *való*-construction is fully unacceptable; which is not surprising in the light of the fact that even denominal SÁG-noun constructions are very weakly compatible with *való*-constructions, as is illustrated in (571a',b') in 1.3.3.1.1 and in (576b"). The other two variants in (577c') are also highly marked ('??'); which can straightforwardly be attributed to the loss of information in the case of the variant in which the input postposition does not appear (*dékáni* 'dean.Adj'). As for the variant in which the attributivizer suffix *-i* is attached to the postposition (*dékán melletti* 'dean beside.Attr'), there is no loss of information; the poor acceptability may have to do with a factor that will be discussed in connection with (583a-a') in 1.3.3.1.3: a denominal SSD-noun does not readily inherit an attributive that its input-counterpart nominal construction contains.

(577) ● Postpositional input dependents of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. (?)Ili *az új titkárnő a dékán mellett.*
Ili *the new secretary the dean beside*
'Ili is *the new secretary to the dean.*'

b. *Ilinek a titkárnő-ség-e a dékán mellett*
Ili.Dat the secretary-SÁG-Poss.3Sg the dean beside
(?)[rövid ideig tartott] / ??[mindenkit meglepett].
short time.Ter last.Past.3Sg / everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
'*The period when Ili was the secretary to the dean* was [of short duration] / [a surprise to everyone].'

c. ?*A titkárnő-ség a dékán mellett* manapság nem kifizetődő.
the secretary-SÁG the dean beside nowadays not pay_off
'*Being a secretary to the dean* does not pay off these days.'

c'. *A* [??]*dékáni / [dékán *[mellett való] /* [??]*melletti] titkárnő-ség*
the dean.Adj / dean beside be.Part / beside.Attr secretary-SÁG
manapság nem kifizetődő.
nowadays not pay_off
'*Being a secretary to the dean* does not pay off these days.'

d. *Ilinek a* [(?)]*dékáni/ [dékán* [??]*[mellett való] /* [?]*melletti] titkárnő-ség-e*
Ili.Dat the dean.Adj / dean beside be.Part/ beside.Attr secretary-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
rövid ideig tartott.
short time.Ter last.Past.3Sg
'*The period when Ili was the secretary to the dean* was of short duration.'

In (577d), it is tested how much a denominal SÁG-noun construction is compatible with such counterparts of the input postpositional phrase which are attributivized in the three ways tested in (577c'). A comparison between the corresponding variants in (577d) and (577c') suggests that the SÁG-noun-construction counterpart is always more acceptable, in harmony with an observation which will be discussed in connection with (582a-a') in subsection 1.3.3.1.3: a denominal SÁG-noun quite readily inherits an attributive that its input-counterpart nominal construction contains (NB: *való*-constructions are *ab ovo* not readily compatible with SÁG-nouns).

Let us now turn to the question whether denominal *sÁg*-nouns have internal information structure. We seek narrow-scope readings in sentences containing denominal *sÁg*-noun constructions in the usual way (see subsection 1.3.1.2.2.2, for instance), in order to test whether they have an internal information structure (at least as a theoretical possibility).

Since the topic is not discussed in the literature, here we present some data chiefly as a point of departure for future research. That is, here we do not aim at the same level of accuracy as in the discussion of information-structure inheritance in the case of ÁS-nominalization (see 1.3.1.2.2.2, and 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII). However, it is unclear, just like in the case of deadjectival *sÁg*-nouns (1.3.2.1.2.2), what kind of derivational basis serves as the source of the "inherited" information structures; it would inevitably involve theory-dependent elements to decide whether the source of information structure is the mere nominal construction or some kind of a complex predicate with a copula in its center (see (269) in 1.3.1.2.3, sub I).

Let us consider the details. The (ambiguous) example in (578a) below can be interpreted (not only with a wide-scope reading but also) with a narrow-scope reading, so the presented denominal SÁG-noun construction can have an internal information structure, in harmony with its complex-eventuality denoting character. The same is verified by the (undoubtedly somewhat marked) unambiguous example in (578a'), in which, due to the matrix focus construction, only the relevant narrow-scope reading is available (on this method of testing, see, for instance, (352a') in 1.3.1.3.2.2).

(578) ● Internal information structure in the case of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. Örömmel tölt el [*mindkét fiam* dékán-ság-a].
pleasure.Ins fill.Past.3Sg away *both son.Poss.1Sg* dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
narrow-scope reading: ?[PLEASE > BOTH_SONS > BEING_DEAN]
'I am pleased that *both of my sons* are being deans.'
wide-scope reading: [BOTH_SONS > PLEASE > BEING_DEAN]
'In the case of *both of my sons*, I am pleased that each of them is being a dean.'

a'. ?Csak [*mindkét fiam* dékán-ság-a] töltene el örömmel.
only *both son.Poss.1Sg* dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg fill.Cond.3Sg away pleasure.Ins
narrow-scope reading: ?[ONLY [BOTH_SONS > BEING_DEAN] > PLEASURE]
'I would be pleased only if *both of my sons* were being deans.'
wide-scope reading: –

b. ?Büszkeséggel tölt el [*mindkét nagyapám* báró-ság-a].
proud.Ins fill.Past.3Sg away *both grandfather.Poss.1Sg* baron-SÁG-Poss.3Sg
~~narrow-scope reading~~: *?[PROUD > BOTH_GRANDFATHERS > BEING_BARON]
Intended meaning: 'I am proud that *both of my grandfathers* were barons.'
wide-scope reading: ?[BOTH_GRANDFATHERS > PROUD > BEING_BARON]
'In the case of *both of my grandfathers*, I am proud that each of them was a baron.'

b'. ??Csak [*mindkét nagyapám* báró-ság-a] töltene el büszkeséggel.
only *both grandfather.Poss.1Sg* baron-SÁG-Poss.3Sg fill.Cond.3Sg away proud.Ins
narrow-scope reading: ??[ONLY[BOTH_GRANDFATHERS >BEING_BARON]>PROUD]
'I would be proud only if *both of my grandfathers* were barons.'
wide-scope reading: –

As for the denominal SSD-noun constructions presented in (578b-b') above, the same tests show that the relevant narrow-scope readings are scarcely available. Nevertheless, as the grammaticality judgment '??' associated with the unambiguous (578b') suggests, a denominal SSD-noun construction containing an internal information structure is somewhat more acceptable than the analogous unacceptable ('*?') adjectival SSD-noun construction, presented in (528b') in 1.3.2.1.2.2; the slight difference can be attributed to the difference between denominal and deadjectival SSD-nouns that in the former (but not in the latter) type, all constructions can be regarded as "created on-line" (recall that there are many "blocking" deadjectival SSD-nouns, see (521) in 1.3.2.1.1).

Thus it requires future research to decide whether denominal SSD-nouns pattern with deadjectival SSD-nouns in not having internal information structure, or whether they pattern with HATNÉK$_{SED}$-nouns in potentially having internal information structure (due primarily to their "on-line created" character).

1.3.3.1.3. Nominal properties

Denominal nominalization is a special derivation in the sense that the input is not different from the output, at least with respect to the basic category. What is to be investigated then is the potential loss of certain nominal properties due to the fact that the output belongs to the (quite special) subcategory of abstract nouns.

Pluralizability, for instance, is a prototypical nominal property, which fully holds for the required input of denominal SÁG-nominalization, too; see (579a) below. Denominal *sÁg*-nouns, however, pattern with deadjectival *sÁg*-nouns (see (542) in 1.3.2.1.4.2) in essentially rejecting pluralization (579b-d), presumably due

to the absence of any linguistically encoded dynamism (e.g., telicity) in the eventuality structure of their (static) derivational basis. Nevertheless, there are slight differences in acceptability between the subtypes of denominal *sÁg*-nouns (see (570) in 1.3.3.1.1), as a comparison between the two variants in (579b) below presents. Those based on a "well-delimited" eventuality structure, as *dékánság* 'dean.SÁG', for instance, with its linguistically encoded terms of office, can be pluralized somewhat more readily, obviously due to the straightforward "countability" of the aforementioned terms of office; but it is questionable (and/or speaker-dependent even in the case of this subtype) whether these constructions are to be regarded as sufficiently acceptable. As for the potential denominal SSD-noun constructions produced by explicit type shift (see the variants in (579d) with the expression *típusú* 'type.Attr' and the given intended meanings), they are not convincingly acceptable ('??'), either, while the same meanings are not available at all ('*') by implicit type shift.

(579) ● Pluralization of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. *A miniszter-ek és a dékán-ok* lenézik *a kőműves-ek-et.*
the minister-Pl and the dean-Pl disdain.3Sg *the bricklayer-Pl*
'*(The) ministers and (the) deans* disdain *(the) bricklayers.*

b. *Péter* ??*dékán-ság-a-i / *kőműves-ség-e-i*
Péter dean-SÁG-Poss-Pl.3Sg / bricklayer-SÁG-Poss-Pl.3Sg
komoly terhet jelentettek a családjának.
serious burden.Acc mean.Past.3Pl the family.Poss.3Sg.Dat
'*The periods when Péter was a dean / bricklayer* meant a huge burden on his family.'

c. *?Péter életében *a kőműves-ség-ek* váltakoznak
Péter life.Poss.3Sg.Ine *the bricklayer-SÁG-Pl* alternate.3Pl
a miniszter-ség-ek-kel.
the minister-SÁG-Pl
Intended meaning: 'In Péter's life, *the periods of being a bricklayer* alternate *with periods of being a minister.*'

d. *A különböző *(??típusú) kőműves-ség-ek-et / dékán-ság-ok-at*
the different type.Attr bricklayer-SÁG-Pl-Acc / dean-SÁG-Pl-Acc
sokszor próbálták elkülöníteni.
many_times attempt.Past.DefObj.3Pl distinguish.Inf
Intended meaning: 'Attempts have been made many times to distinguish *different ways of functioning as a bricklayer / dean.*'

It is not easy to determine the status of the potential *sÁg*-noun constructions presented in (579b-c), given that in the case of denominal *sÁg*-nouns, in contrast to deadjectival *sÁg*-nouns, an eventuality-type denoting SSD-noun is always homophonous with its SÁG-noun counterpart (in the absence of irregularly derived "blocking" forms in the former type). The only straightforwardly unambiguous decision is that the variants presented in (579d) are SSD-noun constructions. In (579b), the presence of the possessor corresponding to the input subject argues for the given denominal constructions being SÁG-noun constructions, but the semantic essence of pluralization itself (i.e., producing more tokens of a type) questions this classification (cf. Remark 15 in 1.3.1.5.4.2). In (579c), there are no explicit possessors in the two relevant denominal constructions, which argues for their being

SSD-noun constructions, but *Péter* can be regarded as their reconstructable possessor, satisfying in this way the basic criterion of being a SÁG-noun construction. Given, however, the insufficient acceptability of all the denominal *sÁg*-noun constructions discussed, it is not worth exploring the details of this classiffication question.

All in all, denominal SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns are definitely not nominal with respect to pluralization.

Let us now turn to the question of whether denominal *sÁg*-nouns can have a possessor.

Denominal SÁG-nouns (580a-a') always have an ("at least" reconstructable) possessor (which corresponds to the input subject), and the level of the acceptability of SÁG-noun constructions is independent of the person and the number of the possessor (cf. (571a,b) in 1.3.3.1.1).

(580) ● Possessors of denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. *A dékán-ság-od / dékán-ság-a / dékán-ság-otok / dékán-ság-uk*
the dean-SÁG-Poss.2Sg / dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / dean-SÁG-Poss.2Pl / dean-SÁG-Poss.3Pl
idején prosperált az egyetem.
time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the university
'When *he was a dean,* the university prospered. When *you$_{Sg}$ / you$_{Pl}$ / they were dean(s),* the university prospered.'

a'. ??*A kőműves-ség-ed / kőműves-ség-e / kőműves-ség-etek /*
the bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.2Sg / bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.2Pl /
kőműves-ség-ük idején prosperált a cég.
bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.3Pl time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the firm
'When *he was a bricklayer,* the firm prospered. When *you$_{Sg}$ / you$_{Pl}$ / they were bricklayer(s),* the firm prospered.'

b. ??Mindig mindenkit meglep *a kőműves-ség-ed /*
always eveyone.Acc surprise.3Sg *the bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.2Sg/*
kőműves-ség-e / kőműves-ség-etek / kőműves-ség-ük.
bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.3Sg / bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.2Pl / bricklayer-SÁG-Poss.3Pl
'*Your$_{Sg}$ / His being a bricklayer* is always a surprise to everyone. *Your$_{Pl}$ / Their being bricklayers* is always a surprise to everyone.'

b'. Mindig mindenkit meglep *a kőműves volt-od /*
always eveyone.Acc surprise.3Sg *the bricklayer be.T-Poss.2Sg/*
volt-a /$^{(?)}$*volt-otok /*$^{(?)}$*volt-uk.*
be.T-Poss.3Sg / be.T-Poss.2Pl / be.T-Poss.3Pl
'*Your$_{Sg}$ / His being a bricklayer* is always a surprise to everyone. *Your$_{Pl}$ / Their being bricklayers* is always a surprise to everyone.'

As for denominal SSD-nouns, let us start with the observation that the level of the acceptability of possessive SSD-noun constructions is independent of the person and the number of the possessor, as is exemplified in (580b) above. Their mere compatibility with a possessor, however, is a more complicated question: it highly depends on the SSD-noun subtype (among other semantic features of the embedding context), diverging from '*?' to '✓' (on possessor selection, also see (575) in 1.3.3.1.2). Recall that what makes possessive denominal SSD-noun constructions radically different from (fully acceptable) possessive deadjectival SSD-noun constructions (see (543a') in 1.3.2.1.4.2) is that the copular-construction-

based *volta*-construction, shown in (580b') above, practically functions as a blocking form (no matter how surprising the assumption is that not words but entire possessive constructions "block" each other; cf. (571d) as well).

All in all, with respect to being capable of having a possessor, denominal SÁG-nouns are significantly more nominal than their SSD-noun counterparts.

Turning to the question of case marking, both subtypes of denominal *sÁg*-nouns can occur with any kind of case marking, as the series of examples in (572) and (573) in 1.3.3.1.1 has demonstrated; so they are completely nominal in this sense.

Note in passing that while output denominal *sÁg*-nouns can essentially bear nominal inflection, inflected nouns cannot serve as input to denominal *sÁg*-nominalization, as is exemplified in (581b-d) below. In this sense, thus, denominal nominalization patterns with deverbal and deadjectival nominalization: inflected verbs and adjectives cannot undergo nominalization, either (see the series of examples in (293) and (294) in 1.3.1.2.4.1 sub I, for instance, and the series of examples in (537) and (539) in 1.3.2.1.4.1, respectively). This generalization is in total harmony with the fact that in (Hungarian) word structure inflectional suffixes cannot precede derivational ones.

(581) ● Potential inflected inputs to denominal *sÁg*-nouns

a. Büszke vagyok a [(b-d)].
proud be.1Sg the
'I am proud that [(b-b")].'

b. **matematikus-ok-ság-otok-ra*
mathematician-Pl-SÁG-Poss.2Pl-Sub
Intended meaning: '*you are (being) mathematicians*'

c. **feleség-em-ség-ed-re*
wife-Poss.1Sg-SÁG-Poss.2Sg-Sub
Intended meaning: '*you are (being) my wife*'

d. **testvér-e-i-m-ség-etek-re*
sibling-Poss-Pl-1Sg-SÁG-Poss.2Pl-Sub
Intended meaning: '*you are (being) my sisters and brothers*'

The next nominal property to discuss is adjectival modification, the specialty of which in the case of denominal nominals is that the input to be considered is also an adjectivally (and not adverbially) modified construction (582a,b).

(582)● Adjectival modification of denominal SÁG-nouns

a. Találkoztam a(z) *egykori / sikeres / szegedi / két világháború közötti* dékánnal.
meet.Past.1Sg the *in_former_times.Adj / successful / Szeged.Adj / two worldwar between.Attr* dean.Ins
'I met the *former / successful / Szeged / between-the-two-World-Wars* dean.'

a'. Péter *egykori / sikeres / szegedi / két világháború közötti* dékán-ság-a idején prosperált az ország.
Péter *in_former_times.Adj / successful / Szeged.Adj / two worldwar between.Attr* dean-ság-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the country
'The country prospered during the *former / successful / Szeged / between-the-two-World-Wars period* of Péter's being the dean.'

b. Találkoztam egy *részeg / részeges / magas / hirdi* dékánnal.
meet.Past.1Sg a *drunk / alcoholic / tall / Hird.Adj* dean.Ins
'I met a dean *who [was drunk / alcoholic / tall] / [lived in Hird]*.'

b'. *Péter *részeg / részeges / magas / hirdi* dékán-ság-a idején
Péter *drunk / alcoholic / tall / Hird.Adj* dean-ság-Poss.3Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup
prosperált az ország.
prosper.Past.3Sg the country
'The country prospered during the period of time when Péter, *who [was drunk / alcoholic / tall] / [lived in Hird],* was the dean.'

The primed examples in (582) above show the following (plausible) black-and-white distribution of grammaticality judgments: if the adjective characterizes the position in the input, the output denominal SÁG-noun construction is fully acceptable (582a'), while if the adjective characterizes the "private person", the output construction is fully unacceptable (582b').

Denominal SSD-nouns cannot be modified by adjectives which characterize the "private person" in the input, either, as is exemplified in (583b,b') below. If the adjective characterizes the position in the input (583a), however, the output denominal SSD-noun constructions show a highly varied picture (with respect to grammaticality judgments), see (583a'). It is clear that the level of acceptability depends on the subtypes of the appropriate input nouns (see (570) in 1.3.3.1.1) chiefly in connection with the linguistically encoded information related to certain positions, ranks, occupations, and so on.

(583) ● Adjectival modification of denominal SSD-nouns

a. Találkoztam egy *megbízható / szorgalmas / ideiglenes /pécsi /*
meet.Past.1Sg a *reliable / industrious / temporary / Pécs.Adj /*
állítólagos / [Szirmai rektor melletti] dékánnal.
alleged / Szirmai rector beside.Attr dean.Ins
'I met a(n) *reliable / industrious / temporary / Pécs / alleged* dean.' / 'I met a person who was a dean *when Szirmai was the rector*.'

a'. A(z) *?*megbízható / *?*szorgalmas / (?)*ideiglenes / (?)pécsi / ??állítólagos /*
the *reliable / industrious / temporary / Pécs.Adj / alleged /*
(?)*[Szirmai rektor melletti]* dékán-ság manapság kifizetődő.
Szirmai rector beside.Attr dean-SÁG nowadays pay_off
'Being a *reliable / industrious / temporary / Pécs / alleged* dean pays off nowadays.' / 'Being a dean *when Szirmai is the rector* pays off nowadays.'

b. Találkoztam egy *részeg / részeges / magas / hirdi* dékánnal.
meet.Past.1Sg a *drunk / alcoholic / tall / Hird.Adj* dean.Ins
'I met a dean *who [is drunk / alcoholic / tall] / [lives in Hird]*.'

b'. *A *részeg / részeges / magas / hirdi*
the *drunk / alcoholic / tall / Hird.Adj*
dékán-ság manapság nem kifizetődő.
dean-SÁG nowadays not pay_off
Intended meaning: 'Being a dean, *who [is drunk / alcoholic / tall] / [lives in Hird]*, does not pay off nowadays.'

All in all, the subcategory of denominal SÁG-nouns itself is fully compatible with the category of adjectives (with plausible semantic restrictions) while denominal

SSD-nouns can be characterized by a somewhat less ready compatibility with adjectives (which depends on a much less clear-cut set of semantic factors).

Let us now turn to the question of whether denominal SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns are compatible with different degrees of referentiality.

As the "function" of denominal SÁG-noun constructions (like that of deadjectival SÁG-noun constructions) is to refer to definite eventualities underlied by well-defined temporal intervals, they pattern with ÁS-noun and T_{Ev}-noun constructions in requiring an "at least specific" degree of denotation. This explains why the indefinite construction in (584c) below and the (bare) predicative construction in (584d) are unacceptable (NB: a predicative SÁG-noun construction can be acceptable if it is simultaneously definite, as is exemplified by the identifying sentence in (572a) in 1.3.3.1.1). As for the specific indefinite construction in (584b), it is very difficult to grasp the intended non-out-of-the-blue reading, so its somewhat marked status ('?') is not surprising.

(584) ● Degree of referentiality of denominal SÁG-nouns

a. (?)*A dékán-ság-od alatt* prosperált az egyetem.
the dean-SÁG-Poss.2Sg under prosper.Past.3Sg the university
'*During the period when you were the dean,* the university prospered.'

b. ?*Egy dékán-ság-od alatt* ötven díjat nyertünk.
a dean-SÁG-Poss.2Sg under fifty prize.Acc win.Past.1Pl
Context: In the past years, you were a rector twice and a dean three times. '*During a period when you were the dean,* we won fifty prizes.'

c. *?*Egy dékán-ság-od* komoly terhet jelentene a családodnak.
a dean-SÁG-Poss.2Sg serious burden.Acc mean.Cond.3Sg the family.Poss.2Sg.Dat
Intended meaning: '*A period when you were the dean* would mean a huge burden on your family.'

d. *Ami egyszer valóban meglepett, az
what once really surprise.Past.3Sg that
dékán-ság-a egy diploma nélküli ismerősömnek.
dean-SÁG-Poss.3Sg a diploma without.Attr acquaintance.Poss.1Sg.Dat
Intended meaning: 'What was a real surprise to me once was *an occasion when an acquaintance of mine was a dean without a diploma.*'

Turning to denominal SSD-nouns, let us start with the question of their appearance in bare predicative constructions (NB: predicative SSD-noun constructions were shown to be acceptable if they are simultaneously definite, as was exemplified by the identifying sentence in (573a) in 1.3.3.1.1). The two variants in (585d) below suggest that a lexicalized SSD-noun (e.g., *apaság* 'paternity') provides a fully acceptable bare predicative construction while a (presumably) "on-line created" SSD-noun (e.g., *költőség* 'being a poet') only a highly marked one.

(585) ● Degree of referentiality of denominal SSD-nouns

a. *A(z) apa-ság / (?)kőműves-ség* manapság nem kifizetődő.
the father-SÁG / bricklayer-SÁG nowadays not pay_off
'*Being a father / bricklayer* does not pay off these days.'

b. *?*Egyszer egy dékán-ság* komoly terhet jelentett a családnak.
once a dean-SÁG-Acc serious burden.Acc mean.Past.3Sg the family.Dat
Intended meaning, in the following context: In the past twenty years, both Péter and Pál worked as a dean for three times and as a minister for four times. '*Once a period when one of them worked as a dean* meant a huge burden on the family.'

c. *Egy ??dékán-ság / *?báró-ság* manapság nem kifizetődő.
a dean-SÁG / baron-SÁG nowadays not pay_off
Intended meaning: '*Being a dean / baron* does not pay off nowadays.'

d. Szerintem ez még nem minősül *apa-ság-nak / ??költő-ség-nek.*
according_to.1Sg this yet not qualify.3Sg *father-SÁG-Dat / poet-SÁG-Dat*
'According to me, this does not qualify *as being a father / poet.*'

Definite denominal SSD-noun constructions are acceptable, with slight differences in acceptability, depending, again, on the [±LEXICALIZED] status of the given SSD-noun (585a).

As for specific and non-specific indefinite constructions, they are virtually unacceptable (see (585b) and (585c), respectively). In the latter case (585c), a felicitous indefinite reference would require a better defined eventuality (NB: telicity is the optimal case, which states are very far from); the SSD-noun-subtype dependent difference in acceptability shown above has to do with the (linguistically encoded) "better delimited" character of being a dean (compared to being a baron). Specificity of the relevant constructions (585b), relative to the non-specific counterparts, does not improve, but rather worsens, acceptability; presumably due to the extremely cumbersome graspability of the very complex semantics.

The last nominal property we discuss is quantification and determination.

Let our point of departure be the above-discussed observation that definite denominal SÁG-noun constructions are acceptable (584a) while indefinite ones are unacceptable (584c). As a comparison between the variants presented in (586a) and (586a') shows, definitely and indefinitely quantified/determined denominal SÁG-noun constructions display the same tendency, with very small divergence. The only exception is the quite acceptable *minden*-construction in (586a'), which is not surprising, given that its meaning is close to that of a definite expression in that, say, the periods when "you" served as a dean can readily be interpreted as well-known particular periods. Note that it is for similar reasons that the quantified denominal SÁG-noun constructions in (586a) are acceptable; referring to the three periods of being a dean, for instance, can be (re-)interpreted as three separate references to particular complex eventualities (instead of referring to three tokens of the eventuality type of being a dean).

As for adjectival quantification, which is a "non-nominal type of quantification" (see the comments on (331) in 1.3.1.2.4.2, sub VI), denominal SÁG-noun constructions cannot undergo this kind of quantification (586a"), at least not to any convincing extent.

(586) ● Quantification and determination of denominal SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns

a. (?)*A rendszerváltás utáni három / mindkét / utolsó*
the regime_change after.Attr three / both / last
dékán-ság-od idején prosperált az egyetem.
dean-SÁG-Poss.2Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the university
'*During [the three] / both / [the last] period(s) when you were being a dean after the regime change*, the university prospered.'

a'. Prosperált az egyetem
prosper.Past.3Sg the university
?/?*háromm / *?/*?*néhány / *sok / ?*minden dékán-ság-od idején.*
three / some / many / every dean-SÁG-Poss.2Sg time.Poss.3Sg.Sup
'*During three / [a few] / many / every period(s) when you were being a dean*, the university prospered.'

a''. ??*A rendszerváltás utáni háromszori / gyakori dékán-ság-od*
the regime_change after.Attr three_times.Adj /often.Adj dean-SÁG-Poss.2Sg
idején prosperált az egyetem.
time.Poss.3Sg.Sup prosper.Past.3Sg the university
'*During the three / frequent periods when you were being a dean after the regime change*, the university prospered.'

b. Jót tesz majd *?[a három]/??mindkét / ?[az utolsó] /*
good.Acc do.3Sg then *the three / both / the last /*
??[a háromszori] /??[a gyakori] dékán-ság mindegyikünknek.
the three_times.Adj / the often.Adj dean-SÁG each.Poss.1Pl.Dat
'*[The three] / Both / [The last] / [The three] / [The frequent] period(s) when we are deans* will be good for each of us.'

b'. Jót tesz majd *?/*?*[a három]/ *mindkét / *?/*?*[az utolsó] /*
good.Acc do.3Sg then *the three / both / the last /*
**[a háromszori] /??[a gyakori] pincér-ség* mindegyikünknek.
the three_times.Adj / the often.Adj waiter-SÁG each.Poss.1Pl.Dat
Intended meaning: '*[The three] / Both / [The last] / [The three] / [The frequent] period(s) when we are waiters* will be good for each of us.'

c. Jót tesz majd *??három /?néhány / *sok /??minden*
good.Acc do.3Sg then *three / some / many / every*
dékán-ság mindegyikünknek.
dean-SÁG each.Poss.1Pl.Dat
Intended meaning: '*Three / [A few] / Many / Any period(s) when we are deans* will be good for each of us.'

c'. *Jót tesz majd *három / néhány / sok / minden*
good.Acc do.3Sg then *three / some / many / every*
pincér-ség mindegyikünknek.
waiter-SÁG each.Poss.1Pl.Dat
Intended meaning: '*Three / [A few] / Many / Any period(s) when we are waiters* will be good for each of us.'

As for denominal SSD-noun constructions, what is primarily relevant to quantification is "countability", which is "ensured" in certain subtypes of denominal SSD-nouns (due to the linguistically encoded terms of office in the case of positions, for instance). Given that this kind of countability is not ensured in the case of occupation names, such as *pincér* 'waiter', for instance (in spite of the fact

that in the real world waiters quite often work as seasonal workers), the potential quantified denominal SSD-noun constructions are all unacceptable (586b',c'). This obviously also holds for the adjectival quantifier *háromszori* 'three_times.Adj'; while such an uncountable adjectival quantifier as *gyakori* 'often.Adj' scores somewhat better (586b'). Nevertheless, neither this latter construction with *gyakori* nor the tested denominal SSD-noun constructions with position names presented in (586b,c) can reach the level of full acceptability, presumably due to the often-raised fact concerning the imperfect eventuality structure of states (i.e., states are very far from the ideal telic events in the relevant respect). The slight variety between the grammaticality judgments in (586b,c) can be attributed to the different complexity of the meanings and the required presuppositions to be associated with the given constructions.

We conclude this subsection by summarizing our observations on nominal properties of denominal SÁG-nouns and SSD-nouns in Table 45 below.

Similar to our practice applied so far in the corresponding summaries (see, for instance, Table 24 in subsection 1.3.1.2.4.3), the presence or absence (or degrees) of output nominal properties are presented by check-marks, asterisks and question marks in the table. As for the visual representation, the lighter a cell is, the more nominal the noun type is in the given respect.

Table 45: The degree of nominalness of denominal sÁg*-nominalizations*

PROPERTIES		SÁG-NOUN	SSD-NOUN
NOMINAL	pluralization	*?	*?
	possessive argument	✓	??
	case marking	✓	✓
	adjectival modification	✓	?
	definiteness and other degrees of referentiality	??	??
	quantification (and determination)	?	??

The essential character of denominal SÁG-nouns that Table 45 demonstrates is that they are impeccably nominal in three respects but much less nominal with respect to pluralization, determination and quantification. This latter deficit can be attributed to the fact that they denote eventualities (and not, for instance, persons, which can readily be pluralized; see the pluralization of Ó-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns in (417a-a') in 1.3.1.3.4.2, sub I, and in (470b) in 1.3.1.4.4.2, respectively), and especially states which do not belong to the "best-defined eventuality types" in the respects which pluralization, determination and quantification are sensitive to. Even these levels of nominalness in these three respects are higher than what is expected, due to the average-improving special subtype of denominal SÁG-noun construction with position names (recall that the linguistically encoded terms of office related to position names render the given eventualities strikingly readily "countable"; see the relevant comments on (570) and (571) in 1.3.3.1.1).

Denominal SSD-nouns are somewhat less nominal than denominal SÁG-nouns, which is a tendency in contrast with the one observed in the case of other pairs of eventuality-type denoting and complex-eventuality denoting types (see the summaries of *Ás*- and *Ó*-nominalization in 1.3.1.2.4.3 and in 1.3.1.3.4.3,

respectively). The reason for this is presumably the "accident" that possessive denominal SSD-noun constructions are all but blocked by *volta*-constructions, but in a strange, lopsided way: in the absence of non-possessive *volta*-constructions, the SSD-nouns themselves are fully acceptable but they show otherwise unexpected behavior in certain constructions; see the comments on (571c-d') in 1.3.3.1.1.

1.3.3.2. Subcategory preserving denominal nominalizations

This subsection discusses three denominal nominalizers which share the property of preserving not only the category (namely, noun) but the subcategory (e.g., proper names) as well (1.2). This property is remarkably advantageous in the course of the discussion because it can be claimed unequivocally that the output can be characterized by the same nominal properties (or by the absence or non-prototypical presence of these properties) as the input. Instead of characterizing these types and exemplifying their properties here, we refer the interested reader (chiefly) to subsection 1.2.

The three denominal nominalizers are the (most unquestionably) productive diminutive derivational suffix *-(Vcs)kA* (587a-a"), suffix *-i* deriving nicknames (587b-b') and suffix *-né* deriving wives' names (587d-d').

(587) ● Types of subcategory preserving denominal nominalizations

a. Ettél már *a kagyló-k-ból / kagyló-cská-k-ból?*
eat.Past.2Sg already *the mussel-Pl-Ela / mussel-Dim-Pl-Ela*
'Have you already eaten *from the mussels / [small mussels]?*'

a'. *Ili / Ili-ke* fáradtnak tűnik.
Ili / Ili-Dim tired.Dat seem.3Sg
'*Ili / Ilike* ('little Ili') seems to be tired.'

a". Elolvastam *Ili mindkét* könyv-é-t */ könyv-ecské-jé-t a madarakról.*
read.Past.1Sg *Ili both book-Poss.3Sg-Acc / book-Dim-Poss.3Sg-Acc the bird.Pl.Del*
'I have read *both of Ili's books / booklets on birds*.'

b. Mit érzel *Ferenc / Fer-i iránt?*
what.Acc feel.2Sg *Ferenc / Fer(~~enc~~)-Dim towards*
'How do you feel *for Ferenc / Feri*$_{informal}$*?*'

b'. Ez *sós csokoládé / csok-i.*
this *salty chocolate / chocolate-Dim*
'This is *salty chocolate / choccy*.'

b". Elhiszem *Piri minden pletyká-já-t / plety-i-jé-t Iliről.*
believe.DefObj.1Sg *Piri every gossip-Poss.3Sg-Acc / gossip-Dim-Poss.3Sg-Acc Ili.Del*
'I believe *all of Piri's gossips about Ili*.'

c. *Im-i-ke / fagy-i-ka*
Im(~~re~~)-Dim-Dim / ice_cream-Dim-Dim
'*Imre*$_{informal}$ */ [ice cream*$_{informal}$*]*'

d. Ebben a szobában *hat Brandt / Brandt-né* van.
this.Ine the room.Ine *six Brandt / Brandt-NÉ* be.3Sg
'In this room there are *six Brandts / [Mrs. Brandts]*.'

d'. Nagyon jóban van *a báró a kocsmáros-sal*,
very.much good.Ine be.Part *the baron the innkeeper-Ins*
és *a báró-né a kocsmáros-né-val.*
and *the baron-NÉ the baron-NÉ-Ins*
'*The baron* is in a good relationship *with the innkeeper*, and *the baroness with the innkeeper's wife.*'

The *-(Vcs)kA* suffix derives common nouns from common nouns (587a) as well as proper names from proper names (587a') and *story/picture* nouns from *story/picture* nouns (587a").

The *-(Vcs)kA* suffix is characterized in Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 168–170) as follows. It is productive only with (concrete) nouns as input (cf. (568a-a') in 1.3.2.3 and (590e) in 1.3.4). Of its versions *-(V)cskA* and *-kA*, both can be regarded as productive with different phonological restrictions: (i) *-(V)cskA* cannot (readily) be used with nouns ending in *-i* (with such sporadic exceptions as *bikini-*(cs)ke* 'bikini-Dim'); (ii) *-kA* cannot be attached to one-syllable words and to words ending in *-a/e* or non-nasal stops). As for the meaning of *-(Vcs)kA*-nouns, they primarily denote "little N", but in certain contexts it is possible that the diminutive suffix completely loses this semantic content and supplies only some pragmatic function. The diminutive form *lov-acská-m* 'horse-Dim-Poss.1Sg', for instance, can also be used to refer to a huge old horse, if the given horse is dear to my heart, and not only to 'my colt'. It is also claimed in Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 170) that *-(Vcs)kA*-nouns are rarely lexicalized (so they typically appear in utterances as on-line created expressions).

The derivational suffix *-i* of nicknames (587b-b') is also claimed to be productive in Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 170–172). It also "preserves subcategory" since it derives proper names from proper names (587b), common nouns from common nouns (587b'), and *story/picture* nouns from *story/picture* nouns (587b"). Note that it does not pattern with most Hungarian derivational suffixes in attaching to the relative stem because it is attached to a specially (highly and sometimes non-predictably) truncated variant of the stem. It is typically an extended ("maximalized") variant of the first syllable that *-i* is attached to: for instance, *Er·zsé·bet* (proper name) → *Er·zsi*, *Ist·ván* (proper name) → *Is·t(*v)i* (NB: *erzs*, but not *istv*, as a separate syllable, is permitted by the phonotactic rules of Hungarian). The derivational suffix *-i* of nicknames has no (semantic) meaning but it supplies only some pragmatic function.

Note in passing that nickname deriving and diminutive suffixes can be combined with each other (in this order); as is illustrated in (587c) above (NB: *-ikA* is not a separate diminutive derivational suffix, see Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 171–172)) . The phenomenon of combining them is not only a theoretical possibility but definitely typical of child language.

The derivational suffix *-né* (discussed in 1.2.1.2.1, sub E; see the series of examples in (169)) can appear with nouns to denote the wife of a man. It derives proper names from proper names (587d) and, typically in the case of titles and occupations, it derives common nouns from common nouns (587d').

The series of examples presented in (587) above also illustrates the inheritance of the characteristic nominal properties, given in Table 45 in 1.3.3.1.3, for instance. The derived output expressions, depending on the subcategory of the input, (i) can

be pluralized (587a), (ii) can have a possessor (587a",b"), (iii) can bear any kind of case marking (587a,a",b",d') or can appear in a postpositional phrase (587b), (iv) can be modified by an adjective (587b'), (v) can be compatible with different degrees of referentiality (compare, for instance, the definite construction in (587a) with the bare predicative one in (587b')), and (vi) can be determined or quantified (587a",b",d).

Note in passing that the connection between a *story/picture* noun which can be associated with a fully fledged argument(-like dependent) and the compound consisting of a non-fully-fledged version of the given argument and the given noun (in this order), can also be regarded as a denominal nominalization, given the fact that the two constructions can occur in different syntactic contexts. The connections between (588a) and (588b) below, and (588b) and (588c), can be regarded as two steps of this hypothetical derivation (see also the series of examples in (631) in 1.4.2.1.3 and example (644b) in 2.1.1.1).

(588) ● *Story/picture* nouns and arguments

a. *a kép-e Csontváry-nak egy görög táj-ról*
the painting-Poss.3Sg Csontváry-Dat a Greek landscape-Del
'*Csontváry's painting of a Greek landscape*'

b. *a táj-kép-e Csontváry-nak*
the landscape-painting-Poss.3Sg Csontváry-Dat
'*Csontváry's landscape*'

c. *Csontváry táj-kép*
Csontváry landscape-painting
'*Csontváry-landscape*'

1.3.3.3. Non-productive denominal nominalizers

This short subsection is devoted to the overview of non-productive denominal nominalizers in Hungarian.

Let us start with the non-productive uses of the suffix *-sÁg*, which is productive in deriving state-denoting abstract denominal nominals (subsection 1.3.3.1 is devoted to this usage). It often (but not productively) derives collective nouns (589a) and names of domains (589a'), in addition to deriving nouns the meanings of which are not easy to calculate on the basis of the meanings of the derivational inputs (589a"). The word *asszonyság* 'woman.SÁG', for instance, refers to a woman almost just like its derivational basis *asszony* 'woman' does, with the slight semantic difference that an *asszonyság* is somewhat more corpulent than an *asszony*, and/or with some pragmatic difference according to which the expression *asszonyság* is funny or impolite.

(589) ● Non-productive denominal nominalizers

a. *ügynök-ség / vezető-ség / hegy-ség*
agent-SÁG / manager-SÁG / mountain-SÁG
'*agency / management / [mountain range]*'

a'. *gróf-ság / király-ság*
earl-SÁG / king-SÁG
'*earldom / kingdom*'

a''. *asszony-ság / marha-ság / orvos-ság*
woman-SÁG / cattle-SÁG / doctor-SÁG
'*woman / rubbish / medicament*'

b. *fog-azat / gép-ezet / nyelv-ezet*
tooth-Nmn / machine-Nmn / language-Nmn
'*[row of teeth] / machinery / [use of language]*'

b'. *dékán-ia / rektor-átus*
dean-Nmn / rector-Nmn
'*[dean's office] / rectorate*'

b''. *Dán-ia / Brazíl-ia*
Dane-Nmn / Brazilian-Nmn
'*Denmark / Brazil*'

c. *hal-ász / lov-ász / gép-ész*
fish-Nmn / horse-Nmn / machine-Nmn
'*fisherman / hostler / machinist*'

c'. *ügy-nök / dal-nok*
case-Nmn / song-Nmn
'*agent / minstrel*'

d. *Imr-us / dad-us / Pir-csi / rep-csi / Gyul-u / any-u / Bé-ci*
Imr(e)-Dim / nanny-Dim / Pir(oska)-Dim / airplane-Dim / Gyul(a)-Dim / mother-Dim / Bé(la)-Dim
'*Imre*$_{informal}$ / *nanny*$_{informal}$ / *Piroska*$_{informal}$ / *airplane*$_{informal}$ / *Gyula*$_{informal}$ / *mum* / *Béla*$_{informal}$'

d'. *tes-ó / ház-ikó / kuty-uli / Ág-ica*
sibling-Dim / house-Dim / dog-Dim / Ág(nes)-Dim
'*sibling*$_{informal}$ / *cottage* / *puppy* / *Ágnes*$_{informal}$'

The examples in (589b) above illustrate the non-productive derivational suffix *-(A)zAt*, which derives collective nouns, just like the subtype of *-sÁg* presented in (589a). In (589b'), two derivational suffixes of foreign origin are illustrated, namely, *-ia* and *-átus*, which pattern with the subtype of *-sÁg* presented in (589a') in deriving names of domains in the case of stems of a foreign origin, which denote the persons governing the given domains. In (589b''), the derivational suffix *-ia* is illustrated to be capable of deriving names of domains in the case of stems of a foreign origin, which denote the persons inhabiting the given domains.

As for the degree of nominalness of the derived nominal subtypes presented in (589a-b') above, they basically pattern with ordinary nouns in being fully nominal (on the slight differences between, for instance, collective nouns and ordinary nouns, see subsection 1.2.2, and especially its subordinate subsection 1.2.2.2.1, sub III).

In (589c-c'), two non-productive denominal nominalizers are presented, namely *-Ász* and *-nOk*, which derive names of occupations. With respect to meaning, thus, the derived nouns are similar to TPD_{AG}-nouns, derived from verbs, and ODN-nouns, derived from adjectives. Moreover, many *Ász*-nouns and *nOk*-nouns can definitely be classified as blocking forms of regularly derived potential TPD_{AG}-nouns and/or ODN-nouns (see Table 34 in 1.3.1.6 and examples (558a-b') in 1.3.2.2.1, respectively). Therefore, they are as nominal as TPD_{AG}-nouns and ODN-nouns.

The series of examples ends with the illustration of the very rich realm of such non-productive (but quite frequent) derivational suffixes which have a diminutive

and/or nicknaming character, see (589d) above. The suffixes demonstrated here share the property of being attached to truncated nominal stems of both proper names and common nouns. There are also numerous sporadically (or individually) occurring diminutive and/or nicknaming derivational suffixes, of which a few are shown in (589d'). All derivational suffixes presented in (589d-d') pattern with the two productive diminutive and/or nickname deriving suffixes discussed in subsection 1.3.3.2 in preserving subcategory, on the basis of which the nominal character of the derived nouns shown in (589d-d') can be calculated.

1.3.3.4. Summary

Subsection 1.3.3 has discussed denominal nominalization, which has two clearly distinguishable productive subtypes (1.3.3.1-1.3.3.2), in addition to a few non-productive ways of denominal nominalization (1.3.3.3).

One productive subtype is denominal *sÁg*-nominalization (1.3.3.1), which patterns with deadjectival *sÁg*-nominalization in deriving complex-state denoting SÁG-nouns and state-type denoting SSD-nouns. In spite of this basic similarity, denominal SÁG-nouns are different from deadjectival SÁG-nouns to a somewhat greater degree than might be expected: the former group is significantly more nominal than the latter (1.3.2.1.4.3), presumably due to an accidental factor, which is the linguistic encodedness of terms of office in the case of position denoting (denominal) SÁG-nouns. As for denominal and deadjectival SSD-nouns, they are more incomparable than similar with respect to nominal properties, since possessive denominal SSD-noun constructions are systematically blocked by the copular-construction-based *volta*-construction, on the one hand, and denominal SSD-nouns have no *blocking* lexicalized forms, on the other. *Apaság* 'paternity', for instance, is certainly a lexicalized form, but it cannot be regarded as a blocking form, since it is derived regularly from the noun *apa* 'father'.

All other productive denominal nominalizers, namely, the diminutive *-(Vcs)kA* suffix, the nickname deriving *-i* suffix, and the wife name deriving *-né* suffix, share the property of preserving subcategory (e.g., that of proper names) in addition to preserving the superior category *noun* (1.3.3.2). This property can straightforwardly underlie our classification since subcategory preserving precisely means that output nominal constructions show the same degrees of nominalness as their input counterparts, which are the aspects tested in the case of all nominalizations (1.3).

1.3.4. Other cases

This subsection is devoted to the brief discussion of types of nominalization the input of which is other than verbs, adjectives or nouns.

The series of examples in (590) below presents different denumeral nominal constructions, that is, ones with numerals as input.

In (590a), the denominal adjectivalizer *-(V)s*, the adjectival constructions of which nominal constructions can be derived by conversion, discussed in subsection 1.3.2.2, appears in a new function: it immediately derives adjectives from numerals, and then from the derived adjectives nouns can be derived by conversion.

According to Kiefer and Ladányi (2000b: 191), this derivation is not productive in spite of the fact that all natural numbers can readily undergo it since the given

derivational suffix can be attached not to an unlimited set but only to the closed set of digits (*nulla* 'zero', *egy* 'one', *kettő* 'two', *három* 'three', ..., *kilenc* 'nine', *tíz* 'ten', *húsz* 'twenty', *harminc* 'thirty', ..., *kilencven* 'ninety', *száz* 'hundred (10^2)', *ezer* 'thousand (10^3)', *millió* 'million (10^6)', *milliárd* '10^9', *billió* '10^{12}', *trillió* '10^{15}', ..., *googol* '10^{100}'; NB: the numbers referring to gigantic amounts can be referred to by means of compound words based on a limited set of simplex words of a Latin origin). Their second argument for the non-productive status of the given derivation is that it cannot be applied to fictive numbers (such as 'n' and 'k'). We claim, however, that, at least in the jargon of mathematics, the given derivation can be freely applied to any kind of symbol, so we consider it productive, at least in the case of the second meaning given in (590a). The difference between the two kinds of meanings is that meaning1 pertains to the name of the digit itself (which, in "distinguished" cases, can also refer to coins and banknotes) while meaning2 pertains with sets (consisting of elements of the given number). Note in passing that in meaning2 (but not in meaning1), instead of *kettes* 'two.S', the word *pár* 'pair' is used.

It can also be mentioned that there is a fraction number, namely, *fél* 'half', from which the name of a measure of drink can be derived by *-(V)s* (590a').

(590) ● Numerals as input to nominalization

a. *kett-es / hárm-as / öt-ös / száz-as / n-es / k-as*
two-S / three-S / five-S / hundred-S / n-S / k-S
meaning 1: '*the number two / three / five / hundred / n / k*'
meaning 2: '— / *triplet / quintuple / centuple / n-tuple / k-tuple*'

a'. Ittam *egy fel-es-t.*
drink.Past.1Sg *a half-S-Pl*
'I drank *a shot*.'

b. Ismét tárgyaltak *a Nyolc-ak.*
again negotiate.Past.3Pl *the eight-Pl*
'*The Eight* negotiated again.'

c. Ismét győzött *a nemzeti tizenegy.*
again win.Past.3Sg *the national eleven*
'*The national eleven* won again.'

d. *több-ség / sok-aság / egy-ség*
more-SÁG / many-SÁG / one-SÁG
'*majority / crowd / unit(y)*'

e. *egy-ke*
one-Dim
'*only child*'

The example in (590b) above presents another way of denumeral nominalization whose derivational basis contains (the first few) natural numbers. The plural suffix *-(V)k* plays a special, inevitable, role in this kind of derivation. Groups of politicians or artists are typically referred to by means of the nouns derived in this way.

An individual instance of (conversional) derivation is exemplified in (590c) above, in which the national soccer team is referred to.

The derivational suffix *-sÁg* can function not only as a deadjectival nominalizer (1.3.2.1) and as a denominal nominalizer (1.3.3.1) but also as a denumeral one. In

this latter function, however, it is not productive. The three examples in (590d) above, thus, are lexicalized cases.

Example (590e) shows a (lexicalized) case when the diminutive suffix is attached to a numeral resulting in a noun (cf. (587a-a") in 1.3.3.2).

The complete discussion of nominalization (1.3) concludes now with a small collection of highly exceptional individual cases of nominalization, the results of which are lexicalized elements whose special structure can be attributed to historical "accidents".

In (591a), two inflected (i.e., instrumental case-marked) nouns are further-inflected (with the plural suffix and an oblique case marker) as if they were noun stems. One of them (†*reg* 'morning') is already extinct, so *reggel* 'morning' practically functions in present-day Hungarian as an ordinary noun. The noun *éj* 'night', however, does still exist, at least as part of a poetic vocabulary. The two words *éj* and *éjjel*, thus, practically mean the same, namely, night, and can be suffixed (as ordinary nouns) in the same way (e.g., *éj(jel)i* 'night(Ins).Adj', *éj(jel)eimben* 'night(Ins).Poss.Pl.1Sg.Ine'). Note in passing that the following nouns can also serve as temporal-adverbial expressions: *éjjel* 'at night', *reggel* 'in the morning', *délelőtt* 'before noon', *délután* 'in the afternoon', *este* 'in the evening'.

In (591b), two historically postpositional expressions are inflected, in order to show that they function as ordinary nouns in present-day Hungarian. They are also names for the parts of the day, which generally behave in quite irregular ways, forming an eclectic lexical domain for historical reasons (see also (158) in 1.2.1.2.1, sub I/C).

(591) ● Other categories as input to nominalization

a. Rettegek *az éj*$^{(?)}$*(*$^{\checkmark}$*-jel)-ek-től / reg*(*$^{\checkmark}$*-gel)-ek-től.*
dread.1Sg *the night-Ins-Pl-Abl / morning-Ins-Pl-Abl*
'I am dreading *the nights / mornings.*'

b. Rettegek *a dél-után-ok-tól/ dél-előtt-ök-től.*
dread.1Sg *the noon-after-Pl-Abl / noon-before-Pl-Abl*
'I am dreading *the afternoons / forenoons.*'

c. Jól áll *ez az otthon-ka.*
well stand.3Sg *this the at_home-Dim*
'*These casual clothes* fit you.'

d. *A fogd-meg*$^{??}$*(-ek)-et* elküldték.
the catch.Subj.DefObj.2Sg-perf-Pl-Acc away_send.3Pl
'*The bailiffs* were sent away.'

The example in (591c) above shows a one-time derivation by means of the (otherwise productive) diminutive nominalizer *-(Vcs)kA* (1.3.3.2). What is special is that the input is an adverb, namely, *otthon* 'at home'. Nevertheless, it must be noted that *otthon* also functions as a noun (e.g., *az otthonomat* 'the home.Poss.1Sg.Acc').

The lexicalized noun *fogdmeg* 'bailiff' can be construed as the result of a conversion the input of which is the subjunctive form of a verb with a preverb (591d). It must be noted that its singular form is highly marked; it is presumably the plural suffix that "legitimizes" its nominal use.

1.4. Compounding *(Veronika Szabó and Bálint Tóth)*

The most productive and frequent way of forming new nouns besides derivation is compounding. After a short introduction to the topic (1.4.1), we will demonstrate the various types of compounds (1.4.2). Besides compounding, there are other processes used for creating new words in Hungarian. Nevertheless, most of them are very rare and not entirely productive phenomena, which are not governed by rules (Remark 17).

Remark 17. Hungarian makes use of back-formation, blending and abbreviation to create new words.

(i) Back-formation: the end of a word is mistakenly reanalyzed as a derivational suffix, and is removed. The resulting remnant form may then be used as a new word stem: from *sétál* 'walk' (verb) *séta* 'walk' (noun), from *kapál* 'hoe' (verb) *kapa* 'hoe' (noun), from *harcol* 'fight' (verb), *harc* 'fight' (noun). This word formation process is not entirely productive; some of the examples were artificially coined in the 19th century.

(ii) Blending: two words with related meanings are merged (e.g., *citrom+narancs* = *citrancs* 'lemon+orange = grapefruit').

(iii) Abbreviation (acronyms and initialisms): shortened or contracted form of a word or phrase, like *MÁV (Magyar Államvasutak* 'Hungarian State Railways'), *OSZK (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár* 'National Széchényi Library').

1.4.1. Compounding as a word formation process

Compounding is a word formation process whereby a free lexeme is combined with other free lexemes. Short compounds are written as single words according to current rules of Hungarian orthography; however, orthography cannot always help to distinguish compounds from constructions. The examples in (592) illustrate that *construction* and *compound* are not absolute categories; rather, there exists a scale ranging from absolute constructionhood to full-blown compoundness. While in (592a), for instance, the noun head is modified by an adjective, bare and referential noun phrases can also occupy this position ((592b,c), cf. (103) in subsection 1.1.2.1). The phrase in the prenominal complement position could otherwise be expressed as a possessor of the non-deverbal noun head (592d). Examples (592e,f) illustrate arguments of the input verb appearing left adjacent to the output deverbal noun. The expression in (592g) is a textbook example of a compound with a non-deverbal nominal head.

(592) ● From constructions to compounds

a. a [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ *magas*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the *tall* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your *tall* friend'

b. a [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ (leendő) *építész*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the would-be *architect* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your (would-be) *architect* friend'

c. a [$_{NP}$ [*Havanecz Jóska*] [$_{NP}$ barátod]]
the *Havanecz Jóska* friend.Poss.2Sg
'your friend *Jóska Havanecz*'

d. egy [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ '*Szabolcsi*-] cikk]
a *Szabolcsi*- paper
'a paper *by Szabolcsi*'

e. a [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ *Pestre*] érkezés]
the *Pest.Sub* arrival
'the arrival *in Pest*'

f. a [$_{NP}$ tegnapi [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *kutya*-] sétáltatás]
the yesterday.Adj *dog* walking
'walking *the dog* yesterday'

g. a [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *ház*]fal]
the *house* wall
'the *house* wall'

A precise distinction between compounds and constructions can be made by careful examination of the phonological, semantic, morphological, and syntactic behavior of the given expressions (Fejes 2005).

Typical compounds are stressed on the first syllable, so they behave like a single phonological unit. For instance, *barnamedve* 'brown bear', as a name of a particular species of bears, is stressed on the first element, while the construction *barna medve* 'a bear which happens to be brown' can also be stressed on the second member. Note that it is not inevitable that a brown bear (and any subspecies of this type of bears) is brown, or that a green card is always green. The same sequences of words serve as compounds in (593a) while in (593b) they form constructions.

(593) ● Typical compounds are stressed on the first syllable.

a. 'barna*medve*, 'zöld*kártya*, 'zöld*borsó,* 'öngyilkos*jelölt*
brown_*bear* green_*card* green_*pea* self-murder_*candidate*
'[brown *bear* (Ursus arctos)] / [green *card* (ID card for the US)] / [green *pea*] / [*would-be* suicide]'

b. 'barna 'medve, 'zöld 'kártya, 'zöld 'borsó, 'öngyilkos 'jelölt
brown bear green card green pea self-murder candidate
'a [brown bear] / [green card] / [green pea] / [suicidal candidate]'

Nevertheless, there are two phenomena which make it difficult to distinguish the two categories only on the basis of stress as a criterion. On the one hand, in certain areas of Hungary, many compounds can be stressed on the first syllable of the second morpheme as well (e.g., '*asztal*'*terítő* 'table-cloth', see Fejes (2005)). On the other hand, there are constructions which are not compounds, though the second element cannot be stressed (e.g., '*Nagy ˚család* 'family Nagy', see Kálmán and Nádasdy (1994: 424), and see also subsection 2.3.2, and especially 2.3.2.2).

Semantically, several compounds are not reliably transparent or predictable. However, there are many exceptions to this rule. The expressions *özvegyasszony* ('widow') or *cigányasszony* ('gipsy woman'), for instance, are transparent, even though they are classified as compounds (Fejes 2005).

In the last few decades syntactic criteria have gained a more important role in the Hungarian literature on compounding (e.g., Kiefer 2000d). From this formal point of view compounds behave as single units: the first elements, that is, the non-heads, cannot be modified and grammatical morphemes cannot typically be attached to them. Let us demonstrate this with the following examples: if the first element of

the compound is an adjective (like the adjective *nagy* 'grand, big' in the compound *nagyherceg* 'grand duke'), the comparative form cannot be used, though *nagy* 'big' is in itself comparable. Besides **nagyobb herceg* ('bigger prince'), the phrase **nagyon nagy herceg* ('very big prince') is also ill-formed (Kenesei 2000: 81).

If the non-head is (also) a noun, it cannot take the plural form (594b) or cannot be modified by an attributive adjective (594c). However, in some cases it can bear inflectional suffixes, as illustrated in (594d,e). Note that the suffixation is part of the derivational process in compounds with a deverbal head, compare (594d,e) with their primed counterparts (594d',e').

(594) ● The first element cannot be modified in compounds

a. utca-*sepr-és* / levél-*ír-ás*
street-*sweep-ÁS* / letter-*write-ÁS*
'[street *sweeping*] / [letter-*writing*]'

b. *utcá-k-*sepr-és* / *level-ek-*ír-ás*
street-Pl-*sweep-ÁS* / letter-Pl-*write-ÁS*

c. *[[hosszú utca]*sepr-és*] / *[[hosszú levél]*írás*]
long street *sweep-ÁS* / long letter *write-ÁS*

d. föld-et-*ér-és* / nagy-ot-*hall-ás*
ground-Acc-*reach-ÁS* / big-Acc-*hear-ÁS*
'touchdown / [hardness of *hearing*]'

d'. *föld-*ér-és* / *nagy-*hall-ás*
ground-*reach-ÁS* / big-*hear-ÁS*

e. iskolá-ba-*jár-ás* / has-ra-*es-és*
school-Ill-*go-ÁS* / stomach-Sub-*fall-ÁS*
'[*going* to school] / prat*fall*'

e'. *iskola-*jár-ás* / *has-*es-és*
school-*go-ÁS* / stomach-*fall-ÁS*

Some idiomatic expressions have retained the inflectional suffix on the non-head (595). These patterns are not productive, and only an extremely small number of special examples are known.

(595) ● Compounds with suffixes on the first element

a. tej-be-*rizs* / *tej-*rizs*
milk-Ine-*rice* / milk-*rice*
'*rice* pudding'

b. bolond-ok-*ház-a* / *bolond-*ház*
madman-Pl-*house-Poss.3Sg* / madman-*house*
'mad*house*'

Hungarian compounds may allow word-internal ellipsis in certain circumstances. Example (596a) illustrates backward coordination reduction, in which the ellipsis occurs in the left conjunct, while (596b) exemplifies forward coordination reduction, with right-conjunct-internal ellipsis (Bánréti 2007, Kenesei 2008). About the precise rules of word-internal ellipsis, see volume C. See also Remark 18, which discusses a special type of compound taking part in word-internal ellipsis.

(596) ● Word-internal ellipsis

a. [orvos- és egészségtudomány] / [ajtó- vagy kapuzár]
doctor and health_science, / door or gate_lock
'[medical and health science] / [door or gate lock]'

b. [férfiing és -nadrág] / [szabályrendszer és -alkalmazás]
man_shirt and trousers / rule_system and application
'[men's shirt and trousers] / [rule system and application]'

Remark 18. In Hungarian there also exist several bound morphemes (*semiwords*, in the terminology of Kenesei) which can appear as a first element of a compound. Even though they never occur independently, compounds formed from them can be coordinated and can participate in word-internal ellipsis (Kenesei 2000: 84, 2007). These compounds are always transparent. In the examples below, the first element is always a semiword (with the second element *italicized*).

(i) fő*orvos* / bel*politika*
main-*doctor* / internal_*politics*
'[chief *physician*] / [internal *politics*]'

(ii) [al- és fő*orvos*] / [kül- és bel*politika*]
sub- and main_*doctor*/ external- and internal_*politics*
'[assistant- and chief *physician*] / [foreign and internal *politics*]'

(iii) gyógy*üdülő* / zug*ivó* / ál*szakáll*
medicinal_*resort* / nook-*drinker* / fake-*beard*
'health-*resort* / [secret *alcoholic*] / fake-*beard*'

1.4.2. Types of compounds

In Hungarian, there are three types of nominal compounds: endocentric, exocentric and coordinative compounds (Kiefer 1999). This subsection gives an overview of these types (597).

(597) ● Types of compounds

a. Endocentric compound: its denotation is a proper subset of the denotation of the second member (i.e., the head); that is, AB $\subset$ B (e.g., *gyerekkönyv* 'children's book').

b. Exocentric compound: the denotation of the compound is not compositional, and cannot be inferred from the meaning of its members, that is, AB $\neq$ B or A (e.g., *kékszakáll* 'blue-beard').

c. Coordinative compound: it is two-headed, the denotation is not always determined by the members (e.g., *Ausztria-Magyarország* 'Austria-Hungary').

What are called twin-words in Hungarian (*ikerszó*) are generally classified as compounds, too; though their status is unclear. In this type of compound, a noun and its phonologically distorted variant form a new unit, like in *csigabiga* 'snail' (*csiga* 'snail' + *biga*) and *kencefice* 'smear' (*kence* 'smear' + *fice*). The denotation is determined by the member which actually exists as an independent lexeme in Hungarian: in the compound *gizgaz* 'weed', for instance, *gaz* 'weed' is a real word while its distorted variant *giz* does not exist in the language. In some cases, the head is on the right side of the compound (see giz*gaz* 'weed', lim*lom* 'junk'), in other

cases the head can be on the left side (*csiga*biga 'snail', *kence*fice 'smear'). If the first and the second elements are also existing words, the construction has two heads (*irkafirka* 'scribble-scrabble'). Headless constructions, in which neither element is an independent lexeme, are also possible (*ákombákom* 'scrawly', *terefere* 'chit-chat').

1.4.2.1. Endocentric compounds

By far the majority of compound nouns are endocentric, that is, the second element functions as the semantic and syntactic head. In this type of compounding, the compound denotes a proper subset of the set denoted by the second noun ($AB \subset B$): *íróasztal* 'writing-table', for example, denotes a (particular type of) table. Consequently, the rightmost element of a compound determines the syntactic category of the whole, which is a generalization known as the right-hand head rule. This means that in nominal compounds, the second element is always a noun. In the subsection to follow we will distinguish between four types of endocentric compounds depending on the properties of the head and on the relation between the head and the non-head (598). Note in passing that every subtype of the first two types has already been discussed in section 1.3 systematically but from the perspective of the derivational suffixes on the head of the compound (see the subsections on basic types of input verbs/adjectives and on adverbial/adjectival modification, respectively).

(598) ● Types of endocentric compounds

a. Input-argument realizing compounds (IArgR): compounds headed by a derived noun with the non-head realizing arguments of the category (verb or adjective) serving as the input to the derivation. For instance, in *ökörsütés* 'ox roasting', the input transitive verb *süt* 'roast' has a Theme argument (*ökör* 'ox') occurring as the non-head in the corresponding compound.
b. Input-adjunct realizing compounds (IAdjR): compounds headed by a derived noun with the non-head realizing an optional modifier of the input verb or adjective. In the compound *alvajáró* 'sleepwalker', for instance, the head itself is derived from the verb *jár* 'walk', and the non-head *alva* 'sleeping' is a converb, which serves as an optional modifier of the hypothesized input verbal construction *alva jár* '(s)he is walking while sleeping'.
c. Nominal-conceptual-argument realizing compounds (NArgR): these compounds can be expressed by a related construction containing the nominal head and the non-head as an oblique case-marked inflected noun. For example, *evőeszköz* 'cutlery' lit. 'eating-tool' can be rephrased as the construction *eszköz evésre* 'tool for eating' (see also Remark 8 in 1.3.1.3.1).
d. Nominal-adjunct realizing compounds (NAdjR) are compounds headed a (derived or non-derived) noun in which the non-head is an optional modifier of the noun. In these cases the syntactic arguments of the input verb, if any, are not realized in any way. For example, in the case of *nagytakarítás* 'major cleanup', the noun *takarítás* 'cleaning' is premodified by an attributive adjective in the hypothesized input attributive construction.

1.4.2.1.1. Input-argument realizing compounds

IArgR compounds are compounds headed by a deverbal or a deadjectival noun. Let us start with deverbal nouns: as we can see in the series of examples in (599), all of the productive derivational suffixes can appear on the head of deverbal compounds.

(599) ● Productive deverbal suffixes on the head of IArgR compounds

a. osztály-kirándul-*ás*
class-excursion-*ÁS*
'class trip'

b. dió-darál-*ó*
nut-grind-*Ó*
'nut grinder'

c. sertés-sül-*t*
pork-roast-*T*
'roast pork'

d. oroszlán-simogat-*hatnék*
lion-caress-*HATNÉK*
'desire to caress a lion'

In (600), we demonstrate that nouns formed by non-productive derivational suffixes can also head IArgR compounds.

(600) ● Some non-productive deverbal suffixes on the heads of IArgR compounds

a. áru-behozat-*al*
ware-import-*Nmn*
'import'

b. oroszlán-idom-*ár*
lion-train-*Nmn*
'lion tamer'

c. nő-gyógy-*ász*
woman-cure-*Nmn*
'gynecologist'

d. katasztrófa-véd-*elem*
disaster-defend-*Nmn*
'disaster recovery'

As for the non-head realizing an argument of the input verb or adjective, it can occur in various syntactic categories including nouns, adverbs, postpositions and infinitives (601). Note, however, that not all of them are productive patterns, Adv+N compounds are extremely rare (601b). Only the N+N pattern is fully productive in IArgR compounds.

Compounds can be paraphrased with a sentence in which the head is the main predicate of the sentence and the non-head is an argument of the verb or of the adjective which is realized as a bare noun-phrase (e.g., *autót javít* 'car.Acc repair' and *vitaminban szegény* 'vitamin.Ine poor' in the case of the (a)-examples).

(601) ● Syntactic categories of the non-head in IArgR compounds
- a. N+N: autó*javítás* 'car+*repair*' ('car repair'), vitamin*szegénység* 'vitamin+*poverty*' ('vitamin deficiency')
- b. Adv + N: ott*lét* 'there+being' ('stay')
- c. P+N: után*futó* 'after+*runner*' ('trailer')
- d. Inf+*való*: enni*való* 'eat+*való*' ('food') (cf. (384) in 1.3.1.3.3, sub I).

The following subsections demonstrate the various types of IArgR compounds, paying attention to the semantic relation between the derived head and its retained argument as a non-head.

A. Ás-*compounds*

First of all, we examine compounds with the head bearing the derivational suffix *-Ás*. The possible semantic relations between the non-head and the deverbal head are illustrated in (602) on the basis of Kiefer (1993).

(602) ● Thematic roles of non-head elements in IArgR *Ás*-compounds
- a. Agent: gyermek*sírás* 'child.*cry.ÁS*' ('*crying* of a child')
- b. Natural Force: villám*csapás* 'lightning.*strike.ÁS*' ('lightning *strike*')
- c. Theme: levél*hullás* 'leaf.*fall.ÁS*' ('*falling* of leaves')
- d. Instrument: áram*ellátás* 'current.*supply.ÁS*' ('power-*supply*')
- e. Goal: iskolába *járás* 'school.Ill *go.ÁS*' ('*going* to school')
- f. Locative: hason*fekvés* 'belly.Sup.*lie.ÁS*' ('*lying* prone'), ott-*tartózkodás* 'there-*stay.ÁS*' ('*staying* there')

In the series of examples in (603), the non-head argument is the subject of an input unergative (intransitive) verb, which, hence, cannot be considered a Theme. In (603a) bodily/sound emission verbs serves as inputs, their only syntactic argument is somewhat Agent-like, but not a prototypical Agent. There are only very few examples of the first element referring to a human being (603a-b). Typically, the first noun denotes an animal (which do not act intentionally, see Kiefer (2000d: 547–548)), and the embedded verb is a verb of sound emission (603c). We can conclude that typical Agents cannot appear as a non-head of a compound. For more example and explanation of *Ás*-nouns derived from unergative verbs, see the series of examples in (234) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub II.

(603) ● Agent-like argument as non-head of IArgR *Ás*-compounds
- a. gyermek-*nevet-és* / csecsemő-*sír-ás*
  child-*laugh-ÁS* / baby-*cry-ÁS*
  '[*laughing* of a child or children] / [*crying* of a baby or babies]'
- a'. *gyermek-*énekl-és* / *csecsemő-*mászás*
  child-*sing-ÁS* / baby-*crawl-ÁS*
- b. paraszt-*lázad-ás* / nép-*vándorl-ás*
  peasant-*rebel-ÁS* / people-*migrate-ÁS*
  '[peasants' *revolt*] / *migration*'
- c. kutya-*ugat-ás* / macska-*nyávog-ás*
  dog-*bark-ÁS* / cat-*mew-ÁS*
  '[*barking* of a dog] / [*mewing* of a cat]'

The examples in (603a) above may be expressed by possessive constructions (604a), or by sentences (604b). The same can be said of the compounds presented in (603b) above; in this case, however, the subject must be pluralized in possessive constructions (604a') as well as in sentences (604b'), as is pointed out by Kiefer (1999: 277).

(604) ● Decomposition of *Ás*-compounds with an Agent as non-head

a. a gyermek(-ek) nevet-és-e / a csecsemő(-k) sír-ás-a
the child(-Pl) laugh-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / the baby(-Pl) cry-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'[laughing of a child (/children)] / [crying of a baby (/babies)]'

a'. a paraszt*(-*ok)* lázad-ás-a / a nép*(-*ek*)* vándorl-ás-a
the peasant(-*Pl*) rebel-ÁS-Poss.3Sg / the people(-*Pl*) migrate-ÁS-Poss.3Sg
'[the peasants' revolt] / [the peoples' migration]'

b. A gyermek(-ek) nevet(-nek). / A csecsemő(-k) sír(-nak).
the child(-Pl) laugh(-3Pl) / the baby(-Pl) cry(-3Pl)
'[The child is laughing. / The children are laughing.] / [The baby is crying. / The babies are crying.]'

b'. A paraszt*(-*ok)* lázad*(-nak). / A nép*(-*ek*)* vándorol*(-nak).
the peasant(-*Pl*) rebel(-3Pl) / the people(-*Pl*) migrate(- 3Pl)
'[The peasants are rebelling.] / [Peoples are migrating.]'

Kiefer (2009: 533) mentions that such compounds as bolha*csípés* 'flea *bite*' and kutya*harapás* 'dog bite' (605a) are only seemingly similar to the examples presented in (603c) above: the compounds in (605a) are interpreted as non-eventive ÁS-nouns and not as SED-nouns, since they do not denote event types (about the differences between the two types, see 1.3.1.2). The given compounds cannot be derived from the sentences presented in (605b), but only from the sentences presented in (605b'), in an irregular way. The evidence for their not being event denoting nouns is that while the expression *kutyaugatás közben* 'during the barking of a dog/dogs' is acceptable, the expression **kutyaharapás közben* 'during dog-bite' is ill-formed. Consequently, the argumenthood of the non-heads *kutya* in kutya*harapás* and *bolha* in bolha*csípés* is strongly debatable.

(605) ● Decomposition of result *Ás*-compounds with an Agent as non-head?

a. bolha-*csíp-és* / kutya-*harap-ás*
flea-*bite-ÁS* / dog-*bite-ÁS*
'[flea *bite*] / [dog *bite*]'

b. [Egy bolha csíp.] / [Egy kutya harap.]
a flea sting.3Sg / a dog bite.3Sg
'[A flea bites.] / [A dog bites.]'

b'. [A bolha megcsíp valakit.] / [A kutya megharap valakit.]
the flea perf.sting.3Sg someone.Acc / the dog perf.bite.3Sg someone.Acc
'[The flea bites someone.] / [The dog bites someone.]'

Arguments of intransitive unaccusative verbs may also occur as non-heads, and they are interpreted as a Theme (cf. (239) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub III), or as a Natural Force. The input verb typically denotes natural phenomena (606a) or diseases (606b). Note in passing that atelic verbs which do not have a subject, only an oblique argument, cannot form compounds (see (244) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub V).

(606) ● Theme and Natural Force argument as a non-head of *Ás*-compounds

a. lomb-*hull-ás* / rózsa-*nyíl-ás* / nap-*süt-és* / hó-*es-és*
leaf-*fall-ÁS* / rose-*open-ÁS* / sun-*shine-ÁS* / snow-*fall-ÁS*
'[*fall* of the leaves] / [*opening* of roses] / sunshine / snow-*fall*'

b. torok-*fáj-ás* / fül-*zúg-ás*
throat-*pain-ÁS* / ear-*buzz-ÁS*
'[sore throat] / 'tinnitus'

c. villám-*csap-ás*
lightning-*strike-ÁS*
'lightning *strike*'

One of the most typical cases concerns heads derived from transitive verbs. In this case the non-head may correspond to the Theme argument, but never to the Agent argument (607b') (see also (241) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub IV). This means that in examples like *oroszlánsimogatás* 'lion.stroke.ÁS' ('lion stroke'), the non-head can only be interpreted as a Theme argument. There is only one counterexample: *lelkiismeret-furdalás* 'conscience-prick.ÁS' ('prick of conscience'). Although *furdal* 'prick' is a transitive verb, the potential "Agent" appears as the non-head. This strange phenomenon may be attributed to the fact that the verb is an archaic form and the compound itself is lexicalized. Besides heads derived from transitive verbs, the accusative suffix cannot appear on the non-head, only in some lexicalized forms (607d) (Kiefer 2009). For a more precise analysis, see examples (259)-(262) in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub VI.

(607) ● The accusative suffix typically cannot appear on the non-head in *Ás*-compounds

a. Juli [levelet ír] / [újságot olvas] / [tévét néz].
Juli letter.Acc write.3Sg / newspaper.Acc read.3Sg / TV.Acc watch.3Sg
'Juli is [writing a letter] / [reading a newspaper] / [watching TV].'

b. levél-*ír-ás* / újság-*olvas-ás* / tévé-*néz-és*
letter-*write-ÁS* / newspaper-*read-ÁS* / TV-*watch-ÁS*
'[letter *writing*] / newspaper-*reading* / TV-*watching*'

b'. *Juli-*ír-ás* / *Juli-*olvas-ás* / *Juli-*néz-és*
Juli-*write-ÁS* / Juli-*read-ÁS* / Juli-*watch-ÁS*

c. * level-et-*ír-ás* / *újság-ot-*olvas-ás* / *tévé-t-*néz-és*
letter-Acc-*write-ÁS* / newspaper-Acc-*read-ÁS* / TV-Acc-*watch-ÁS*

d. föld-et-*ér-és* / nagy-ot-*hall-ás* / hát-at-*fordít-ás*
ground-Acc-*reach-ÁS* / big-Acc-*hear-ÁS* / back-Acc-*turn-ÁS*
'touchdown / [hardness of *hearing*] / [*turning* one's back]'

Moreover, if the head has another obligatory internal argument in addition to the object, the object appears in a non-head position and the other argument cannot be realized (not only as a non-head (608c) but in the postnominal complement zone (608d), either (Kiefer 2009: 529).

(608) ● The object is realized as non-head in *Ás*-compounds from transitive verbs

a. Juli vért ad Palinak.
Juli blood.Acc give.3Sg Pali.Dat
'Juli donates Pali her blood.'

b. Juli vér-*ad-ás-a*
Juli blood-*give-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*
'Juli's blood *donation*'

c. *Juli vért Palinak-*ad-ás-a*
Juli blood.Acc Pali.Dat-*give-ÁS-Poss.3Sg*

d. *Juli vér-*ad-ás-a* Palinak
Juli blood-*give-ÁS-Poss.3Sg* Pali.Dat

Note that if the other argument of the transitive verb is an optional Instrument, it may occur as the non-head (without its input case suffix), and the object remains unrealized.

(609) ● Instrument as the non-head in *Ás*-compounds

a. bomba-*támad-ás*
bomb.~~Ins~~-*attack-ÁS*
'bombing'

b. gyermek-*áld-ás*
child.~~Ins~~-*bless-ÁS*
'child *blessing*'

c. fény-*másol-ás*
light.~~Ins~~-*copy-ÁS*
'photo*copying*'

As is illustrated in the series of examples in (610) below, it is also possible that a case-marked element can occur as a non-head element. The input verb can be transitive (610b) or intransitive with an oblique case-marked argument (610c,d). It is worth noting that some of these constructions are idiomatic (610a,b), the non-heads with goal or locative meaning being non-referential (Komlósy 1992: 216).

(610) ● The non-head is a case-marked noun in *Ás*-compounds: Locatives and Goals

a. nagy-ra-*becsül-és* / kétség-be-*es-és*
great-Sub-*esteem-ÁS* / despair-Ill-*fall-ÁS*
'appreciation / despair'

b. hely-re-*igazít-ás* / rom-ba-*dönt-és*
place-Sub-*adjust-ÁS* / ruin-Ill-*fell-ÁS*
'emendation / ruination'

c. arc-ra-*borul-ás* / térd-re-*es-és* / bal-ra-*tolód-ás*
face-Sub-*fall-ÁS* / knee-Sub-*fall-ÁS* / left-Sub-*shift-ÁS*
'[*falling* on one's face] / [*falling* on one's knee] / [*shifting* to the left]'

d. víz-en-*jár-ás* / fej-en-*áll-ás*
water-Sup-*walk-ÁS* / head-Sup-*stand-ÁS*
'[*walking* on water] / head*stand*'

In general, compounds cannot be formed with heads derived from verbs with preverbs, since in such cases the verb which the head is derived from requires an argument with specific meaning. Obviously, in a compound the non-head cannot take any article; it is a bare noun, which cannot be specific. However, there are some counterexamples, where the preverb remains present (611). Kiefer (2009: 536) comes to the conclusion that deverbal compounds can only be formed from verbs

with preverbs if the preverb has a word formation function, that is, if it provides a additional meaning besides its perfectivizing function. For more examples and explanations, see examples (242b) and (243a-c') in 1.3.1.2.2.3, sub IV.

(611) ● *Ás*-compounds the head of which is derived from a verb with preverb

a. ér-*el-meszesed-és* / ár-*ki-egyenlítőd-és*
vein-*away-calcify-ÁS* / price-*out-balance-ÁS*
'arteriosclerosis / [levelling of prices]'

b. kormány-*át-alakít-ás* / fa-*ki-termel-és*
government-*through-transform-ÁS* / wood-*out-produce-ÁS*
'[*restructuring* of the government] / lumbering'

c. *újság-*el-olvas-ás* / *film-*meg-néz-és*
newspaper-*away-read-ÁS* / film-*perf-watch-ÁS*

B. Ó-compounds

This subsection examines whether arguments of the input verb receiving different thematic roles can be realized as the non-head member of a corresponding *Ó*-compound; see (612) below and also see the examples in (375) in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI).

(612) ● Thematic roles of non-head elements in IArgR *Ó*-compounds

a. Theme: regény*író* 'novel.*write.Ó*' ('novel *writer*')
b. Instrument: porral*oltó* 'dust.Ins.*extinguish.Ó*' ('fire-*extinguisher*')
c. Goal: ágyra*járó* 'bed.Sub.*go.Ó*' ('night-*lodger*')

The Agent argument of the (unergative or transitive) verb serving as input to Ó-nominalization cannot be realized productively as the non-head of a corresponding *Ó*-compound (613).

(613) ● Agent arguments cannot serve as a non-head of IArgR *Ó*-compounds

a. *munkás-*fúr-ó*
worker-*drill-Ó*

b. *ács-*javít-ó*
carpenter-*repair-Ó*

In the case of transitive input verbs, the Theme argument can be realized as the non-head of the corresponding *Ó*-compound readily and productively. This is illustrated in example (614).

(614) ● Theme arguments as a non-head of IArgR *Ó*-compounds

a. mandula-*darál-ó*
almond-*grind-Ó*
'almond *grinder*'

b. üveg-*vissza-vált-ó*
bottle-*back-change-Ó*
'bottle exchange'

c. autó-*vezet-ő*
car-*drive-Ó*
'car *driver*'

d. zene-*imád-ó*
music-*admire-ó*
'music *lover*'

At this point it is important to note a crucial semantic property of this type of nominalization, already discussed in subsection 1.3.1.3, namely that TPD-nouns may denote agents typically engaging in the activity expressed by the input verb, locations where the activity is typically or conventionally undertaken, or instruments conventionally used to carry out the given activity. These are called $TPD_{AG,}$ TPD_{LOC} and TPD_{INST} nouns, respectively (TPD stands for Typical Participant Denoting). Each subtype is illustrated in the series of examples in (615) below with a single example.

Example (615a) denotes a person who drives a car, and is, therefore, a volitional agent of the activity denoted by the input verb. Example (615b) denotes a place (a bar in this case) where the activity denoted by the input verb (drinking milk) is typically carried out by the patrons. Example (615c) denotes an instrument that is characteristically used for the relevant activity (drilling wood). There exists a fourth, unsystematic meaning facet of *Ó*-compounds, namely when the compound refers to a simple event, making it semantically similar to SED *Ás*-nouns. This pattern is non-productive, and the relevant examples are, in all probability, lexicalized. The pattern is illustrated in example (615d).

(615) ● Functions of heads of IArgR *Ó*-compounds

a. autó-*vezet-ő* — TPD_{AG}
car-*drive-ó*
'car *driver*'

b. tej-*iv-ó* — TPD_{LOC}
milk-*drink-ó*
'milk bar'

c. fa-*fúr-ó* — TPD_{INST}
wood-*drill-ó*
'wood *drill*'

d. óév-*búcsúztat-ó* / lakás-*avat-ó* — irregular
old_year-*part-ó* / flat-*initiate-ó*
'[New-year celebration] / [house-warming party]'

Verbs taking a single oblique internal argument may also be realized as a corresponding deverbal compound, with the oblique argument appearing in non-head position. However, only a few examples of oblique non-heads can be found. The presence of the case suffix is not optional but lexically conditioned. In (616a-b), the case suffix must obligatorily appear (see also (376) in 1.3.1.3.2.3, sub VI), while in (616c-d), the Ablative case and the Instrumental case of the input argument is obligatorily absent.

(616) ● Oblique arguments as non-heads in IArgR *Ó*-compounds

a. ágy*(-ra)-*jár-ó*
bed(-Sub)-*go-ó*
'couch-surfer'

b. ajtó*(-n)-*áll-ó*
door(-Sup)-*stand-ó*
'doorman'

c. drog(*-tól)-*függ-ő*
drug(-Abl)-*hang-ó*
'drug *addict*'

d. könyv(*-vel)-*keresked-ő*
book(-Ins)-*sell-ó*
'book*seller*'

In the case of transitive input verbs with an oblique argument, this argument may also appear in the non-head position while retaining the case suffix. In general this argument is an Instrument (617).

(617) ● Oblique arguments in IArgR *Ó*-compounds derived from transitive verbs

a. por-(ral)-*olt-ó*
dust-(Ins)-*extinguish-ó*
'fire-*extinguisher*'

b. víz-zel-*vág-ó*
water-Ins-*cut-ó*
'water jet *cutter*'

Compounds can also be productively formed by suffixing *-Ó* to verbal roots which can also have a verbal modifier (618). The non-head can be a Theme argument (618a) or an oblique case-marked argument (618b) of the input verb. The oblique case-marking is typically not retained in the compound, as is also shown in (618b).

(618) ● IArgR *Ó*-compounds derived from verb with verbal modifier

a. fa-*ki-termel-ő* / család-*fenn-tart-ó*
wood-*out-produce-ó* / family-*up-keep-ó*
'lumberer / bread-winner'

b. áram(*-mal)-*el-lát-ó* / iskola(*-ra)-*elő-készít-ő*
current(-Ins)-*away-supply-ó* / school(-Sub)-*afore-create-ó*
'electricity-*provider* / [prep school]'

C. -(Vt)t-*compounds*

-(Vt)t-compounds can be formed from TPD_{TH}-nouns, which express the typical and/or institutionalized "Theme-like key participants" of event types. As was mentioned in subsection 1.3.1.4, transitive and unaccusative argument structures can serve as input to TPD_{TH}-nominalization. While an Agent argument can never occur in the prenominal complement zone of the derived noun serving as the non-head of the corresponding compound, the potential arguments have the thematic role Natural Force, Theme, or Location (619). Note that some of these examples are not productive; while the expression *agyhalott* 'braindead' does exist in Hungarian, *vesehalott* lit 'kidney dead' does not (619b).

(619) ● Thematic roles of non-head elements in IArgR *-(Vt)t*-compounds
- a. Natural Force: árvíz*károsult* 'flood.*suffer_damage.T*' ('flood stricken')
- a' Natural Force: nap*kelte* 'sun.*rise.Poss.3Sg.T*' ('sunrise'), hold*tölte* 'moon.*fill.Poss.3Sg.T*' ('full moon')
- b. Theme: jazz-*őrült* 'jazz-*go_crazy.T*' ('jazz-fanatic'), agy*halott* 'brain.*die.T*' ('braindead') but *vese*halott* 'kidney.*die.T*' agya*lágyult* 'brain.Poss.3Sg.*soften.T*' ('soft-headed')
- c. Locative: fej(*-en)*sérült* 'head(-Sup).*get_hurt.T*' ('head-injured (patient))'

Note that there is a significant difference between the example *árvízkárosult* 'flood stricken' in (619a) and *napkelte* 'sunrise' and *holdtölte* 'full moon' in (619a'). The head of the first compound is a TPD_{TH}-noun, which denotes a person, while the examples in (619a') denote events, serving as blocking forms in the group of SED-nouns. There are very few compounds with a T_{EV}-noun head and they can be regarded as fossils in Modern Hungarian (see Remark 10 in the introduction to subsection 1.3.1.4). Most of them have a non-head realizing a Natural Force argument of the input verb. Theme or Agent argument realizing T_{EV}-compounds only exist in a lexicalized oblique case-marked form, see examples in (620a,b), respectively.

(620) ● Further compounds headed by T_{EV}-nouns
- a. posta-*fordul-t-á*(-val)*
  post-*turn-T*-Poss.3Sg(-Ins)
  'by return'
- b. kutya-*fut-t-á*(-ban)*
  dog-*run-T*-Poss.3Sg(-Ine)
  'hurriedly'

In examples (619b,c), the head is a TPD_{TH}-noun. The Theme argument realized as the non-head can be an oblique case-marked argument of an unaccusative verb (*jazz-őrült* 'jazz-fanatic', for instance, can be traced back to a verbal construction like *(Péter) megőrül a jazzért* '(Péter) is crazy for jazz music').

At first sight, *agyhalott* 'braindead' and *agyalágyult* 'soft-brained', also presented in (619b), are analogous examples; in the second one, however, a possessive suffix remains expressed. This can be traced back to the verbal construction *(Péternek) meglágyul az agya* (lit. '(Péter's) brain is softening'). Note that the derived noun *halott* 'dead' does exist without its non-head, while *lágyult* 'softened' does not exist without its Theme denoting argument. Note that the expression *agyalágyult* 'soft-brained' can also function as a prenominal non-finite relative construction, while *agyhalott* 'braindead' functions as attribute as well (NB: in the case of such examples, it is difficult to decide if they are compound nouns or nouns derived by conversion from such non-finite or attributive constructions, see Nádasdy (2012)).

Accusative case-marked elements cannot occur as non-head of TPD_{TH}-nouns even in idiomatic expressions, as was illustrated in the series of examples in (468) in subsection 1.3.1.4.4.1.

The thematic role Locative is exemplified in (619c) above, in which the construction can be traced back to the verbal construction *(Péter) megsérült a fején*

'(Péter) got injured on his head'. The oblique case marking of the given argument remains unexpressed in the compound and the verbal modifier also disappears.

It is worth mentioning that there is only one example of TPD_{TH}-nouns with an inherited converbial argument in the non-head: the lexicalized expression *fogva tartott* 'capture.Conv hold.T' ('captive'), discussed in (469c) in subsection 1.3.1.4.4.1.

D. HAtnék-*compounds*

This subsection provides an overview of the types of permissible compounds derived from (the always "on-line created") *-hAtnék* suffixed nominal heads. We will examine the types of thematic roles that the arguments realized as the non-head in *hAtnék*-compounds are allowed to bear, and also the types of input verbs that can partake in the process of *hAtnék*-compound formation in the first place. Since subsection 1.3.1.5 has already discussed the derivation of *hAtnék*-nouns extensively, little to no emphasis will be laid here on the general semantic properties of *hAtnék*-nouns and the restrictions on the derivational process forming them. Nonetheless, we will refer back to the relevant sections where necessary.

(621) ● Thematic roles of non-head elements in IArgR *hAtnék*-compounds
  a. Theme: oroszlán*simogathatnék* 'lion.*caress.*HATNÉK' ('desire to caress a lion')
  b. Goal: iskolába*mehetnék* 'school.Ill.*go.*HATNÉK' ('the desire to go to school')
  c. Locative: hason*fekhetnék* 'abdomen.Sup.*lie.*HATNÉK' ('the desire to lie prone')

Under no circumstances is the Agent argument of the input verb allowed to appear as the non-head in the corresponding nominal compound. This is illustrated in example (622) below.

(622) ● Agent arguments are disallowed in IArgR *hAtnék*-compounds
  a. *férfi-*ír-hatnék*
     man-*write-*HATNÉK*
     Intended meaning: 'a man's *desire to write*'
  b. *kutya-*ás-hatnék*
     dog-*dig-*HATNÉK*
     Intended meaning: 'a dog's *desire to dig*'

By far the most productive derivational pattern forming *hAtnék*-compounds involves the Theme argument of transitive input verbs. As has already been discussed in 1.3.1.5, such compounds systematically carry a meaning that can roughly be described as a desire or urge to carry out the activity denoted by the input verb in the direction of a prototypical member of the set denoted by the Theme argument realized by the non-head of the compound. This is illustrated in examples (623a-c). For instance, the compound in (623a) expresses a desire to carry out the activity denoted by the input verb *simogat* 'stroke' on a prototypical member of the set of lions (which is the Theme argument of the verb). In most of such cases, the Theme argument realized as the non-head refers to a prototypical, perhaps even non-existing, entity, rather than a particular one. An apparent counterexample is provided by (623d), where the desire is clearly directed towards the speaker's own set of teeth, at least in any normal context. Note that in the given example, the

accusative case marking on the non-head of the compound is retained, which might be in correlation with the inalienable character of the denotatum of the non-head (on the retention of the accusative case marking in the case of *hAtnék*-nouns, see also the series of examples in (503-504) in 1.3.1.5.4.1).

(623) ● Theme argument in non-head of IArgR *hAtnék*-compounds

a. oroszlán-*simogat-hatnék*
lion-*stroke-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to stroke* a lion'

b. krimi-*olvas-hatnék*
crime-*read-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to read* a crime novel'

c. autó-*vezet-hetnék*
car-*drive-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to drive* a car'

d. fog-at *mos-hatnék*
tooth-Acc *wash-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to clean* one's teeth'

In the case of verbs with an oblique case-marked argument, this argument can typically be realized in *hAtnék*-compounds; in particular, if the argument bears a Goal or Location thematic role, as is exemplified in (624) below.

(624) ● Goal and Locative argument in non-head of IArgR *hAtnék*-compounds

a. iskolá-ba *me-hetnék*
school-Ill *go-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to go* to school'

b. fá-ra *mász-hatnék*
tree-Sub *climb-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to climb* a tree'

c. has-on *fek-hetnék*
abdomen-Sup *lie-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to lie* prone'

Unergative and unaccusative verbs systematically refuse to realize their sole argument as a non-head in the corresponding compound. There exist, however, a few cases involving cognate object constructions when this apparent restriction seems to be lifted. Although these examples are of questionable grammaticality and extremely few in number, some are provided in (625) below.

(625) ● Cognate objects of unaccusative/unergative verbs in non-head of IArgR *hAtnék*-compounds

a. ?szörnyű-halált-*hal-hatnék*
horrible-death.Acc-*die-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to die* a horrible death'

b. ?békés-álmot-*álmod-hatnék*
peaceful-dream.Acc-*dream-*HATNÉK
'*a desire to dream* a peaceful dream'

c. ?vidám-táncot-*táncol-hatnék*
cheerful-dance.Acc-*dance-HATNÉK*
'*a desire to dance* a cheerful dance'

As was exemplified in (494b-d) in 1.3.1.5.2.1, even very long sequences of words can appear left-adjacent to the *hAtnék*-noun with a single stress on the first syllable of the entire sequence—as if this (potentially) huge conglomerate as a whole occupied the (otherwise "narrow") prenominal complement zone. These strange constructions can be regarded, at least theoretically, as compounds containing a huge conglomerate of words as their non-head.

E. SÁG-compounds and compounds with a head formed by conversion from adjectives

As was discussed in 1.3.2.1, deadjectival nouns can be formed by the suffix *-sÁg*, and certain arguments can be retained as a non-head of an endocentric compound. It may occur, at least sporadically, that an input oblique case-marked argument corresponds to a non-fully-fledged argument in the prenominal complement zone of the output *sÁg*-noun construction, as was demonstrated in the series of examples in (527) in 1.3.2.1.2.1 (see also example (626a) here). In this type of example, the input case marking is often absent from the output construction, see (626b-c).

(626) ● Productive deadjectival suffix on the heads of IArgR compounds
a. [tettre*kész*]-*ség*
deed.Sub.*ready-SÁG*
'*readiness* to act'
b. [vitamin(*-ban)*szegény*]-*ség*
vitamin(-Ine).*poor-SÁG*
'vitamin *deficiency*'
c. testvér(*-re)[*féltékeny-ség*]
sibling(-Sub)-*jealous-SÁG*
'sibling *rivalry'*

A special type of compound is formed by conversion. The input of the conversion can be a compound adjective derived from a postpositional phrase by means of the attributivizing derivational suffix *-i*. The output of the conversion is a noun, see (627).

(627) ● Compounds formed by conversion
a. tudat-*alatt-i*
sense-*under-Attr*
'(the) subconscious'
b. föld-ön-*kívül-i*
earth-Sup-*outside-Attr*
'(the) extraterrestrial'

1.4.2.1.2. Input-adjunct realizing compounds (IAdjR)

The non-head of a compound may be an adverbial modifier or a case-marked adjunct of the input verb, as is illustrated in the series of examples in (628).

It must be noted, before entering into details, that the practice applied in (628a-e) of providing some semantically essentially equivalent inputs together with the output compound constructions (on the two sides of symbol '~') does not mean that we commit ourselves to some transformational approach (or any other particular approach). It is a theory-dependent question how to calculate the particular formal details of the derivational output in terms of those of the input (and the slight but sometimes relevant semantic differences beyond the aforementioned "essentially equivalent" contents; see also the introduction to 1.3.1).

(628) ● Input adjunct non-head with different derived heads in IAdjR compounds

a. [gyors-an úszik] ~ gyors-*úsz-ás*
fast.Adv swim.3Sg fast-*swim-ÁS*
'[(s)he swims fast] ~ [freestyle *swimming*]'

b. [al-va jár] ~ al-va-*jár-ás*
sleep-Conv walk.3Sg sleep-Conv-*walk-ÁS*
'[(s)he is walking while sleeping] ~ sleep*walking*'

c. [(magán)ház-nál tanít] ~ ház-i-*tanít-ó*
(privat)-house-Ade teach.3Sg house-Adj-*teach-Ó*
'[(s)he teaches at a private house] ~ [private *tutor*]'

c'. [hát-on úszik] ~ hát-*úsz-ó*
back-Sup swim.3Sg back-*swim-Ó*
'[(s)he swims on his back] ~ [backstroke *swimmer*]'

c". [magas-ra ugrik] ~ magas-*ugr-ás*
high-Sub jump.3Sg high-*jump-ÁS*
'[(s)he jumps high] ~ [high *jump*]'

d. [tenger alatt jár] ~ tenger-alatt-*jár-ó*
sea under go.3Sg sea-under-*go-Ó*
'[it swims under the sea] ~ submarine'

e. [kétszer sül] ~ kétszer-*sül-t*
two_times fry.3Sg two_times-fry-*T*
'[it is fried two times] ~ sea-biscuit'

In (628a), the non-head *gyors* 'fast' seems to be an attributive adjective at first glance; its counterpart in the corresponding verbal construction, however, is an adverb (*gyorsan* 'fast.Adv'). As for an input converbial adjunct, it can remain a converb in a compound (628b). Depending on the specific input verb, the input case-marked adjunct is either attributivized by suffix *-i* (628c) or realized without case-marking (628c'-c"). In special cases, postpositional phrases can also appear as the non-head (628d).

To sum up, the non-head can be an adjective, a noun, an adverb, a converb, a postposition, or (an adverb derived from) a numeral (629). Productive patterns are only the A+N and the N+N compounds (629a,b).

(629) ● Syntactic categories of the non-head in IAdjR compounds
- a. A+*N*: magas*ugrás* 'high.*jump.ÁS*' ('high *jump'*)
- b. N+*N*: hát*úszó* 'back.*swim.Ó*' ('backstroke *swimmer'*)
- c. Conv+*N*: alva*járás* 'sleep.Conv.*go.ÁS*' ('sleep*walking*')
- d. Adv+*N*: alul*járó* 'underneath.*go.Ó*' ('underpass')
- e. PP+*N*: tengeralatt*járó* 'sea.under.*walk.Ó*' ('submarine')
- f. Adv_{Num}+*N*: hátul*ütő* 'back.*hit.Ó'* ('drawback')

1.4.2.1.3. Nominal-conceptual-argument realizing compounds (NArgR)

Nouns have a (presumably linguistically encoded) conceptual frame consisting of conceptual arguments referring to the semantically relevant participiants and circumstantial factors of the denotation of the noun (e.g., location, direction, different types of possessors). Some of these accessories may be syntactically realized as the non-head of the corresponding compound.

The first type of noun to be described here is that of relational nouns. Relational nouns have two semantic arguments since they mediate a specific relationship between two entities (Laczkó 2000a: 365). This category basically includes three semantic groups of nouns (Laczkó 2009): kinship terms (e.g., *apa* 'father'), body parts (e.g., *kéz* 'hand'), and part-whole relationship (e.g., *közép* 'middle'). Kinship terms systematically reject the formation of compounds with their semantic arguments as a non-head if the semantic argument is also a relational noun (630c); otherwise, relational nouns as compound heads quite readily accept semantically adequate nouns as non-heads (630c'). Body part nouns and part-whole relationship nouns also readily form compounds with the argument denoting the entity that bears a specific relationship with the entity denoted by the head noun appearing as the non-head. It has to be noted, however, that part-whole nouns compound less productively than body-part nouns do (630b').

(630) ● Relational nouns in NArgR compounds
- a. gyermek-*fej* / csirke-*láb*
  child-*head* / chicken-*leg*
  '[child *head*] / [chicken *leg*]'
- b. ház-*tető* / ceruza-*hegy*
  house-*roof* / pencil-*edge*
  '[*roof* of the house] / [*edge* of the pencil]'
- b'. ?asztal-*szél*/ *asztal-*közép*
  table-*side* / table-*middle*
- c. *unoka-*nagymama* / *férj-*feleség*
  grandchild-*grandmother* / husband-*wife*
- c'. milliomos-*nagymama* / kőműves-*feleség*
  millionaire-*grandmother* / bricklayer-*wife*
  '[a *grandmother* of a millionaire] / [the *wife* of a bricklayer]'

Story/picture nouns may take different conceptual arguments as a non-head: the creator of the denotation (631a), the theme of the story/picture (631b) or the intended/potential audience (631c). Contrary to all other compounds, the Agent (i.e., the creator) can also be realized by a proper name. These constructions can

also be expressed by a corresponding possessive construction (*Chomsky-tanulmány* 'Chomsky-paper' as *Chomsky tanulmánya* Chomsky paper.Poss.3Sg, 'a paper by Chomsky').

(631) ● Story/picture nouns in NArgR compounds

a. Chomsky-tanulmány / Csontváry-kép
Chomsky-paper / Csontváry-picture
'[paper by Chomsky] / [picture by Csontváry]'

b. király-dráma / táj-kép
king-drama / scenery-picture
'[history play] / landscape'

c. lány-regény
girl-novel
'lit. novel for girls'

d. Shakespeare-király-dráma / Csontváry-táj-kép
Shakespeare-king-drama / Csontváry-land-picture
'[history play by Shakespeare] / [landscape by Csontváry]'

e. Leiner Laura-kamasz-regény
Leiner Laura-teenager-novel
'young adult novel by Laura Leiner'

f. *kamasz-király-dráma
teenager-king-drama

More than one type of semantic argument may also appear in one compound simultaneously, in a fixed order; for instance, the Agent and the Theme (631d), and the Agent and the audience (631e) often co-occur (in these orders), while such a co-occurrence is not possible for the Theme and the audience.

The third group contains regular non-relational non-derived nouns whose conceptual argument (e.g., material or audience) normally appears postnominally as an oblique case-marked noun phrase or a relative clause. These conceptual arguments may appear as the non-head of the corresponding compound construction. (Note in passing that N+N constructions in which the first noun denotes material can be interpreted as constructions of modification in the sense of Kenesei (2014)).

Although there may be certain tendencies, the semantic (syntactic) relation between the two elements is largely unpredictable. This unpredictability is illustrated nicely by the pair *olívaolaj* 'olive oil' and *babaolaj* 'baby oil'; the first denotes oil made from olives whereas the second normally denotes oil for babies. In (632), we demonstrate that the non-head can denote material (632a), intended audience (632b), aim (632c), and location (632d). Note in passing that the compound presented in (632d) is a good example of multiple compounding.

(632) ● Non-relational non-derived nouns in NArgR compounds

a. [lánc aranyból]/ [lánc, ami aranyból van] / arany-*lánc*
chain gold.Ela / chain which gold.Ela be.3Sg / gold-*chain*
'[chain of gold] / [chain which is made of gold] / [golden *chain*]'

b. [olaj babáknak] / [olaj, ami babáknak való] / baba-*olaj*
oil baby.Pl.Dat / oil which baby.Pl.Dat be.Part / baby-*oil*
'[oil for babies] / [oil which is for babies] / [baby *oil*]'

c. [kártya adózáshoz]/ [kártya, ami adózáshoz szükséges] / adó-*kártya*
card taxpaying.All / card which taxpaying.All necessary / tax-*card*
'[card for taxpaying] / [card which is necessary for taxpaying] / [tax *card*]'

d. [tükör a fürdőszobában] / [tükör, ami a fürdőszobában van] / fürdőszoba-*tükör*
mirror the bathroom.Ine / mirror which the bathroom.Ine be.3Sg / bathroom-*mirror*
'[mirror in the bathroom] / [mirror which is in the bathroom] / [bathroom *mirror*]'

There also exist a number of compounds the non-head of which also stands in a semantically non-transparent relation to the head noun. Such compounds cannot be paraphrased by means of a single case-marked noun phrase placed in the postnominal complement zone but only by whole sentences. The compound *struccpolitika* 'ostrich policy', for instance, which means burying one's head in the sand *like an ostrich*, that is, ignoring obvious problems instead of addressing them, cannot be paraphrased as, say, *politika struccoknak / struccokról / struccokkal* 'politics for/about/with ostriches'.

(633) ● Semantically non-transparent compounds

a. strucc-politika / csiga-lépcső
ostrich-politics / snail-staircase
'[ostrich policy] / [spiral staircase]'

b. Rákóczi-napok / Déry Tibor-díj
Rákóczi-day.Pl / Déry Tibor-prize
'[Rákóczi days] / [Déry Tibor-prize]'

As is exemplified in (633b) above, the non-head can also be a proper noun. *Rákóczi-napok* are days organized in memory of *Rákóczi,* or in the institution named after *Rákóczi. Déry Tibor-díj* is a prize named after the famous writer *Tibor Déry.*

1.4.2.1.4. Nominal-adjunct realizing compounds (NAdjR)

It is also possible for the non-head to be an adjunct of the head noun (in the potential derivational-basis construction). Whether the head noun is derived or not is irrelevant since in these cases the head behaves like a simple noun with respect to its ability to take adjuncts. Note that only the A+N compounding schema, illustrated in (634a), can be considered productive, while the other schemas occur only sporadically in a few lexicalized items.

(634) ● Types of adjunctive non-heads

a. A+*N*: nagy*apa* 'grand+*father* = grand*father*',
nyers*fordítás* 'rough+*translation*=rough *translation*'
b. Part+*N*: futó*tűz* 'running+*fire*=wildfire', függő*ágy* 'hanging+*bed*=hammock'
c. Num+*N*: három*szög* 'three+*angle*=triangle', öt*tusa* 'five+*combat*=pentathlon'
d. P+*N*: elő*szoba* 'fore+*room*=entrance-hall'

The A+N pattern is also productive with a denominal non-head, see examples (635).

(635) ● A_N+*N* NAdjR compounds with a derived (denominal) non-head

a. könyv-es-*polc*
book-S-*shelf*
'book*shelf*

b. tej-es-*üveg*
milk-S-*glass*
'milk *glass*

There are very few compounds with a verb as its non-head. Most of them "were artificially coined in the 19th century during the language reform movement; others were formed by analogy but the pattern has never become productive" (Kiefer 2009: 529).

(636) ● V+*N* compounds

a. lak-*bér*
dwell-*rent*
'rent (*payment* for dwelling somewhere)'

b. véd-*levél*
protect-*letter*
'*letter* of protection'

Kiefer (2009: 529) concludes that the productive compounding patterns are formed from the categories N and A only. A special type of NN compound is the noun-classifier compound, the head of which appears as a non-head classifier in classifier constructions (for more detail, see subsection A in 2.4.3.1, where compounding is used as a test for distinguishing between different types of classifiers).

(637) ● Noun-classifier compounds

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 groups]'

c. [két csepp vér] / [két vér-csepp] [Non-standard measure]
two drop blood / two blood-drop
'[two drops of blood] / [two blooddrops]'

c'. [két marék dió] / *[két dió-marék]
two handful walnut / two walnut-handful
'two handfuls of walnuts'

It is shown in (637b) that a [group classifier]+noun construction can always be converted into a corresponding compound, while [sortal classifier]+noun and [non-standard measure classifier]+noun constructions cannot consistently be so (637a',c'). The gaps in productivity are unpredictable.

1.4.2.2. Exocentric compounds

Only a few compound nouns are exocentric; the process itself is not productive. Expressions in this type of compounds cannot be paraphrased as a particular subtype of the entity denoted by the second (or first) element.

(638) ● Exocentric compounds

a. háj-*tömeg* / kék-*szakáll*
fat-*mass* / blue-*beard*
'fat-*guts* / blue-*beard*'

b. lúd-*láb* / oroszlán-*száj*
goose-*foot* / lion-*mouth*
'[a kind of Hungarian sponge cake] / [a kind of plant (Linaria vulgaris)]'

c. farkas-*alma*
wolf-*apple*
'pipevine (a large plant of the genus: Aristolochia)'

d. Ismered a *Hiszek-egy*-et */ Mi-atyánk*-ot */ egyszer-egy*-et?
know.Def.Obj.2Sg the *believe.1Sg-one*-Acc */ we-father.Poss.1Pl*-Acc */ one_time-one*-Acc
'Do you know the [*Apostles' Creed*] / [*Lord's Prayer*] / [*multiplication rhyme*]?'

e. ne-felejcs / kelj-fel-jancsi
not.Subj-forget.Subj.2Sg / get.Subj.2Sg-up-jancsi
'forget-me-not / jack-in-the-box'

The examples in (638a) show that exocentric compounds can be formed to denote types of people. The compound *kékszakáll* 'blue-beard', for instance, does not denote a particular kind of beard, but a particular kind of person (named after the gloomy figure of French folk tales who has a blue beard). The compound can be derived from the construction *kék szakállú ember* 'blue-bearded man' (Kiefer 2009: 540, Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi 1998: 375). In (638b), the meanings of the compounds stand in a metaphoric or metonymic relationship with the corresponding original meanings ('goose-foot' and 'lion's mouth'), while in (638c) the compound does not have an original meaning: its meaning is unpredictable and idiosyncratic (Fejes 2005: 112). In (638d), the first words of the prayers and the school rhyme are used in syntax as single nouns (Kiefer 2000d: 523). This latter type is referred to as *univerbation* (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 48). The examples in (638e) are compounds formed by re-interpreting whole sentences ('Do not forget me' and 'Jancsi, get up') as single nouns.

1.4.2.3. Coordinative compounds

Coordinative compounds are two-headed constructions, which cannot be formed productively. In certain cases, two similar nouns stand beside each other (639a); in other cases, two antonymous nouns form compounds (639b). In the latter type, the noun phrases only exist in special idiomatic constructions (compare (639b') to (639b)). The example in (639c) shows the additive type of coordinative compound: if somebody is an engineer and an economist at the same time, for instance, (s)he is an engineer-economist. Collective coordinative compounds (639d) can be formed from country names, and approximative compounds (639e) from the names of cardinal directions (Fejes 2005).

(639) ● Coordinative compounds

a. [bú-bánat (bú + bánat)] / [per-patvar (per + patvar)]
sorrow-trouble sorrow+ trouble / quarrel-wrangle quarrel+ wrangle
'sorrow / quarrel'

b. [eget-földet (megmozgat)] / [égre-földre (esküszik)]
heaven.Acc-earth.Acc (move.3Sg) / heaven.Sub-earth.Sub (swear.3Sg)
'[move heaven and earth] / obtest'

b'. *égből-földből
heaven.Ela-earth.Ela

c. mérnök-közgazdász / jogász-nyelvész
engineer-economist / lawyer-linguist
'engineer-economist / lawyer-linguist'

d. Bosznia-Hercegovina / Ausztria-Magyarország
Bosnia-Herzegovina / Austria-Hungary
'Bosnia-Herzegovina / Austria-Hungary'

e. észak-kelet / dél-nyugat
north-east / south-west
'north-east / south-west'

1.5. Bibliographical notes *(Gábor Alberti, Judit Farkas, Veronika Szabó, and Bálint Tóth)*

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.

In (the subsection devoted to) the extremely rich morphology of the Hungarian noun phrase (1.1.1), special attention was paid to the appearance of the (Non-)Definiteness Effect (Barwise and Cooper 1981, De Jongh and Verkuyl 1984) in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1986, Kálmán 1995, É. Kiss 1995, Alberti 1997), to the feature of animacy (Pléh 1982, Kenesei 1992, 1994), and to agreement phenomena (Bartos 2000b, Den Dikken 1999).

The division of the noun phrase into a lexical domain (NP) and a functional domain (DP) with intermediate functional projections was first introduced in Abney (1987) and has since become widely accepted within generative grammar. It is on this approach that the seminal generative description of the Hungarian DP has been based, primarily due to Anna Szabolcsi (e.g., Szabolcsi 1981, 1983, 1992, 1994, Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992).

The crucial element of Szabolcsi's theory is the determination of the positions of numerals and the two kinds of possessors, the NAK possessor (which is so flexible that it is even capable of "running away from home" (Szabolcsi 1983)) and the unmarked possessor (which can receive a structural case only in one certain position), relative to the position of the D head, which is the place of the definite article (but not that of the numeral *egy* 'one', which is taken to serve as the indefinite article in traditional Hungarian grammars). In the last two decades, as was discussed in Remark 5 in subsection 1.1.2.2, this model has been enriched due to the chiefly morphological observations of Bartos (2000a, b), based on Baker's

Mirror Principle (Baker 1985). This approach underlies the seminal DP-model developed in É. Kiss (2000, 2002), too.

As for future research, the new empirical data on information-structure inheritance presented in section 1.3, devoted to nominalization (see, for instance, subsections 1.3.1.2.2.2 and 1.3.1.2.4.1, sub VII) suggest that the Hungarian DP has an even finer structure than has been assumed so far. That is, the parallelism between clausal and nominal structure, partly conjectured by Abney (1987), who compared DP to IP, and Szabolcsi (1994), who compared DP to CP, is as complete in Hungarian as is generally hypothesized in the nowadays very popular "Split DP Hypothesis" (see, for instance, Giusti 1996, Ihsane and Puskás 2001, Giusti and Iovino 2014), according to which the left periphery in noun phrases can be split into operator and other functional shells essentially in the same way as the left periphery in clauses (in such cartographic descriptions as Rizzi's (1995) split CP hypothesis); see subsections 2.2.1.3 and 2.2.1.4. The zone to the right of the noun head, that is, the postnominal complement zone (see the relevant parts of subsection 1.1.2.1), also calls for future research since the mere existence of this zone has practically been rejected or neglected in the aforementioned works by Szabolcsi, Bartos and É. Kiss, as is pointed out in Alberti, Farkas and Szabó (2015) (see subsection 2.1.1.1, and especially Remark 19 in it); much empirical data will be given in subsection 2.1.1.

As for noun classification (1.2), most traditional Hungarian grammars include sections on this topic; see, for instance, Keszler (2000). The behavior of the definite article *a(z)* 'the' in combination with different kinds of proper nouns is discussed in Alberti and Balogh (2004).

The subsection on nominalization is globally based on Kiefer (2000a), within which Laczkó's chapter (Laczkó 2000a, see also Laczkó 1995) underlies our description of deverbal nominals (1.3.1), and one of Kiefer and Ladányi's chapters (Kiefer and Ladányi 2000b) underlies that of deadjectival and denominal nominals (see subsections 1.3.2 and 1.3.3, respectively). In the description of all types of nominalization, we applied the complex event *versus* event type distinction (according to the derivational basis) in the systematization of the subtypes, proposed by Laczkó (2000a) in the case of *Ás*-nouns and *Ó*-nouns (following Grimshaw 1990). We claim that the existence of further productive types of nominalization can be pointed out on the basis of Laczkó's methods applied to *Ás*-nominalization and the criteria of deciding productivity used by Kiefer and Ladányi (2000a: 149, 2000b: 186); one of these nominalizations, namely, T-nominalization, has never been described (as such), and the other, HATNÉK-nominalization, has also been given very little attention (Tompa 1959, 1961).

Exhaustive overview of compounding (1.4) can be found in Kiefer's works; see, for instance, Kiefer (1999, 2000d, 2009).

The *Syntax of Hungarian* will include the following volumes:

Nouns and Noun Phrases
Postpositions and postpositional phrases
Sentence Structure
Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases
Adjectival Phrases
Non-finite and semi-finite verb phrases
Finite embedding
Coordination and Ellipsis