Syntax of
Hungarian

Coordination and Ellipsis

Edited by
Zoltán Bánréti

Syntax of Hungarian
Coordination and Ellipsis

Comprehensive Grammar Resources

Series editors:
Hans Broekhuis
Norbert Corver
István Kenesei

Syntax of Hungarian

General editor:
István Kenesei

Syntax of Hungarian Coordination and Ellipsis

Editor:
Zoltán Bánréti

Amsterdam University Press

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

Contents

Chapter 3 Coordinated *wh*-constructions   **81**

Anna Gazdik

Chapter 4 VP-ellipsis in coordinated clauses with a parallel structure   **119**

Zoltán Bánréti

Chapter 5 Sluicing   **139**

Anikó Lipták

Chapter 6 Predicate ellipsis   **155**

Anikó Lipták

Abbreviations and symbols

This appendix contains a list of abbreviations and symbols that are used both generally in the series (major syntactic categories, diacritics for acceptability judgements, case names) and specifically in this volume. When referring to a chapter or section of the other volumes in this series, the volumes are referred to with their titles.

Abbreviations used in both the main text and the examples

AP	Adjectival Phrase	PP	Postpositional Phrase
CP	Complementizer Phrase	PredP	Predicative Phrase
DP	Determiner Phrase	QuantP	Quantifier Phrase
FocP	Focus Phrase	TopP	Topic Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase	TP	Tense Phrase
NumP	Numeral Phrase	VP	Verb Phrase

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

'	stressed word
"	focus-stressed word
XXX	Small caps indicates that XXX constituent is in focus
¤	short pause

Diacritics used for indicating acceptability judgements

*	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 judgements among speakers
#	Unacceptable under intended reading
$	Special status: old-fashioned, archaic, very formal, incoherent, etc.
†	Extinct

Abbreviations used in the glosses of examples

1/2/3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	Ine	*Inessive*
2Obj	Object in 2nd person	Inf	Infinitive
Abl	*Ablative*	Ins	*Instrumental*
Acc	*Accusative*	Mod	Modality suffix
Ade	*Adessive*	Nom	*Nominative*
Adj	Adjectivalizer	Part	Participle
Adv	Adverbial suffix	Past	Past Tense (*-t*)
All	*Allative*	Pl	Plural
Cau	*Causal(-final)*	Poss	Possessed
Coll	Collective suffix	Posr	Possessor (*-é*)
Compl	Complementizer	Prt	Particle, especially
Cond	Conditional		verbal particle
Dat	*Dative*	QPart	Question particle (*-e*)
Def	Definite object	Rel	Relative
Del	*Delative*	Sg	Singular
Ela	*Elative*	Sub	*Sublative*
FoE	*Essive-Formal*	Subj	Subjunctive
For	Formal suffix	Sup	*Superessive*
Fut	Future	TrE	*Translative(-essive)*
Habit	Habitual	Ter	*Terminative*
Ill	*Illative*	Tmp	Temporal suffix
Indef	Indefinite object		

All case names are listed with their full names in italics.

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) ... (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
General Editor

1. The series

This is the fourth 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 instalments of *The Syntax of Dutch* to come out with AUP in 2012. The *CGR series* was excellently taken care of by AUP's Senior Commissioning Editor, Saskia Gieling, for whose conscientious work we express our gratitude, welcoming the new Managing Editor, Louise Visser, whose first job with our *Syntax of Hungarian* series is this very volume.

The Dutch project was concluded in 2019 after having produced eight volumes, between c. 400 and 800 pages each, all available also online, and as the Dutch project

was nearing its last stage, the first two volumes of *The Syntax of Hungarian* were published, thus inaugurating the second series of books under the general heading *Comprehensive Grammar Resources.* We continue to regret that the founding co-editor of the series, Henk van Riemsdijk decided to resign in 2020, but we will cherish his memory and continue to appreciate his indispensable judgement and wisdom in setting up this project and advising us throughout. Hans Broekhuis joined the board at the final phase of the Dutch project and following Henk van Riemsdijk's resignation Norbert Corver was willing to accept our invitation.

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 got published soon (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* (Kenesei 1985–2020), was started at the University of Szeged (subsequently moved to Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, and until recently published by John Benjamins, Amsterdam, where it has been morphed into the new *Journal of Uralic Linguistics*), 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 analysed 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. Kenesei (2020) gives an overview of the development of generative syntax in Hungary since the 1960's.

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 labour 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, Coordination and Ellipsis, Finite Embedding, Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases, Adjectival Phrases, Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases, Sentence Structure.

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 easily have 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 a 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 and Veronika Hegedűs
Coordination and Ellipsis – Zoltán Bánréti
Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases – Károly Bibok
Finite Embedding – Zsuzsa Gécseg
Adjectival Phrases – Huba Bartos
Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases – Gábor Alberti
Sentence Structure – Balázs Surányi

Collaborators came from the Universities of Debrecen, Pécs, and Szeged, Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Piliscsaba/Budapest), that is, from all major universities in Hungary with linguistics curricula,

as well as from the Research Institute for Linguistics (of the Academy of Sciences until 2019, and since then in the newly formed Eötvös Loránd Research Network, reorganized and renamed the Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics). 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 was a Hungarian at the beginning, 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 (see Bakró-Nagy *et al.* 2022). 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 neighbouring 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 Munkácsi, 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.
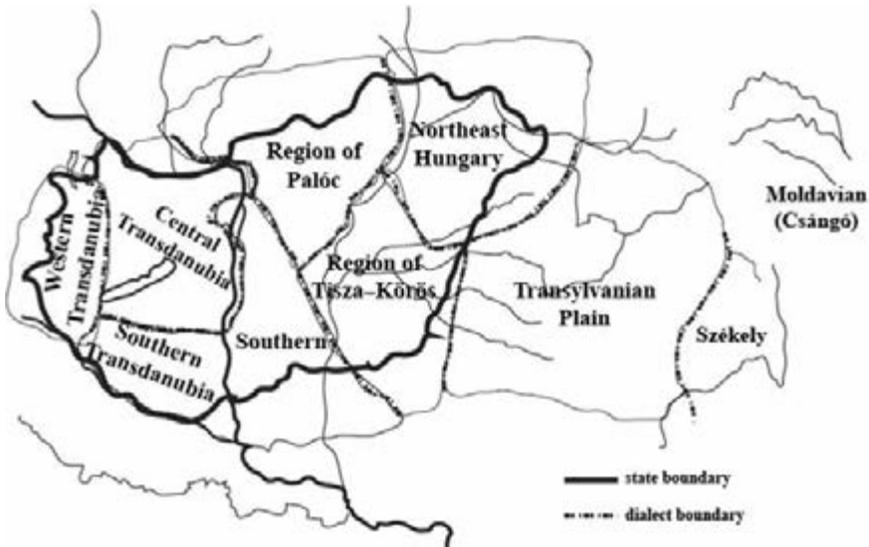
Figure 1: Main Hungarian dialects

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* [eːrʧyk] 'understand-Ind/Subj.1Pl' as against *ért-jük* [eːrcyk] '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 the case of other verbs the subjunctive and indicative verb-forms coincide on the one hand, and on the other the [c] → [ʧ] 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 verbal particle, e.g., *le* 'down' (1b) or the negative word *nem* 'not' (1d). Note that the movable adverbial items often prefixed to verbs and frequently called *preverbs* in the literature are referred to as *(verbal) particles* here.

(1) a. Anna le szaladt -e? [Standard]
   Anna down run.Past.3Sg QPart
   'Did Anna run down?'

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

  c. Anna nem szaladt -e le? [Standard]
   Anna not run.Past.3Sg QPart down
   'Didn't Anna run down?'

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

Other syntactic variations are not accompanied by value judgements, 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 run.Past.3Sg
   'Probably Anna ran down.'

  b. Természetes-en (hogy) Anna le- szaladt.
   natural-Adv that Anna down run.Past.3Sg
   'Naturally Anna ran down.'

While this phenomenon was first noticed by purists, and then analysed 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   arrive.Past.3Sg 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 judgements, 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. Acknowledgements

References

Abraham, Werner and Sjaak de Meij (eds.) 1986. *Topic, focus, and configurationality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bakró-Nagy, Marianne, Johanna Laakso and Elena Skribnik (eds.) 2022. *The Oxford guide to the Uralic languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bencédy, József, Pál Fábián, Endre Rácz and Mártonné Velcsov. 1968. *A mai magyar nyelv* [Present-day Hungarian]. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Brody, Michael. 1990. Remarks on the order of elements in the Hungarian focus field. In *Approaches to Hungarian Volume* 3, ed. István Kenesei, 95–122. Szeged: JATE.

Dékány, Éva. 2015. The syntax of anaphoric possessives in Hungarian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 33: 1121–1168.

Dikken, Marcel den. 1999. On the structural representation of possession and agreement: the case of (anti-)agreement in Hungarian possessed nominal phrases. In *Crossing boundaries*, ed. István Kenesei, 137–178. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 1978. A magyar mondatok egy szintaktikai modellje [A syntactic model of Hungarian sentences]. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 80: 261–286.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 1981. Syntactic relations in Hungarian, a 'free' word order language. *Linguistic Inquiry* 12: 185–215.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 1987. *Configurationality in Hungarian*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 1998. Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language* 74: 245–273.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 2002. *The syntax of Hungarian.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

É. Kiss, Katalin (ed.) 2009. *Adverbs and adverbial adjuncts at the interfaces*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

É. Kiss, Katalin (ed.) 2014a. *Magyar generatív történeti mondattan* [A generative historical grammar of Hungarian]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

É. Kiss, Katalin (ed.) 2014b. *The evolution of functional left peripheries in Hungarian syntax.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gyuris, Beáta. 2009. *The semantics and pragmatics of the contrastive topic in Hungarian*. Budapest: The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Lexica Ltd.

Haegeman, Liliane and Jacqueline Guéron. 1999. *English grammar: A generative perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Horvath, Julia. 1986. *Focus in the theory of grammar and the syntax of Hungarian*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Kenesei, István. 2009. Quantifiers, negation, and focus on the left periphery in Hungarian. *Lingua* 119: 564–591.

Kenesei, István. 2012. Negation in syntactic dialects in Hungarian. In *Discourse & grammar. A Festschrift in honor of Valéria Molnár*, eds. Johan Brandtler, David Håkansson, Stefan Huber and Eva Klingvall, 373–386. Lund: Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University.

Kenesei, István. 2020. A magyar mondattan 50 éve [50 years of Hungarian syntax]. *Magyar Nyelv* 116: 1–18.

Kenesei, István and Anikó Lipták (eds.) 2009. Special issue: New perspectives on the Hungarian left periphery. *Lingua* 119.

Kenesei, István, Robert M. Vago and Anna Fenyvesi. 1998. *Hungarian: Descriptive grammar series*. London: Routledge.

Kenesei, István (series ed.) 1985–2020. *Approaches to Hungarian 1–16*. Editors: Gábor Alberti, Johan Brandtler, Éva Dékány, Marcel den Dikken, Casper de Groot, Veronika Hegedűs, István Kenesei, Katalin É. Kiss, Tibor Laczkó, Valéria Molnár, Christopher Piñón, Christer Platzack, Csaba Pléh, Catherine O. Ringen, Péter Siptár, Balázs Surányi, Szilárd Szentgyörgyi, Robert M. Vago, Irene Vogel. Volumes 1–7: Szeged: JATE, Volumes 8–10: Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, Volumes 11–18: Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Keszler, Borbála (ed.) 2000. *Magyar grammatika* [Hungarian gram*mar*]. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Kiefer, Ferenc (ed.) 1992. *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan 1. Mondattan* [A structural grammar of Hungarian 1: Syntax]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kiefer, Ferenc and Katalin É. Kiss (eds.) 1994. *The syntactic structure of Hungarian* (Syntax and Semantics 27). San Diego/New York: Academic Press.

Kontra, Miklós (ed.) 2003. *Nyelv és társadalom a rendszerváltáskori Magyarországon* [Language and society in Hungary in the period of the change of régime]. Budapest: Osiris.

Molnár, Valéria. 1998. Topic in focus: the syntax, phonology, semantics, and pragmatics of the so-called "contrastive topic" in Hungarian and German. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 45: 89–166.

Nemesi, Attila László. 2000. A *természetesen hogy* … típusú nyelvtani szerkezetről [On the grammatical construction of the type *természetesen hogy* 'naturally that']. *Magyar Nyelvőr* 124: 430–442.

Puskás, Genoveva (ed.) 2006. Special issue: Negation in Finno-Ugric languages. *Lingua* 116/3.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 289–330. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Rounds, Carol H. 2001. *Hungarian: An essential grammar.* Routledge, London.

Surányi, Balázs. 2006. Quantification and focus in negative concord. *Lingua* 116: 272–313.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 1981. The possessive construction in Hungarian: a configurational category in a non-configurational language. *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31: 261–289.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 1983. Focussing properties, or the trap of first order. *Theoretical Linguistics* 10: 125–146.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 1987. Functional categories in the noun phrase. In *Approaches to Hungarian Volume* 2, ed. István Kenesei, 167–190. Szeged: JATE.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 1994. The Noun Phrase. In *The syntactic structure of Hungarian* (Syntax and semantics 27), ed. Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 179–274. San Diego/New York: Academic Press.

Telegdi, Zsigmond (ed.) 1969. *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* VI [Studies in general linguistics, vol. 6]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Tompa, József (ed.) 1961–1962. A *mai magyar nyelv rendszere* 1–2 [The system of Present-day Hungarian 1–2]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Chapter 1
Coordinate conjunctions

Zoltán Bánréti

1.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the basic types of conjunctions and their structure building functions. The conjuncts must be of the same syntactic category for coordinatability to obtain. Some patterns of agreement with conjoined noun phrases will be presented. Coordinated singular subjects can trigger singular or plural agreement on the verb depending on their categorial features and syntactic positions. The plurality of verbal agreement suffix is a 'solution' of the conflict of diverse person features of subject-noun phrases. In a coordinate object construction, it is the definiteness value of the conjuncts that has to be identical. In a conjoined adverbial structure, the coordination of identically case-marked members is not sensitive to possible differences in person, number, or definiteness. We present data for multiple coordination consisting of more than two members with overt conjunctions and their covert copies.

1.2. Basic classes of coordinate conjunctions

Within the boundaries of a compound sentence, coordinating conjunctions are located between two clauses. These conjunctions occurring initially in a compound sentence make it ungrammatical, whereas subordinating conjunctions, that are constituents of the subordinate clause, are grammatical even if they occur initially in a preposed clause (Kenesei 1992, 1994):

> Remark 1. We disregard cases, irrelevant here, in which coordinating conjunctions refer back to a clause that is outside the sentence, in the preceding discourse context. Such conjunctions are also known as pragmatic conjunctions (Németh T. 1991, 2015, Lipták 2020).

(1)

		és	
		tehát	
		de	
a.	Péter alszik,	pedig	Éva szorgalmasan dolgozik a munkahelyén.
		vagy	
		ezért	
		ugyanis	

		and	
		hence	
		but	
	'Péter is sleeping,	yet	Éva is diligently working in her office.'
		or	
		therefore	
		for	

                *És
                *Tehát
                *De

    b.   *Pedig   Péter alszik, Éva szorgalmasan dolgozik a munkahelyén.
            *Vagy
            *Ezért
            *Ugyanis

            '*And
            '*Hence
            '*But
            '*Yet   Péter is sleeping, Éva is diligently working in her office.'
            '*Or
            '*Therefore
            '*For

(2)   mivel
                                    ha

    a.   Éva szorgalmasan dolgozik a munkahelyén, amikor Péter alszik.
                                    bár
                                    mert
                                    míg

                            since
                            if

       'Éva is diligently working in her office   when   Péter is sleeping.'
                            though
                            because
                            while

    b.   Mivel
        Ha
        Amikor Péter alszik, Éva szorgalmasan dolgozik a munkahelyén.
        Bár
        Mert
        Míg
        'Since
        'If
        'When   Péter is sleeping, Éva is diligently working in her office.'
        'Though
        'Because
        'While

Grammaticality differences in (1a,b) and (2a,b) show that, **within** the boundaries of a compound sentence, coordinating conjunctions cannot be sentence initial. The same position, by contrast, is grammatical for subordinators in a complex sentence. Therefore, it is all and only conjunctions that are ungrammatical before the first clause

that we take to be coordinating conjunctions. In our view, coordinating conjunctions cannot be 'moved' together with the second clause because they are not constituents of either clause: they are basically located between the two. However, the situation is more complex. We will see in Section 2.7.3. that *és* ('and'), is called **central** conjunction, it occurs obligatorily **between** coordinate clauses. *Meg* ('and') is obligatorily right-adjoined to the topic in the second clause. This type is called **right-shifted conjunctions:**

(3) a. Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, **és** Ádám a RÁDIÓT hallgatta.
   Péter the telly.Acc watch.Past.3Sg and Ádám the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg
   'Péter watched the telly, and Ádám listened to the radio.'

   b. Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, Ádám **meg** /∗és a RÁDIÓT hallgatta.
   Péter the telly.Acc watch.Past.3Sg, Ádám and / and the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg
   'Péter watched the telly, and Ádám listened to the radio.'

Note that neither right-shifted, nor central conjunctions can be moved with the second clause:

(4) a. *Ádám **meg / és** a RÁDIÓT hallgatta, Péter a TÉVÉT nézte.
   Ádám and and the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg Péter the telly.Acc watch.Past.3Sg

   b. Ádám a RÁDIÓT hallgatta, **és** Péter a TÉVÉT nézte.
   Ádám the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg and Péter the telly.Acc watch.Past.3Sg
   'Ádám listened to the radio and Péter watched the telly.'

1.3. Features of coordinatability

The term 'symmetrical structure' is used for the structure resulting from coordination (see, e.g., Dik 1968; Goodall 1987; Grootveld 1992; Moltmann 1992; Wesche 1995; te Velde 1997; Bánréti 2003a, 2003b, 2007). The structure assumed here expresses the observation, valid for a wide range of data, that the whole of a coordinate construction is of the same category as the individual constituents that are coordinated in it. A symmetrical coordinate construction projects its members to a structural category that is identical to their maximal projection. Such coordinate constructions are endocentric ones but contain two or more heads. The coordinated items have to agree in certain fundamental grammatical features. Such features for them to agree in may be, e.g., (class of) syntactic category, definiteness, thematic role, argument frame, or finiteness – depending on what categories are coordinated.

1.3.1. *Features of coordinatability: syntactic category*

In what follows, we are going to extend and reanalyse our earlier observations (cf. Bánréti 1994, 2003, 2007) on the categories of conjuncts.

The conjuncts must be of the same syntactic category for coordinatability to obtain. Diverse syntactic categories are normally not coordinatable:

(5) a. *Beszélgettünk [a   kissé   pocakos és arról   az emberről,
          talk.Past.1Pl   the   slightly corpulent and that.Del the man.Del

          aki   megjavította a   tévét].
          who   repair.Past.3Sg the telly.Acc

          *'We talked about the slightly corpulent and man who repaired the telly.'

   b. *Robi [lassan   és járkál].
          Robi   slowly   and walk

          *'Robi slowly and walks.'

   c. *[lókötőnek és az asztal mögött] tartotta   Pétert
          rogue.Dat   and the table   behind   hold.Past.3Sg Péter.Acc

          *'he held Péter to be a rogue and behind the table'

   d. *[ma   vagy azokat] a   könyveket tedd   a   polcra
          today   or   those.Acc the books.Acc   put.Subj.2Sg the shelf.Sub

          *'put [today or those] the books on the shelf'

Another requirement is the coordinatability of structural projections: determinerless
NPs can only be coordinated with determinerless NPs, e.g., in a contrastive topic or
focus position, see (6a), cf. (6c); determined NPs (=DPs) only with determined
NPs/DPs, see (6b). Definiteness need **not** agree if the coordinated construction is a
subject (6b):

(6) a. *[[Szőke nő]   és [a magas férfi]] elkésett   / elkéstek
             blond   woman and the tall   man Prt.be.late.Past.3Sg / Prt.be.late.Past.3Pl

          a   koncertről.
          the concert.Del

          literally: *'Blond woman and the tall man were late for the concert.'

   b. [[Egy/A szőke nő]   és [a magas férfi]] elkésett   /
          a/the   blond   woman and the tall   man   Prt.be.late.Past.3Sg

          elkéstek   a   koncertről.
          Prt.be.late.Past.3Pl the concert.del

          'A/The blond woman and the tall man were late for the concert.'

   c. [Szőke nő]   és [magas férfi] késett   el a   koncertről.
          blond   woman and   tall   man   be.late.Past.3Sg Prt the concert.Del

          'Talking of blond women and tall men, such people have already been late for the concert.'

The *'identity of syntactic categories in terms of coordinatability'* condition also
applies to the coordination of **constituents** of phrases:

(7) a. Mari [lókötőnek és szerencselovagnak] tartotta   Pétert.
          Mari   rogue.Dat   and fortune.hunter.Dat   consider.Past.3Sg Péter.Acc

          'Mari considered Péter to be [a rogue and a fortune hunter].'

   b. [Ezeket meg azokat] a   könyveket tedd   a   polcra.
          these.Acc and those.Acc the books.Acc   put.Subj.2Sg the shelf.Sub

          'Put [these and those] books on the shelf.'

    c.   Az asztal [előtt, alatt és mögött] ajándékok voltak.
          the table   before under and behind   presents   be.Past.3Pl
          'There were presents [in front of, under, and behind] the table.'

    d.   Péter egész nap [be és ki és föl és le] rohangált.
          Péter whole day in   and out and up and down rush.Past.3Sg
          'Péter kept rushing in and out and up and down the whole day long.'

The members to be coordinated must be real syntactic constituents:

(8)   *Péter írta   [[fel a   neveket] és [le az adatokat]].
          Péter write.Past.3Sg up the names.Acc and down the data.Acc
          literally: *'It was Péter who put up a list of names and down the data.'

1.3.2. *Thematic roles*

Coordinated NPs have to have identical thematic roles. As (9) shows, identity of inflectional endings is not sufficient if the actual thematic roles are different. The first member of the coordinate construction in this example is a patient (or co-agent), whereas the second is an instrument:

(9)   *Robi verekedett [a szomszéddal és a   bottal].
          Robi   fight.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Ins   and the stick.Ins
          *'Robi had a fight [with his neighbour and with a stick].'

In addition to the identity of thematic roles, syntactic function (here: direct objects) and morphological case (here: accusative) also both have to be identical. In (10), although both NPs are direct object, only one of them exhibits overt accusative case:

(10)   [Az esernyőm-et   és a kalapom-*(at)] elvesztettem.
          the umbrella.Poss.1Sg-Acc and the hat.Poss.1Sg-Acc Prt.lose.Past.1Sg
          'I lost my umbrella and my hat.'

> Remark 2. The sentence of (10) is grammatical when neither coordinated NP exhibits the overt form of the accusative case:
>
> (i)   [Az   esernyőm   és a   kalapom]   elvesztettem.
>   the umbrella.Poss.1Sg. and the hat.Poss.1Sg Prt.lose.Past.1Sg
>   'I lost my umbrella and my hat.'

Nominative DPs can be coordinated as long as their thematic roles are identical, cf. (11a). Nominative NPs can also be coordinated as long as their thematic roles are identical, see (11b).

(11) a.   [A restaurátor és az ellopott festmény] Görögországban volt.
          the restorer   and the stolen   painting Greece.Ine   be.Past.3Sg
          'The restorer and the stolen painting were in Greece.'

      b.   Pétert megsebezte   [egy kard és egy üvegcserép].
          Péter.Acc Prt.wound.Past.3Sg a   sword and a   glass.shard
          'Péter was wounded by a sword and a shard of glass.'

c. *Pétert megsebezte [egy kard és egy őr].
   Péter.Acc Prt.wound.Past.3Sg a   sword and a   guard
   literally: *'Péter was wounded by a sword and a guard.'

In the a. example above, the coordinated items are both *themes*, in b. both subjects are *instruments,* whereas in c. one is an *instrument* and the other one is an *agent*.

Within a VP, the coordination of several verbs is only grammatical if they all have identical argument frames which are filled by the same lexical item. Identity of argument frames entails identity of the thematic roles of the arguments. For instance, the verb *bámul* 'stare' requires an *agent* and a *theme*, whereas *hasonlít* 'resemble' requires a pair of *experiencers* (although both take sublative case for the second argument):

(12) a. *Péter [bámul és hasonlít] Robira.
        Péter   stare.3Sg and resemble.3Sg Robi.Sub
        literally: *'Péter stares at and resembles Robi.'

Similarly, the dative argument of *elnevezték* 'was named' is a secondary predicate, whereas that of *odaadták* 'was given' is a *receiver* or *goal*:

b. *A gyerekek a macskát [elnevezték   és odaadták]   Alexnek.
   the children the cat.Acc Prt.name.Past.3Pl and Prt.give.Past.3Pl Alex.Dat
   literally: *'The children named and gave Alex the cat.'

The tensedness of verbs is also a condition: tensed (finite) verbs cannot be directly coordinated with infinitives in a single construction.

(13) a. *Ádám [megírta   a levelet és feladni   a   postán].
        Ádám   Prt.write.Past.3Sg the letter.Acc and Prt.give.Inf the post.office.Sup
        literally: *'Ádám wrote and to post the letter.'

b. Ádám [megírta   a levelet és megpróbálta feladni   a postán].
   Ádám   Prt.write.Past.3Sg the letter.Acc and Prt.try.Past.3Sg Prt.give.Inf the post.office.Sup
   'Ádám wrote the letter and tried to post it.'

In (6)–(13), all the ungrammatical examples violated some requirement that increases symmetry in the construction. Symmetry means that the coordinated items have to belong to the same class of syntactic categories, and have to agree, where relevant, in definiteness, thematic role and case features. The coordinatability of verbs requires identity of argument frames. For a coordination of VPs, both verbs in them have to be tensed (i.e., possess some actual value of the agreement features of tense and person/number) or belong to an identical class of nonfinites.

1.3.3. An exception: situation-based ellipsis

If a coordinate construction involves some kind of situation-bound ellipsis, the condition of identity of overt categories does not necessarily hold. For instance, in the examples in (14), the first conjunct includes an NP and a situational ellipsis with non-linguistic antecedent, whereas the second one is a finite clause:

(14) a. Egy apró hiba és mindjárt lesz   a cápáknak vacsorája!
a   small mistake and soon   be.Fut.3Sg the shark.Pl.Dat dinner.Poss.3Sg
'Just a small mistake and the sharks will soon have something for dinner!'

   b. Lábnyomok az üvegházban: tehát itt voltak   a Pál utcai fiúk.
footprint.Pl   the glasshouse.Ine hence here be.Past.3Pl the Paul street boys
'Footprints in the glasshouse: the Paul Street boys must have been here.'

   c. Csak egy üveg sör és rögtön   elalszik.
only a   bottle beer and immediately Prt.sleep.3Sg
'Just a bottle of beer and he goes to sleep at once.'

1.4. Coordinate constructions and number agreement

1.4.1. *Preverbal versus postverbal conjoined subjects*

Whereas preverbal conjoined singular subjects can trigger either singular or plural agreement, see (15a), postverbal conjoined singulars may only agree with a singular verb, see (15b).

(15) a. [Péter és Mari] sétáltak /   sétált.
Péter   and Mari walk.Past.**3Pl** / walk.Past.**3Sg**
'Péter and Mari walked.'

   b. Sétált /   *sétáltak   Péter és Mari.
walk.Past.**3Sg** walk.Past.**3Pl** Péter and Mari

The verb bears plural agreement if either one or both of the postverbal conjuncts are plural; it is only singular if both conjuncts are singular:

(16) a. *Sétált /   ✓sétáltak   Péter és a gyerekek.
walk.Past.**3Sg**/ walk.Past.**3Pl** Péter   and the children
'Péter and the children walked.'

   b. *Sétált /   ✓sétáltak   a felnőttek és a gyerekek.
walk.Past.3Sg/ walk.Past.3Pl the adults   and the children
'The adults and the children walked.'

É. Kiss (2012) showed that plural agreement with conjoined singular subjects is grammatical when the subject is in topic position. Singular agreement is an option in this case, as well (17a), whereas overt pronouns of diverse persons in topic position obligatorily make a plural inflection of the highest common person appear on the verb: (17b,c). (See more details in section 2.3.). Postverbal coordination of pronouns is doubtful within PredP (17d), and postverbal coordination of a contentful noun and a pronoun likewise results in doubtful acceptability: (17e). *Pro* drop is always an option, cf. (17f).

(17) a. [_TopP_ Péter és Éva] össze vesztek/   össze veszett.
Péter and Éva Prt   quarrel.Past.**3Pl** Prt   quarrel.Past.**3Sg**
'Péter and Éva quarrelled.'

b. [TopP [Péter meg te]] [PredP elolvastátok   a   könyvet].
          Péter   and you   Prt.read.Past.**2Pl**   the book.Acc
       'Péter and you have read the book.'

c. [TopP [Te meg ő]] [PredP elolvastátok   a   könyvet].
          you and he   Prt.read.Past.**2Pl** the book.Acc
       'You and he have read the book.'

d. ??[PredP Elolvastátok [te   meg ő] a   könyvet].
          Prt.read.Past.**2Pl** you   and he the book.Acc

e. */?[PredP Elolvastátok [Péter meg te] a   könyvet].
          Prt.read.Past.**2Pl** Péter   and   you the book.Acc

f. [PredP Elolvastátok *pro*   a   könyvet].
          Prt.read.Past.2Pl [you.Pl] the book.Acc
       'You have read the book.'

Thus, the reflection in the verbal inflection of person/number features depends on whether the coordinate construction is a coordinate subject exhibiting agreement as a topic or it remains within the PredP.

If the coordinated nouns do not differ in their person features, all of them being third person singular, the verbal marker of plurality is optional and the verb may bear either a singular or a plural agreement marker. The plural ending preferentially supports a collective reading, whereas the singular ending preferentially supports a distributive one:

(18) a. A nagymama és a   postás a   járda   szélén ült.
       the grandmother   and the postman the pavement edge.Sup sit.Past.3**Sg**
       'The grandmother and the postman were sitting on the kerb.' (preferred reading: ***separately***)

b. A nagymama és a   postás a   járda   szélén ültek.
     the grandmother   and the postman the pavement edge.Sup sit.Past.3**Pl**
     'The grandmother and the postman were sitting on the kerb.' (preferred reading: ***together***)

c. Te meg te szerzel ennivalót.
     you and you get.2Sg   food.Acc
     'You and you get some food.' (preferred reading: ***separately***)

d. Te meg te szereztek ennivalót.
     you and   you get.2Pl   food.Acc
     'You and you get some food.' (preferred reading: ***together***)

Morphosyntactically unmarked semantic plurality does not bring about plural agreement on the verb. In Hungarian, nouns modified by numerals are inflected in the singular and the verb, too, takes singular endings; this also applies to a coordinate construction made up by such items (as long as their person features are identical), see (19a,b). If the person features are not identical, verbal agreement switches to plural, cf. (19c,d).

(19) a. [Három gyerek és négy felnőtt] elbújt a vihar elől.
    three child and four adult Prt.hide.Past.3Sg the storm away.from
    'Three children and four adults hid away from the storm.'

  b. *?[Három gyerek és négy felnőtt] elbújt**ak** a vihar elől.
    three child and four adult Prt.hide.Past.3Pl the storm away.from

  c. [Három gyerek és én] elbújt**unk** a vihar elől.
    three   child and I Prt.hide.Past.1Pl the storm away.from
    'Three children and I hid away from the storm.'

  d. *[Három gyerek és én] elbújt**am** a vihar elől.
    three   child and I Prt.hide.Past.1Sg the storm away.from

   Remark 3. Focus-bound VP ellipsis makes singular endings possible since agreement is strictly local within each clause:

   (i)   Csak "három gyerek [~~bújt el a vihar elől~~],
       only three child hide.Past.3Sg Prt the storm away.from
       meg "én bújtam   el a vihar elől.
       and I hide.Past.1Sg Prt the storm away.from

É. Kiss (2012) also showed that grammaticality of conjoined singular subjects in focus position with plural agreement can depend on the referential properties of the subject:

(20)   [FocP Csak a POSTÁS és a GONDNOK] vesztek   össze /
     only the postman and the caretaker   quarrel.Past.**3Pl** Prt
     veszett   össze.
     quarrel.Past.**3Sg** Prt

   'It was only the postman and the caretaker who quarrelled.'

(21)   [FocP MELYIK FIÚ és MELYIK LÁNY] ?*vesztek   össze /
     which   boy and which   girl   quarrel.Past.**3Pl** Prt
     ✓veszett   össze?
     quarrel.Past.**3Sg** Prt

   'Which boy and which girl quarrelled?'

(22)   [FocP HÁNY   FIÚ és HÁNY   LÁNY] *vesztek   össze /
     how many boy and how many girl   quarrel.Past.**3Pl** Prt
     ✓veszett   össze?
     quarrel.Past.3Sg Prt

   'How many boys and how many girls quarrelled?'

Non-specific singular subjects only allow singular agreement:

(23)   A klinikán ma este   [kisfiú és kislány] *születtek / ✓született.
     the clinic.in today evening little.boy and little.girl be.born.Past.**3Pl** be.born.Past.**3Sg**
     'A little girl and a little boy were born this evening in the clinic.'

(24) Toll és telefon *vannak / ˅van az asztalon.
　　　pen　and phone　be.**3Pl**　be.**3Sg** the table.Sup
　　　'There are a pen and a phone on the table.'

In coordinated clauses, a quantified expression in the first clause licenses a covert third person plural possessive pronoun in the second one. In the grammatical version, the possessed noun and the verb of the second clause both agree in plurality with that pronoun, cf. (25a,b). If there are several possessed items of a single possessor, a different possessive suffix is in order, which marks the plurality of the possessed noun, cf. (25c).

(25) a.　Minden kutya felvonult　　és a [pro$_{plur}$] gazdáik　　　nagyon
　　　　　all　　　dog　march.Past.3Sg and the　　　　　owner.Poss.Pl.3Pl very
　　　　　drukkoltak.
　　　　　be.excited.Past.3Pl
　　　　　'All the dogs marched along and their owners kept their fingers crossed.'

　　　b.　*Minden kutya felvonult　　és a [pro$_{sing}$] gazdája　　　nagyon
　　　　　all　　　dog　march.Past.3Sg and the　　　　　owner.Poss.3Sg very
　　　　　drukkolt.
　　　　　be.excited.Past.3Pl
　　　　　literally: *'All the dogs marched along and its owner kept her fingers crossed.'

　　　c.　Minden kutya felvonult　　és a [pro$_{sing}$] gazdájuk　　　nagyon
　　　　　all　　　dog　march.Past.3Sg and the　　　　　owner.Poss.3Pl very
　　　　　drukkolt.
　　　　　be.excited.Past.3Pl
　　　　　'All the dogs marched along and their owner kept her fingers crossed.'

In Hungarian, the quantifier-like function of coordinating conjunctions, their contribution of a feature of plurality, is reflected in the interpretive component of the grammar (cf. Munn 1993). This is like the function of a 'collective' pronoun (Bánréti 2003a, 2003b). In (26), the **plural pronoun** *ők* 'they' exhibits the 'plurality' of the coordinated DPs of singular third person and carries the thematic role that it receives from the verb. With the mediation of an identifying predicative relation (*they = DP$_1$, DP$_2$, DP$_3$ together*), it licenses the thematic role of the coordinated DPs:

(26) a.　[Péter$_i$, Mari$_j$ és Erzsi$_k$], ők$_{ijk}$ boldogok voltak.
　　　　　Péter　Mari　and Erzsi　　they happy.Pl　be.Past.3Pl
　　　　　'Péter, Mari, and Erzsi, they were all happy.'

　　　b.　[Péter$_i$, Mari$_j$ és Erzsi$_k$], ők$_{ijk}$ megvették　　az ajándékokat.
　　　　　Péter　Mari　and Erzsi　　they　Prt.buy.Past.3Pl the present.Pl.Acc
　　　　　'Péter, Mari, and Erzsi, they bought the presents (together).'

1.5. Agreement in person features

1.5.1. Basic data

Hungarian coordinate constructions involving members with diverse person features call forth the appearance of a plural agreement suffix on the verb that corresponds to the 'top' person feature of the conjuncts (first person if involved, else second if involved, else third). This is so even if all conjuncts are singular.

According to proposals made by Farkas and Zec (1995), Bánréti (2007, 2020), Farkas and de Swart (2010), the 1st person pronouns spell out the features [+Participant, +Speaker]; 2nd person pronouns spell out the features [+Participant, −Speaker]; 3rd person pronouns spell out the feature [−Participant]. Plural pronouns have the feature of [Group] (and singular pronouns have the feature of [Atomic]). In the case of a conjoined *I (me)* and *you* Sg, the coordination structure (&P) has the features [Group, +Speaker +Participant], and will elicit first person plural agreement; in the case of conjoined *you* Sg and *he*, &P has the features [Group, +Participant, −Speaker], and it will elicit second person plural agreement. In the following (d–f) examples we exclude an alternative interpretation with verb-ellipsis:

(27) a.   Te meg én sétáltunk.
           you and   I   walk.Past.**1Pl**
           'You and I were walking.'

   b.   Te meg ő   sétáltatok.
        you and he walk.Past.**2Pl**
        'You were walking with him.'

   c.   Én meg ő   sétáltunk.
        I   and   he walk.Past.**1Pl**
        'I was walking with him.'

   d.   *Te meg én sétáltam.
         you and I   walk.Past.**1Sg**

   e.   *Te meg ő   sétált.
          you   and he walk.Past.**3Sg**

   f.   *Én meg ő   sétált.
          I   and   he walk.Past.**3Sg**

Thus, the plurality of the verbal agreement suffix is a 'solution' of the conflict of diverse person/number features.

Remark 4. In focus-bounded VP ellipsis cases, agreement can only be local since two clauses are involved (see (i) and (ii)). This is motivated in Bánréti (2001).

(i)   "TE   [~~kelsz fel   korán~~] meg "ÉN kelek fel   korán.
           you   get.up.2Sg   early   and   I   get.up.1Sg   early.
           'You [~~get up early~~] and I get up early.'

(ii)   "TE   [~~utasítottál vissza   minden kölcsönt~~],
           you   refuse.Past.2Sg   all   loans
           meg "Ő utasított vissza   minden kölcsönt.
           and   he refuse.Past.3Sg   all   loan.Acc
           'You [~~refused all loans~~] and he refused all loans.'

It is important to note that the presence of the conjunction is a condition of grammaticality here; its omission results in ungrammatical strings:

(28) a. *Te, én sétáltunk.
              you I   walk.Past.1Pl

     b. *Te, ő sétáltatok.
              you he walk.Past.2Pl

     c. *Én, ő sétáltunk.
              I   he walk.Past.1Pl

Conditions of the omissibility of conjunctions will be discussed in section 5.1.

The conjunct falling outside plural person agreement and exhibiting strictly **local** agreement in a grammatical sentence points to the probable presence of elliptical structure: (29).

(29)   ANNA [ad   ajándékot Péternek] és ÉN adok   ajándékot Péternek.
        Anna   give.3Sg present.Acc Péter.Dat and I   give.1Sg present.Acc Péter.Dat
        'Anna and I give a present to Péter' (two separate acts of presenting).

According to Bánréti (2003b, 2007, 2020) quantifiers can fulfil feature agreement functions. In Hungarian, nouns modified by numerals like *kettő* 'two', *három* 'three', etc. disallow plural agreement on the verb, whereas with *kett-en* 'two people', *hárm-an* 'three people', plural verbal morphology is obligatory since the latter may be bound by an NP marked for the feature of plurality. The 'collective' suffix *-Vn* *(-en/-an)* is discussed in great detail in the volume on *Nouns and Noun Phrases*, see section 2.6.1.1.5.4. of the chapter *Numerals and quantifiers*, pp. 1047, 1108–1109.

Quantifiers suffixed with nominal (possessive) agreement morphemes (*hárm-unk* 'the three of us', *kettő-tök* 'the two of you', *négy-ük* 'the four of them') clearly show person/number feature agreement. If in a structure like (30) below, the pronoun is replaced by a quantified expression referring to a coordinate construction, we get the following agreement alternation. Where the quantified expression contains an ending referring to plurality of a group of people, marked as a *collective* suffix (*mind a hárm-an* 'the whole of a group of three'), the complex person/number agreement suffix occurs on the verb (see (30a,c,e)). Where the quantified expression itself contains a person/number agreement morpheme (*mind a hárm**unk*** 'all the three of us', *mind a hárm**ótok*** 'all the three of you', *mind a hárm**uk*** 'all the three of them') then **that** morpheme, and not the verbal inflection, agrees with features of the coordinate construction (see (30b,d,f)). The verb in the latter cases bears a **third person singular** ending, that is, it must **not** agree with the coordinate conjunction (see (30g,h,i)):

(30) a. Te$_j$, én$_k$ meg ő$_l$: mind a hárm**an**$_{jkl}$ hazaért**ünk**   időben.
              you I and he all the three.Coll get.home.Past.1Pl time.Ine
          'You, I, and him: we got home in time all three of us.'

b. Te**j**, én**k** meg ő**ı**: mind a hárm**unkjkl** hazaért   időben.
   you I and he all   the three.Poss.1Pl get.home.Past.3Sg time.Ine
   'You, I, and him: all three of us got home in time.'

c. Te**j**, Mari**k** meg ő**i**: mind a hárm**anjkl** haza érte**tek** időben.
   you Mari and he all   the three.Coll get.home.Past.2Pl time.Ine
   'You, Mari, and him: you got home in time all three of you.'

d. Te**j**, Mari**k** meg ő**ı**: mind a hármó**tokjkl** hazaért   időben.
   you Mari and he all   the three.Poss.2Pl get.home.Past.3Sg time.Ine
   'You, Mari, and him: all three of you got home in time.'

e. Éva**j**, Péter**k** és Mari**ı**: mind a hárm**anjkl** hazaért**ek**   időben.
   Éva Péter and Mari all   the three.Coll get.home.Past.3Pl time.Ine
   'Éva, Péter and Mari: they got home in time all three of them.'

f. Éva**j**, Péter**k** és Mari**ı**: mind a hárm**ukjkl** hazaért   időben.
   Éva Péter and Mari all   the three.Poss.3Pl get.home.Past.3Sg time.Ine
   'Éva, Péter, and Mari: all three of them got home in time.'

g. *Te**j**, én**k** meg ő**ı**: mind a hárm**unkjkl** hazaért**ünk**   időben.
   you I and he all   the three.Poss.1Pl get.home.Past.1Pl time.Ine

h. *Te**j** Mari**k** meg ő**i**: mind a hármó**tokjkl** hazaérte**tek** időben.
   you Mari and he all   the three.Poss.2Pl get.home.Past.2Pl time.Ine

i. *Éva**j**, Péter**k** és Mari**ı**: mind a hárm**ukjkl** hazaért**ek**   időben.
   Éva Péter and Mari all   the three.Poss.3Pl get.home.Past.3Pl time.Ine

> Remark 5. Here and below, we discuss the feature of plurality with respect to morphosyntactic agreement and structural well-formedness, as well as other syntactic and morphological aspects only. Issues in the semantics of plurality (like semantics of groups/sets, or the semantics of conjunctive relations forming sets of events, points of time, or properties) will be ignored here.

To sum up: where the quantified expression contains an ending *-an/-en* referring to plurality of a group (*mind a hárm-an* 'the whole of a group of three'), the complex person/number agreement suffix occurs on the verb, see (30a,c,e). If the quantified expression itself contains a person/number agreement morpheme (*mind a hármunk* 'all the three of us', *mind a hármótok* 'all the three of you', *mind a hármuk* 'all the three of them'), then this morpheme of number/person agreement with the coordinate construction appears according to the same principles as it does in other cases, on the verb, cf. (30b,d,f). But it is either only on the verb (30a, c, e) or only on the quantified expression (30b,d,f) that the 'top' person plural ending appears, not simultaneously on both, cf. the ungrammaticality of (30g,i,h). The person/number ending **within** the quantified expression (30b,d,f) alternates in accordance with the person features of the conjuncts, while the verbal ending remains third person singular, irrespective of the person feature of the coordinated DPs.

   The person/number feature of the quantified expression has to agree with that of the coordinate construction: the former has to bear the person/number ending required by the relevant features of the latter.

(31) a. Te_j, én_k meg ő_l: *mind a hárm**uk**_{jkl} / mind a hárm**unk**_{jkl}
you I and he all the three.Poss.**3Pl**/ all the three.Poss.**1Pl**

hazaért időben.
get.home.Past.**3Sg** time.Ine

'You, I and him, *all three of them / all three of us got home in time.'

b A szerelő_j, a festő_k és a sofőr_l:*mind a hárm**unk**_{jkl} /
the fitter the painter and the driver: all the three.Poss.**1Pl** /

mind a hárm**uk**_{jkl} hazaért időben.
all the three.Poss**3Pl** get.home.Past.**3Sg** time.Ine

'The fitter, the painter and the driver:*all three of us / all three of them got home in time.'

Quantified expressions that do not involve person agreement, 'just' plurality of a group (with the suffix *mind a hárm-an* 'all three of us/you/them', *mind a négy-en* 'all four of us/you/them'), do not affect the agreement between the person features of the coordinate construction and the verb:

(32) a. Te_j, én_k meg ő_l, mind a hárm**an**_{jkl}, hazaért**ünk** időben.
you I and he all the three.**Coll** get.home.Past.**1Pl** time.Ine

'You, I and him: we got home in time all three of us.'

b. Éva_j, Péter_k és Mari_l: mind a hárm**an**_{jkl} hazaért**ek** időben.
Éva Péter and Mari all the three.**Coll** get.home.Past.**3Pl** time.Ine

'Éva, Péter and Mari: they got home in time all three of them.'

1.5.2. The background of the agreement effects

The differences observed in (30) can be explained if we assume that there are two distinct quantified expressions and two distinct relations that they can have to coordination (cf. Bánréti 2003a, 2003b, 2020).

1.5.2.1. Floating quantifier-like structures

In (30a,c,e) the universal quantifier precedes a definite determiner and a numeral with *-an/en* referring to a unique group of persons and the numerosity of that group is specified by the cardinal (*mind a hárm-**an*** 'the whole of a group of three'). In nominal expressions there are at least two domains having to do with quantity marking and quantification: the NUMP projection, containing numerals, as well as the QUANTP projection, containing quantifiers:

(33) [_{DP}[_{SPEC} Mind [_D a[_{NUMP} három [_{NP} diák]]]]] kap egy közös
all the three student get.3Sg a common

számítógépet.
computer.Acc

'The students get a computer to share (within the group) all three of them.'

Nouns modified by numerals and quantifiers are morphologically singular as also shown by (19).

In floating quantifier-like structures the quantifier-numeral construction does not appear in the prenominal quantifier position, *mind* 'all', the definite article *a* 'the',

and a numeral occur postnominally, and the associated nominal must be plural definite. If the 'collective' suffix *-en/-an* is added to the numeral, the noun will obligatorily be plural (morphologically marked or inherently) and the verbal agreement ending has to be plural, too (¤ = short pause):

(34) a.   A diák**ok**, ¤mind a   hár**man**, ¤kap**nak** egy közös számítógépet.
      the student.Pl all   the three.Coll get.3Pl   a   common computer.Acc
      'The students, all three of them, get a computer to share (within the group).'

    b.   *****A diák, ¤mind a   hár**man**, ¤kap   egy közös számítógépet
      the student all   the three.Coll get.3Sg a   common computer.Acc

    c.   *****Diák, ¤mind a   hár**man**, ¤kap   egy közös számítógépet
      student all   the three.Coll get.3Sg a   common computer.Acc

The construction in (34a) is shown by (35) below.

(35)   [DP[D [QuantP [NumP[Spec [Num   [NP]]]]]]] [DP [Spec [D   [QuantP [NumP[Spec [Num [NP]]]]]]]
       a —   —   <plur> diák**ok**   mind$_j$ **a** t$_j$ hárm   **-an…**
       the   students   all   the three   -Coll…

The structure assumed here expresses the claim that the quantifier-numeral string *mind a…* 'all the' containing a D (a definite article), raises from QuantP into SpecDP; thereby requiring that a DP-shell be built.

Of the personal pronouns, those that are either morphologically marked for plural (*ő-k* 'they') or are inherently plural (*mi, ti* 'we, you.Pl') are grammatical in this construction, just like coordinated sequences of singular conjuncts:

(36)   [DP[D + Plur [QuantP [NumP[Spec [Num [NP]]]]]]] [DP [Spec   [D   [QuantP [NumP [Spec [Num [NP]]]]]]]
       mi $_{<1.pl>}$ — —   <plur>   mind$_j$ a t$_j$ hárm   -an…
       ti $_{<2.pl>}$ — —   <plur>   mind$_j$ a t$_j$ hárm   -an…
       ők $_{<3pl>}$ — —   <plur>   mind$_j$ a t$_j$ hárm   -an…
       us/you/they   all   the three   -Coll…

Interestingly, a quantified coordinate nominal construction as a whole is inherently plural consisting of morphologically singular conjuncts (members):

(37)   [DP[D   [QuantP [NumP[Spec [Num [NP]]]]]]], [DP [Spec [D   [QuantP [NumP[Spec [Num [NP]]]]]]]
       [Péter, Mari és Chris] — —   <plur>   mind$_j$ a t$_j$ hárm   -an…
       Péter, Mari and Chris   all   the three   -Coll…

However, a quantified coordinate construction can **only** consist of morphologically singular conjuncts (members):

(38) a.   A diák, a   tanársegéd és a   professzor, ¤mind a   hárman hallgattak.
      the student the assistant   and the professor   all   the three.Coll be.silent.Past.3Pl
      'The student, the assistant and the professor, all three of them, were silent.'

b. *A diákok,   a   tanársegédek és a   professzorok,
    the student.Pl the assistant.Pl   and the professor.Pl

¤mind a   hárman hallgattak.
  all   the three.Coll be.silent.Past.3Pl

'The students, the assistants and the professors, all three (groups) of them, were silent.'

1.5.2.2. Verbal agreement in floating quantifier-like structures

The 'collective' suffix *-en/-an* refers back to a noun that is [+animate] and is 1st–3rd person plural. In these cases, the verbal ending can only be plural, that is, agree with the antecedent of 'collective' suffix *-en/an*:

(39) a. (Mi) mind a   hárman énekel**tünk**.
      we   all   the three.Coll sing.Past.1Pl

b. (Ti) mind a   hárman énekel**tetek**.
    you.Pl all   the three.Coll sing.Past.2Pl

c. (Ők) mind a   hárman énekel**tek**.
    they   all   the three.Coll sing.Past.3Pl

d. A gyerekek mind a   hárman énekel**tek**.
    the children   all   the three.Coll sing.Past.3Pl

e. Péter, Félix meg **én** mind a   hárman énekel**tünk**.
    Péter, Félix, and **I**   all   the three.Coll sing.Past.1Pl

f. Péter, Mari meg **te**   mind a   hárman énekel**tetek**.
    Péter, Mari and you.Sg all   the three.Coll sing.Past.2Pl

g. Péter, Mari és Félix mind a   hárman énekel**tek**.
    Péter, Mari and Félix all   the three.Coll sing.Past.3Pl

In e., f., g., coordinate nominal constructions involving members with diverse person features trigger the appearance of a plural agreement suffix on the verb that corresponds to the 'top' person feature of the conjuncts (first person if involved, else second if involved, else third). This is so even if all conjuncts are singular.

1.5.2.3. The possessive pattern

The other type of collective quantifier-numeral structures follows the pattern of possessive DPs shown by (30b,d,f). In these, the possessed covert noun is provided with a plural possessive ending, whereas the 'possessor' has to be [+animate] and of bound reference. In (40) below, the referential value of *mi* 'we', *ti* 'you.Pl' *ők* 'they' can be interpreted as 'introduced previously'. Number/person agreement relation is found between nominal structure and quantifier-numeral structure.

(40) a. mi, mind a   négy-**ünk**…
    we all   the four-**Poss.1Pl**

'all four of us…'

b   ti, mind a   négy-**e.tek**…
    you all   the four-**Poss.2Pl**

'all four of you…'

c. ők, mind a négy-**ük**…
they all the four-**Poss.3Pl**
'all four of them…'

d. Péter, Mari, Félix és Robi, mind a négy-**ük**…
Péter, Mari, Félix, and Robi all the four-**Poss.3Pl**
'Péter, Mari, Félix, and Robi all four of them…'

In (40), the quantifier-numeral structure itself contains a person/number agreement morpheme (*mind a négy-ünk* 'all the four of us', *mind a négy-etek* 'all the four of you', *mind a négy-ük* 'all the four of them'), and this morpheme exhibits number/person agreement with the coordinate construction.

For the relevant portions of each example in (40), we assume the following structure:

(41)   [DP [D [QuantP [NumP[Spec [Num [NP]]]]]]], [DP   [SPEC [D [NUMP [[N+I]P]]]]]

(mi)$_k$ (nekünk)$_k$ mind a négy   [N]-ünk
we   (we.Dat) all   the four   [N]-Poss.**1Pl**

(ti)   (nektek) mind a négy   [N]-etek
you.pl   (you.Dat) all   the four   [N]-Poss.**2Pl**

ő-**k**$_m$ (őnekik$_m$) mind a négy   [N]-ünk
they   (they.Dat) all   the four   [N]-Poss.**3Pl**

[Péter, Mari, Chris és Robi]$_m$ (nekik$_m$) mind a négy   [N]-ük
Péter Mari Chris and Robi   (they.Dat) all   the four   [N]-Poss.**3Pl**

The function of dative possessor is carried by case-marked personal pronouns (*nekünk, nektek, őnekik* 'we.Dat', 'you.Dat', 'they.Dat'). The parentheses indicate that the pronouns are covered on the basis of being deictically or anaphorically bound. The possessed item is a covert *N* category whose agreement features are carried by endings that are attached to the preceding numeral, phonologically harmonized to it (*négyünk* 'four of us', *húszunk* 'twenty of us').

The aggregate value of the person/number features of the conjuncts is taken over by the covert pronoun in the position of possessor (e.g. *nekik* 'they.Dat' and the possessed *N* category item following the numeral agrees with that (*mind a négy-N-ük* 'all the four *N* of them').

The conflict of diverse person features of the conjuncts will be resolved in the 'top' value and the number will be plural on the 'possessed' covert *N* category:

(42)   [Péter, Mari, te meg én] [nekünk] mind a négy-ünk   nyaral.
Péter   Mari you and I we.Dat all   the four-Poss.1Pl be.on.holiday.3Sg
'Péter, Mari, you and me, all four of us are on holiday.'

In this construction, the verb always agrees with the 3rd person feature of the 'possessed item', never with those of the moved 'possessor'. The verb is marked for 3rd person singular. This observation provides another argument supporting the claim that this construction follows the possessive pattern:

(43) a.   [Péter, Mari, Félix és Robi] [nekik] mind a négy[*N*]-ük
           Péter   Mari Félix and Robi they.Dat all   the four [*N*]-Poss3Pl
           hazaérkezett időben.
           got.3Sg home   on time
           'Péter, Mari, Félix and Robi all the four of them got home on time.'

     b.   [Péter, Mari, te meg én] [nekünk] mind a négy [*N*]-ünk
           Péter,   Mari, you and me we.Dat   all   the four [*N*]-Poss.1Pl
           hazaérkezett időben.
           got.3Sg home   on time
           'Péter, Mari, you and me all the four of us got home on time.'

The overt coordinate construction cannot be the possessor constituent itself since the number features of its individual conjuncts do not agree with that of the possessed item (the former each being singular, while the latter is plural). Covert pronouns are indicated in smaller print in the examples that follow.

(44)   *****[Péternek, Marinak, Félixnek és Robinak] [nekik] mind a négy[*N*]-ük
           Péter.Dat   Mari.Dat Félix.Dat and Robi.Dat they.Dat all   the four [*N*].Poss.3pl
           hazaérkezett időben.
           got.3Sg   on time
           literally: *'The four of [Péter, Mari, Félix and Robi] got home on time.'

With the coordinate construction, two word orders are possible: 'post-quantification', see (43) and (44) above, and 'pre-quantification' shown by (45). In the latter, the quantifier-numeral phrase (*mind a négyük*) is **followed** by DP, and there is also agreement between them.

(45)   [Mind a négy[*N*]-ük] ¤[Péter, Mari, Félix és Robi] megijedt.
           all   the four[*N*].Poss.3Pl Péter Mari Félix and Robi get.frightened.Past.3Sg
           'All the four: Péter, Mari, Félix, and Robi got frightened.'

1.6. Agreement between the features of coordinated direct objects and verbal endings

1.6.1. Basic data

In a coordinate **object**, it is the definiteness value of the conjuncts that has to be identical. The features definite vs. indefinite constitute an opposition, hence either all conjuncts are definite or all of them are indefinite. Person/number features are irrelevant here.

(46) a.   Láto**m** [magamat, a gyereket és a házat].
           see.1Sg.Def myself.Acc   the child.Acc and the house.Acc
           'I can see myself, the child and the house.'

     b.   Láto**k** [egy gyereket és egy házat].
           see.1Sg.Indef a   child.Acc and   house.Acc
           'I can see a child and a house.'

Excluding the possibility of verb ellipsis in the second conjunct, the following examples are not fully grammatical:

(47) a. [?]*Láto**k**   [egy házat   és a   gyereket].
         see.1Sg.Indef   a   house.Acc and the child.Acc
         'I can see a house and the child.'

   b. ^{??}Láto**m**   [a gyereket és egy   házat].
         see.1Sg.Def   the child.Acc   and a   house.Acc
         'I can see the child and a house.'

1.6.2. *Person features of object*

The person/number features are relevant, however, if they determine the value of the definiteness feature. First and second person pronominal objects (*engem* 'me', *téged* 'you.Sg.Acc', *minket* 'us', *titeket* 'you.Pl.Acc') require the verb to be in what is known as indefinite conjugation. Although these categories are DPs (have a D feature), they participate in feature agreement as if they were indefinite objects. First and second person objects can only be coordinated with indefinite third person objects. The property they contribute to coordination, then, is the **absence** of definiteness. Excluding again cases involving elision of the verb in the second conjunct:

(48) a. Lát**sz**   [engem és egy gyereket].
         see.2Sg.Indef I.Acc   and a   child.Acc
         'You can see me and a child.'

   b. [?]Lát**sz**   [engem és a   gyereket].
         see.2Sg.Indef I.Acc   and the child.Acc
         'You can see me and the child.'

   c. Lát**od**   [magadat   és a   gyereket].
         see.2Sg.Def yourself.Acc and the child.Acc
         'You can see yourself and the child.'

   d. Lát**od**   [magatokat és a   gyereket].
         see.2Sg.Def yourselves.Acc and the child.Acc
         'You can see yourselves and the child.'

   e. [?]Lát**od**   [magadat   és egy gyereket].
         see.2Sg.Def yourself.Acc and a   child.Acc
         'You can see yourself and a child.'

   f. [?]Lát**od**   [magatokat és egy   gyereket].
         see.2Sg.Def yourselves.Acc and a   child.Acc
         'You can see yourselves and a child.'

   g. *Lát**od**   [egy gyereket és magadat].
         see.2Sg.Def a   child.Acc and yourself.Acc
         intended: 'You can see a child and yourself.'

   h. *Lát**od**   [egy gyereket és magatokat].
         see.2Sg.Def a   child.Acc   and yourselves.Acc
         intended: 'You can see a child and yourselves.'

(48b,e,f) above are slightly marked, but not excluded forms, whereas (48g,h) are totally unacceptable. According to a proposal by É. Kiss (2012), in the case of conjoined objects with conflicting definiteness **and** person features, Hungarian speakers prefer the closest conjunct agreement strategy. This strategy is satisfied in (48b,e,f), but it is not satisfied in (48g,h).

The verbal suffix *-lak/-lek* '2Obj.1Sg' is exceptional with respect to the definite vs. indefinite paradigms. This suffix agrees with the person feature rather than with the feature of definiteness. Below, only (49a) is perfectly grammatical where second person objects are coordinated, whereas both (49b) in which one of the conjuncts is a definite object and (49c) in which one of the conjuncts is an indefinite object are slightly marked. However, the closest conjunct agreement strategy is satisfied in them. In the ungrammatical examples (49d,e), this strategy is violated. The suffix *-lak/-lek* also requires a first person subject, hence it makes agreement necessary both in terms of subject and object – this fact is reflected in the well-formedness conditions of coordination:

(49) a. Lát**lak**　　[téged　　és　titeket].
　　　　　see.2Obj.1Sg　you.Sg.Acc　and　you.Pl.Acc
　　　　　'I can see you and you guys.'

　　　b. ?Lát**lak**　　[téged　　és　a　gyereket].
　　　　　see.2Obj.1Sg　you.Sg.Acc　and　the　child.Acc
　　　　　'I can see you and the child.'

　　　c. ?Lát**lak**　　[téged　　és　egy　gyereket].
　　　　　see.2Obj.1Sg　you.Sg.Acc　and　a　child.Acc
　　　　　'I can see you and a child.'

　　　d. *Lát**lak**　　[a　gyereket　és　téged].
　　　　　see.2Obj.1Sg　the　child.Acc　and　you.Sg.Acc
　　　　　intended: 'I can see the child and you.'

　　　e. *Lát**lak**　　[egy　gyereket　és　téged].
　　　　　see.2Obj.1Sg　a　child.Acc　and　you.Sg.Acc
　　　　　intended: 'I can see a child and you.'

In Hungarian, coordinate constructions behave differentially in terms of plurality effects and person feature agreement depending on whether they are subjects or direct objects. With coordinated accusative DPs / NPs, agreement between the person features and the verbal inflections is strictly local in that the person feature of the object closest to the verb is taken into consideration. Otherwise, the construction is ungrammatical. (50a) and (50b) exhibit locally grammatical agreement that does not extend to the second conjunct, marked by ?? in the examples. On the other hand, (50c) and (50d) involve locally ungrammatical agreement patterns, marked by *:

(50) a. Én lát**lak**　　téged　és ??magunkat.
　　　　　I　see.2Obj.1Sg you.Acc and　ourselves.Acc
　　　　　'I can see you and ourselves.'

b. Én láto**m**   magunkat   és ??téged.
   I   see.1Sg.Def ourselves.Acc and you.Acc
   'I can see ourselves and you.'

c. *Én lát**lak**   magunkat   és téged.
   I   see.2Obj.1Sg   ourselves.Acc and you.Acc

d. *Én láto**m**   téged és magunkat.
   I   see.1Sg.Def you.Acc and ourselves.Acc

It is a rule of Hungarian that wherever there is a verbal inflection agreeing with the grammatical person of the direct object (-*lak/-lek*), the verbal suffix invariably agrees with the object immediately adjacent (or closest) to the verb – if there are several direct objects of diverse persons – and it cannot be made to agree with the other conjunct. Since collective agreement is impossible, (50a,b) involve an elliptical structure as in (51):

(51) a. Én lát~~lak~~   téged és ~~látom~~   magunkat.
        I   see.2Obj.1Sg you.Acc and see.1Sg.Def ourselves.Acc
        'I can see you and ourselves.'

     b. Én láto~~m~~   magunkat   és ~~látlak~~   téged.
        I   see.1Sg.Def ourselves.Acc and see.2Obj.1Sg you.Acc
        'I can see ourselves and you.'

Coordinated accusative NPs of dissimilar **definiteness** values can only yield a grammatical structure if the verbal agreement marker is **neutral** with respect to definiteness, e.g., *láttam* 'see.1Sg.Def/indef'. In that case a definite and an indefinite NP (in either order) can be coordinated in the topic position. Kálmán and Trón (2000, 44) shows this with example (52a) below. We can add that the same holds with respect to postverbal positions, provided the verbal suffix is neutral for definiteness (see (52b)):

(52) a. [A fát   és egy madarat] bezzeg   láttam.
        the tree.Acc and a   bird.Acc on.the.contrary see.Past.1Sg
        'I did see the tree and a bird.'

     b. Láttam   [a fát   és egy madarat].
        see.Past.1Sg the tree.Acc and a   bird.Acc
        'I saw the tree and a bird.'

Where the verbal ending is nonneutral with respect to definiteness, an object construction in which a definite and an indefinite NP are coordinated (in either order) is ungrammatical or, at best, of doubtful acceptability. In (53a) and (c) below, the verbal suffix agrees with the definiteness feature of the more distant NP object and the result is totally ungrammatical. In (b) and (d), on the other hand, the verb agrees with the NP object closest to it, and the result (excluding, as usual, an interpretation with verb ellipsis) is highly but not totally unacceptable:

(53) a. *[Egy verset   és a novellát]   olvasok.
          a   poem.Acc and the short-story.Acc read.1Sg.Indef
          'I read **a** poem and the short story.'

    b. ??[A novellát   és egy verset] olvasok.
          the short-story.Acc and a   poem.Acc read.1Sg.Indef
          'I read the short story and **a** poem.'

    c. *Olvasom [egy verset   és a novellát].
          read.1Sg.Def a   poem.Acc and the short-story.Acc
          'I read a poem and **the** short story.'

    d. ??Olvasom [a novellát   és egy verset].
          read.1Sg.Def the short-story.Acc and a poem.Acc
          'I read **the** short story and a poem.'

The conjunct falling outside local person agreement in a grammatical sentence usually points at the probable presence of elliptical structure. For instance:

(54)   ANNA [ad~~   ajándékot Péternek~~] és ÉN adok ajándékot Péternek.
          Anna   give.3Sg present.Acc Péter.Dat and I   give.1Sg present.Acc Péter.Dat
          'Anna and I give a present to Péter' (two separate acts of presenting).

The reason why (53b,d) appear to be slightly less ungrammatical than (53a,c) is that if one of the conjuncts of diverse definiteness **locally** agrees with the verb, then the representation is grammatical provided it contains an ellipsis of the verb after the **non-locally** agreeing constituent. If the verb is preceded by the objects, the order indefinite plus definite conjugation is preferred for well-formed verb ellipsis and the ellipsis site must be preceded by a focus-stressed object, cf. the grammaticality of (55a,b) and the ungrammaticality of (55c,d) below. (Note that the conjunct is not taken to be an afterthought.)

(55) a. Csak egy VERSET ~~olvasok~~   és a NOVELLÁT   olvaso**m**.
          only   **a**   poem.Acc read.1Sg.**Indef** and the short story.Acc read1Sg.**Def**
          'It's only a poem and the short story that I read.'

    b. Csak egy VERSET olvasok   és a NOVELLÁT   ~~olvasom~~.
          only   **a**   poem.Acc read.1Sg.Indef and **the** short story.Acc read1Sg.Def
          'It's only a poem that I read, and the short story .'

    c. ?*Csak a NOVELLÁT   ~~olvasom~~ és egy VERSET olvasok.
          only   **the** short story.Acc read1Sg.Def and **a**   poem   read.1Sg.Indef
          'It's only the short story and a poem that I read.'

    d. ?*Csak a NOVELLÁT   olvasom és egy VERSET ~~olvasok~~].
          only   **the** short story.Acc read1Sg.Def and **a**   poem.Acc read.1Sg.Indef
          'It's only the short story that I read, and a poem.'

In a coordinate **subject**, agreement in definiteness is not involved:

(56) a. [A magas férfi és egy szőke nő] elkéstek   a koncertről.
         the tall   man and a   blond woman Prt.be.late.Past.3pl the concert.Del
         'The tall man and a blond woman were late for the concert.'

    b. [Egy néni   meg én] egyedül voltunk a házban,
         an old.lady and I alone   be.Past.1Pl the house.Ine
         amikor a   földrengés megkezdődött.
         when   the eartquake Prt.begin.Past.3Sg
         'An old lady and I were alone in the house when the earthquake began.'

1.6.3. Case connectivity in adverbial constructions

If the coordinate construction is an **adverbial**, the coordination of identically case-marked members (with the same morphological case) is grammatical irrespective of differences in person/number or definiteness:

(57) a. [Hivatalnokokkal, teveled, énvelem, a   rektorral és egy ismeretlen
         officials.Ins   you.Inst I.Ins   the rector.Ins and an   unknown
         emberrel] tanácskozott a   dékán.
         man.Ins   consult.Past.3Sg the dean
         'The dean consulted officials, you, me, the rector and an unknown person.'

    b. Hittem   [egy szép   mesében és az igazság győzelmében].
         believe-past.1Sg a beautiful tale.Ine and the justice   victory.Poss.Ine
         'I believed in a beautiful tale and in the victory of justice.'

    c. [Tengeren meg egy folyón] zajlott   a csata.
         sea.Super and a   river.Super go.on.Past.3Sg the battle
         'The battle took place at sea and on a river.'

We can see that it is the case feature of the coordinate construction (nominative, accusative, oblique/adverbial, etc.) that determines which grammatical features are relevant for agreement.

1.6.4. Differences between és 'and' and meg 'and, plus'

According to the intuition of a number of native speakers, the function of the conjunction *meg* 'and, plus' slightly differs from that of *és* 'and'. Where both conjuncts are third person singular, *meg* preferentially cooccurs with plural verbal inflection and *és* with singular agreement:

(58) a. Péter **meg** Mari elolvasták   a cikket.
         Péter and Mari Prt.read.Past.**3Pl** the article.Acc
         'Péter and Mari have read the article.'

    b. Péter **és** Mari elolvasta   a cikket.
         Péter and Mari Prt.read.Past.**3Sg** the article.Acc
         'Péter and Mari have read the article.'

The preference for *és* occurs in '**cumulative**' constructions (59a,b,c,d), and contrasts with that of *meg* in the case of '**repeated**' events (59e,f):

(59) a. egyre [több **és** több] ember...
           'increasingly more and more people'

      b. mindig [szebben **és** szebben]…
           'always better and better'

      c. csak [havazott **és** havazott]…
           'it kept snowing and snowing'

      d. mind [gyorsabban **és** gyorsabban]…
           'increasingly faster and faster'

      e. [újra **meg** újra] írt
          again and again write.Past.3Sg
          'he went back to writing time and again' (on and off, adding bits and pieces)

      f. Egész nap [csak fésülködött **meg** fésülködött].
          whole day only comb.Past.3Sg and comb.Past.3Sg.
          'She was combing her hair again and again the whole day.'

The syntax of arithmetic in Hungarian only accepts *meg* 'plus' as the conjunction of addition; *és* is out:

(60) a. három **meg** három
           'three plus three'

      b. három ***és** három
           'three and three'

1.7. Overt and covert conjunctions

1.7.1. Basic data

In a coordinate construction of more than two members, the conjunction may occur overtly more than once. This may motivate the hypothesis that, in multiple coordination, the category of the conjunction is there between each pair of conjuncts even if it is in a covert form. In Hungarian, the obligatorily overt occurrence of the conjunctions can occur at the left edge of the **rightmost** XPs that constitute the coordinate construction:

(61)   A kutya, a kecske, a tehén **és** a ló szaladni kezdtek.
        the dog   the goat   the cow and the horse run.Inf begin.Past.3Pl
        'The dog, the goat, the cow, and the horse started to run.'

The conjunction may also occur in an overt phonetic form at the left edge of the multiple XPs, going right to left:

(62) a. A kutya, a kecske **és** a tehén **és** a ló szaladni kezdtek.
          the dog   the goat and the cow   and the horse run.Inf begin.Past.3Pl
          'The dog, the goat, and the cow, and also the horse [started to run].'

      b. A kutya **és** a kecske **és** a tehén **és** a ló szaladni kezdtek.
          the dog and the goat   and the cow   and the horse run.Inf begin.Past.3Pl
          'The dog, and the goat, and the cow, and also the horse [started to run].'

In nominal coordinate constructions of more than two members, it is required for grammaticality that there is a conjunction before the rightmost conjunct. A construction without a conjunction, as in (63a), is ungrammatical. The perfectly grammatical version is shown in (63c):

(63) a. ?[A hőfokot,   a   nyomást, az energiafelhasználást, a   teljesítményt]
          the temperature.Acc the pressure.Acc the intake.Acc   the performance.Acc

       mérték   meg.
       measure.Past.3Pl Prt

       'They measured the temperature, the pressure, the intake, the performance.'

    b. *[A hőfokot   **{és/vagy}** a   nyomást, az energiafelhasználást,
          the temperature.Acc and/or   the pressure.Acc the intake.Acc

       a teljesítményt] mérték   meg.
       the performance.Acc measure.Past.3Pl Prt

       'They measured the temperature, **and/or** the pressure, the intake, the performance.'

    c. [A hőfokot,   a   nyomást, az energiafelhasználást,
         the temperature.Acc the pressure.Acc the intake.Acc

       {és/vagy} a   teljesítményt] mérték   meg.
        and/or   the performance.Acc measure.Past.3Pl Prt

       'They measured the temperature, the pressure, the intake, **and/or** the performance.'

> Remark 6. Constructions in which the conjuncts are not DPs/NPs will be returned to further below, as well as special cases in which coreferent NPs are coordinated, as in (i):
>
> (i)   Az   uramat,   a   parancsolómat,   a
>   the lord.Poss.1Sg.Acc the commander.Poss.1Sg.Acc the
>   kenyéradó   gazdámat   követem.
>   bread-giver master.Poss.1Sg.Acc follow.Pres.1Sg
>   'I follow my lord, my master, my bread-giver.'

The data below show that each position marked by a pause in the construction harbours a conjunction whose interpretation is the same as that of the overt conjunction before the last conjunct. For instance, if the last constituent is of the form '¤ *or NP*' and there is no other overt conjunction, then the **whole** construction, including the constituents not marked by an overt conjunction, is to be interpreted as a (multiple) disjunction as implied by *vagy* 'or'.

(64)   [A hőmérsékletet, ¤a nyomást, ¤az energiafelhasználást ¤**vagy** a
         the temperature.Acc the pressure.Acc the intake.Acc   or   the
        teljesítményt] mérték,   nem tudom   pontosan, hogy melyiket.
        performance.Acc measure.Past.3Pl not know.Pres.1Sg exactly   Compl which.Acc
        'They measured the temperature, the pressure, the intake, **or** the performance, I don't know exactly which one.'

We get a construction of identical meaning if we insert a disjunctive *vagy* between **all pauses** and their respective NPs:

(65) [A hőmérsékletet ¤**vagy** a nyomást, ¤**vagy** az energiafelhasználást ¤**vagy**
      the temperature.Acc   or   the pressure.Acc or   the intake.Acc   or

a teljesítményt] mérték,   nem tudom   pontosan, hogy melyiket.
the performance.Acc measure.Past.3Pl not knowPres1Sg exactly   Compl which.Acc

'They measured the temperature, or the pressure, or the intake, or the performance, I don't know

exactly which one.'

Thus, the pauses carry an instruction of interpretation that is identical with that of the rightmost conjunction; here that of 'disjunction'.

1.7.2. Dominant conjunction

If there are several conjunctions in a coordinate structure and there is a pause before one conjunction but not another, the conjunction marked by a pause is structurally dominant and additional conjunctions not marked by a pause form substructures: the components of the whole coordination. The conjunction that determines the interpretation of the sentence is the one with the pause before it, forming a phonological phrase with the DP on its right.

(66) a.   Péterről és Mariról, ¤**és** < Éváról vagy Annáról > hallottam.
           Péter.Del and Mari.Del   **and**   Éva.Del or   Anna.Del   hear.Past.1Sg
           'I heard of Péter and Mari, and of Éva or Anna.'

b.   < Péterről és Mariról > ¤**vagy** < Éváról és Annáról > hallottam.
     Péter.Del and Mari.Del   or   Éva.Del and Anna.Del   hear.Past.1Sg
     'I heard of Péter and Mari, or of Éva and Anna.'

c.   < A székeket és a   polcokat > ¤**vagy** < az asztalokat és a
     the chairs.Acc and the shelves.Acc   or   the tables.Acc   and the
     szőnyegeket > fogják lerakni.
     carpets.Acc   Fut.3Pl unload.Inf
     'They will unload the chairs and the shelves, or the tables and the carpets.'

d.   < A székeket vagy a   polcokat > ¤**és** < az asztalokat vagy a
     the chairs.Acc or   the shelves.Acc   and the tables.Acc   or   the
     szőnyegeket > fogják lerakni.
     carpets.Acc   Fut.3Pl unload.Inf
     'They will unload the chairs or the shelves, and the tables or the carpets.'

(66a) is a conjunction whose third member consists of a disjunction, (66b,c) are disjunctions each of whose members contains a conjunction, whereas (66d) is a conjunction each of whose members contains a disjunction. In each of the examples in (66), the operator that determines the interpretation of the sentence is the one with the pause before it, the one that constitutes a phonological phrase with the DP on its right. The rightmost DP is a coordinate construction itself but, 'outwardly', it behaves as a single constituent, a conjunct in a larger coordinate construction. This is because its 'internal' conjunction is dominated by the conjunction that is before it, flanked by a pause on the other side.

     With respect to (67a,b) below, native speakers were divided in their judgements. According to some of them, they were sentences of doubtful acceptability; others said

they were downright wrong. What is common in these sentences is that they lack an overt conjunction preceded by a pause. The only pause that occurs precedes a conjunct **without** an overt conjunction.

(67) a. ??<Péterről és Mariról > ¤ <Éváról vagy Annáról> hallottam.
         Péter.Del and Mari.Del   Éva.Del or   Anna.Del   hear.Past.1Sg
       ??'I heard of Péter and Mari, Éva or Anna.'

    b. ??<A székeket vagy a   polcokat> ¤ <az asztalokat és a   szőnyegeket >
        the chairs.Acc or   the shelves.Acc   the tables.Acc   and the carpets.Acc
        fogják   lerakni.
        Fut.3Pl   unload.Inf
       ??'They will unload the chairs or the shelves, the tables and the carpets.'

However, pauses sandwiched between coordinated constituents can only function as covert conjunctions if there is a 'rightmost' overt conjunction that also has a pause before it. Grammaticality judgements concerning (67a,b) had one thing in common: if we insert a pause before one of the overt conjunctions in these sentences, we end up with a well-formed construction. For instance, we can get a two-part disjunction whose second constituent is a three-part conjunction in (68):

(68)   A székeket ¤**vagy** < a   polcokat, az asztalokat és a   szőnyegeket>
       the chairs.Acc   or   the shelves.Acc the tables.Acc   and the carpets.Acc
       fogják lerakni.
       Fut.3Pl unload.Inf
       'They will unload either the chairs; or the shelves, the tables and the carpets.'

1.8. Summary

Within the boundaries of a compound sentence, coordinating conjunctions cannot be sentence initial, they are basically located between two clauses. The conjuncts must be of the same syntactic category for coordinatability to obtain.

    Preverbal conjoined singular subjects can trigger singular and plural agreement as well. Plural agreement with conjoined singular subjects is grammatical when the subject is in topic position. Singular agreement is an option in this case, as well. Non-specific singular subjects only allow singular agreement. Overt pronouns of diverse persons in topic position obligatorily make a plural inflection of the highest common person appear on the verb.

    Postverbal conjoined singulars may only agree with a singular verb. The verb bears plural agreement if either one or both of the postverbal conjuncts are plural; it is only singular if both conjuncts are singular. The postverbal coordination of pronouns is doubtful within PredP, and postverbal coordination of a contentful noun and a pronoun likewise results in doubtful acceptability.

    Semantic plurality does not bring about plural agreement on the verb. Nouns modified by numerals are inflected in the singular and the verb, too, takes singular endings; this also applies to a coordinate construction made up by such items (as long as their person features are identical). If the person features of preverbal subject NPs are not identical, verbal agreement switches to plural. The plurality of the verbal

agreement suffix is a 'solution' of the conflict of diverse person/number features of conjoined subjects.

In the coordination of two subject nouns with diverse person features, the presence of the conjunction is a condition of grammaticality. The conjunct falling outside plural person agreement exhibiting strictly **local** agreement in a grammatical sentence points to the probable presence of elliptical structure.

Where a quantified expression contains an ending *-an/-en* referring to plurality of a **group** of conjoined nouns (*mind a hárm-an* 'the whole of a group of three'), the 'top' person plural agreement suffix occurs on the verb. If the quantified expression itself contains a person/number agreement morpheme (*mind a hármunk* 'all the three of us', *mind a hármótok* 'all the three of you', *mind a hármuk* 'all the three of them') referring to conjuncts, then this morpheme of number/person agreement with the coordinate construction appears **within** the quantified expression, exhibiting the 'top' person plural feature of the conjuncts. In this case the verbal ending remains third person singular, irrespective of the person feature of the coordinated NPs/DPs.

In a coordinate **object**, it is the definiteness value of the conjuncts that has to be identical. The features definite vs. indefinite constitute an opposition, hence either all conjuncts are definite or all of them are indefinite. The person/number features are only relevant here if they determine the value of the definiteness feature. First and second person pronominal objects (*engem* 'me', *téged* 'you.Sg.Acc', *minket* 'us', *titeket* 'you.Pl.Acc') require the verb to be in indefinite conjugation. Although these categories are DPs (have a D feature), they participate in feature agreement as if they were indefinite objects. First and second person objects can only be coordinated with indefinite third person objects. The property they contribute to coordination, then, is the **absence** of definiteness.

Coordinated accusative NPs of dissimilar definiteness values can only yield a grammatical structure if the verbal agreement marker is **neutral** with respect to definiteness, e.g., *láttam* 'see.1Sg.Def/<u>indef</u>'. In that case a definite and an indefinite NP (in either order) can be coordinated in various positions.

With accusative DPs / NPs coordinated, agreement between the different person features of **objects** and the verbal inflections is strictly local in that the person feature of the object closest to the verb is taken into consideration.

If the coordinate construction is an **adverbial**, the coordination of identically case-marked members is possible irrespective of differences in person/number or definiteness.

In coordinate constructions of more than two members, the overt conjunction occurs at the left periphery of the rightmost constituent (i.e., before the last XP). It is only when this condition is satisfied that covert copies of that conjunction can be posited or that overt conjunctions of other types can occur. The overt conjunction forms a phonological phrase with the constituent to its right.

When several different conjunctions are present, the construction will be dominated by the one that is separated by a pause from what precedes it. The constituent to the right of this conjunction will be the last member of the interpretationally dominant coordination, irrespective of its internal complexity.

1.9. Bibliographical notes

Kenesei (1992, 1994) argued that the positional differences between coordinating and subordinating conjunctions can be used as a test for the structural differences of coordination vs. subordination, i.e., compound vs. complex sentences. Pragmatic conjunctions that refer back to preceding discourse context were discusssed in Németh T. (1991, 2015) and Lipták (2020).

Dik (1968) gives a detailed description of what he calls 'symmetrical structure' resulting from coordination. Bánréti (1994) provides a descriptive analysis of Hungarian coordinate conjunctions, in: É. Kiss and Kiefer (1994).

É. Kiss (2012) examines subject–verb agreement in number and person, and object–verb agreement in definiteness. Farkas and Zec (1995), Farkas and de Swart (2010), Bánréti (2007, 2020) gave analyses of feature conflict in the coordination of subject NPs with different person features and the 'resolution' of that conflict. Dékány and Csirmaz (2018) presents more data on the 'collective' suffix *-Vn (-an/en)* in Hungarian quantifier-numeral constructions.

Chapter 2
Types of conjunctions

Zoltán Bánréti

2.1. Introduction

We will make a distinction between the classes of coordinate conjunctions in what follows: *n*-ary vs. binary conjunctions. Their distribution is asymmetrical in the sense that, while binary conjunctions are only able to coordinate members of a well-defined set of syntactic categories, *n*-ary ones can be applied to any category that is coordinatable at all: those that the binary conjunctions apply to, as well as those that they do not. *N*-ary conjunctions require an agreement of number, person, definiteness features of the coordinated noun phrases and the result shows up in the selection of the verbal agreement morphemes. Binary conjunctions attribute features to the predicative categories coordinated and the result of this does not affect the agreement morphemes of verbs. Binary conjunctions, as functors, select the arguments of the conventional implicatures they stand for.

Multiple conjunctions form a separate class. According to Haspelmath (2007), coordinations may have either a single coordinator (monosyndetic) or two coordinators, i.e., one for each coordinand (bisyndetic), but languages also allow an indefinite number of coordinands, i.e. multiple coordination. In Hungarian there are no bisyndetic conjunctions in the strict sense. Conjunctions that are of the bisyndetic type in other languages in the literature are multiple conjunctions in Hungarian. It is a special case where these conjunctions connect only two conjuncts, but that does not make them bisyndectic because they can coordinate three, four, five members in the same way. These conjunctions are reiterated at the left edge of each conjunct according to the number of the conjuncts, which are not grammatically limited. An essential condition is that the coordinated structures be structurally parallel.

2.2. *N*-ary conjunctions

An *n*-ary conjunction can coordinate any number of items (in principle) and it can be applied to any coordinatable grammatical category. The categories coordinated can be full clauses or phrasal categories of constituent structure. *N*-ary conjunctions tolerate free morphemes of certain classes, e.g., postpositions or verbal particles (see 69j,k). The set of *n*-ary conjunctions includes *és* 'and', *meg* 'and, plus', *vagy* 'or'. In (69), coordinate constructions are included in square brackets:

(69) a. [Az oroszlánt és a farkast ¤vagy a tigrist meg a vaddisznót]
       the lion.Acc and the wolf.Acc or the tiger.Acc and the boar.Acc
       bezárták a ketrecbe.
       lock.Past.3Pl the cage.in
       'The lion and the wolf, or the tiger and the boar were locked up in the cage.'

    b. [A jó humorú nyelvészek és a sovány kémikusok meg a nagyétkű
       the good humoured linguists and the lean chemists and the throaty
       filozófusok] ritkák.
       philosophers rare.3Pl
       'Funny linguists and skinny chemists, and throaty philosophers are hard to find.'

c. Péter áradozott   [az új portásról és arról az emberről,
    Péter enthuse.Past.3Sg the new porter.Del and that.Del the man.Del
    aki megjavította a   tévét].
    who repair.Past.3Sg the telly.Acc
    'Péter enthused over the new porter and over the man who had repaired the telly.'

d. A [kissé pocakos, halkan szuszogó és nagyon falánk]
    the slightly paunchy softly   puffing   and very   greedy
    víziló megette   a halat.
    hippo Prt.eat.Past.3Sg the fish.Acc
    'The slightly paunchy, softly puffing and very greedy hippo ate up the fish.'

e. Éva [halkan, lassan és óvatosan] nyitotta   ki az ajtót.
    Éva softly   slowly and carefully   open.Past.3Sg Prt the door
    'Éva opened the door softly, slowly and carefully.'

f. Ádám milliomosként [járkál,   szónokol meg szórja   a pénzt].
    Ádám   millionaire.For   walk.3Sg preach.3Sg and squander.3Sg the money
    'Ádám walks about, makes speeches and squanders money as if he was a millionaire.'

g. Mari [lókötőnek meg szerencselovagnak] tartotta   Jánost.
    Mari rogue.Dat and fortune.hunter.Dat   consider.Past.3Sg János.Acc
    'Mari considered János to be a rogue and a fortune hunter.'

h. A macska [az asztal alatt vagy a   szekrény mögött] nyávogott.
    the cat   the table under or   the cupboard behind   mew.Past.3Sg
    'The cat was mewing under the table or behind the cupboard.'

i. [Ma vagy holnap vagy holnapután]   megtartjuk az esküvőt.
    today or   tomorrow or   day.after.tomorrow Prt.hold.1Pl the wedding.Acc
    'We will have the wedding today, or tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow.'

j. Az asztal [előtt, alatt és mögött] ajándékok voltak.
    the table   before under and behind   presents   be.Past 3pl
    'There were presents in front of, under, and behind the table.'

k. Péter egész nap [ki és be és föl és le] rohangált.
    Péter whole day   out and in and up and down rush.Past.3Sg
    'Péter kept rushing in and out, and up and down the whole day long.'

2.3. Binary conjunctions

2.3.1. *Two-argument relation*

Binary conjunctions are functors that invariably indicate a two-argument relation; hence they can only be applied to coordinate exactly two members (each of which can be of any internal complexity, however). The set of binary conjunctions includes *de* 'but', *azonban* 'however', *viszont* 'in turn', *ezért* 'therefore', *tehát* 'hence', *holott* 'albeit', *ugyanis* 'given that', *mégis* 'nevertheless'.

The linguistic meanings of binary conjunctions are conventional implicatures that indicate the speaker's intentions or expectations of well-defined types concerning the relation between the statements contained in the coordinated clauses.

Remark 7. Conventional implicature is a consequence relation that does not affect the truth conditions of the sentence and is not identical with pragmatic presuppositions either, because it does not follow from the context. On the contrary, it belongs to the linguistic meaning of the lexical items that are present in the sentence, in this case, to the linguistic meaning of the conjunctions involved. These indicate the speaker's opinion of the facts described in the clauses, cf. Grice (1975), Karttunen and Peters (1979), Kiefer (2007). On the meanings of conjunctions, see section 2.7.

Some binary conjunctions have a more or less transparent morphological structure as a reflection of the way they arose historically (cf. Simonyi 1881–1883). Some of those morphological structures have become opaque, for instance, *te+hát* in Old and Middle Hungarian was: ['then/there'+ 'well/why'], (cf. Klemm 1942, D. Mátai 2003), and it became 'hence' in Modern Hungarian); but in other conjunctions their morphological structures can still be discerned. They typically consist of two constituents: a pronominal/adverbial part and a case marker/postposition part:

(70)   *ez + ért* 'this + for', *e + miatt* 'this + because', *ellen + ben* 'counter + in', *azon + ban* 'that + in', *hol + ott* 'where + there', *ugyan + is* 'thus + also', *még + is* 'still + also'.

Furthermore, there are compound conjunctional expressions that likewise contain two main parts: an inflected pronominal part plus an inflected relation-name. The latter is the lexical head:

(71)   *ennek + ellenére* lit. this.Dat + opposite.Poss.Sub, 'despite this', *ezzel + szemben* lit. this.Ins + eye.Ine, 'as opposed to this', *ennek + következtében* lit. this.Dat + consequence.Poss.Ine, 'consequently', *ennek + eredményeként* lit. this.Dat + result.Poss.For, 'as a result of this'.

These compound expressions – partly depending on the current context – may be equivalents or paraphrases of the single conjunctions (the ones in (70)). In the compound conjunctional expressions the case-marked pronoun (*ennek* 'this.Dat', *ezzel* 'this.Ins', etc.) refers back to the immediately preceding syntactic category, its antecedent. Which 'monomorphemic' conjunction a given expression will be equivalent to depends on the composition of the pronoun bound by the antecedent with the meaning of the relation-name (*... ellenére* 'opposite.Poss.Sub', *... következtében* 'consequence.Poss.Ine', *... eredményeként* 'result.Poss.Form', etc.).

2.3.2. *Coordination of 'predicative' constituents*

Binary conjunctions, then, can be employed to coordinate two items. The latter may be predicates, structural projections of predicates, or 'predicative' constituents (cf. Komlósy 1992, 1994). Binary conjunctions thus serve to coordinate clauses (72a,b), predicative complements (72c) and predicative adjuncts (72d), VP adverbials (72e–g), as well as attributive modifiers of nouns (72h,i).

Remark 8. Where nouns are used as predicative elements, their coordination by a binary conjunction is grammatical:

(i)   János tanár, **tehát** köztisztviselő.
             'János is a teacher, **hence** a civil servant.'

(ii)   Péter színész, **viszont** úriember.
           'Péter is an actor, **yet** a gentleman.'

The coordination of coreferent DPs will be discussed below.

Here are examples of binary conjunctions.

(72) a. A csimpánz   [eszközöket használ, **ugyanis** intelligenciával rendelkezik].
           the chimp   tools.Acc   use.3Sg since   intelligence.Ins   possess.3Sg
           'The chimpanzee uses tools, given that it has intelligence.'

      b. Éva [megírta   a levelét, **azonban** eltette   a fiókba].
           Éva   Prt.write.Past.3Sg the letter.Poss.Acc however   Prt.put.Past.3Sg the drawer.Ill
           'Éva wrote her letter, however, she put it away in the drawer.'

      c. A táblát   [pirosra, **tehát** rikító színűre] festette.
           the board.Acc red.Sub thus   garish colour.Sub paint.Past.3Sg
           'He painted the board red, that is, a garish colour.'

      d. Robi[részegen, **ezért** bizonytalanul] szólt   hozzá.
           Robi drunk.adv therefore uncertainly   speak.Past.3Sg to.Poss
           'Robi was drunk, so he spoke to the point uncertainly.'

      e. Mari[alaposan, **mégis** boszorkányos gyorsasággal] dolgozott.
           Mari thoroughly still   witch.Adj   speed.Ins   work.Past.3Sg
           'Mari worked thoroughly, still with a witch-like speed.'

      f. Alex[halkan, **viszont** nagyon hatásosan] beszélt.
           Alex softly   yet   very   effectively speak.Past.3Sg
           'Alex spoke softly, yet very effectively.'

      g. A hajó [lassan, **de** biztosan] beért   a kikötőbe.
           the ship slowly but surely   Prt.arrive.Past.3Sg the port.Ill
           'The ship fetched into port slowly but surely.'

      h. Az [alacsony, **viszont** jóképű] filmsztár sok rajongót vonzott.
           the short   but   handsome movie.star many fan.Acc   attract.Past.3Sg
           'The short but handsome movie star was attractive for a lot of fans.'

      i. A [mesterségesen hizlalt, **tehát** túlsúlyos] sertéseket szállító
           the artificially   fattened hence overweight pig.Pl.Acc   transporting
         vagonokat   megerősítették.
         carriage.Pl.Acc Prt.strengthen.Past.3Pl
         'The carriages in which artificially fattened, hence overweight, pigs were to be transported were strengthened.'

2.3.3. Construction with more than one binary conjunction

In a construction containing more than two conjuncts (and **no** *n*-ary conjunctions), the occurrence of **more than one** binary conjunction is required. Each such conjunction will connect two items and their domains will overlap:

(73) a. Éva [megírta   a   levelét,   **de** < eltette   a   fiókba,
       Éva   Prt.write.Past.3Sg the letter.Poss.Acc but   Prt.put.Past.3Sg the drawer.Ill

       ugyanis meg akarta   őrizni >].
       given.that Prt   want.Past.3Sg keep.Inf

       'Éva [wrote her letter, but [she put it away in the drawer] as she wanted to keep it].'

   b. A   hajó [< lassan, **de** biztosan >, **viszont** < nagy késéssel, **tehát** nem a
       the ship   slowly but surely   in.turn   big   delay.Ins hence not the

       menetrend szerint >] ért   be a   kikötőbe.
       timetable   according   arrive.Past.3Sg in the port.Ine

       'The ship fetched into port [[slowly but surely]; in turn, [it was a lot delayed, hence not on time]].'

   c. A   [mesterségesen hizlalt, **tehát** < túlsúlyos, **ezért**   eladhatatlan >]
       the artificially   fattened hence   overweight therefore unmarketable

       sertések örökké élnek.
       pigs   forever live.3Pl

       '[Artificially fattened, hence [overweight, therefore unmarketable]], pigs live forever.'

2.4. Binary conjunctions cannot be applied to non-predicative use of NP/DP

Since only **predicative** expressions can be coordinated by binary conjunctions, a grammatical coordinate construction consisting of DPs cannot involve binary conjunctions. Assuming a **non**-predicative use of the relevant combinations, the expressions in (74) are ungrammatical.

(74) a. *[Péter **de** Mari]
       Péter   but Mari

   b. *[óra   **tehát** ceruza]
       watch hence   pencil

   c. *[Róbert bácsi **de** a   villanyszerelő]
       Róbert   uncle but the electrician

   d. *[a   híres orvos **tehát** az ápolónő]
       the famous doctor hence   the nurse

   e. *[a   televízió programja   **ugyanis** a   rádióműsor]
       the television   program.Poss therefore the radio.program

   f. *[egy vitorlás hajó **holott** egy motorcsónak]
       a   sailing   ship albeit   a   speedboat

N-ary conjunctions (*és, meg, valamint, vagy*) can be applied to any coordinatable items, including DPs/NPs.

(75) a. [Péter **vagy** Mari]
       'Péter or Mari'

   b. [óra **és** ceruza]
       'a watch and a pencil'

    c.   [Róbert bácsi **meg** a villanyszerelő]
           'Uncle Róbert and the electrician'

    d.   [a híres orvos **és** az ápolónő]
           'the famous doctor and the nurse'

    e.   [a televízió programja **meg** a rádióműsor]
           'the television program and the radio program'

    f.   [egy vitorlás hajó **valamint** egy motorcsónak]
           'a sailing ship as well as a speedboat'

Remark 9. Bare nouns **as predicative elements** can be coordinated by binary conjunctions.

(i)   Ez   itt   ceruza, tehát   írószerszám.
           this here pencil hence   writing utensil
           'This is a pencil, hence a writing utensil.*'*

(ii)   Az   ott óra,   tehát   értékes.
           that there watch hence valuable
           'That is a watch, hence a valuable object.*'*

On the other hand, the use of *n*-ary conjunctions is of a very doubtful acceptability where bare nouns are predicated **of the same subject**:

(iii)   ??Ez itt   [ceruza és   íróeszköz].
            this here pencil and writing utensil
           'This is a pencil and a writing utensil.'

(iv)   ??Az ott [óra   és   érték].
           that there watch and valuable
           'That is a watch and a valuable object.*'*

As syntactic subjects, bare nouns can figure in a well-formed coordinate construction:

(v)   Óra   és   ceruza volt az   asztalon.
           watch and pencil was the   table.Sup
           'There was a watch and a pencil on the table.*'*

2.5. Binary conjunctions: some pragmatic functions

2.5.1. *Self-correction*

Conjunctions serving discourse organizing or pragmatic functions (like self-correction or putting something more precisely) **can** occur between noun phrases. Examples include *vagyis* 'that is', *azaz* 'namely', *tehát* 'hence', *tudniillik* 'to wit'. But in such cases what comes into being is not standard coordinate constructions, as demonstrated by a different type of agreement with the verbal inflection. Whereas the coordination, by *n*-ary conjunctions, of noun phrases of diverse person features induces plural verbal inflection agreeing with the relevant 'top' person (76a), this rule is not in force in self-correction or reformulation (76b,c). Here, the leftmost NP is the modified head and the rightmost NP is its coreferent postmodifier. Verbal inflection is obligatorily singular (for a singular subject) and only the head NP's person feature can recur in the verbal agreement marker (76b,c).

(76) a. [Én **meg** a koronatanú] megjelent**ünk** a bíróságon.
     I   and   the star-witness   Prt.appear.**1Pl**   the court.Sup

    'I and the star witness appeared in court.'

   b. Én, **vagyis/azaz/tehát/tudniillik** a koronatanú, megjelent**em** a
     I   that is/namely/meaning/to wit   the star-witness   Prt.appear.**1Sg** the

    bíróságon.
    court.Sup

    'I, that is/namely/meaning/to wit the star-witness, appeared [1Sg] in court.'

   c. *[Én, **vagyis/azaz/tehát/tudniillik** a koronatanú] megjelent**ünk** a
     I   that is/namely/meaning/to wit   the star-witness   Prt.appear.**1Pl**   the

    bíróságon.
    court.Sup

    'I, that is/namely/meaning/to wit the star-witness, appeared [1Pl] in court.'

2.5.2. Interruption and restart

The pragmatic function of conjunctions indicating the interruption and subsequent restart of utterances can be found in spontaneous speech.

(77)   Én …öö... hm…, illetve a koronatanú megjelent a bíróságon.
                 vagyis
                 azaz
                 tehát

    'I…er…mm…, I mean the star-witness appeared [**3Sg**] in court.'
               or
               rather
               that is

The conjunction *tehát* 'that is' has a secondary function that may be akin to the role of *vagyis* 'or', *azaz* 'rather' in self-correction, confirmation, and other discourse organizing functions. This can be seen in the 'negated new focus' pattern of stripping (for more details see Section 8.2.2., Chapter 8).

(78)   János szilveszterkor MARINAK vett virágot, **tehát** NEM Katinak
                             vagyis
                             azaz

    János New Year's Eve.Tmp Mari.Dat   buy.Past.3Sg flower.Acc therefore NOT Kati.Dat
                                                     that is
                                                     rather

    [~~vett virágot szilveszterkor János~~].
    'János bought some flowers on New Year's Eve for MARI, therefore NOT for Kati [~~bought some flowers on New Year's Eve'~~]

For *tehát*, this is a secondary function that differs considerably from its primary function: (72d,i) and (73b,c) showed that the basic meaning of *tehát* 'hence' is a conventional implication: in the speaker's opinion, it is possible to infer the fact described in the second clause from the fact described in the first. If the meaning of

the two clauses supports that inference relation, then *vagyis* 'that is', *azaz* 'rather' are not grammatical, only *tehát* is. This is shown by (79) below. If we stick to the interpretation that, in the speaker's opinion, János's behaviour may lead to Mari's remaining silent as a consequence, then this makes the use of *vagyis, azaz* ungrammatical.

(79)   János SÉRTŐ   módon   viselkedett,   tehát   Mari HALLGATOTT.
                                                        *vagyis
                                                        *azaz

      János offensive manner.Sup behave.Past.3Sg therefore Mari   remain.silent.Past.3Sg
                                                        *that is
                                                        *rather

      'János behaved in an offensive manner, therefore/*that is/*rather Mari remained silent.'

2.6. The presence of the overt binary and *n*-ary conjunctions

2.6.1. *Differences in the types of categories that can be coordinated*

Categories that can be coordinated by binary conjunctions can also be coordinated by *n*-ary ones, but the reverse is not true: there are categories that can only be coordinated by *n*-ary conjunctions and not by binary ones. Coordinate constructions that are grammatical with a binary conjunction involve categories that are **not the source** of the grammatical feature agreement appearing in the verbal inflection but rather its 'bearers' (coordinate constructions involving projections of predicates like clauses or finite verb forms), or – in Hungarian – have no relevant features of that sort (predicative arguments, predicative adjuncts, attributive modifiers of nouns, predicate adverbials).

Categories that can be coordinated by a binary conjunction allow for the lack of an overt conjunction, as opposed to categories that can only be coordinated by *n*-ary conjunctions. Thus, in coordinating clauses (that can be joined by binary conjunctions), it is possible not to have an overt conjunction at all, even when the construction has only two conjuncts in it. According to Haspelmath (2007), these are asyndectic coordinations.

(80) a.   A nagymama megjött, Kati örült.
        'Grandma has arrived, Kati was glad.'

    b.   Egy vitorlás úszik a part felé, az öregúr gyanakszik.
        'A boat is sailing towards the shore, the old gentleman is suspicious.'

Coordinations of elliptical clauses can also lack an overt conjunction:

(81) a.   Mindnyájan elutaztunk: én "Londonba [utaztam̶ ̶ ̶ ̶ ̶el],
        all   Prt.travel.Past.1Pl I   London.Ine   travel.Past.1Sg Prt
        te "Párizsba [utaztál̶ ̶ ̶ ̶ ̶el].
        you Paris.Ine   travel.Past.2Sg Prt
        'We all departed: I [departed] for London, you [departed] for Paris.'

b. Ő kávét   ivott,   én kakaót [~~ittam~~].
she coffee.Acc drink.Past.3Sg I cocoa.Acc drink.Past.1Sg

'She had coffee, I [~~had~~], hot chocolate.'

Our earlier examples involving binary conjunctions are repeated here without an overt conjunction.

(82) a. A csimpánz   [eszközöket használ, intelligenciával rendelkezik].
the chimp   tools.Acc   use.3Sg intelligence.Ins   possess.3Sg

'The chimpanzee uses tools: it has intelligence.'

b. Éva [megírta   a levelét,   eltette   a fiókba,
Éva Prt.write.Past.3Sg the letter.Poss.Acc Prt.put.Past.3Sg the drawer.Ill

megőrizte].
Prt.keep.Past.3Sg

'Éva wrote her letter, she put it away in the drawer, (and) kept it.'

c. Alex [halkan, nagyon hatásosan] beszélt.
Alex softly   very   effectively speak.Past.3Sg

'Alex spoke softly, very effectively.'

d. A táblát   [pirosra, rikító színűre] festette.
the board.Acc red.Sub strong colour.Sub paint.Past.3Sg

'He painted the board red: a strong colour.'

e. Mari [alaposan, boszorkányos gyorsasággal] dolgozott.
Mari thoroughly witch.Adj   speed.Ins   work.Past.3Sg

'Mari worked thoroughly, with a witch-like speed.'

f. A hajó [lassan, biztosan] beért   a kikötőbe.
the ship slowly safely   Prt.arrive.Past.3Sg the port.Ine

'The ship fetched into port slowly, safely.'

g. Robi [részegen, bizonytalanul] szólt   hozzá.
Robi drunk.Adv uncertainly   speak.Past.3Sg to.Poss

'Robi spoke to the point drunkenly, uncertainly.'

h. Az [alacsony, jóképű] filmsztár sok rajongót vonzott.
the short   handsome movie.star many fan.Acc attract.Past.3Sg

'The short, handsome movie star was attractive for a lot of fans.'

i. A [mesterségesen hizlalt, túlsúlyos, eladhatatlan] sertések örökké élnek.
the artificially   fattened overweight unmarketable pigs   forever live.3Pl

'Artificially fattened, overweight, unmarketable pigs live forever.'

All of (82a–i) are grammatical without an overt binary (or *n*-ary) conjunction, although their interpretation may be different from the version containing a conjunction (cf. (72) and (73) above).

2.6.2. *Coordination of NP/DP subjects or NP/DP objects do not permit a total lack of overt conjunctions*

Noun phrases that carry person/number/definiteness features relevant for subject or object role and have to agree with the verbal inflection do **not** permit a total lack of

overt conjunctions. They can only contain covert conjunctions if there is an overt *n*-ary conjunction in the 'rightmost' position of the structure. The conjunction can specify the relationship between the clauses or constituents concerned.

(83) a. ***A nagymama, Kati nevettek.**
         the grandma   Kati laugh.Past.3Pl
         literally: 'Grandma, Kati were laughing.'

     b. **A nagymama és Kati nevettek.**
         the grandma   and Kati laugh.Past.3Pl
         'Grandma and Kati were laughing.'

     c. **A nagymama, Kati és Robi nevettek.**
         the grandma   Kati and Robi laugh.Past.3Pl
         'Grandma, Kati and Robi were laughing.'

     d. ***Te, én, nyaralunk.**
         you I   be.on.holiday.1Pl
         'You, I, are on holiday.'

     e. **Te meg én nyaralunk.**
         you and   I be.on.holiday.1Pl
         'You and I are on holiday.'

     f. **Te, én, meg a kutya nyaralunk.**
         you I   and the dog be.on.holiday.1Pl
         'You, I, and the dog are on holiday.'

     g. ***Láttam a fát, egy madarat.**
         see.Past.1Sg the tree.Acc a   bird.Acc
         'I saw the tree, a bird.'

     h. **Láttam a fát és egy madarat.**
         see.Past.1Sg the tree.Acc and a   bird.Acc
         'I saw the tree and a bird.'

     i. **Láttam a fát, egy madarat és egy rohanó vizslát.**
         see.Past.1Sg the tree.Acc a   bird.Acc and a   running setter.Acc
         'I saw the tree, a bird, and a running setter.'

     j. ***Láttad magatokat, a gyereket.**
         see.Past.2Sg yourselves.Acc the child.Acc
         intended: 'You saw yourselves, a child.'

     k. **Láttad magatokat meg a gyereket.**
         see.Past.2Sg yourselves.Acc and the child.Acc
         'You saw yourselves and a child.'

     l. **Láttad magatokat, a gyereket, meg a világítótornyot.**
         see.Past.2Sg yourselves.Acc the child.Acc and the lighthouse
         'You saw yourselves, the child, and the lighthouse.'

The categories exemplified in (83) can only be coordinated by *n*-ary conjunctions. The conjuncts contain person/number/definiteness features also appearing in the

verbal inflection. In such constructions, at least one overt coordinating conjunction has to appear for grammaticality to obtain.

2.6.3. *Coordination of coreferent noun phrases*

If coreferent noun phrases are coordinated, then the occurrence of plural verbal agreement markers – that are otherwise always possible in nominal coordination – is ungrammatical, and *n*-ary conjunctions lead to ill-formedness, too. On the other hand, conjunctionless versions and those involving binary conjunctions are both grammatical. This phenomenon was observed by Péter Siptár (p.c.). Under an interpretation involving coreference we have the following options.

(84) a. A kenyéradó gazdám, az uram, a parancsolóm
  the bread-giving master.Poss.1Sg the lord.Poss.1Sg the commander.Poss.1Sg
  érkezett.
  arrive.Past.3**Sg**
  'My employer, my lord, my master **has** arrived.'

 b. *****A kenyéradó gazdám **és** az uram **meg** a parancsolóm
  the bread-giving master.Poss.1Sg and the lord.Poss.1Sg and the commander.Poss.1Sg
  érkezt**ek**.
  arrive.Past.3**Pl**
  literally: *'My employer, and my lord, and also my master **have** arrived.'

 c. A kenyéradó gazdám, **ezért** az uram, **tehát** a
  the bread-giving master.Poss.1Sg therefore the lord.Poss.1Sg hence the
  parancsolóm érkezett.
  commander.Poss.1Sg arrive.Past.3**Sg**
  'My employer, therefore my lord, and hence my master, **has** arrived.'

In (84a) and (84c), the coreferent possessed items (*a kenyéradó gazdám, az uram, a parancsolóm*) behave like predicative elements. If the same items are used as constituents of coordinated **predicates**, their person/number, etc. features become irrelevant and the conjunctions that were ungrammatical in (85b) become grammatical.

(85) a. Te [a kenyéradó gazdám, az uram, a parancsolóm] vagy.
  you the bread-giving master.Poss.1Sg the lord.Poss.1Sg the commander.Poss.1Sg be.2Sg
  'You are my employer, my lord, my master.'

 b. Te [a kenyéradó gazdám **és** az uram **meg** a
  you the bread-giving master.Poss.1Sg and the lord.Poss.1Sg and the
  parancsolóm] vagy.
  commander.Poss.1Sg be.2Sg
  'You are my employer, and my lord, and also my master.'

> c. Te [a kenyéradó gazdám, **ezért** az uram, **tehát** a
> you the bread-giving master.Poss.1Sg therefore the lord.Poss.1Sg hence the
>
> parancsolóm] vagy.
> commander.Poss.1Sg be.2Sg
>
> 'You are my employer, therefore my lord, hence my master.'

The coordination of clauses (86a,c) and VPs (86b) based on predicative constructions with differing lexical heads is made possible by their shared predicative feature (cf. Sag et al. 1985).

(86) a. [Én a középcsatár voltam, büszke vagyok rá].
      I   the striker   be.Past.1Sg proud be.1Sg   it.Sub
      'I used to be the striker, (and) I am proud of it.'

   b. Én [a középcsatár voltam **és** büszke vagyok rá].
      I   the striker   be.Past.1Sg and proud be.1Sg   it.Sub
      'I used to be the striker, and am proud of it.'

   c. [Én a középcsatár voltam, **tehát** büszke vagyok rá].
      I   the striker   be.Past.1Sg therefore proud be.1Sg it.Sub
      'I used to be the striker, therefore I am proud of it.'

In sum, a coordinate construction made up by categories conjoinable by binary conjunctions may be grammatical without an overt conjunction, too.

2.6.4. *A special subclass of conjunctions*

A subclass of conjunctions is specifically constrained with respect to the **categories** its members can coordinate; it exhibits some properties of *n*-ary conjunctions and some properties of binary ones, but not all of their properties in either case. This subclass includes *valamint* 'as well as', *továbbá* 'furthermore', *éspedig/mégpedig* 'in particular', and *illetve* 'respectively' / 'and/or'.

   Valamint 'as well as' can coordinate referential NPs of a grammatically unrestricted number. The function of coordinating NPs is a feature of *n*-ary conjunctions that *valamint* shares with them.

(87) a. [Én, **valamint** a koronatanú] megjelent**ünk** a bíróságon.
      I   as.well.as the star-witness Prt.appear.Past.**1Pl** the court.Sup
      'I, as well as the star witness, appeared in court.'

   b. A polgárokat, **valamint** a társasházak képviselőit, **valamint**
      the citizens.Acc as.well.as the blocks.of.flats representatives.Poss.3Sg.Acc as.well.as
      az üzletek tulajdonosait meghívta a polgármester.
      the shops   owners.Acc   invite.Past.3Sg the mayor
      'The citizens, as well as the representatives of the blocks of flats, as well as the shop owners were invited by the mayor.'

Valamint differs from other *n*-ary conjunctions in that it cannot coordinate just any category. With clauses and VPs, it results in ungrammatical constructions.

(88) a. *Péter bejött,   **valamint** mindenkinek köszönt.
       Péter Prt.come.Past.3Sg as.well.as everybody.Dat greet.Past.3Sg

       literally: *'Péter came in as well as greeted everybody.'

    b. *Anna megírta   a   levelet, **valamint** eltette   a   fiókba.
       Anna Prt.write.Past.3Sg the letter.Acc as.well.as Prt.put.Past.3Sg the drawer.ill

       literally: *'Anna wrote the letter, as well as she put it away in the drawer.'

    c. *Egy vitorlás úszik   a   part felé,   **valamint** az öregúr   gyanakszik.
       a   sailing.boat swim.3Sg the shore towards as.well.as the old.gentleman suspect.3Sg

       literally: *'A boat is sailing towards the shore, as well as the old gentleman is suspicious.'

    d. *A nagymama megjött,   **valamint** Kati játszott.
       the grandma   Prt.come.Past.3Sg as.well.as Kati   play.Past.3Sg

       literally: *'Grandma arrived, as well as Kati was playing.'

Predicative verb modifiers, VP adverbials and attributive modifers of nouns may be grammatically coordinated by *valamint* 'as well as' and *továbbá* 'furthermore' when they are not used in discourse function but to signal the relation of 'and' type conjunction.

(89) a. A házakat [pirosra, sárgára, **valamint/továbbá** kékre] festették.
       the houses.Acc red.Sub yellow.Sub as.well.as/furthermore   blue.Sub paint.Past.3Pl

       'The houses were painted red, yellow, as well as blue.'

    b. Mari [eredményesen, **valamint/továbbá** olcsón] dolgozik.
       Mari   effectively   as.well.as/furthermore cheap.Adv work.3Sg

       'Mari works effectively, as well as cheaply.'

    c. A sofőr [a forgalmat, **valamint/továbbá** az út   állapotát]
       the driver the traffic.Acc as.well.as/furthermore the road condition.Poss.Acc

       figyelembe   véve vezetett.
       consideration.Ill taking drive.Past.3Sg

       'The driver drove taking the traffic as well as the condition of the road into consideration.'

    d. Richárd [felkészületlenül, **valamint/továbbá** rosszindulatúan]
       Richárd   unprepared.Adv   as.well.as/furthermore malicious.Adv

       szólt   hozzá.
       speak.Past.3Sg to.Poss

       'Richárd spoke to the point unprepared, as well as maliciously.'

    e. A [jó alakú, **valamint**/**továbbá** gyönyörűen sminkelt] színésznő
       the good figured as.well.as/furthermore beautiful.Adv made.up   actress

       sok rajongót vonzott.
       many fan.Acc   attract.Past.3Sg

       'The actress, who had a fine figure as well as beautiful make-up, attracted a lot of fans.'

With respect to the grammaticality conditions of *illetve* 'and/or' when it is **not** used in discourse functions (= 'or rather') but merely to signal the relation of conjunction (a type of 'and') two kinds of native intuitions can be observed: one attributes *illetve* with conditions identical to those of *valamint*, whereas the other exclusively accepts a hesitational, corrective function.

(90) a.　A　házakat　[pirosra, sárgára,　**illetve** kékre] festették.
　　　　the houses.Acc red.Sub　yellow.Sub and/or　blue.Sub paint.Past.3Pl
　　　　'The houses were painted red, yellow, and blue.'

　　b.　Misi [felkészületlenül, **illetve** rosszindulatúan] szólt　　　hozzá.
　　　　Misi unprepared.Adv　　and/or malicious.Adv　　　speak.Past.3Sg to.Poss
　　　　'Misi spoke to the point unprepared, or rather maliciously.'

The compound conjunctions *még-pedig* (lit.: yet-however) and *és-pedig* (lit.: and-however), both meaning 'in particular, namely, that is (to say)', constitute a borderline case between the classes of *n*-ary and binary conjunctions. Their *n*-ary property is that they are grammatical in DP/NP coordination, as opposed to binary ones, but they can only combine two conjuncts, see (91a–b) below. In coordinating singular nouns, in turn, they do not permit plural verbal agreement markers, as opposed to standard *n*-ary conjunctions; see (91c–e).

(91) a.　*A tanú,　[**mégpedig** a vád　　　tanúja,　　**mégpedig** a
　　　　the witness in.particular the prosecution witness.3Sg.Poss in.particular the
　　　　koronatanú] megjelent　　　a　bíróságon.
　　　　star-witness　Prt.appear.Past.3Sg the court.Sup
　　　　literally: *'The witness, in particular, the witness for the prosecution, in particular, the star witness, appeared in court.'

　　b.　A tanú, **mégpedig/éspedig** a koronatanú megjelent　　　a　bíróságon.
　　　　the witness in.particular/that.is　the star-witness　Prt.appear.Past.3Sg the court.Sup
　　　　'The witness, that is, the star witness, appeared in court.'

　　c.　Az önkormányzat **és** a　polgármester figyelmeztették a　lakosságot.
　　　　the city.council　and the mayor　　　　warn.Past.**3Pl**　the population.Acc
　　　　'The city council and the mayor warned the population.'

　　d.　Az önkormányzat, **mégpedig/éspedig** a　polgármester, figyelmeztet**te**
　　　　the city.council　in.particular　　　the mayor　　　warn.Past.**3Sg**
　　　　a　lakosságot.
　　　　the population.Acc
　　　　'The city council, in particular the mayor, warned the population.'

　　e.　*Az önkormányzat, **mégpedig/éspedig** a　polgármester, figyelmeztett**ék**
　　　　the city.council　in.particular　　　the mayor　　　warn.Past.3Pl
　　　　a　lakosságot.
　　　　the population.Acc
　　　　literally: *'The city council, in particular, the mayor, they warned the population.'

The ungrammaticality of plural verbal endings with *mégpedig* and *éspedig* results in the fact that they cannot coordinate singular nouns of **distinct** person features, since in that case plural ending is (would be) obligatory on the verb, cf. (92).

(92) a. *Én **mégpedig/éspedig** a koronatanú megjelen**tünk** a bíróságon.

      I namely the star-witness Prt.appear.Past.**1Pl** the court.Sup

      literally: *'I, that is, the star witness, we appeared in court.'

    b. *Te **mégpedig/éspedig** a koronatanú megjelente**tek** a bíróságon.

      you in.particular the star-witness Prt.appear.Past.**2Pl** the court.Sup

      literally: *'You, that is, the star witness, the two of you appeared in court.'

    c. A tanú, **mégpedig/éspedig** a koronatanú, megjelent a bíróságon.

      the witness in.particular the star-witness Prt.appear.Past.**3Sg** the court.Sup

      'The witness, in particular the star witness, appeared in court.'

Compare:

(93)   Én **és** a koronatanú megjelen**tünk** a bíróságon.

      I and the star-witness Prt.appear.Past.**1Pl** the court.Sup

      'I and the star witness, we appeared in court.'

Furthermore, there are also semantic conditions for *mégpedig* and *éspedig* to satisfy: the first conjunct has to carry a 'more extensive' reference, whereas the second conjunct has to carry a 'less extensive' reference (see also in (91b,d)).

(94) a. *Péter bejött **mégpedig/éspedig** mindenkinek köszönt.

      Péter Prt.come.Past.3Sg in.particular everybody.Dat greet.Past.3Sg

      literally: *'Péter came in, in particular he greeted everybody.'

    b. Péter bejött, **mégpedig/éspedig** rohanvást [j̶ö̶t̶t̶ b̶e̶].

      Péter Prt.come.Past.3Sg in.particular dartingly come.Past.3Sg Prt

      'Péter came in, in particular in a darting manner.'

    c. *A házakat [pirosra, sárgára **mégpedig/éspedig** kékre] festették.

      the houses.Acc red.Sub yellow.Sub in.particular blue.Sub paint.Past.3pl

      literally: *'The houses were painted red, yellow, in particular blue.'

    d. A házakat [színesre, **mégpedig/éspedig** pirosra, sárgára, kékre]

      the houses.Acc colourful.Sub in.particlar red.Sub yellow.Sub blue.Sub

      festették.

      paint.Past.3Pl

      'The houses were painted in various colours, in particular red, yellow, blue.'

Remark 10. (94b) is similar to a sluicing construction from the point of view that sluicing is grammatical even though parallel non-elliptical examples are not. See Chapter 5, Section 5.5.

(i)   Említettek egy együttműködést, de nem emlékszem, kivel

      mention.Past.3Pl a cooperation.Acc but not remember.1Sg who.Ins

      [e̶m̶l̶í̶t̶e̶t̶t̶e̶k̶ e̶g̶y̶ e̶g̶y̶ü̶t̶t̶m̶ű̶k̶ö̶d̶é̶s̶t̶].

      mention.Past.3Pl a cooperation.Acc

      'They mentioned a cooperation, but I don't remember who with.'

(ii)   Említettek   egy együttműködést,   de   nem emlékszem,
               mention.Past.Ppl   a   cooperation.Acc   but   not remember.1Sg
               kivel   (*említettek   egy együttműködést).
               who.Ins   mention.Past.3Pl a   cooperation.Acc
               'They mentioned a cooperation, but I don't remember who with (*they mentioned a cooperation).'

(iii)   Péter bejött   mégpedig   rohanvást [~~jött~~   ~~be~~].
               Péter Prt.come.Past.3Sg   in.particular   dartingly   come.Past.3Sg Prt
               'Péter came in, in particular, in a darting manner.'

(iv)   Péter bejött   mégpedig   rohanvást (??jött   be).
               Péter Prt.come.Past.3Sg   in.particular   dartingly   come.Past.3Sg Prt
               'Péter came in, in particular, in a darting manner (*Péter came in).'

(i)–(iv) show that ellipsis/sluicing is capable of 'repairing' the ungrammaticality. The explanation for this repair mechanism is unknown.

This subclass of conjunctions exhibits some features of the *n*-ary class and some of the binary class. For instance, its members can coordinate noun phrases with an identical person feature but they cannot combine diverse grammatical persons. They can connect predicative categories, primarily adverbials of VPs and attributes of nouns. However, in coordinating non-elliptic clauses or verb phrases, they result in doubtful acceptability or downright ungrammaticality.

2.7. Binary conjunctions: precedence constraints

2.7.1. *Binary conjunctions as functors*

In binary structures, partly because of the number of conjuncts being only two, overt binary conjunctions do not have covert copies with properties that are identical to theirs. Also, overt binary conjunctions can be omitted from coordinations of categories that they are able to coordinate. In that case, the interpretation of the construction may change but its well-formedness remains. We have shown that the linguistic meanings of binary conjunctions are some kinds of conventional implicature, i.e., consequence relations that do not influence the truth conditions of the sentence but indicate the speaker's opinion or expectation regarding the state of affairs described in the clauses. Binary conjunctions as functors take the conjuncts as arguments of the relation they signal, for instance, as arguments of the relation <*hence*>, <*therefore*>, <*but*>, <*in turn*>, or <*however*>.

Binary conjunctions do, however, pick the category or features of their arguments. First of all, each binary conjunction requires that it has two and only two arguments (whose internal complexity is not limited). Secondly, the arguments selected in this sense have to have a predicative feature or a predicative function. Thirdly, the two arguments have to belong to the same category. Fourthly, full NPs, non-predicative elements and free morphemes of certain classes (e.g., postpositions, verbal particles) are excluded as arguments of binary conjunctions. These conjunctions, in sum, do constrain the categorial/syntactic and semantic properties of their arguments. And fifthly, they provide their arguments with properties that determine their surface order.

Thus, we have the following schema: BinConj (X_{pred} , Z_{pred}). Both X_{pred} and Z_{pred} are arguments, not 'strictly' selected complements. We assume that the two arguments form a structure that can be characterised by certain precedence constraints. BinConj provides these arguments with features that induce a strict order within the syntactic structure. In terms of the relations signalled by *tehát* 'hence', *ezért* 'therefore', *ugyanis* 'given that', *de* 'but', *míg* 'while', *viszont* 'in turn', *azonban* 'however', *pedig* 'though', *holott* 'albeit', etc. one of the conjuncts receives a different 'role' from that of the other. It is the given binary conjunction that determines the relation between word order and that 'role': which conjunct comes 'before' the conjunction and which 'after'.

Each binary conjunction attributes to one of the arguments X_{pred} and Z_{pred} a property that we will refer to by the feature *<R-base>* and to the other one a property we will refer to as *<R-value>*. In the **framework** of the relation signalled by the conjunction, it is these features that organize the order of constituents.

The conjunct marked as *<R-base>* will give the **point of departure** or base of the relation. On the conjunct marked *<R-value>*, on the other hand, the **value of the relation feature** will appear, e.g., values like 'inference', 'explanation', 'contrast', 'contradiction', 'expectation', 'contrary to expectation', etc.

Depending on the actual context, these feature values can be equivalently represented by complex expressions like *ennek következtében* 'as a consequence', *ennek eredményeként* 'as a result', *ennek ellenére* 'in spite of this', *ezzel szemben* 'on the other hand', and others. The constituents of these expressions make the two properties transparent: the pronominal part refers to the conjunct marked *<R-base>* and the contentful relation-name to that marked *<R-value>*.

It is a specific property of the individual conjunctions which particular order they associate with a given distribution of the features *<R-base>* and *<R-value>*. The features reflect the characteristics of the conventional implicature that is the linguistic meaning of the given binary conjunction. Consider a few types of conjunctions, and an abbreviated indication of the conventional implicature concerned.

Conjunction of 'inference': *tehát* 'hence'
Conventional implicature: from X_{pred} we conclude that Z_{pred}
                            <R-base>   <R-value>

Conjunction of 'inference': *ezért* 'therefore', *emiatt* 'because of this'
Conventional implicature: from X_{pred} it follows that Z_{pred}
                            <R-base>   <R-value>

Conjunction of 'explanation': *ugyanis* 'given that'
Conventional implicature: X_{pred} is explained by Z_{pred}
                            <R-base>   <R-value>

Conjunction of 'concession': *pedig* 'though', *holott* 'albeit'
Conventional implicature: X_{pred} should not be the case if Z_{pred}
                            <R-value>   <R-base>

Conjunction of 'contrary to expectation': *de* 'but', *mégis* 'still', *azonban* 'however'
Conventional implicature: despite X_{pred} it is the case that Z_{pred}
                                     \<R-base\>   \<R-value\>

Conjunction of 'contrastive opposition': *de* 'but', *míg* 'while', *viszont* 'in turn', *azonban* 'however'
Contrastive implicature: X_{pred} is opposed to Z_{pred}
                                   $<R_{1\ or\ 2}>$ $<R_{1\ or\ 2}>$

> Remark 11. Conjunctions that attribute the features $<R_{1\ or\ 2}>$, $<R_{1\ or\ 2}>$ to their arguments, require that both positions, before and after them, be filled. However, they leave the actual **order as optional:** $<R_{1\ or\ 2}>$**.** These conjunctions signal symmetrical relations like contrastive opposition, cf. (107) below.

With the majority of these conjunctions, the conjunct bearing the feature *\<R-base\>* has to linearly precede the conjunction and that bearing *\<R-value\>* has to follow. Examples include *tehát, ezért, emiatt, ugyanis, de, mégis.*
    With a smaller class of conjunctions, it is the conjunct bearing the feature *\<R-value\>* that has to linearly precede the conjunction and it is that bearing *\<R-base\>* that has to follow it. Examples include the conjunctions of concession *pedig, holott.*

2.7.2. *Position of binary conjunction*

In coordinating clauses, the conjunction can never occur inside the structure of the *\<R-base\>* clause, irrespective of whether it happens to be the first or the second conjunct. On the other hand, the conjunction **can** occur inside the structure of the *\<R-value\>* clause provided it is the second conjunct. Thus, for conjunctions requiring the linear order *\<R-base\>* – *\<R-value\>*, the position immediately following the topic (and preceding the focus position) of the second clause is a grammatical position (cf. (95), (96)), and even the end of the second clause is a slightly marked, but probably acceptable position (cf. (97)). On the other hand, the conjunctions of concession *pedig, holott* cannot occur inside the second clause since they require the order *\<R-value\>*, *\<R-base\>* (cf. (98)–(100)).

(95)

					viszont			
					azonban			
Péter	a	TÉVÉT	nézte,	János	**tehát**	mindig	a	RÁDIÓT
					ezért			
					emiatt			
					ugyanis			
\<R-base\>					*\<R-value\>*			
					in.turn			
					however			
Péter	the	TV.Acc	watch.Past.3Sg	János	therefore	always	the	radio.Acc
					hence			
					consequently			
					given.that			

hallgatta.

listen.Past.3Sg

'Péter watched TV, János **in turn/however/therefore/hence/consequently/given that** always listened to the radio.'

(96)   Péter a   TÉVÉT nézte,   János mindig a   RÁDIÓT hallgatta

<R-base>   *<R-value>*

Péter   the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János always   the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg

[(?)]**viszont.**

[(?)]**azonban.**

[(?)]**tehát.**

[(?)]**ezért.**

[(?)]**emiatt.**

[(?)]**ugyanis.**

  in.turn

  however

  therefore

  hence

  consequently

  given that

'Péter watched TV, János always listened to the radio in turn/however/therefore/hence/ consequently/given that.'

(97)   ***viszont**

      ***azonban**

Péter ***tehát**   a TÉVÉT nézte,   János mindig a   RÁDIÓT

      ***ezért**

      ***emiatt**

      ***ugyanis**

<R-base>   *<R-value>*

    in.turn

    therefore

Péter   hence   the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János always   the radio.Acc

    consequently

    given.that

hallgatta.

listen.Past.3Sg

literally: *'Péter **in turn/however/therefore/hence/consequently/given that** watched TV János always listened to the radio.'

(98) Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, **holott/pedig** János mindig a RÁDIÓT
      <R-value>   *<R-base>*

      Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg albeit/even though János always the radio.Acc

      hallgatta.

      listen.Past.3Sg

      'Péter watched TV, **albeit / even though** János always listened to the radio.'

(99) Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, János ***holott/*pedig** mindig a RÁDIÓT
      <R-value>   *<R-base>*

      Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János albeit/even though always the radio.Acc

      hallgatta.

      listen.Past.3Sg

(100) Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, János mindig a RÁDIÓT hallgatta
      <R-value>   *<R-base>*

      Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János always   the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg

      *holott/*pedig.

        albeit/even though

2.7.3. *Central and right-shifted* n-*ary conjuntions*

For *n*-ary conjunctions, such ordering options are not available. Some of them cannot occur clause-internally in either conjunct: *és* 'and', *vagy* 'or', *vagy pedig* 'or else'. We call these **central** conjunctions; they occur obligatorily **between** coordinate clauses. Others are **obligatorily right-adjoined to the topic in the second clause**: *meg* 'and' and conjunctive (**not** concessive) *pedig* 'and'. We call these **right-shifted conjunctions.** No *n*-ary conjunctions can have any other position.

(101) a. Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, **és/vagy/vagy pedig** János mindig a RÁDIÓT
        Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg and/or/or else János always the radio.Acc

        hallgatta.

        listen.Past.3Sg

        'Péter watched TV, and / or / or else János always listened to the radio.'

     b. Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, János **meg/pedig/*és/*vagy/*vagy pedig**
        Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János however/in turn/and/or/or else

        mindig a RÁDIÓT hallgatta.

        always the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg

        'Péter watched TV, János however/in turn/*and/*or /*or else always listened to the radio.'

     c. Péter a TÉVÉT nézte, János mindig a RÁDIÓT hallgatta
        Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János always   the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg

        *meg/*és/*vagy/*vagy pedig.

         and/and/or/or else

2.7.4. *Clauses without binary conjunction*

Structures that are coordinated by binary conjunctions remain well-formed without those conjunctions, too, but their interpretation may change in that case. It is true in

general that omitting a linguistic unit carrying a conventional implicature will not make the sentence ungrammatical but will change its meaning. If the conjunction is not present, the speaker's opinion of the properties or relations appearing in the clauses remains implicit. The order of the clauses may suggest what relation actually underlies the coordination.

(102) a. Megharapott a kutya, enni adtam neki.
     Prt.bite.Past.3Sg the dog   eat.Inf give.Past.1Sg Dat.3Sg
     'The dog bit me, I gave it some food.'

    b. Enni adtam a kutyának, megharapott.
     eat.Inf give.Past.1Sg the dog.Dat   Prt.bite.Past.3Sg
     'I gave the dog some food, it bit me.'

These coordinate constructions will be attributed a symmetrical structure as above, with an unspecified coordinating operator &. Where an overt binary conjunction is added to the structure, it will determine the relation, often superseding the interpretation made probable by the order of the clauses by giving it a different speaker's angle.

(103) a. Megharapott a kutya, **pedig** enni adtam neki.
     Prt.bite.Past.3Sg the dog   though eat.Inf give.Past.1Sg Dat.3Sg
     'The dog bit me, though I had given/I was giving it some food.'

    b. Megharapott a kutya, **mégis** enni adtam neki.
     Prt.bite.Past.3Sg the dog   still   eat.Inf give.Past.1Sg Dat.3Sg
     'The dog bit me, still I gave it some food.'

    c. Enni adtam a kutyának, **ezért** megharapott.
     eat.Inf give.Past.1Sg the dog.Dat   therefore Prt.bite.Past.3Sg
     'I gave/had given/was giving the dog some food, therefore it bit me.'

    d. Enni adtam a kutyának, **holott** megharapott.
     eat.Inf give.Past.1Sg the dog.Dat   albeit   Prt.bite.Past.3Sg
     'I gave the dog some food, even though it had bit me.'

2.7.5. *Temporal relations between <R-base> clause and <R-value> clause*

The interpretation of the features *<R-base>* and *<R-value>* assigned by the conjunctions can also be studied in the temporal relations of the clauses. There are conjunctions with which the clause marked *<R-base>* may be interpreted as describing an event that takes place **prior to** that described in the other clause and the clause marked *<R-value>* may be interpreted as describing an event that takes place **after** that described in the other clause. For instance, conjunctions of concession order the conjuncts linearly as *<R-value>*, *<R-base>*. The event described in the second, *<R-base>* clause, precedes that expressed in the first, *<R-value>* clause (if both clauses describe states, they will be interpreted as simultaneous).

(104) Jól bántam Marival, **pedig/holott** megszökött tőlem.
    well treat.Past.1Sg Mari.Ins   though/albeit Prt.escape.Past.3Sg Abl.1Sg
    'I treated Mari well even though she escaped from me.' (**beforehand**)

Conjunctions of "contrary to expectation" order the conjuncts linearly as *<R-base>*, *<R-value>*. The event described in the **first** clause **precedes** that expressed in the second (again, if both clauses describe states, they will be interpreted as simultaneous).

(105)   Jól   bántam   Marival, (**de) mégis** megszökött   tőlem.
        well treat.Past.1Sg Mari.Ins but   still   Prt.escape.Past.3Sg Abl.1Sg
        'I treated Mari well but she escaped from me.' (**afterwards**)

A similar phenomenon can be observed with conjunctions of inference (*tehát, ezért, emiatt*). The opposite temporal relation is shown by *<R-base>* and *<R-value>* clauses of conjunctions of explanation: here, the former can refer to a later event and the latter to an earlier one.

(106) a.   Mari megszökött,   **tehát/ezért/emiatt**   jól bántam   vele.
        Mari   Prt.escape.Past.3Sg hence/therefore/becasue of this well treat.Past.1Sg Ins.3Sg
        'Mari escaped, therefore I treated her well.' (**afterwards**)

    b.   Mari megszökött,   **ugyanis** jól bántam   vele.
        Mari   Prt.escape.Past.3Sg given.that well treat.Past.1Sg Ins.3Sg
        'Mari escaped, since I treated her well.' (**beforehand**)

Conjunctions that attribute the 'optional order' features of *<R$_{1 \ or \ 2}$>*, *<R$_{1 \ or \ 2}$>* to their arguments, require that both positions, before and after them, be filled, however they leave the actual order as optional. This is marked by *<R$_{1 \ or \ 2}$>*. These conjunctions signal symmetrical relations like contrastive opposition: the order of the conjuncts is not predetermined and the interpretation is not influenced either way.

(107) a.   János magas, **de** Mari alacsony.
        János tall   but Mari   short
        'János is tall but Mari is short.'

    b.   Mari alacsony, **de** János magas.
        Mari   short   but János tall
        'Mari is short but János is tall.'

It is a common feature of all structures assumed here that the linear order of their constituents is predetermined (except in the last case). The order of constituents depends on whether the conjunction requires the order *<R-base>*, *<R-value>* or *<R-value>*, *<R-base>* (or neither).

(108) a.   Coordinate structure

           XP   Conjunction ZP
         <R-base>   *<R-value>*

b.   Coordinate structure

XP   Conjunction   ZP
<R-value>   *<R-base>*

c.   Coordinate structure
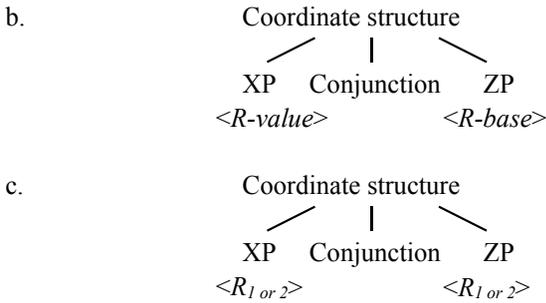
XP   Conjunction   ZP
<R₁ or ₂>   *<R₁ or ₂>*

Predicative categories or predicative elements can be coordinated not only by binary but also by *n*-ary conjunctions. The function of the two types of conjunctions is neutralized in these binary constructions. The 'resolution' of the conflict of person/number/case/definiteness features by *n*-ary conjunctions cannot operate here since the coordinated predicative categories are not directly the sources of such features, they are merely their bearers. For the coordination of full clauses, we likewise assume a symmetrical structure with any type of conjunction, as for predicative constructions. (For the opposite view, in that coordination is taken as asymmetrical structure in terms of generative syntax, see Zhang 2009). The general pattern of the coordination of clauses will then be assumed to be like this:

(109)   Coordinate Clauses

Clause   Conjunction   Clause
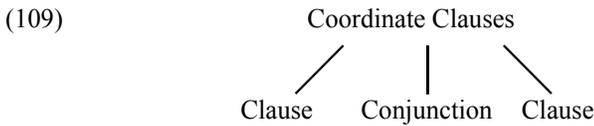
2.8. A summary overview: differences between the functions of *n*-ary vs. binary conjunctions

2.8.1. N-*ary conjunctions*

(i) Categories that can exclusively be coordinated by *n*-ary conjunctions are such that their person/number/definiteness features must locally agree with the verbal inflection (DP/NP *és/meg/vagy* DP/NP).

(ii) The number of conjuncts is grammatically not restricted.

(iii) There are covert (phonologically unrealized) *n*-ary conjunctions. These occur between the conjuncts of multiple coordinations, except between the last two.

(iv) As a lexical category, this type of conjunction does not signal any specific contentful relation (other than the general relations of conjunction or disjunction). At least one overt *n*-ary conjunction must be present for the construction to be grammatical. The meaning of the construction carries the feature of plurality.

(v) In the case of *n*-ary conjunctions, the conflicts of different person features of conjuncts are resolved: conjoined nominative DPs with different person features elicit

plural agreement, 1st, 2nd or 3rd person plural agreement appearing on the verbal inflection.

(vi) If the relevant features of conjuncts are not nominal features (they have no person/number, definiteness, case features) but "predicative" ones (see below), then the *n*-ary conjunction is a prerequisite of an interpretation satisfying the conjunctive or disjunctive relation. The actual presence of the conjunction is not a well-formedness condition in this case; its omission can change the interpretation of the construction but does not make it ill-formed. The grammatical categories concerned are precisely the ones that can be coordinated by binary conjunctions, too.

(vii) The conjuncts are of the same category, their non-inherent grammatical features are identical to the extent that is required for their coordinatability, and they are proper constituents.

2.8.2. Binary conjunctions

(i) The number of relevant conjuncts is exactly two.

(ii) Binary conjunctions have no covert (phonologically uninterpreted) form.

(iii) These conjunctions can coordinate predicates, structural projections of predicates, as well as predicative constituents. Binary conjunctions **cannot** (directly) produce coordinate constructions of categories that are sources or carriers of person/number, definiteness, or case features to satisfy local agreement (*DP/NP$_1$ *de/tehát* DP/NP$_2$). They either connect categories for which person/number, definiteness or case agreement is irrelevant (adjectives, adverbs, etc.), or else they connect categories that exhibit agreement (finite verbs, clauses) but are not sources of it. Binary conjunctions can be paraphrased by conjunctional expressions (***ennek** ellenére* 'in spite of this', ***ennek** következtében* 'as a consequence of this', etc.) the antecedent of whose pronominal component is the left-hand-side conjunct (a predicative complement, an attributive or predicate adverbial complement, a verb phrase, or a clause), and whose second component is the name of a relation. Each binary conjunction expresses some permanent relation (opposition, consequence, etc.).

(iv) Binary coordinative conjunctions are lexical units that form relations based on but **certain** categorial and lexical features of the conjuncts, **selected** by the conjunction. For instance, *de* 'but' can link conjuncts that have semantic features on the basis of which opposition, contradiction, intensification, etc. can be produced; and *tehát* 'hence' can occur between conjuncts whose semantic features make it possible to form a relation of inference. The lexical meaning of the conjuncts may be antonymous or there may be a consequence relation between them. But that is not necessary for their compatibility with the conjunction. Lexically non-antonymous expressions can be linked by *de*, and constructions not implying a consequence relation can be linked by *tehát*. In such cases, the conjunction selects features of the conjuncts that are compatible with the relation they signify: features that underlie **the speaker's notion** that there is opposition or contradiction or a consequence relation

between certain properties or states of affairs that are referred to by the conjuncts. The meaning of each binary conjunction is a conventional implicature (Grice 1975; Karttunen and Peters 1979; Kiefer 2011: 30–32).

(v) The constructions that can be coordinated by a binary conjunction are well-formed without an overt conjunction, too; they can lack a conjunction altogether. This influences the interpretation of the construction but does not bear on its well-formedness.

(vi) Binary conjunctional heads as functors select the arguments of the conventional implications they stand for, from among predicative categories or predicative elements. The relevant structure is invariably binary and involves two arguments of the conjunction. The categories selected are identical to the extent that is required for their coordinatability (they stand for the same type of predicative function). The binary conjunctional head attributes the features *<R-base>* and *<R-value>* to the arguments as made necessary by the relation type(s) it signals. These features determine the linear order of the conjuncts. The construction can be characterized by ordering constraints.

The differences between the two classes can be summarized as follows: *n*-ary conjunctions resolve the conflicts of different person/definiteness features of the conjuncts that are relevant for the syntactic function of the construction, whereas binary conjunctions turn the conjuncts into members of the conventional implicature that they stand for.

2.9. Multiple conjunctions in parallel structures

According to Haspelmath (2007), coordinations may have either a single coordinator (monosyndetic) or two coordinators (bisyndetic) and languages also allow an indefinite number of coordinands, i.e., multiple coordination.

In Hungarian there are no bisyndetic conjunctions in the strict sense. Conjunctions that are of the bisyndetic type in other languages in the literature behave as multiple conjunctions in Hungarian. It is a special case when these conjunctions connect two conjuncts, but that does not make them bisyndectic because they can easily coordinate three, four or five conjuncts in the same way. The conjunctions are reiterated according to the number of conjuncts, and their number is not grammatically limited. The essential condition is that the coordinated structures be structurally parallel.

One type of multiple conjunction is a variant of a monosyndetic coordinator: this is multiple *vagy*… *vagy*… *vagy* [lit.: or… or… or] 'either… or… or'; in the case of two conjuncts: *vagy*… *vagy*… [lit.: or… or] 'either… or'. Other types of multiple conjunctions are some particles that build quantifier words and are reiterated at the left edge of each structure conjoined: paired *mind*… *mind* [lit.: all… all] 'both…and', and multiple *mind*… *mind*… *mind* [lit.: all… all… all] 'each of… and'; and paired or multiple (*akár*…) *akár*… *akár* [lit.: whether… whether… whether] 'whether… or… (or)'.

These particles are also the building blocks of quantifier words: *mind-en-ki*, [lit.: all-collective.suffix-who] 'everyone', *mind-en-hol* [lit.: all-collective.suffix-where] 'everywhere', *akár-ki* [lit.: whether-who] 'anyone', *akár-hol* [lit.: whether-where] 'anywhere'. (On the 'collective' suffix *-an/-en* see Sections 1.5.1. and 1.5.2. in Chapter 1). Also, the particle *is* occuring to the right of quantifiers and focus can be multiple: *is… is… is* [lit.: too… too… too] 'as well as… as well as' and they also have negative versions: *sem… sem… sem* [lit.: also not … also not … also not] 'neither… nor… nor'.

In characterizing conjunctions, we first present a schema in which the conjunction is repeated twice, and then we present another schema in which the conjunction is repeated three or four times.

2.9.1. The conjunction vagy... vagy 'either... or'

When the coordination contains a single *vagy* 'or', interpretations of exclusive disjunction and inclusive disjunction are available depending on the syntactic structure and the stress pattern. In (110) we have two topics (*Ádám, Éva*) and two VPs. There is no focus in the construction.

(110)   Ádám felolvasta   a   novellát vagy pedig Éva előadta
          Ádám   Prt.read.Past.3Sg the short story or   else   Éva Prt.perform.Past.3Sg

          a   verset.
          the   poem.Acc

          'Ádám read the short story or else Éva performed the poem.' 'Maybe both.'

(110) exhibits inclusive disjunction, the speaker believes that one of the alternatives holds, maybe both, but he does not know, which one. Non-concessive *pedig* itself has conjunctive meaning: 'and', or 'in addition' (see Section 2.7.3.). The *pedig* optionally occurs with *vagy* 'or'. The meaning of the construction *vagy + pedig* is 'or else' that is disjunctive, very close to the meaning of the conjunction *vagy* 'or'. Under an inclusive interpretation *vagy* 'or' is obligatory, whereas *pedig* is optional.

In (111) below, the focus constituents *ÁDÁM…, ÉVA…* bear the primary stress of that clause (marked by "). The interpretation of (111) allows exclusive disjunction, the speaker believes that only one of the clauses holds, not both, but he does not know, which one, and other options are excluded.

(111)   "ÁDÁM olvasta   fel a   novellát   vagy "ÉVA adta   elő
          Ádám   read.Past.3Sg Prt the short story.Acc or   Éva   perform.Past.3Sg Prt

          a   verset.
          the   poem.Acc

          'It was Ádám who read the short story or Éva who performed the poem.' 'Not both.'

The 'single' conjunction *vagy* 'or' cannot be stressed in standard grammatical sentences. However, in the case of paired (or multiple) *vagy… vagy* [lit.: or… or] 'either… or...', both conjunctions can be stressed. The first syntactic constituent that follows *vagy… vagy…* can also be stressed. The type of interpretation depends on which component carries the primary stress of the clause: the conjunction or the adjacent focus constituent. Paired (or multiple) *vagy* 'or' can take the prominent stress away from the focus. The members of the *vagy… vagy* pair always precede the

structural domains that are coordinated. In (112) the focus constituents (*ÁDÁM, ÉVA*) bear the primary stress of the clauses, *vagy* 'or' conjunctions have no prominent stress:

(112)   Vagy "ÁDÁM olvasta   fel a   novellát, vagy pedig "ÉVA adta
        or   Ádám read.Past.3Sg Prt the short story or   else   Éva perform.Past.3Sg

        elő a   verset.
        Prt the poem.Acc

        'Either Ádám read the short story or else Éva performed the poem.' '**Maybe both.**'

This sentence contains inclusive disjunction, the speaker believes that one of the alternatives holds, maybe both, but he does not know which one. *Pedig* 'else' is grammatical in the second member of disjunction.

   In (113), the paired *vagy..., vagy* [lit.: or… or] 'either…or...' conjunctions have strong stresses, and they take the prominent stresses away from the foci. The prominent stress on the conjunctions is marked by bold: "***vagy*** … "***vagy***.

(113)   "**Vagy** ÁDÁM olvasta   fel a   novellát, "**vagy** (*pedig) ÉVA
         or   Ádám read.Past.3Sg Prt the short story   or   else   Éva

         adta   elő a   verset.
         perform.Past.3Sg Prt the poem.Acc

         'Eiher Ádám read the short story or Éva performed the poem.' '**Not both.**'

(113) exhibits exclusive disjunction, the speaker believes that only one of the clauses holds, not both, but he does not know which one, and other options are excluded. Most of the native speakers interviewed judged the conjunction *pedig* as ungrammatical in structures where the *vagy… vagy* [lit.: or… or] 'either… or' conjunctions carry the primary stresses.

   Remark 12. In Section 2.7.3. we presented data showing that *pedig* 'and' on its own is obligatorily right-adjoined to the topic constituent, in front of the domain of operators, in a non-first clause (i). It cannot be moved into the Predicative Phrase (ii). Where the single conjunction *vagy* 'or' is combined with *pedig,* the meaning of *vagy+pedig* will change to 'or else'. Their syntactic position also changes, they occur obligatorily **between** coordinate clauses (iii), (iv).

   (i)   Péter   a   TÉVÉT nézte,   János **pedig**/∗és /∗vagy pedig
          Péter   the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János and/and/or else

          a   RÁDIÓT   hallgatta.
          the radio.Acc listen.Past.3Sg

          'Péter watched TV, János and/∗and/∗or else listened to the radio.'

   (ii)   *Péter   a   TÉVÉT nézte,   János a   RÁDIÓT **pedig**
           Péter   the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János the radio.Acc and

          hallgatta.
          listen.Past.3Sg

   (iii) Péter a TÉVÉT   nézte,   **vagy pedig** János a   RÁDIÓT
          Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg or   else   János the radio.Acc

          hallgatta.
          listen.Past.3Sg

          'Péter watched TV, or else János listened to the radio.'

> (iv) *Péter a   TÉVÉT nézte,   János a   RÁDIÓT **vagy pedig**
>   Péter the TV.Acc watch.Past.3Sg János the radio.Acc or   else
>   hallgatta.
>   listen.Past.3Sg

The optional presence of *pedig* 'else' may be symptomatic. The difference between (112) and (113) shows that the non-first *vagy+pedig* 'or else' construction is grammatical if *pedig* 'else' follows an unstressed *vagy* 'or' and precedes the stressed focus in the non-first member of the coordination. This signals an inclusive disjunction. If it is the conjunction *vagy… vagy* that carries prominent stresses rather than the foci, then the component *pedig* 'else' following stressed "*vagy* is not grammatical; stressed "*vagy* 'or' can only be used on its own. This signals the exclusive disjunction in that the non-first stressed conjunction "*vagy* 'or' does not allow using the conjunction *pedig* 'else'.

(114)   In schemas:
   (i)   Inclusive disjunction:
         vagy 'or' + focus-stressed word of an XP…, *vagy (pedig)* 'or else' + focus-stressed word of a YP
         'either… or' ('maybe both')

   (ii) Exlusive disjunction:
         primary-stressed *vagy* + unstressed word of an XP…, primary-stressed *vagy* + unstressed word of a YP
         'either… or' ('not both')

Both (i) and (ii) contain focus constituents; in (i) the focus has the prominent stress of the clause, but in (ii) the conjunctions *vagy… vagy* [lit.: or… or] 'either… or' carry the prominent stress of the clause and the focus constituent is destressed.

   The lexical meaning of words and the meaning of phrases that were built from them have an effect on the interpretation of disjunction. Where phrases of opposite meanings are coordinated, the exclusive interpretation is preferred.

(115)   Robi "**vagy** SOK PÉNZT   vesztett   el, "**vagy** KEVESET.
         Robi.   or   much money.Acc lose.Past.3Sg Prt   or   little.Acc
         'Robi either lost a lot of money or he lost little (money).' 'Not both.'

Where there is no focus operator in the clauses, an exclusive interpretation is not compatible with allowing someone to be able to do something in general; only inclusion is available, and the prominent stresses on *vagy…, vagy* are inhibited. In (116a) the constituents *Ádám* and *Éva* are topics, the prominent stress is on the verbal particle *meg* 'perfective aspect' and there are no stresses on *vagy… vagy* conjuncts. (116b) is semantically vague.

(116) a.   Vagy Ádám vagy Éva "meg tudja   csinálni.
           or   Ádám or   Éva Prt know.3Sg do.Inf
           'Either Ádám or Éva can do it' 'Maybe both.'

      b. ??"**Vagy** Ádám "**vagy** Éva meg tudja   csinálni.
           or   Ádám   or   Éva Prt know.3Sg do.Inf
           'Either Ádám or Éva can do it.' 'Not both.'

Exclusivity of disjunction is related to the fact that the function of Hungarian focus is 'exclusion by identification'.

> Remark 13. The exclusion by identification must be real. Contrastive focus must make a commitment: outside of what is identified as the entity or entities for which the identification holds, there must be at least one other entity, whether thing, action, property, or state-of-affairs, of which the identification does not hold (cf. Kenesei 2006).

The presence of a focus constituent opens up the possibility to choose between inclusive and exclusive disjunction and denote this by stress pattern. In (117a) the constituents *Ádám* and *Éva* are foci, they bear prominent stresses, and the interpretation is an inclusive disjunction; but in (117b) the conjunction *vagy… vagy* bear the prominent stresses while the foci are unstressed. The interpretation is an exclusive disjunction.

(117) a. Vagy "Ádám vagy "Éva tudja   megcsinálni.
       or   Ádám   or   Éva   know.3Sg Prt.do.Inf
       'Either Ádám or Éva can do it.' 'Maybe both.'

    b. "**Vagy** Ádám "**vagy** Éva tudja   megcsinálni.
        or   Ádám   or   Éva   know.3Sg Prt.do.Inf
       'Either Ádám or Éva can do it.' 'Not both.' 'Others do not.'

2.9.2. *Multiple* vagy…vagy…vagy *'either…or…or'*

The difference between (117a) and (117b) becomes even stronger if the conjunction is multiple and three members are coordinated, cf. (118a,b). The optional *pedig* 'else' that is adjoined to *vagy* 'or' is grammatical in the last coordinated member only, under an inclusive interpretation in (118a).

(118) a. Vagy "Ádám, vagy "Éva, vagy pedig "Péter tudja   megcsinálni.
       or   Ádám   or   Éva   or   else   Péter know.3Sg Prt.do.Inf
       'Either Ádám or Éva or else Péter can do it' 'Maybe two, maybe all three of them.'

    b. "**Vagy** Ádám, "**vagy** Éva, "**vagy** Péter tudja   megcsinálni.
        or   Ádám   or   Éva   or   Péter know.3Sg Prt.do.Inf
       'Either Ádám or Éva or Péter can do it.' 'Not two, not all three of them.'

The presence of foci in parallel structures points to the presence of elliptical structure. However, the explicit version of sentential coordination is also grammatical.

(119) a. Vagy "MARI [~~érkezett   meg~~], vagy "ALEX [~~érkezett   meg~~] vagy
       or   Mari   arrive.Past.3Sg Prt   or   Alex   arrive.Past.3Sg Prt   or
    pedig "PÉTER érkezett   meg.
    else   Péter   arrive.Past.3Sg Prt
    'It was either Mari or Péter or Alex who has arrived.' 'Maybe two of them, maybe all three of them.'

b. Vagy "MARI érkezett   meg, vagy "ALEX érkezett   meg, vagy
    or   Mari   arrive.Past.3Sg Prt   or   Alex arrive.Past.3Sg Prt   or

    pedig "PÉTER érkezett   meg.
    else   Péter   arrive.Past.3Sg Prt

    'It was either Mari or Péter or Alex who has arrived.' 'Maybe two of them, maybe all three of
    them.'

Members of multiple *vagy* always precede the parallel structural domains that are
coordinated. VP-focus is also available, the verbs carry primary stresses (with all
major constituents lined up following them). (120a) and (121a) allow an inclusive
disjunction, (120b) and (121b) allow an exclusive one.

(120) a. Ádám vagy "TÁNCOLT,   vagy "TORNÁZOTT   vagy pedig "ÉNEKELT
          Ádám   or   dance.Past.3Sg or   exercise.Past.3Sg or   else   sing.Past.3Sg

          az este   folyamán.
          the evening during

          'Adam took turns either dancing or exercising or else singing during the evening.'('He did these
          things alternately.')

b. Most éppen Ádám "**vagy** táncol, "**vagy** tornázik "**vagy** énekel.
    Now just   Ádám   or   dance.3Sg or   exercise.3Sg or   sing.3Sg

    'Now Adam is either dancing or exercising or singing.' ('He only does one of the three.')

(121) a. Kati vagy "MOZIBAN van, vagy "SZÍNHÁZBAN, vagy pedig "KONCERTEN.
          Kati or   cinema.Ine be.3Sg or   theatre.Ine   or   else   concert.Ine

          'Kati is either in the cinema or in the theatre or at the concert.' (I don't know exactly where she
          might be, but I don't think she would be anywhere else').

b. Kati "**vagy** moziban van, "**vagy** színházban, "**vagy** koncerten.
    Kati or   cinema.Ine be.3Sg or   theatre.Ine   or   concert.Ine

    'Kati is either in the cinema or in the theatre or at the concert.' ('Only one place is possible, there
    is no fourth option, no intermediate case.')

The schemas in (114) can be transformed into the schemas in (122):

(122) (i) Inclusive disjunction:
           vagy + focus-stressed word of an XP…, *vagy* + focus-stressed word of a
           YP…, *vagy* + focus-stressed word of a ZP…, *vagy (pedig)* + focus-stressed
           word of a WP…
           'either… or…., or (maybe two, maybe all three, maybe all four..., etc.)'

(ii) Exclusive disjunction:
      primary-stressed ***vagy*** + unstressed word of an XP …, primary-stressed ***vagy***
      + unstressed word of a YP…, primary-stressed ***vagy*** + unstressed word of a
      ZP…, primary-stressed ***vagy*** + unstressed word of a WP…, etc.
      'either… or... or… or (only one of them, not two, not all three, not all four. etc.)'

(120a) above showed that the temporal context plays an important role. The
interpretation may be inclusive disjunction if at certain points of a given time-interval
only Clause$_1$ holds, and at other points of that time-interval Clause$_2$ holds, and at yet
other points of time Clause$_3$ holds, i.e. Clause$_1$ and Clause$_2$ and Clause$_3$ can alternate,

and beyond that, there may be time points in that time-interval at which all three, Clause₁, Clause₂, and Clause₃ hold (though this cannot be the case during the whole time interval) and there may be time points at which none of them holds. That is to say, the alternation can be repeatedly periodical. (123) allows inclusive disjunction and (124) exhibits exclusive disjunction:

(123) Mari este   vagy a "PEZSGŐBŐL ivott,   vagy a "BORT
       Mari evening or   the champagne.Ela drink.Past.3Sg or   the wine.Acc
       kóstolta,   vagy a "VENDÉGEKHEZ beszélt.
       taste.Past.3Sg or   the guests.Dat   talk.Past.3Sg
       'Mari was either drinking champagne or tasting the wine or talking to the guests, during the
       night.' ('she did these things again and again during the night').

(124) Mari e pillanatban "**vagy** a PEZSGŐBŐL iszik,   "**vagy** a BORT
       Mari this moment.Ine   or   the champagne.Ela drink.3Sg or   the wine.Acc
       kóstolja, "**vagy** a VENDÉGEKHEZ beszél.
       taste.3Sg   or   the guests.Dat   talk.3Sg
       'Mari is either drinking champagne or tasting the wine or talking to the guests at the moment.'
       ('but not two of these, not all three')

Primary-stressed multiple *vagy* is typically used in multiple coordination.

(125) ["**Vagy** a hőmérsékletet, "**vagy** a nyomást, "**vagy** az
        or   the temperature.Acc   or   the pressure.Acc or   the
       energiafelhasználást, "**vagy** a teljesítményt] méri   a készülék.
       intake.Acc   or   the performance.Acc measure.3Sg the device.
       'Either the temperature, or the pressure, or the intake, or the performance is measured by the
       device.' (One is being measured, but I don't know which one.)

2.9.3. Hybrid constructions

In hybrid constructions the second conjunct beginning with *vagy₂* contains the negative polarity particle *nem* 'not' that can introduce the ellipsis of VP. The construction is understood as a kind of total uncertainty.

(126) Jánost "**vagy** érdekli a munka, "**vagy** nem [é̶r̶d̶e̶k̶l̶i̶ a̶ m̶u̶n̶k̶a̶].
       János.Acc or   interest.3Sg the job   or   not   interest.3Sg the job
       'János EITHER is interested in the job OR he is not interested in the job.'

The particle *nem* 'not' can also precede an overt VP.

(127) Jánost "**vagy** érdekli a munka, "**vagy** nem érdekli a munka.
       János.Acc or   interest.3Sg the job   or   not interest.3Sg the job
       'János EITHER is interested in the job OR he is not interested in the job.'

Following an affirmative clause with a focused constituent in it, the particle *nem* 'not' in the second conjunct cannot be preceded by a contrastive focus constituent as shown by (128b).

(128) a. "**Vagy** JÁNOS hívta   fel   Marit, "**vagy** nem [~~János   hívta   fel~~

      or   János   call.Past.3Sg Prt   Mari.Acc   or   not   János   call.Past.3Sg Prt

~~Marit~~].

Mari.Acc

'It was either János who called Mari or it was not.'

b. *"**Vagy** JÁNOS hívta   fel   Marit, "**vagy** ÁDÁM nem

     or   János   call.Past.3Sg Prt Mari.Acc   or   Ádám   not

[~~hívta   fel   Marit~~]

 call.Past.3Sg Prt   Mari.Acc

literally: *'It was either János who called Mari or it was Ádám who did not.'

Ellipsis-inducing *igen* 'yes' is only relatively acceptable in sentence coordination and VP-coordination with paired *vagy… vagy* constructions.

(129) a. Jánost   nem érdekli   a   munka,   de Pétert   igen.

János.Acc not   interest.3Sg the job   but Péter.Acc yes

'János is not interested in the job but Péter is.'

b. "**Vagy** Jánost   nem érdekli   a   munka, "**vagy** Pétert ⁇igen.

     or   János.Acc not   interest.3Sg the job   or   Péter.Acc yes

'Either János is not interested in the job or Péter is.'

c. Jánost "**vagy** nem érdekli   a   munka, "**vagy** ?igen.

János.Acc or   not   interest.3Sg the job   or   yes

'Either János is not interested in the job or he is.'

Situation-bound ellipsis constructions can be used as formulas: (130a) and (b) exhibit stressed *vagy,* (c) and (d) contain unstressed *vagy* and stressed 'positive' and 'negative' particles.

(130) a. "**Vagy** ki, "**vagy** be!

    or   out   or   in

'Please, come in or stay out, but do it quickly'

b. "**Vagy** igen, "**vagy** nem!

    or   yes   or   not

'Yes or no! Decide it!'

c. Vagy "IGEN, vagy "NEM.

or   yes   or   not

'Well, yes or no. (Who knows?)'

d. Vagy "MINDENT,   vagy "SEMMIt!

or   everything.Acc or   nothing.Acc

'All or nothing!' (= 'do something *either* completely *or* not at all')

2.9.4. *Agreement in person/number*

In multiple *vagy* constructions, the pattern of agreement between the person features of subject and the verbal inflection does not change as a function of inclusive or exclusive interpretations. In both cases we find the same pattern: agreement is strictly local in that only the person feature of the subject closest to the verb is taken into

consideration. Local agreement between subject and verb is shown after the last member of multiple *vagy… vagy* in (131). In the following examples, the stress patterns of inclusive and exclusive interpretation type are not marked, the differences between them do not affect the agreement facts.

(131) a. Vagy TE, vagy a GYEREKEK, vagy ÉN kelek korán.
        or you or the child.Pl or I get.up.1Sg early
        'Either you or the children or I get up early.'

   b. Vagy ÉN, vagy a GYEREKEK, vagy TE kelsz korán.
        or I or the child.Pl or you get.up.2Sg early
        'Either I or the children or you get up early.'

   c. Vagy TE, vagy ÉN, vagy a GYEREKEK kelnek korán.
        or you or I or the child.Pl get.up.3Pl early
        'Either you or I or the children get up early.'

   d. Vagy a FELNŐTTEK vagy a GYEREKEK, vagy MI kelünk korán.
        or the adult.Pl or the child.Pl or we get.up.1Pl early.
        'Either the adults or the children or we get up early.'

Local agreement between subject and verb is also found after the first member of the multiple conjunction. The agreement pattern in the *vagy₁ Subject VP* construction is the same as in the *vagy₂ Subject VP* construction:

(132) a. Vagy TE kelsz korán, vagy a GYEREKEK, vagy ÉN.
        or you get.up.2Sg early or the child.Pl or I
        'Either you or the children or I get up early.'

   b. Vagy ÉN kelek korán, vagy a GYEREKEK, vagy TE.
        or I get.up.1Sg early or the child.Pl or you
        'Either I or the children or you get up early.'

   c. Vagy a GYEREKEK kelnek korán, vagy TE, vagy ÉN.
        or the child.Pl get.up.3Pl early or you or I
        'Either the children or you or I get up early.'

   d. Vagy a FELNŐTTEK kelnek korán, vagy a GYEREKEK, vagy MI.
        or the adult.Pl get.up.3Pl early or the child.Pl or we
        'Either the adults or the children or we get up early.'

Multiple *vagy* is often used in conjoined clauses involving elliptical ones. The strictly **local** agreement also points at the probable presence of elliptical structure in (131) and (132). In focus-bounded VP ellipsis cases, agreement can only be strictly local since three clauses are involved. (133a) exhibits a backward type of ellipsis and (133b) shows a forward type of ellipsis.

(133) a. Vagy ÉN [~~kelek korán~~], vagy a GYEREKEK [~~kelnek korán~~],
        or I get.up.1Sg early or the child.Pl get.up.3Pl early
        vagy TI keltek korán.
        or you.Pl get.up.2Pl early
        'Either I or the children or you.Pl get up early.'

b. Vagy ÉN kelek   korán, vagy a GYEREKEK [~~kelnek korán~~],
    or   I   get.up.1Sg early   or   the child.Pl   get.up.3Pl early

    vagy TI   [~~keltek   korán~~].
    or   you.Pl get.up.2Pl early

    'Either I or the children or you (Pl) get up early.'

2.9.5. Agreement between the features of coordinated direct objects and verbal endings

In the case of conjoined objects with conflicting definiteness features, Hungarian speakers prefer a closest conjunct agreement strategy, the feature of the object closest to the verb is taken into consideration (see Section 1.6. in Chapter 1). Paired *vagy … vagy* triggers this type of strategy:

(134) a. Vagy egy VERSET ~~olvasok~~,   vagy A NOVELLÁT   olvaso**m**.
          or   a   poem.Acc read.1Sg.Indef or   the short story.Acc read.1Sg.Def.
          'I either read a poem or the short story.'

b. Vagy EGY VERSET olvas**ok**,   vagy A NOVELLÁT   ~~olvasom~~.
    or   a   poem.Acc read.1Sg.Indef or   the short story.Acc read.1Sg.Def
    'I either read a poem or the short story.'

Wherever there is a verbal inflection agreeing with the grammatical **person feature** of the direct object (-*lak/-lek*), the verbal suffix invariably agrees with the object immediately adjacent (or closest) to the verb – if there are several direct objects of diverse persons – and it cannot be made to agree with the other conjunct. This is shown by (135a,b):

(135) a. Vagy TÉGED lát**lak**,   vagy MAGUNKAT ~~látom~~.
          or   you.Acc see.2Obj.1Sg or   ourselves.Acc see.1Sg.Def
          'I can either see you or ourselves.'

b. Vagy MAGUNKAT láto**m**,   vagy TÉGED ~~látlak~~.
    or   ourselves.Acc see.1Sg.Def or   you.Acc see.2Obj.1Sg
    'I can either see ourselves or you.'

2.9.6. Paired and multiple mind 'both… and'; or 'each of… and… and'

Mind 'all' is a particle that is a constituent of quantifier words like *mind-en-ki*, [lit.: all-collective.suffix-who] 'everyone', *mind-en-hol* [lit.: all-collective.suffix-where] 'everywhere', etc. (On the 'collective' suffix -*an/en* see Sections 1.5.1. and 1.5.2. in Chapter 1).

The paired *mind… mind* [lit.: all… all] 'both… and' and multiple *mind* 'each of… and' are repeated at the left edge of each construction conjoined. Members of the *mind… mind…. mind* sequence immediately precede the relevant conjuncts. The constituents that follow *mind* can bear the primary stress (instances of *mind… mind* are less stressed than them in this case). This is shown by the schema in (136) as exemplified in (137)–(138). In this case, no special contexts are involved.

(136)   *Mind* "XP, *mind* "YP...

(137)   Mind "Kati, mind "Mari szaladni kezdett.
       all   Kati all   Mari run.Inf   begin.Past.3Sg
       'Both Kati and I started to run.'

(138)   A hegyi   túra nehéz volt mind "felfelé, mind "lefelé.
       the mountain hike difficult was all   up   all   down
       'The mountain hike was difficult both up and down.'

Schema (139), as illustrated in (140)–(141) below, shows a construction in which members of the *mind… mind* pair bear primary stress, and special contexts are involved.

(139)   "***Mind*** XP, "***mind*** YP...

(140)   "**Mind** Kati, "**mind** Mari szaladni kezdett.
       all   Kati   all   Mari   run.Inf   begin.Past.3Sg
       'Both Kati and Mari started to run.' (Not just one of them did so.)

(141)   A hegyi   túra nehéz volt "**mind** fölfelé, "**mind** lefelé.
       the mountain hike difficult was   all   up   all   down
       'The mountain hike was difficult both up and down.' (Not only in one direction, such as just uphill.)

The meanings of (140) and (141) include the 'contrary to expectations' feature. The meaning of (140) contradicts the expectation that 'only one of them did' and the meaning of (141) contradicts the expectation that 'the hike was difficult only in one direction'.

    A similar difference in meaning can be found in structures containing multiple *mind*. Compare (142a) with (142b). The latter can contradict the expectation that 'just two of the three did', or 'just one of the three did'. (It is worth noting that exclusive disjunction contradicts the expectation that 'both did'.)

(142) a.   Mind "Kati, mind "Mari, mind "Éva szaladni kezdett.
         all   Kati all   Mari all   Éva run.Inf begin.Past.3Sg
         'Each of Kati, Mari, and Éva started to run.'

     b.   "**Mind** Kati, "**mind** Mari, "**mind** Éva szaladni kezdett.
          all   Kati   all   Mari   all   Éva   run.Inf begin.Past.3Sg
         'Each of Kati, Mari, and Éva started to run.' (Not just one or two of the three did so.)

2.9.7. *Agreement patterns with multiple* mind

The agreement rules for non-primary stressed *mind* constructions are the same as for primary-stressed *mind* constructions. For the sake of simplicity, the stress patterns are not marked in the presentation of the agreement rules, below.

    Preverbal singular subjects with *mind…mind* can trigger singular and plural agreement as well.

(143)　　　Mind Kati, mind Mari, mind Éva szaladni kezdett/kezdtek.
　　　　　　all　　Kati　all　　Mari　all　　Éva　run.Inf　begin.Past.3Sg/begin.Past.3Pl
　　　　　　'Each of Kati, Mari, and Éva started to run.'

The plurality of verbal agreement suffix is a 'resolution' of the conflict of diverse person features of noun phrases with paired *mind* in subject (as was in the case of *és* 'and'):

(144)　　　Mind Kati, mind én szaladni kezdtünk.
　　　　　　all　　Kati　all　　I　run.Inf　begin.Past.1Pl
　　　　　　'Both Kati and I started to run.'

Postverbal conjoined singulars may only agree with a singular verb:

(145)　　　Szaladni kezdett/*kezdtek　　　　mind Kati, mind Mari mind (pedig)
　　　　　　run.Inf　begin.Past.3Sg/begin.Past.3Pl　all　Kati　all　Mari　all　and
　　　　　　Éva.
　　　　　　Éva
　　　　　　'Each of Kati, Mari, and, lastly, Éva started to run.'

In (145), the right-shifted conjunction *pedig* 'and' optionally occurs in the last member of the iteration, between *mind* and the last NP/DP. Its interpretation is the (non-concessive) conjunction *pedig* 'and' (see Section 2.7.3. in this Chapter and Remark 14).

> Remark 14. Right shifted *pedig* in coordinate clauses is shown by (i).
>
> (i)　　　　Péter a TÉVÉT　　nézte,　　　　János　**pedig**/∗és/∗vagy/∗vagy pedig
> 　　　　　　Péter the TV.Acc　watch.Past.3Sg János　and/*and/*or/*or else
> 　　　　　　a　　RÁDIÓT　hallgatta.
> 　　　　　　the　radio.Acc　listen.Past.3Sg
> 　　　　　　'Péter watched TV, and János listened to the radio.'

The NP/DP hosting the last member of a multiple *mind… mind* sequence can be followed by another constituent that is in focus, e.g., *a nagymamát* 'grandma', or *nagyon gyakran* 'very often'.

(146)　　　Mind Kati, mind Mari, mind (pedig) Ádám A NAGYMAMÁT hívta　　　fel.
　　　　　　all　　Kati all　　Mari　all　　and　Ádám the grandma.Acc　call.Past.3Sg Prt
　　　　　　'It was Grandma whom each of Kati, Mari, and, lastly, Ádám called up.'

(147)　　　Mind Kati, mind Mari, mind (pedig) Ádám NAGYON GYAKRAN
　　　　　　all　　Kati all　　Mari　all　　and　Ádám very　　　often
　　　　　　hívta　　　fel a　nagymamát.
　　　　　　call.Past.3Sg Prt the grandma.Acc
　　　　　　'It was very often that each of Kati, Mari, and, lastly, Ádám called up Grandma.'

2.9.8. Paired is… is *'as well as'; multiple* is… is… is… *'as well as… as well as…'*

2.9.8.1. The items in the *is… is* pair follow the respective conjuncts, which are stressed. Each occurrence of *is* is cliticized. Preverbal singular subjects with *is… is* [lit.: too… too] 'as well as' can trigger either singular or plural agreement.

(148)   "Kati is, "Mari is szaladni kezdett/kezdtek.
            Kati too   Mari   too run.Inf   begin.Past.3Sg/begin.Past.3Pl
            'Kati, as well as Mari, started to run.'

The multiple *is… is… is…* [lit.: too…too… too] 'as well as, … as well as' construction exhibits the same agreement pattern:

(149)   "Kati is, "Mari is, (és) "Ádám is szaladni kezdett/kezdtek.
            Kati too   Mari too and Ádám too run.Inf   begin.Past.3Sg/begin.Past.3Pl
            'Kati, as well as Mari, as well as Ádám, started to run.'

Postverbal conjoined singulars may only agree with a singular verb:

(150)   Szaladni kezdett/*kezdtek   "Kati is, "Mari is (és) "Ádám is.
            run.Inf   begin.Past.3Sg/begin.Past.3Pl Kati too   Mari too and Ádám too
            'Kati, as well as Mari, as well as Ádám, started to run.'

És 'and' optionally occurs before the last member of the iteration.

2.9.8.2. The plurality of verbal agreement suffix is a 'resolution' of the conflict of diverse person features of subject-noun phrases with *is… is… is* (as it was in the case of *és* 'and'):

(151) a.   "Kati is, "Mari is (és) "én is   szaladni kezdtünk.
                Kati too   Mari too and I too run.Inf   begin.Past.1Pl
                'Kati, as well as Mari, as well as I, started to run.'

     b.   Szaladni kezdtünk   "Kati is "Mari is (és)"én is.
            run.Inf   begin.Past.1Pl Kati too Mari too and I   too
            'Kati, as well as Mari, as well I, started to run.'

NP/DPs hosting the last member of the *is… is* sequence can be followed by another constituent that is in focus, e.g. *a nagymamát* 'grandma' below.

(152)   "Kati is, "Mari is és "én is A "NAGYMAMÁT hívtuk   fel.
            Kati   too   Mari too and I too the grandma.Acc   callPast.1Pl Prt
            'It was Grandma whom Kati, as well as Mari, as well as I, called up.'

Multiple *is* can conjoin complete sentences.

(153)   Csupa rossz dolog történt.   A kutya is megharapott, a
            all   bad   thing happen.Past.3Sg the dog   too Prt.bite.Past.3Sg the
            macska is megszökött,   a   papagáj is elrepült.
            cat   too Prt.escape.Past.3Sg the parrot   too Prt.fly.Past.3Sg
            'All bad things happened. The dog bit me, likewise the cat escaped, and likewise the parrot flew away.'

2.9.9. Forms of negation

2.9.9.1. Sem… sem [lit.: nor… nor] 'neither… nor' is the form of negation as the counterpart of the affirmative *is*-phrase. The NP/DPs are stressed, moreover, *és* 'and' can be optionally used, cf. (154).

(154)   "Kati sem, (és) "Mari sem, (és) "Ádám sem kezdett   el szaladni/
      Kati nor   and Mari nor   and Ádám nor begin.Past.3Sg Prt run.Inf
     kezdtek   el szaladni.
     begin.Past.3Pl Prt run.Inf
     'Neither Kati, nor Mari, nor Ádám started to run.'

The structure in (154) contains **non-strict** negative control items in preverbal position that reject using the particle *nem* 'not' (cf. Surányi 2006):

(155)   "Kati sem, (és) "Mari sem, (és) "Ádám sem (*nem) kezdett   el
      Kati nor   and Mari nor   and Ádám nor   not begin.Past.**3Sg** Prt
     szaladni/ kezdtek   el szaladni.
     run.Inf   begin.Past.**3Pl** Prt run.Inf
     'Neither Kati, nor Mari, nor Ádám started to run.'

In (156) below, the negative operator *sem* **precedes** the NP/DP, and the operator can be stressed. The structure contains **strict** negative control items in preverbal position that require using the particle *nem* 'not'. The conjunction *és* 'and' is ungrammatical in this construction. When the operator precedes the XP, the lexical XPs, e.g. the NPs, are optionally stressed instead of the operators *sem, nem*. The negative operator *sem* is stressed in (156a) and the NPs are stressed in (156b).

(156) a.   "**Sem** Kati, (*és) "**sem** Mari, (*és) "**sem** Ádám **nem** kezdett   el
      nor Kati   and nor Mari   and nor Ádám not begin.Past.**3Sg** Prt
     szaladni/ kezdtek   el szaladni.
     run.Inf   begin.Past.**3Pl** Prt run.Inf
     'Neither Kati started to run, nor Mari started to run, nor Ádám started to run.'

     b.   Sem "Kati, (*és) sem "Mari, (*és) sem "Ádám nem kezdett   el
      nor Kati   and nor Mari   and nor Ádám not begin.Past.**3Sg** Prt
     szaladni/ kezdtek   el szaladni.
     run.Inf   begin.Past.**3Pl** Prt run.Inf
     'Neither Kati started to run, nor Mari started to run, nor Ádám started to run.'

Postverbally, both structures exhibit strict negative control items that require using *nem* 'not'.

(157)   "Nem kezdett   el szaladni / kezdtek   el szaladni "Kati sem, (és)
      not   begin.Past.**3Sg** Prt run.Inf   begin.Past.**3Pl** Prt run.Inf   Kati nor   and
     "Mari sem, (és) "Ádám sem.
      Mari nor   and Ádám nor
     'Neither Kati started to run, nor Mari started to run, nor Ádám started to run.'

(158)   "Nem kezdett   el szaladni / kezdtek   el szaladni "**sem** Kati,
          not   begin.Past.**3Sg** Prt run.Inf   begin.Past.**3Pl** Prt run.Inf   nor   Kati

          "**sem** Mari, "**sem** Ádám.
           nor   Mari   nor   Ádám

          'Neither Kati started to run, nor Mari started to run, nor Ádám started to run.'

When the operator precedes the XP, instead of the operators *sem,* the lexical XPs, e.g. the NPs in (159), are optionally stressed.

(159)   "Nem kezdett   el szaladni / kezdtek   el szaladni sem "Kati,
           not   begin.Past.**3Sg** Prt run.Inf   begin.Past.**3Pl** Prt run.Inf   nor   Kati

          sem "Mari, sem "Ádám.
          nor   Mari   nor   Ádám

          'Neither Kati started to run, nor Mari started to run, nor Ádám started to run.'

2.9.10. Paired and multiple akár *'whether… or'; 'whether… or… or…'*

The particle *akár* builds quantifier words like *akár-ki* [lit.: whether-who] 'anyone', *akár-hol* [lit.: whether-where] 'anywhere', *akár-mikor* [lit.: whether-when] 'anytime'.

2.9.10.1. In Hungarian there is a 'single' *akár* 'even'. The semantics of the 'single' *akár* differs from that of the paired *akár.* Single *akár* is used not as a conjunction but as a part of complex modal expressions. The complex modal expression consists of a predicate with the suffix *-hat/het* (possibility) and of *akár* 'even'. Thus, epistemic modality can be expressed as in (160).

(160)   Mari akár a pezsgőt   is ihatja   most.
          Mari even the champagne.Acc too drink.Mod.3Sg now
          'Mari may be drinking even her champagne now. (It is not impossible.)'

Deontic modality (possibility according to social/moral conventions) in 2nd person singular:

(161)   Akár a dolgozatodat   is olvashatod egész nap.
          even the paper.Poss.2Sg.Acc too read.Mod.2Sg whole   day
          'You can even read your paper all day. (It is permitted.)'

Permission according to the speaker's interests/ignorance:

(162)   Tőlem akár a pezsgőt   is megihatja   Mari.
          Abl.1Sg even the champagne.Acc too Prt.drink.Mod.3Sg Mari
          'As far as I am concerned, Mari can drink even the champagne.'

These constructions convey the meaning that the possibilities based on different systems of expectations (epistemic, deontic modalities, or speaker's interests) belong to the class of possibilities least expected.

Remark 15. In the literature on modality, "epistemic modality […] concerns what is possible or necessary given what is known and what the available evidence is. Deontic modality […] concerns what is possible, necessary, permissible, or obligatory, given a body of law or a set of moral principles or the like. Bouletic modality, sometimes boulomaic modality, concerns what is possible or necessary, given a person's desires. Circumstantial modality, sometimes dynamic modality, concerns what is possible or necessary, given a particular set of circumstances. […] There is taxonomic exuberance far beyond these basic distinctions. Epistemic modality has an epistemic modal base and either no ordering or an ordering based on plausibility or stereotypicality. Deontic modality has a circumstantial modal base (because one may have to abstract away from one's knowledge that the right thing will not be done) and an ordering source based on a body of law or principles" (von Fintel 2006: 2).

2.9.10.2. The schema for paired *akár… akár* 'whether … or' is the following:

(163)   *Akár* Clause$_1$, *akár* Clause$_2$ ... Clause$_3$
          Akár VP$_1$, *akár* VP$_2$ ... Clause$_3$

In some parts of traditional Hungarian literature, paired *akár* is considered a conjunction of subordination (Klemm 1942, Tompa 1961, Temesi and Rónai 1969); however, Simonyi (1881–1883) analysed it as a conjunction of coordination.

    We take the *akár XP … akár YP* 'whether XP… or YP' construction to be one that presents possible alternative conditionals for a third, consequent clause. The alternative conditionals supply domain restrictions pointwise to a consequent-clause operator such as a modal operator (Rawlins 2013). It is ungrammatical to conjoin paired *akár…akár* in itself when the consequent clause is absent:

(164)   *Akár   az énekesnő énekelt,   akár   a   zongorista játszott   szólót.
          whether the singer   sing.Past.3Sg whether the pianist   play.Past.3Sg solo.Acc
          literally: *'Whether the singer sang or the pianist played solo.'

(165)   Akár   az énekesnő énekelt,   akár   a   zongorista játszott   szólót,
          whether the singer   sing.Past.3Sg whether the pianist   play.Past.3Sg solo.Acc
          a   közönség lelkesen   tapsolt.
          the audience   enthusiastically applaud.Past.3Sg
          'Whether the singer sang or the pianist played solo, the audience applauded enthusiastically.'

The schema for multiple *akár* 'whether… or… or… or' is the following:

(166)   *Akár* Clause$_1$, *akár* Clause$_2$, *akár* Clause$_3$, *akár* Clause$_4$… Clause$_5$
          Akár VP$_1$, *akár* VP$_2$, *akár* VP$_3$, *akár* VP$_4$ … Clause$_5$

(167)   Akár   a   dobos játszott,   akár   az énekenő énekelt,   akár   a
          whether the drummer play.Past.3Sg whether the singer   sing.Past.3Sg whether the
          zongorista szólózott,   akár   a   gitáros táncolt,   a   közönség
          pianist   play.solo.Past.3Sg whether the guitarist dance.Past.3Sg the audience
          mindig lelkesen   tapsolt.
          always enthusiastically applauded
          'Whether the drummer played or the singer sang, or the pianist played a solo, or the guitarist danced, the audience always applauded enthusiastically.'

2.9.10.3. Paired and multiple *akár* are always stressed to some degree. In some cases, to be detailed later, they take over the main stresses from the foci. The surface

position of paired and multiple *akár* can be characterized by two observations: it is typically in the initial position of a Predicate Phrase, and the focus (if there is one) immediately follows *akár.* There can be some repetition of particles or features.

In (168) multiple *akár* carry the prominent stresses, not the focus constituents. The parallel, adjacent structures allow backward ellipsis (168a) or forward ellipsis (168b) between the members of possible alternatives.

(168) a. "**Akár** VONATTAL [~~utazott   el   pro~~ⱼ], "**akár** AUTÓVAL
    whether train.Ins   depart.Past.3Sg Prt (she)   whether car.Ins

[~~utazott   el   pro~~ⱼ], "**akár** REPÜLŐVEL [utazott   el   *pro*ⱼ], tény,
depart.Past.3Sg Prt   (she)   whether airplane.Ins   depart.Past.3Sg Prt (she) fact

hogy Mariⱼ "HAZAÉRT.
Compl Mari   Prt.arrive.home.Past.3Sg

'Whether by train, or by car, or by air, Mari arrived home.' Interpretation: 'It is all the same whether by train or car or air, Mari arrived home.'

   b. "**Akár** VONATTAL [utazott   el   *pro*ⱼ], "**akár** AUTÓVAL
    whether train.Ins   depart.Past.3Sg Prt (she)   whether car.Ins

[~~utazott   el   pro~~ⱼ], "**akár** REPÜLŐVEL [~~utazott   el   pro~~ⱼ], tény,
depart.Past.3Sg Prt (she)   whether airplane.Ins   depart.Past.3Sg Prt (she) fact

hogy Mariⱼ "HAZAÉRT.
Compl Mari   Prt.arrive.home.Past.3Sg

'Whether by train, or by car, or by air, Mari arrived home.' Interpretation: 'It is all the same whether by train, or by car, or by air, Mari arrived home.'

In *akár* constructions, ellipsis can be bound by negation:

(169)   Akár   a "KÉZIRATON dolgozott *pro*ⱼ, akár   "NEM [~~a kéziraton~~
    whether the   manuscript.Sup work.Past.3Sg she whether not   the manuscript.Sup
~~dolgozott pro~~ⱼ], Katiⱼ mindig fejlesztette   a   nyelvtudását.
work.Past.3Sg she   Kati always develop.Past.3Sg the   language skills.Poss.3Sg.Acc

'It is all the same, whether she was working on the manuscript or not, Kati was always developing her language skills.'

2.9.10.4. The constituents preceding the first member of the paired/multiple *akár* can be interpreted as part of a consequent clause (Clause₃). Thus, we get parenthetical structures where the syntactic rules are the same for stressed and non-stressed *akár* constructions.

(170)   Évát és Marit – akár   pezsgőt   ittak,   akár   zenét
    Éva.Acc and Mari.Acc whether champagne.Acc drink.Past.3Pl whether music.Acc
hallgattak – Kati megszidta.
listen.Past3Pl   Kati rebuke.Past.Def.3Sg

'Éva and Mari – whether they were drinking champagne or they were listening to music – were rebuked by Kati.'

(171)   Marival – akár gépelt,   akár zenét   hallgatott – Éva tudott
Mari.Ins   whether type.Past.3Sg whether music.Acc listen.Past.3Sg Éva can.Past.3Sg
beszélgetni.
talk.Inf
'With Mari – whether she was typing, or was listening to music – Éva could talk.'

The following examples represent variants without parenthetical structures:

(172)   Akár pezsgőt   ittak,   akár zenét   hallgattak, Kati
whether champagne.Acc drink.Past.3Pl whether music.Acc listen.Past.3Pl Kati
megszidta   Évát és Marit.
rebuke.Past.3Sg Éva.Acc and Mari.Acc
'Whether they were drinking champagne or listening to music, Éva and Mari were rebuked by
Kati.'

(173)   Akár gépelt   Mari, akár zenét   hallgatott, Éva tudott
whether type.Past.3Sg Mari whether music.Acc listen.Past.3Sg Éva can.Past.3Sg
beszélgetni vele.
talk.Inf   her.Ins
'Whether Mari was typing, or she was listening to music, Éva could talk with her.'

2.9.11. Types of interpretations

Below, we present some examples for possible interpretations of the *akár… akár*
'whether… or' constructions. They can convey different types of interpretation, like
(i) irrelevance or speaker ignorance; or (ii) relational indifference; or (iii) 'in all cases
of multiple events'.

2.9.11.1.   'Irrelevance, speaker ignorance' interpretation

The two dialogues below present examples for the 'irrelevance', 'speaker ignorance'
reading. In the responses B, paired/multiple *akár* carry the primary stresses; they take
over the main stresses from the foci to the right of them.

(174) A: A   koncert csodálatos volt, az énekesnő gyönyörűen énekelt,
the   concert marvellous was the singer   beautifully   sing.Past.3Sg
csinos volt és jól táncolt.
pretty   was and well dance.Past.3Sg
'The concert was marvellous; the singer sang beautifully, was pretty and danced very well.'

  B: "**Akár** gyönyörűen énekelt, "**akár**   csinos volt, "**akár**   jól
  whether beautifully   sing.Past.3Sg whether pretty   was,   whether well
táncolt,   öltözzél   föl melegen, mert hideg van.
dance.Past.3Sg dress.Subj.2Sg up warmly   because cold is
'It is all the same whether she sang beautifully or she was pretty or she danced well, dress up
warmly, because it is cold.'

(175) A: A   koncert   csodálatos volt, az énekesnő gyönyörűen énekelt.
         the concert   marvellous   was the singer   beautifully   sing.Past.3Sg
         'The concert was marvellous; the singer sang beautifully.'

     B: "**Akár** gyönyörűen énekelt,   "**akár** nem, jön   a buszunk!
          whether beautifully   sing.Past.3Sg or   not   come.3Sg the bus.Poss.1Pl
         'It is all the same whether she sang beautifully or not, here comes our bus!'

It is important to note that B, when repeating A's clauses (partly or wholly), does not commit herself to the factuality of the events reported in the clauses by the use of paired/multiple *akár*, i.e. whether the event has actually taken place or not. This type of paired/multiple *akár* construction and the *akár p, akár not p* construction both convey mere theoretical possibilities qualified as irrelevant from the point of view of the consequent clause.

The schemas (176a–b) may illustrate the interpretations we analysed with the clauses marked by S indexed accordingly.

(176) a.   It is all the same (irrelevant), whether S_1 or S_2, or S_3 but it is relevant that S_4.

     b.   It is all the same (irrelevant), whether S_1 or not S_1, but it is relevant that S_2.

2.9.11.2.   'Relational indifference' interpretation

In the examples in (177)–(178) below, *akár… akár* clauses have parallel structures and contain contrastive foci that create exclusive alternatives. The foci bear the prominent stresses of clauses, *akár… akár* are less stressed. In felicitous use, however, (177)–(178) below express the fact that relations between alternatives are indifferent from the point of view of a Consequent Clause. These constructions convey a 'relational indifference' type of possible interpretation. The *akár… akár* are followed by contrastive focus constituents, *az ÉNEKESNŐ* 'the singer' *a ZONGORISTA* 'the pianist'. (177) means that, in the speaker's opinion, the consequent clause, Clause$_3$ – in the time period of the alternation/fluctuation of *akár*-Clause$_1$ and *akár*-Clause$_2$ – was a fact, irrespective of the difference between Clause$_1$ and Clause$_2$. (178) also shows that agreement between the person feature of the subject and the verbal inflection is strictly local.

(177)   Akár az "ÉNEKESNŐ énekelt   el   egy dalt,   akár a "ZONGORISTA
         whether the singer   sing.Past.3Sg Prt a   song.Acc whether the pianist
         játszott   el egy szólót, a   közönség mindig lelkesen
         play.Past.3Sg Prt a   solo.Acc the audience always   enthusiastically
         tapsolt.
         applaud.Past.3Sg
         'Both in the case when the singer sang a song, and/or when the pianist played a solo, the
         audience always enthusiastically applauded.'

By felicitous use of (177) the speaker expresses his view that the state of affairs denoted by the consequent clause, Clause$_3$, holds as a fact, and holds permanently (is repeated), irrespective of the difference between Clause$_1$ and Clause$_2$ in a possible time period in which events denoted by Clause$_1$ and Clause$_2$ take place. In this

construction, the relevant points of time for the quantifier *mindig* 'always' are the points of time and place determined by the events denoted in Clause₁ and Clause₂.

(178) below shows the backward reference of the quantifier *mindhárom* 'all-three' from the consequent-clause, Clause₄, to alternatives denoted by *akár… akár… akár* clauses:

(178)   Akár a "SZINTAXISRÓL beszélt,   akár   a   "PRAGMATIKÁRÓL,
             whether the syntax.Del   speak.Past.3Sg whether the pragmatics.Del

             akár   a "MORFOLÓGIÁRÓL, Kati mindhárom esetben új   ötleteket
             whether the morphology.Del   Kati all.three   case.Ine new   idea.Pl.Acc

             mondott.
             say.Past.3Sg

             'Whether she spoke about syntax, or about pragmatics, or about morphology, Kati presented new ideas, in all three cases.'

In (178), there is an available interpretation in which the consequent clause, Clause₄, holds repeatedly or permanently – irrespective of the difference between *akár*-Clause₁ *akár*-Clause₂ and *akár*-Clause₃ – in a time-interval that events denoted by *akár…, akár…, akár* clauses take place: 'in the three cases, when *akár*-Clause₁ and/or when *akár*-Clause₂ and/or when *akár*-Clause₃, the consequent clause holds.' We assume a kind of **'fluctuation'** (Dayal 2009) for the 'factual' (not purely theoretically possible) alternatives denoted by *akár S₁, akár S₂, akár S₃* clauses. They supply domain restrictions to a consequent clause modal operator.

2.9.11.3.   *No 'irrelevance', no 'indifference' component*

The third type of interpretation is one that has the feature 'in all cases of multiple events' and has no 'irrelevance' component and no 'indifference' component. The 'habitual' character of an event can be expressed in this interpretation. There are no identificational foci in the *akár… akár* clauses, the alternatives can be in an inclusive disjunction:

(179)   Akár Kati sétált   arra, akár Mari [~~sétált   arra~~],
             whether Kati walk.Past.3Sg that.Sub whether Mari   walk.Past.3Sg that.Sub

             zizegett   a bokor.
             rustle.Past.3Sg the bush

             'Whether Kati walked that way or Mari did (or both), the bush rustled.'

(180)   Akár köd volt,   akár esett   az eső, a kerti padok vizesek
             whether fog be.Past.3Sg whether fall.Past.3Sg the rain the garden bench.Pl wet

             lettek.
             become.Past.3Pl

             'Whether it was fog or it rained, the garden benches became wet.'

In this possible interpretation, alternatives are not exclusive, there are no identificational foci in clauses, and hence there is no 'identification by exclusion' effect.

All examples above show possible interpretations supposing a felicitous use of the constructions. Beyond these examples, some other possible interpretations can also be available, depending on the interfaces between time markers, modality operators and event structure.

2.10. A summary of the most important features of multiple conjunctions

2.10.1. Conjunctions that are of the bisyndetic type in other languages in the literature are multiple conjunctions in Hungarian. They can coordinate two, three or, in principle, any number of members. The conjunctions are reiterated according to the number of conjuncts, which is not grammatically limited. An essential condition is that the coordinated structures be structurally parallel.

In Hungarian, forms of negative multiple conjunctions are related to **conjunctive** conjunctions in positive contexts (cf. *sem… sem* [lit.: nor … nor] 'neither… nor*'* is related to *is… is* [lit.: too… too] 'as well as'). However, this is not the case with forms of the paired/multiple **disjunctive** *vagy... vagy* 'either… or' and *akár... akár* 'whether... or', because they require *nem* 'not' in negative contexts: *vagy… vagy nem* [lit.: or… or not] 'either… or not' *akár… akár nem* [lit.: whether… whether not] 'whether… or not'.

2.10.2. In NP/DPs coordination with paired/multiple *vagy… vagy* … 'either… or' and *akár... akár* 'whether… or', agreement between the person features of the subject and the verbal inflection is strictly local in that only the closest subject's person feature is taken into consideration. In the case of conflict of diverse person features of subjects, a VP-ellipsis can be supposed, at least in one (or more) conjunct(s), agreement is local and the following overt form conjunct also involves local agreement of another person feature.

In NP/DPs coordination with paired/multiple *mind* [lit.: all…all…] 'both … and', 'each of … and', and with paired/multiple *is* [lit.: too... too… too] 'as well as… as well as, …', the plurality of the 'top' value of the person feature on verbal inflection is a possible 'resolution' of the conflict of diverse person features of NP/DP subjects conjoined, as it was in the case of *és* 'and' (see Section 1.4. and 1.5. in Chapter 1). VP ellipsis is preferred in the left conjunct(s) offering a 'resolution' of conflicts between diverse person features of subjects (see Section 1.5.1. in Chapter 1). This difference in agreement pattern is showed in the examples (181)–(184) below.

Strictly local agreement is exhibited in *vagy...vagy* and *akár… akár* constructions with contrastive foci, in examples: *TE* 'you' and *ÉN* 'I'.

(181) a.   Vagy TE vagy ÉN *?kelünk   korán.
       or   you or   I   get.up.**1Sg** early
       'Either you or I get up early.'

     b.   Vagy TE [~~kelsz~~ ~~korán~~], vagy ÉN kelek   korán/*kelünk   korán.
       or   you get.up.**2Sg** early   or   I   get.up.**1Sg** early/get.up.**1Pl** early
       'Either you, or I get up early.'

     c.   Vagy TE kelsz   korán, vagy ÉN [~~kelek~~ ~~korán~~].
       or   you get.up.**2Sg** early   or   I   get.up.**1Sg** early
       'Either you get up early or I do.'

(182) a. Akár TE akár ÉN *$^?$kelünk korán, a kutyák ugatnak.
whether you whether I   get.up.**1Pl** early   the dog.Pl bark.3Pl
'Whether you get up early or I get up early the dogs are barking.'

b. Akár TE [~~kelsz   korán~~], akár ÉN kelek   korán/*$^?$kelünk
whether you get.up.2Sg early   whether I   get.up.**1Sg** early/get.up.**1Pl**
korán, a   kutyák ugatnak.
early   the dog.Pl bark.3Pl
'Whether you or I get up early the dogs are barking.'

c. Akár TE kelsz   korán, akár ÉN [~~kelek   korán~~], a   kutyák
whether you get.up.**2Sg** early   whether I   get.up.**1Sg** early   the dog.Pl
ugatnak.
bark.3Pl
'Whether you get up early or I, the dogs are barking.'

Paired/multiple *mind* 'each of … and' constructions exhibit non-local agreement: the plurality of the 'top' value of the person feature on verbal inflection is a possible 'resolution' of the conflict of diverse person features of subjects:

(183) a. Mind te, mind én korán kelünk/   korán *kelek.
all   you all   I   early get.up.**1Pl** early   get.up.**1Sg**
'Each of you and me get up early.'

b. Mind te [~~korán kelsz~~],   mind én korán kelek.
all   you early get.up.**2Sg** all   I   early get.up.**1Sg**
'Each of you and me get up early.'

Comparing b. with c. below, forward VP ellipsis shows doubtful acceptability. Paired conjunctions precede the structural domain that is coordinated, but overt VP in c. removes the conjunction pairs from each other:

c. $^?$Mind te korán kelsz,   mind én[~~korán kelek~~].
all   you early get.up.**2Sg** all   I   early get.up.**1Sg**
'Each of you and me get up early.'

Paired/multiple *is* 'as well as' constructions also exhibit non-local agreement. (There are no focused constituents in conjuncts with *is…is* 'as well as'.)

(184) a. Te is, én is korán kelünk/   korán *kelek.
you too I   too early get.up.1Pl early   get.up.**1Sg**
'You as well as me get up early.'

b. Te is [~~korán kelsz~~],   én is korán kelek.
you too early get.up.2Sg   I   too early get.up.**1Sg**
'You as well as me get up early.'

c. $^?$Te is korán kelsz,   én is [~~korán kelek~~].
you too early get.up.2Sg   I   too early get.up.**1Sg**
'You get up early as well as me.'

És 'and' repairs the structure c. and d. below is grammatical:

d. Te is korán kelsz,   **és** én is [~~korán kelek~~].
    you too early get.up.2Sg and I   too early   get.up.**1Sg**
    'You get up early and I get up early too.'

2.10.3. Conjunctions highlight the speaker's views on events described in clauses or predicative phrases. **Repetiton** of conjunctions is closely connected to expressing sets of **alternatives** and **sequences,** and each of them is considered separately. The lexical characterization of paired/multiple conjunctions involves features concerning quantification and modality, in positive or negative contexts. They can come in interactions with the structure of multiple events denoted by clauses.

Paired/multiple conjunctions consisting of *vagy*, *mind,* or *akár* precede the domains that are conjoined. These conjunctions are always stressed to some degree, but in some cases, they can take the prominent stress away from the focused constituents. The paired/multiple conjunctions carrying the prominent stresses specify the speaker's perception of the events described in clauses, such as 'exclusive disjunction', 'contrary to expectation', 'speaker ignorance' types of interpretations. Where the focused constituents, rather than the paired/multiple conjunctions, carry the prominent stresses, these constructions are less specific about the speaker's perception of the events described in clauses, such as 'inclusive disjunction', 'lack of specific expectation', 'structural indifference' types of interpretation.

Paired/multiple *is* 'as well as' follows the conjuncts that are stressed. Instances of this type of *is* are all cliticized. The multiple *sem… sem* 'neither… nor' is the corresponding form of negation of an affirmative multiple *is* sequence. In the case of non-strict negative control, *sem… sem* are reiterated at the right edge of conjuncts. In this position *sem… sem* are also cliticized. Where the negative operators *sem… sem* **precede** the NP/DPs, they can be stressed, and the structure contains strict negative control items in preverbal position that require using the particle *nem* 'not'. When the negative operator precedes the XPs, the lexical XPs are optionally stressed, instead of the operators *sem, nem.*

2.11. Bibliographical notes

The history of the Hungarian coordinate conjunctions has been investigated by Simonyi (1881–1883), Klemm (1942: 404–453); D. Mátai (2003) (in Hungarian).

Dik (1968) presents a comprehensive description of *n*-ary and binary conjunctions. Haspelmath (2007) provides a description of coordination structures, conjunctions and semantic relations between conjuncts in the framework of language typology. Komlósy (1992, 1994) gives an account of Hungarian data on predicative arguments and predicative adjuncts and suggests some linguistic tests to distinguish between arguments and adjuncts.

Kenesei (2006) presents different types of the Hungarian foci, characterizing their syntactic behaviour, prosodic features and semantic functions, including 'exclusion by identification'. Surányi (2006) argues that there is a set of non-strict negative concord items that do not co-occur with *nem* 'not' when they are in preverbal position in Hungarian and there is another set of strict negative concord items that requires *nem* 'not' in preverbal position. In the postverbal domain strict negative control items can be found.

Rawlins (2013) gives an account of the compositional semantics of unconditionals that involve an alternative-denoting construction that supplies domain restrictions pointwise to a main-clause modal operator. Dayal (2009) introduces the requirement fluctuation that is a presupposition or a conventional implicature, a type of modality that allows fluctuation, and this modality is encoded in mood/aspect morphology. Fluctuation states that no single set of individuals is such that it constitutes in every accessible world the set of individuals with the two relevant properties in that world. F(ree) C(hoice) *any* is ruled out in statements whose truth conditional meaning contradicts F-implicature.

Zhang (2009) presents an overview in the framework of generative syntax on coordination and conjunctions. Coordination is taken to be an asymmetrical structure in which the conjunction is the X^0 Head, the first conjunct its Specifier, and the second conjunct its Complement. Thus, the first conjunct asymmetrically c-commands the second one. For descriptive purposes we prefer a view of symmetrical structure.

Chapter 3
Coordinated *wh*-constructions

Anna Gazdik

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with sentences containing coordinated *wh*-phrases. Although multiple questions, i.e. interrogatives containing more than one *wh*-phrase are treated in the Volume on *Sentence Structure* in the Chapter on *Interrogatives and exclamatives*, the coordination of *wh*-phrases has some specific properties which motivate their discussion in the present volume. These are related to their syntactic structure, more precisely to the problem of whether they are monoclausal or biclausal contaning ellipsis, and to the hybrid coordination of *wh*-elements with different syntactic functions. We will mainly focus on the formal (syntactic and prosodic) characterization of these structures in the light of the above issues: clausal coordination with ellipsis and (hybrid) coordination on the phrasal level. The interpretation and answerhood conditions of multiple questions are also treated in the Chapter on *Interrogatives and exclamatives* in the Volume on *Sentence Structure*.

3.2. The empirical domain of the present chapter

3.2.1. *Preverbal coordinated* wh-*phrases*

Sentences containing coordinated *wh*-items can be classified according to the position of the *wh*-phrases: the coordinated items can be preverbal, or one of them can appear preverbally, and the other be coordinated sentence-finally. In the first type, to which we will refer as *preverbal coordination*, both (all) *wh*-phrases appear in the preverbal domain and occupy the immediately preverbal position. This assumption gains support by looking at the position of the verbal particle, which is, like in the presence of foci, postverbal (see the Chapter on *Verbal Modifiers in the Clause* in the Volume on *Sentence Structure*).

(185) **Ki** és **mikor** érkezett *meg*?
       who and when   arrive.Past.3Sg Prt
       'Who arrived, and when?'

3.2.2. *One preverbal, and one sentence-finally coordinated* wh-*phrase*

In the second type, to which we will refer as *sentence-final coordination*, one of the *wh*-phrases occupies the preverbal position, whereas the other is coordinated sentence-finally:

(186) **Ki** érkezett *meg*, és **mikor**?
       who arrive.Past.3Sg Prt and when
       'Who arrived, and when?'

Note that in the case of more than two *wh*-phrases, the conjunction must be present only between the last two. All of them can be preverbal, or, in sentence-final coordination, one of them must appear in the preverbal position, the others are coordinated at the end of the sentence:

(187)   **Kik**, **hol**, és **mikor** döntöttek   erről?
         who.Pl where and when   decide.Past.3Pl this.Del
         'Who decided about this, where and when?'

(188)   **Kik**   döntöttek   erről, **hol**, és **mikor**?
         who.Pl decide.Past.3Sg this.Del where and when
         'Who decided about this, where and when?'

For the sake of simplicity, throughout the chapter, we will illustrate our observations with examples containing only two *wh*-phrases, since these can easily be carried over to those containing more than two *wh*-phrases.

In what follows, we will first consider the syntactic structure of sentences containing preverbal or sentence-final coordination. More precisely, we will show that the former are monoclausal, whereas the latter are biclausal and support this claim with arguments coming from the argument/adjunct status of the *wh*-phrases, the definite-indefinite conjugation difference on the verb, and the insertion of discourse particles. Then we will examine the presence/absence of the conjunction, and the different types of coordinating conjunctions, the coordinated *wh*-items and their ordering possibilities. We will also discuss the problem of the so-called Hybrid Coordination.

3.3. The syntactic structure

In this section, we examine the syntactic structure of the two interrogative types illustrated above. More precisely, we will show that only sentences containing preverbal coordination are true multiple questions in that the sentences are monoclausal and thus the *wh*-items belong to the domain of the same predicate, whereas sentences containing sentence-final coordination are biclausal, possibly with forward ellipsis in the second conjunct. This means, in turn, that strictly speaking these are not true multiple questions, but rather two (or more) conjoined single questions. The syntactic structures we assume are the following:

(189)   [**Ki** és **mikor**] érkezett   meg?
         who and when   arrive.Past.3Sg Prt
         'Who arrived, and when?'

(190)   [**Ki** érkezett   meg] és [**mikor** ~~érkezett   meg~~]?
         who arrive.Past.3Sg Prt   and when   ~~arrive.Past.3Sg Prt~~
         'Who arrived, and when?'

In what follows, we present those characteristics of the above structures that support the assumption that the sentence in (189) is monoclausal, whereas the one in (190) is biclausal. We start with the argument/adjunct status of the *wh*-phrases.

3.3.1. *Argument-adjunct status of the* wh-*phrases*

Considering the argument/adjunct status of the *wh*-phrases, we can observe that if both *wh*-phrases are obligatory arguments, only sentences containing preverbal coordination are (for most speakers) grammatical:

(191) a. [?]**Ki** és **mit** követett el?
      who and what.Acc commit.Past.3Sg Prt
      'Who committed something and what was it?'

   b. *****Ki** követett el, és **mit**?
      who commit.Past.3Sg Prt and what.Acc
      '*Who committed, and what?'

This difference in grammaticality can be explained if we assume that the two obligatory arguments must appear in the same clause, which means, in turn, that preverbal coordination is monoclausal, whereas sentence-final coordination is biclausal.

    There are some transitive verbs whose existentially bound object is not obligatorily present, or, according to another view, they exhibit two different argument structures in the lexicon, one transitive and one intransitive: *to eat* (something), *to read* (something).

(192) a. **Mit** evett Péter? (transitive use)
      what.Acc eat.Past.3Sg Péter
      'What did Péter eat?'

   b. Péter gulyáslevest evett.
      Péter goulash soup.Acc eat.Past.3Sg
      'Péter ate goulash soup.'

(193) a. **Hol** evett Péter? (intransitive use)
      where eat.Past.3Sg Péter
      'Where did Péter eat?'

   b. Péter a menzán evett.
      Péter the canteen.Sup eat.Past.3Sg
      'He ate in the canteen.'

In the case of these optionally transitive verbs, both structures are grammatical:

(194) a. **Ki** és **mit** evett?
      who and what.Acc eat.Past.3Sg
      'Who ate something and what was it?'

   b. **Ki** evett (már), és **mit**?
      who eat.Past.3Sg already and what.Acc
      'Who has already eaten, and what?'

The grammaticality of example (194b) can be explained if we assume that there is no object missing from the first clause, i.e. the intransitive version of the verb is coordinated with its transitive version and this latter undergoes ellipsis.

Similarly, an argument and an adjunct can also be coordinated both preverbally and sentence-finally:

(195) a.   **Ki** és **hol**   evett?
        who and where eat.Past.3Sg
        'Who ate, and where?'

      b.   **Ki** evett,   és **hol**?
        who eat.Past.3Sg and where
        'Who ate, and where?'

3.3.2. *Verb forms: definite and indefinite conjugation*

The morphosyntax of the verb of the clause containing the coordinated *wh*-items can be revealing with respect to the clausal structure of these sentences.

Transitive verbs in Hungarian come in two series (see the volume on *Verb phrases in general and finite verb phrases,* Chapter 1, Section 1.6): if the object they subcategorize for is definite, they show agreement with their object and exhibit the *definite conjugation* pattern. On the other hand, transitive verbs with an indefinite object appear in the *indefinite conjugation*, just like intransitive verbs. Compare:

(196) a.   Kertészkedek.
        do.gardening.1Sg
        'I do gardening.'

      b.   Olvas**ok**   egy könyvet. (indefinite)
        read.1Sg.Indef a   book.Acc
        'I am reading a book.'

      c.   Olvas**om**   a könyvet.   (definite)
        read.1Sg.Def the book.Acc
        'I am reading the book.'

The *wh*-word *mit* 'what' requires the indefinite conjugation:

(197)   **Mit**   készítesz?
        what.Acc prepare.2Sg.Indef
        'What are you preparing?'

Lipták (2001) observed that the preverbal coordination of *mit* 'what' and another *wh*-item is followed by the indefinite conjugation:

(198)   Nem érdekel,   hogy [**mit**   és **hogyan**] *készítesz*.
        not   interest.3Sg Compl what.Acc and how   prepare.2Sg.Indef
        'I am not interested in what you prepare and how.'

Note that the coordination of an indefinite NP and a question word is otherwise ungrammatical (Zoltán Bánréti, p.c.):

(199)   *Nem érdekel, hogy valami étel   és hogyan készítesz.
        not   interest.3Sg Compl some   dish.Acc and how   prepare.2Sg.Indef

Interestingly, in a biclausal structure with two full clauses, the verb following *hogyan* 'how' appears in the definite conjugation:

(200)   Nem érdekel,   hogy **mit**   készítesz   és **hogyan** *készíted*.
      not   interest.3Sg Compl what.Acc prepare.2Sg.Indef and how   prepare.2Sg.Def
      'I am not interested in what you prepare and how you prepare it.'

This means that the structure containing preverbal coordination cannot be the elliptical version of the above biclausal structure, because then in (198), the verb should also appear in the definite conjugation. However, sentence-final coordination can easily be considered as the elliptical version of a clear case of forward ellipsis:

(201)   Nem érdekel,   hogy **mit**   készítesz   és **hogyan**.
      not   interest.3Sg Compl what.Acc prepare.2Sg.Indef   and how
      'I am not interested in what you prepare and how.'

This suggests that preverbal coordination is a monoclausal structure, in which both question words are in the domain of the same predicate, whereas sentence-final coordination is a biclausal structure, in which the question words belong to different predicates (one of which undergoes ellipsis).

    Note that the same argumentation is not valid in the case of question words that are followed by the definite conjugation. This is the case of *melyik* 'which', which is always interpreted specifically: the verb must appear in the definite conjugation.

(202)   **Melyik** ételt   és **hogyan** készíted?
      which   dish.Acc and how   prepare.2Sg.Def
      'Which dish do you prepare and how?'

Note also that the above examples differ in their interpretations and this is reflected by the choice of the verb form in the second clause. In sentence-final coordination, the issue raised by the first question is already resolved and taken as contextually given in the second question (hence the definite conjugation), whereas preverbal coordination contains two unpresupposed information gaps.

(203) a.   Nem érdekel,   hogy **mit**   készítesz   és **hogyan**
        not   interest.3Sg Compl what.Acc prepare.2Sg.Indef and how
        (készíted   azt).
        prepare.2Sg.Def it.Acc
        'I am not interested in what you prepare and how (you prepare it.)'

    b.   Nem érdekel,   hogy **mit**   és   **hogyan** készítesz   (*azt).
        not   interest.3Sg Compl what.Acc and how   prepare.2Sg.Indef   it.Acc
        'I'm not interested in what you prepare and how.'

3.3.3. *Presence of the interrogative discourse particle:* vajon

The interrogative particle *vajon* (approx.: 'I wonder') turns a question tentative, which means that the speaker does not necessarily expect the addressee to be able to resolve the issue raised, but still poses the question (see Farkas 2020). It can appear only once per clause. It cannot be repeated in front of both question words in

preverbal coordination without leading to degraded acceptability, whereas it can appear in front of both (all) question words in sentence-final coordination.

(204) a.　*Vajon*　**ki**　és　**mit**　olvas?
　　　　I.wonder　who　and　what.Acc　read.3Sg
　　　　'Who reads and what, I wonder.'

　　 b.　^{??}*Vajon*　**ki**　és　*vajon*　**mit**　olvas?
　　　　I.wonder　who　and　I.wonder　what.Acc　read.3Sg

(205) a.　*Vajon*　**ki**　és　**hogyan** dönthetett　erről?
　　　　I.wonder　who　and　how　decide.Mod.Past.3Sg　this.Del
　　　　'Who could decide about this, and how, I wonder.'

　　 b.　^{??}*Vajon*　**ki**　és　*vajon*　**hogyan** dönthetett　erről?
　　　　I.wonder　who　and　I.wonder　how　decided.Mod.Past.3Sg　this.Del

(206) a.　*Vajon*　**ki**　dönthetett　erről　és　**hogyan**?
　　　　I.wonder　who　decide.Mod.Past.3Sg　this.Del　and　how
　　　　'Who could decide about this, and how, I wonder.'

　　 b.　*Vajon*　**ki**　dönthetett　erről　és　*vajon*　**hogyan**?
　　　　I.wonder　who　decide.Mod.Past.3Sg　this.Del　and　Qpart　how
　　　　'Who could decide about this, and how, I wonder.'

(207) a.　*Vajon*　**ki**　olvasott　és　**mit**?
　　　　I.wonder　who　read.Mod.Past.3Sg　and　what.Acc
　　　　'Who read, and what (did they read), I wonder'

　　 b.　*Vajon*　**ki**　olvasott　és　*vajon*　**mit**?
　　　　I.wonder　who　read.Past.3Sg　and　I.wonder　what.Acc
　　　　'Who read, and what (did they read), I wonder.'

(208) a.　*Vajon*　**meddig** lehetett　fenn tegnap este,　és　**miért**?
　　　　I.wonder　until when　be.Mod.Past.3Sg　up　yesterday evening　and why
　　　　'Until when could he stay up yesterday evening, and why, I wonder.'

　　 b.　*Vajon*　**meddig** lehetett　fenn tegnap este,　és　*vajon*　**miért**?
　　　　I.wonder　until when　be.Mod.Past.3Sg　up　yesterday evening and　I.wonder　why

This also supports the view that final coordination is biclausal, whereas preverbal coordination is monoclausal.

3.3.4. It-*reading and* at all-*reading*

An interesting phenomenon can be observed in the case of optionally transitive verbs. In specific, biclausal contexts, both clauses can be interpreted as containing the transitive version of the verbs, or one of them can be interpreted intransitively and the other transitively. Gracanin-Yuksek (2007) refers to these two readings as the IT-reading and the AT ALL-reading:

(209)　　**What** did you read and **why** (did you read *IT*)?

(210)　　**What** did you read and **why** (did you read *AT ALL*)?

Interestingly, only the *it*-reading is available in preverbal coordination in Hungarian (i.e. when the two question words cannot be treated as two separate questions):

(211) a. **Mit** és **miért** olvasott?
        what.Acc and why   read.Past.3Sg
        'What did he read and why did he read it?'

    b. **Miért** és **mit**   olvasott?
        why   and what.Acc read.Past.3Sg
        'What did he read and why did he read it?'

(212) a. **Mit**   és **mikor** ettél?
        what.Acc and when   eat.Past.2Sg
        'What did you eat and when did you eat it?'

    b. **Mikor** és **mit**   ettél?
        when   and what.Acc eat.Past.2Sg
        'What did you eat and when did you eat it?'

In sentence-final coordination, the preverbal object *wh*-item enforces the *it*-reading in the second, elliptical clause as well (since the existence of an object is then already assumed in the second clause):

(213) **Mit**   olvasott   és **miért**?
      what.Acc read.Past.3Sg and why
      'What did he read and why did he read it?'

(214) **Mit**   ettél   és **mikor**?
      what.Acc eat.Past.2Sg and when
      'What did you eat and when did you eat it?'

The *at all*-reading is only available in sentence-final coordination, when the non-object *wh*-phrase is the preverbal question word:

(215) **Miért** olvasott   és **mit**?
      why   read.Past.3Sg and what.Acc
      'Why did he read at all and what was it that he read?'

(216) **Mikor** ettél   és mellesleg **mit**?
      when   eat.Past.2Sg and by the way   what.Acc
      'When did you eat at all and what was it that you ate, by the way?'

This argument shows that the interpretation in which two questions are available (*Why did you read?* and *What was it?*) is only available in sentence-final coordination, corresponding to the two clauses in the sentence. In preverbal coordination, only one reading is available, supporting the view that this structure is monoclausal.

3.3.5. *Definite and indefinite verb forms in clauses containing two verbs*

A similar phenomenon can be observed in clauses containing two verbs: one is a finite verb subcategorizing for an infinitive (for instance, an auxiliary or a light verb) and the other the infinitive. Interestingly, in clausal coordination, a different verb can undergo ellipsis in each clause:

(217) a.   Kérdés, hogy [**mit**   akarunk vacsorázni], és   [**hol** akarunk vacsorázni].
        question Compl what.Acc want.1Pl dine.Inf   and   where want.1Pl dine.Inf
        'The question is what we want to eat for dinner, and where we want to eat for dinner.'

     b.   ??/%Kérdés, hogy **mit**   akarunk ~~vacsorázni~~ és **hol** ~~akarunk~~ vacsorázni.
          question Compl what.Acc want.1Pl dine.Inf   and where want.1Pl dine.Inf
          'The question is what we want to eat for dinner and where.'

Note that although example (217b) was attested in live speech, it is not acceptable for all speakers.

(218) a.   Kérdés, hogy [**hol** akarunk vacsorázni] és [**mit**   akarunk vacsorázni].
        question Compl where want.1Pl dine.Inf   and   what.Acc want.1Pl dine.Inf
        'The question is where we want to have dinner and what we want to eat for dinner.'

     b.   ?Kérdés, hogy [**hol** akarunk ~~vacsorázni~~] és
        question Compl where want.1Pl dine.Inf   and
        [**mit**   <…>   ~~akarunk~~ vacsorázni].
        what.Acc   want.1Pl dine.Inf
        'The question is where we want to have dinner and what we want to eat for dinner.'

According to Zoltán Bánréti (p.c.), the example in (218b) is more acceptable than (217b), especially if there is a significant prosodic break after the second *wh*-phrase (*mit*).

     Note that in example (218), the transitive and the intransitive versions of the verb *vacsorázni* are coordinated in the different clauses. The finite verb appears in its indefinite form in both clauses, and the infinitive is taken to be intransitive in the first, but transitive in the second. However, the finite verb can also appear in the definite conjugation depending on the interpretation: if the answer to the question in the first clause is already taken as given in the second question (in the second clause), the object will be anticipated as already identified, and thus the finite verb will exhibit the definite conjugation.

(219) a.   Kérdés, hogy **mit**   akarsz   olvasni és **hol** akarsz   olvasni.
        question Compl what.Acc want.2Sg.Indef read.Inf and where want.2Sg.Indef read.Inf
        'The question is what you want to read and where.'

     b.   Kérdés, hogy **mit**   akarsz   olvasni és **hol** akarod   olvasni.
        question Compl what.Acc want.2Sg.Indef read.Inf and where want.2Sg.Def read.Inf
        'The question is what you want to read and where you want to read it.'

Note also that in the examples used so far, all the verbs were optionally transitive. With obligatorily transitive verbs, the verb undergoing ellipsis can only be reconstructed in the definite conjugation:

(220) a.   Kérdés, hogy **mit**   akarsz   és   **hol** megvenni.
           question   Compl what.Acc want.2Sg.Indef and   where Prt.buy.Inf
           'The question is what wou want to buy and where.'

     b.   Kérdés, hogy **mit**   akarsz   megvenni és **hol** akarod
           question   Compl what.Acc want.2Sg.Indef Prt.buy.Inf   and where want.2Sg.Def
           megvenni.
           Prt.buy.Inf
           'The question is what you want to buy and where you want to buy it.'

     c.   *Kérdés, hogy **mit**   akarsz   venni és **hol** akarsz   venni.
           question   Compl what.Acc want.2Sg.Indef buy.Inf and   where want.2Sg.Indef buy.Inf

If the definite object is already given in the sentence, the verb stands in the definite conjugation in both clauses:

(221) a.   %Kérdés, hogy ezt   a pizzát **hol** szoktad   és **mennyiért**
           question   Compl this.Acc the pizza.Acc where Habit.Past.2Sg.Def   and for how much
           rendelni.
           order.Inf
           'The question is, where you usually order this pizza and for how much.'

     b.   Kérdés, hogy ezt   a pizzát **hol** szoktad   rendelni és
           question   Compl this.Acc the pizza.Acc where Habit.Past.2Sg.Def order.Inf   and
           mennyiért szoktad   rendelni.
           for how much   Habit.Past.2SgDef order.Inf
           'The question is, where you usually order this pizza and for how much you usually order it.'

     c.   Kérdés, hogy ezt   a pizzát hol szoktad   rendelni, és
           question   Compl this.Acc the pizza.Acc where Habit.Past.2Sg.Def order.Inf   and
           (az is kérdés) hogy mennyiért szoktad   rendelni.
            that too question   Compl for how much Habit.Past.2Sg.Def   order.Inf
           'The question is, where you usually order this pizza and it is also a question for how much you usually order it.'

     d.   *Kérdés, hogy ezt   a pizzát **hol** szoktál   és
           question   Compl this.Acc the pizza.Acc where Habit.Past.2Sg.Indef and
           mennyiért rendelni.
           for how much order.Inf

The problem of the different verb forms does not come up in the case of invariable auxiliaries, no matter whether the definite object is present or not:

(222) a.   %Kérdés, hogy [**mit**   kell] és [**hogyan** intézni].
           question   Compl what.Acc need and how   arrange.Inf
           'The question is what needs to be arranged and how.'

     b.   Kérdés, hogy [**mit**   kell intézni] és   [**hogyan** kell intézni].
           question   Compl what.Acc needs arrange.Inf and   how   need arrange.Inf
           'The question is what needs to be arranged and how it needs to be arranged.'

(223) a. Kérdés, hogy a fényképes bérletet   [**hol** kell intézni] meg
       question   Compl the photo.Adj   season ticket.Acc   where needs arrange.Inf and
       [**hogyan** kell   intézni].
        how   needs   arrange.Inf
       'The question is where the season ticket has to be arranged and how.'

     b. [%]Kérdés, hogy a   fényképes bérletet   [**hol** kell ~~intézni~~] meg
       question   Compl the photo.Adj   season ticket.Acc   where needs arrange.Inf and
       [**hogyan** ~~kell~~   intézni].
        how   needs   arrange.Inf
       'The question is where the season ticket has to be arranged and how.'

If we compare these observations to similar examples with preverbal coordination, we will see that in the latter, the verb can exhibit only the indefinite conjugation:

(224) a. Kérdés, hogy **mit**   és **hol** akarsz   enni.
       question   Compl what.Acc and where want.2Sg.Indef eat.Inf
       'The question is what you want to eat and where.'

     b. *Kérdés, hogy **mit**   és **hol** akarod   enni.
       question   Compl what.Acc and where want.2Sg.Def eat.Inf

These examples thus also illustrated the claim that, in clausal coordination, it is possible to coordinate the intransitive and transitive versions of the same verb, the latter undergoing ellipsis in the second clause. In preverbal coordination, however, only the indefinite verb form can follow the coordinated *wh*-items.

3.3.6. *The possibility of inserting sentence adverbials*

3.3.6.1. *In non-embedded clauses*

Sentence-level adverbials cannot be inserted between the question words in preverbal coordination, only in an intonationally marked sentence, in which the adverbial and the question word following it form a separate intonational unit and are considered as an example of syntactic insertion:

(225) a. ***Ki** és méginkább **hol** látta   őt   utoljára?
       who and more importantly where see.Past.3Sg him.Acc for the last time
       'Who saw him for the last time and more importantly where?'

     b. "**Ki**, és méginkább: "**hol**, látta   őt   utoljára?
       who   and more importantly where see.Past.3Sg him.Acc for the last time
       'Who saw him for the last time, and more importantly: WHERE?'

On the other hand, sentence-level adverbials can be inserted between the conjunction and the sentence-final question word even without intonational marking:

(226)   **Ki** látta   őt   utoljára,   és méginkább: **hol**?
       who see.Past.3Sg him.Acc for the last time and more importantly where
       'Who saw him for the last time, and more importantly: where?'

The impossibility of adverb insertion between the two preverbal question words (without the marked prosody) shows that in preverbal coordination, the *wh*-items and the conjunction form a syntactic unit, whereas this is not true in the case of a sentence-final, coordinated *wh*-item and the preceding clause.

We thus established that multiple questions containing preverbal coordination are monoclausal, which means that in them the *wh*-phrases are coordinated, and not clauses (undergoing ellipsis). However, structures containing sentence-final coordination are biclausal, in which one full clause is coordinated with an elliptical one.

3.3.6.2. In embedded clauses

Before going on to the discussion of the coordinated items, let us have a look at an interesting observation concerning the syntactic structure of these questions, which is also pragmatic in nature. The observation, namely that multiple questions containing coordinated *wh*-items occur most frequently in embedded contexts, concerns their use in spoken language and in written corpora as well, although they are acceptable as main clause questions as well (Bîlbîie and Gazdik 2012).

(227) a. Nem is   tudom, **hova** és **mennyi időre**   menjünk   nyaralni.
  not   even know.1Sg where and how.much time.Sub go.Subj.1Pl holiday.Inf
  'I don't really know where we should go on holiday and for how much time.'

   b. **Hova** és **mennyi időre**   szeretnétek nyaralni menni?
  where and how.much time.Sub like.Mod.2Pl holiday.Inf go.Inf
  'Where and for how much time would you like to go on holiday?'

(228) a. Mondjátok már meg, **ki** és **mit**   tett   a levesbe!
  tell.1Pl.Subj now Prt   who and what.Acc put.Past.3Sg the soup.Ill
  'Tell me now, who put something in the soup and what was it!'

   b. **Ki** és **mit**   tett   a levesbe?
  who and what.Acc put.Past.3Sg the soup.Ill
  'Who put something in the soup and what was it?'

Moreover, some questions are even more acceptable in embedded clauses than in main clauses (see Kálmán 2001):

(229) a. Nem igazán tudom, hogy **ki** és **miben** bízik   még.
  not   really know.1Sg Compl who and what.Ine trust.3Sg still
  'I don't really know who still has confidence in something, and in what that is.'

   b. ??**Ki** és **miben** bízik   még?
  who and what.Ine trust.3Sg still
  'Who still has confidence in something, and in what that is?'

(230) a. Nem igazán tudom,   hogy **ki** és **milyen álláspontot** képvisel.
  not   really know.1Sg Compl who and which   viewpoint.Acc stand.1Sg for
  'I don't really know who stands for some viewpoint and what it is.'

b. ^{??}**Ki** és **milyen álláspontot** képvisel?

who and which   viewpoint.Acc stand.3Sg for

'Who stands for what kind of viewpoint?'

(231) a. Nem igazán tudom, **ki** és **melyik fiút** rajzolta le.

not really know who and which boy.Acc drew Prt

'I don't really know who made a drawing of which boy.'

b. ^{??}**Ki** és **melyik fiút** rajzolta le?

who and which boy.Acc draw.Past Prt

'Who made a drawing of which boy?'

The explanation for this phenomenon is far from straightforward. According to one possible explanation, the embedding of these questions is one way of introducing the event, state of affairs, etc. described by the question into the universe of the discourse. In main clause direct questions, two or more participants of the same event are asked about at the same time (in the same clause) as the event itself is introduced into the discourse, which is pragmatically anomalous. Embedding, on the other hand, indicates that the event had already been introduced into the discourse. Nevertheless, there are other ways of indicating that the question is not *out of the blue*:

(232) Na, akkor **ki** és **mikor** jön a Balatonra?

so then who and when come.3Sg the Balaton.Sub

'So then, who is coming to Lake Balaton, and when?'

3.4. On coordination in multiple questions

3.4.1. On the presence/absence of the conjunction

As was mentioned above, in the case of more than two *wh*-items, the conjunction is obligatory only between the linearly last two *wh*-items:

(233) **Ki**, **mikor** és **hogyan** döntött erről?

who when and how decide.Past.3Sg this.Del

'Who decided about this, when, and how?'

For some speakers it is also possible to leave out the conjunction when only two *wh*-phrases are coordinated. In this case, both *wh*-phrases are stressed:

(234) a. **Ki** és **mikor** érkezett?

who and when arrive.Past.3Sg

'Who arrived and when?'

b. [%]"**Ki**, "**mikor** érkezett?

who when arrive.Past.3Sg

'Who arrived, when?'

(235) a. **Ki** és **mikor** fedezte   fel a   hidrogént?
           who and when   discover.Past.3Sg Prt the hydrogen.Acc
           'Who discovered hydrogen and when?'

      b. [%]"**Ki**, "**mikor** fedezte   fel a   hidrogént?
            who   when   discover.Past.3Sg Prt the hydrogen.Acc
            'Who discovered hydrogen, when?' (intended)

We refer to this "conjunctionless" version of preverbal coordination as *paratactic coordination*. These are indicated by a comma between the *wh*-items in writing.

     Note that paratactic *wh*-structures are to be distinguished from another multiple question type, which contains multiple preverbal question words, i.e. in which the *wh*-phrases are cumulated in the preverbal domain without a conjunction (this structure is often referred to as *multiple fronting*):

(236)   **Ki mikor** kölcsönözte   ki a   könyvet a   könyvtárból?
         who when   borrow.Past.3Sg Prt the book.Acc the library.Ela
         'Who borrowed the book from the library when?'

Unlike paratactic structures, in which both *wh*-items are stressed, multiple preverbal questions exhibit a different intonation pattern (Mycock 2006): only the immediately preverbal *wh*-word receives the sharp pitch accent that single preverbal question words and foci usually bear, the other (or others) is (are) pronounced with a rising intonation that makes their intonation more similar to topics (see the Volume on *Sentence Structure*, the Chapter *Topic*).

     Apart from the prosodic difference (and the presence or absence of the conjunction), there are important semantic differences between structures containing multiple preverbal *wh*-items on the one hand, and preverbal coordination and paratactic questions on the other.

     Paratactic structures and preverbal coordination containing an overt coordinator, usually refer to unique events and expect single-pair answers, whereas multiple preverbal *wh*-phrase structures license pair-list answers, i.e. the non-final *wh*-items range over more than one item, and these are then paired up with one member of the set denoted by the final *wh*-item in the answer. Compare:

Unique events, single-pair answer:

(237) a. **Ki** és **mikor** ölte   meg Kennedyt?
           who and when   kill.Past.3Sg Prt   Kennedy.Acc
           'Who killed Kennedy and when?'

      b. "**Ki**, "**mikor** ölte   meg Kennedyt?
           who   when   kill.Past.3Sg Prt   Kennedy.Acc
           'Who killed Kennedy, when?'

      c. Feltételezhetően Lee Harvey Oswald, 1963-ban.
           supposedly   Lee   Harvey   Oswald   1963-Ine
           'Supposedly Lee Harvey Oswald in 1963.'

(238) a. #**Ki   mikor** ölte   meg Kennedyt?
    who   when   killed Prt   Kennedy.Acc
    'Who killed Kennedy when?'

    b. #Lee Harvey Oswald 1963-ban, a   bátyja   1964-ben és az
    Lee Harvey Oswald 1963-Ine the brother.Poss 1964.Ine   and the
    unokatestvére 1965-ben.
    cousin.Poss   1965-Ine
    'Lee Harvey Oswald in 1963, his brother in 1964, and his cousin in 1965.'

As shown by these examples, multiple preverbal questions cannot be used in the case of unique events, since they always expect an enumeration of answer pairs. Let us now have a look at typical pair-list contexts:

Pair-list answer:

(239) a. **Ki mikor** kölcsönozte ki   a   könyvet a   könyvtárból?
    who when   borrow.Past .3Sg Prt the book.Acc the library.Ela
    'Who borrowed the book from the library when?'

    Answer:
    b. Péter január 3-án, Róbert december 8-án, Richárd pedig november
    Péter January 3rd.Sup Róbert December 8th.Sup Richárd and   November
    10-én.
    10th.Sup
    'Péter borrowed it on January 3rd, Róbert on December 8th, and Richárd on November 10th.'

    Answer:
    c. *Péter, január 3-án.
    Péter January 3rd.Sup
    'Péter, on January 3rd.'

Multiple preverbal *wh*-structures are treated in the Volume on *Sentence Structure* in the Chapter on *Interrogatives and exclamatives*. Paratactic questions are not treated separately in this chapter, since (apart from the lack of the conjunction and the pitch accent on the *wh*-items), they can be characterized in the same way as questions containing preverbal coordination.

    In sentence-final coordination, the conjunction is obligatory:

(240) a. **Ki** kölcsönözte ki a   könyvet a   könyvtárból, és **mikor**?
    who borrow.Past.3Sg Prt the book.Acc the library.Ela   and when
    'Who borrowed the book from the library and when?'

    b. *"**Ki** kölcsönözte ki a   könyvet a   könyvtárból, "**mikor**?
    who borrow.Past.3Sg Prt the book.Acc the library.Ela   when
    '*Who borrowed the book from the library, when?'

(241) a. **Ki** nyert   amerikai ösztöndíjat, és **hogyan**?
    who win.Past.3Sg American grant.Acc   and how
    'Who won a grant to the US and how?'

b. *"**Ki** nyert amerikai ösztöndíjat, "**hogyan**?

    who won.Past.3Sg American grant.Acc how

    '*Who won a grant to the US, how?'

Interestingly, between full clauses, the conjunction can be dropped (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.5.):

(242)   Vali megjött, Ica köszönt neki, Zsuzsi hozta a vacsorát.

        Vali arrive.Past.3Sg Ica greet.Past.3Sg her.Dat Zsuzsi bring.Past.3Sg the dinner.Acc

        'Vali arrived, Ica greeted her, and Zsuzsi brought the dinner.'

3.4.2. Types of coordinating conjunction in multiple questions

When the conjunction is present, it is almost always *és* 'and'. The reason is probably pragmatic: it links the information gaps posited in the question, represented by the *wh*-items. Another conjunction that can fill this role, though more rarely, is *meg* 'and, plus'. In some marginal cases, *vagy* 'or' is also attested.

3.4.2.1. The conjunction és *'and'*

És 'and' is the most frequent conjunction in multiple questions. In matrix clauses, it is almost exclusively preferred over *meg* 'and, plus'.

(243)   **Ki** és **mikor** nyaral?

        who and when go.3Sg on holiday

        'Who goes on holiday and when?'

(244)   **Hol** és **hogyan** töltitek a szilvesztert?

        where and how spend.2Pl the New Year's Eve.Acc

        'Where will you spend New Year's Eve and how?'

(245)   **Kiket** hívtál meg legutóbb, és **hogyan**?

        who.Acc invite.Past.3Sg Prt the last time and how

        'Whom did you invite the last time, and how?'

(246)   **Mikor** váltak el, és **miért**?

        when divorce.Past.3Sg Prt and why

        'When did they get divorced, and why?'

3.4.2.2. The conjunction meg *'and, plus'*

Meg 'and, plus' is considered ungrammatical or dispreferred in matrix clauses:

(247)   ***Ki** meg **mikor** nyaral?

        who and when go.2Sg on holiday

        'Who goes on holiday and when?'

(248)   ***Hol** meg **hogyan** töltitek a szilvesztert?

        where and how spend.2Pl the New Year's Eve.Acc

        'Where will you spend New Year's Eve and how?'

However, *meg* is more acceptable in embedded clauses, especially in spoken language:

(249)   Fogalmam sincs, hogy **hol**   meg **hogyan** töltjük a   szilvesztert.
        no idea   Compl where and how   spend.1Pl the New Year's Eve.Acc
        'I have no idea where and how we'll spend New Year's Eve.'

(250)   Nem tudom, hogy **mikor**, **hol**, meg **hogyan** zajlana   mindez.
        not   know.1Sg Compl when   where and   how   happen.Cond.3Sg all this
        'I don't know when, where and how all this would happen.'

(251)   Kérdés, hogy a   fényképes bérletet   **hol** kell meg **hogyan** intézni.
        question Compl the photo.Adj   season ticket.Acc where need and   how   arrange.Inf
        'The question is where the season ticket with a photo has to be obtained and how.'

(252)   Nem érdekel,   hogy **mit**   csinálsz, meg **miért**.
        not   interest.3Sg Compl what.Acc do.2Sg   and   why
        'I'm not interested in what you do and why.'

(253)   Szóljatok, hogy **mivel**   jöttök,   meg **mikor**, és kimegyek elétek.
        tell me   Compl which.Ins come.2Pl and when   and out-go.1Sg for.you
        'Tell me how you are coming and when, and I'll go to meet you.'

3.4.2.3. *The conjunction* vagy *'or'*

Vagy 'or' can be used in multiple questions in marginal cases only. The reason for this is probably pragmatic: a multiple question presupposes the conjunction and not the disjunction of questioning discourse acts. *Vagy* 'or' is most often used in cases where there is only one information gap in the question, but some of its features are not known, that is why more than one *wh*-item is needed in order to ask a question about it.

   Ki 'who' and *mi* 'what' can sometimes be conjoined by *vagy* 'or'. In these cases, there is only one information gap in the question, but its humanity feature is not known. This means that the *wh*-items refer to the same grammatical function (for instance, subject or object) and enlarge the domain of the question in order to include animate and inanimate answer possibilities as well:

(254)   **Ki** vagy **mi** volt   a   mitológia szerint   Romulus és Remus
        who or   what be.Past.3Sg the mythology according to Romulus   and Remus
        édesanyja?
        mother.Poss
        'Who or what was Romulus and Remus's mother according to the mythology?'

(255)   **Ki** vagy **mi** sérti   inkább a   somlói bor hírnevét?
        who   or   what hurt.3Sg more   the of Somló wine reputation.Poss
        'Who or what is more harmful for the reputation of the Somló wine?'

(256) **Kitől** ijedtél meg, vagy **mitől**?
       who.Abl get.Past scared Prt or what.Abl
       'Who scared you, or what?'

It is also possible to conjoin by *vagy* 'or' synonymous *wh*-items inquiring about reason:

(257) **Miért** vagy **mitől** szakadt át a gát?
       why or what.Abl break.Past.3Sg Prt the dam
       'Why or for what reason did the dam break?'

Marginally, it is possible to conjoin adjuncts by *vagy* 'or'. These refer to time and place, i.e. to the circumstances of an event or an action. The disjunction is motivated by the fact that one of them is enough for the identification of the event.

(258) ??**Hol** vagy **mikor** zuhant le a repülő?
       where or when crash.Past.3Sg Prt the plane
       'Where or when did the plane crash?'

(259) ??**Hol** vagy **mikor** lehet letölteni a Darksider 2 nevű játék
       where or when possible download.Inf the Darksider 2 named game
       magyarítását?
       Hungarian version.Poss.Acc
       'Where or when can I download the Hungarian version of the game Darksider 2?'

(260) ?**Hol** volt Napóleon utolsó csatája, vagy **mikor**?
       where be.Past.3Sg Napoleon last battle.Poss or when
       'Where was Napoleon's last battle, and/or when?' (e.g., during search on the internet, or in a school test)

Note that not all conjunctions that can appear between clauses can appear in multiple questions containing coordination, not even in (biclausal) sentence-final coordination. Contrary conjunctions like *pedig* 'and/but' for instance, are ungrammatical in multiple questions:

(261) Mari ott volt, János *pedig* elkésett.
       Mari there be.Past.3Sg János and/but be.Past.3Sg late
       'Mari was there, but János was late.'

(262) *****Ki** *pedig* **miért** késett el?
       who and/but why be.Past.3Sg late Prt
       '*Who but why was late?'

(263) *****Ki** késett el, *pedig* **miért**?
       who be.Past.3Sg.late Prt and/but why
       '*Who was late but why?'

3.4.3. On the coordinated wh-*items: what can be coordinated?*

3.4.3.1. Yes-no questions and constituent questions

Before considering the coordination of *wh*-items only, we examine the possibility of coordinating a yes-no and a constituent question. This turns out to be possible only in the case of embedded yes-no questions, which contain an interrogative particle (*-e*), which usually cliticizes onto the verb:

(264) a. Szóljatok, hogy jöttök**-e**   és **hányan**!
     tell.Subj.2Pl Compl come.2Pl-QPart and how many
     'Tell me if you are coming, and if so, how many of you!'

  b. ??Jöttök**-e**   és **hányan**?
     come.2Pl-QPart and how many

  c. Jöttök**-e**   és ha igen, **hányan**?
     come.2Pl-QPart and if yes   how many
     'Tell me if you are coming, and if so, how many of you!'

(265) a. Értesíts,   hogy jössz**-e**   és **mikor**?
     tell.Subj.2Sg Compl come.2Sg-QPart and when
     'Tell me if you are coming, and if so, when!'

  b. ??Jössz**-e**   és **mikor**?
     come.2Sg-QPart and when

  c. Jössz**-e**,   és ha igen, **mikor**?
     come.2Sg-QPart and if yes   when
     'Tell me if you are coming, and if so, when!'

The interrogative particle is acceptable for some speakers in main clause questions as well. However, in main clauses it cannot be coordinated with another *wh*-item:

(266) a. Látta**-e**   már Budapestet?
     see.Past-QPart already Budapest.Acc
     'Have you ever seen Budapest?'

  b. ??Látta**-e**   már Budapestet és **mikor**?
     see.Past-QPart already Budapest.Acc and when

These interrogatives can be described with the syntactic structure proposed for sentence-final coordination: they are biclausal, with forward ellipsis affecting the verb in the second conjunct.

(267) a. Szóljatok, hogy [jöttök**-e**]   és [**hányan** jöttök]!
     tell.Subj.2Pl Compl come.2Pl-QPart and how many come.2Pl
     'Tell me if you are coming, and if so, how many of you are coming.'

  b. Értesíts,   hogy [jössz**-e**]   és [**mikor** jössz]?
     tell.Subj.2Sg Compl come.2Sg-QPart and when   come.2Sg
     'Tell me if you are coming, and if so, when you are coming.'

Now we move on to the properties of the coordination of *wh*-phrases.

3.4.3.2. In constituent questions

We have already observed, when investigating the syntactic structure of multiple questions containing coordinated *wh*-phrases, that the coordination of two obligatory argument *wh*-phrases is only possible in preverbal coordination, although speakers' grammaticality judgements vary with respect to such sentences.

3.4.3.2.1. The wh-*items involved*

Almost all the *wh*-items mentioned in the Volume on *Sentence Structure* in the Chapter on *Interrogatives and exclamatives* can be coordinated preverbally or sentence-finally in multiple questions. A clear exception is *hogyhogy* 'how come', which in fact is analysed as a discourse particle, and not as a proper *wh*-item. *Hogyhogy* 'how come' cannot introduce *out of the blue* questions, and expresses astonishment concerning the previous discourse act:

(268)   Speaker A: Én erről   nem tudtam.
             I   this.Del not   know.Past.1Sg
             'I didn't know about this.'

          Speaker B: **Hogyhogy** nem tudtál   erről?
             how come   not   know.Past.2Sg   this.Del
             'How come you didn't know about this?'

Hogyhogy 'how come' cannot be coordinated with a *wh*-item preverbally or coordinated sentence-finally to another question. However, it can appear as the preverbal question word in a sentence containing sentence-final coordination:

(269) a. ****Hogyhogy** és   **miért** nem tudtál   erről?
             how come   and   why   not   know.Past.2Sg   this.Del
             '*How come and why you didn't know about this?'

     b. ****Miért** és   **hogyhogy** nem tudtál   erről?
             why   and how come   not   know.Past.2Sg   about.Del
             '*Why and how come you didn't know about this?'

(270) a. ****Mit**   ettetek,   és   **hogyhogy**?
             what.Acc eat.Past.2Pl and how come
             '*What did you eat, and how come?'

     b. **Hogyhogy** már   ettetek, ... és (amúgy)   **mit**?
             how come   already eat.Past.2Pl   and by the way what.Acc
             'How come you've already eaten, and what (did you eat) (by the way)?'

The grammaticality of (270b) is easy to account for, if we assume that a sentence-finally coordinated *wh*-item in fact represents an elliptical clause, conjoined to an independent single question, and thus the two form independent discourse acts. *Hogyhogy* 'how come' and the discourse act it heads then express astonishment with respect to the fact that the others have already eaten without expecting an answer, and the question inquiring about the food consumed is conjoined to this as another clause and another discourse act.

Another exception is the idiomatic-like use of *mit* ('what' in the accusative), where it is used exclusively with intransitive verbs and means 'what for, why'. In this use, *mit* is also ungrammatical in preverbal coordination, and coordinated sentence-finally; however, it is grammatical as the preverbal question word in sentence-final coordination, since then it can constitute an independent discourse act.

(271)   **Mit**   ülsz ott a   kövön?
          what.Acc sit.2Sg there the stone.Sup
          'Why (what for) are you sitting there, on the stone?'

(272) a. *__Mit__   és   **mióta**   ülsz   ott a   kövön?
          what.Acc and since when sit.2Sg there the stone.Sup
          '*For what reason have you been sitting there on the stone, and since when?'

    b. *__Mióta__   és   **mit**   ülsz   ott a   kövön?
          since when and what.Acc sit.2Sg there the stone.Sup
          'Since when have you been sitting there, on the stone, and for what reason?'

(273) a. **Mit**   ülsz   ott a   kövön, és **mióta**?
          what.Acc sit.2Sg there the stone.Sup and since when
          'Why (what for) are you sitting there, on the stone, and since when?'

    b. *__Mióta__   ülsz ott a   kövön, és **mit**?
          since when sit.2Sg there the stone.Sup and what.Acc
          'Since when have you been sitting there, one the stone, and what for?'

Now we will examine if and how the argument/adjunct status of the *wh*-items influences the grammaticality of these interrogatives, in other words, what can be coordinated with what?

3.4.3.2.2.   *Argument and adjunct* wh-*items*

It has to be noted that there is considerable variety and uncertainty in the acceptability judgements of native speakers on multiple questions. These judgements are at the same time diverse (the same question is perfectly grammatical for some speakers, but completely unacceptable for others) and gradual, which we represent by the marks used throughout the volume.

We first examine the argument/adjunct status of the coordinated *wh*-items in preverbal coordination, then we go on to sentence-final coordination.

3.4.3.2.2.1. In preverbal coordination

The above general remark can be illustrated with respect to the argument/adjunct status of the coordinated *wh*-items: generally, it can be observed that when an argument is coordinated with another *wh*-item (be it argument or adjunct), the less obligatory this second item is, the more grammatical the coordination is judged to be by native speakers.

(274)   ***Ki** és **minek** tanul?
      who and what.Dat study.3Sg
      'Who studies and for what (which profession)?'

(275)   ***Kit** és **milyennek** tartasz?
      who.Acc and what.kind.Dat consider.2Sg

(276)   ***Melyik** fiút és **milyennek** látod?
      which boy.Acc and what.kind.Dat see.2Sg

These sentences are acceptable as echo questions only.

    The coordination of two obligatory arguments (subject and object or oblique) is not completely acceptable for all speakers, but not completely ungrammatical either.

(277)   ^{??}**Ki** és **mit** csinál? (subject and object)
      who and what.Acc do.3Sg
      'Who does something and what is it?'

(278)   [?]**Ki** és **mit** követett el?
      who and what.Acc commit.Past Prt
      'Who committed some crime and what was it?'

(279)   ***[?]Ki** és **hol** lakik? (subject and oblique)
      who and where live.3Sg
      '*Who lives and where?'

The coordination of obligatory and optionally present, but existentially bound arguments is grammatical:

(280)   **Ki** és **mivel** fizet?
      who and what.Ins pay.3Sg
      'Who is paying and with what?'

(281)   **Ki** és **mitől** lett rosszul?
      who and what.Abl become.Past.3Sg sick
      'Who became sick and from what?'

Argument and optional argument: in the case of optionally transitive verbs, the coordination of the obligatory and the optional argument is grammatical:

(282)   **Ki** és **mit** énekelt?
      who and what.Acc sing.Past.3Sg
      'Who sang and what was it they sang?'

(283)   **Ki** és **mit** evett?
      who and what.Acc eat.Past.3Sg
      'Who ate and what was it they ate?'

(284)   **Ki** és **mit**   olvasott?
         who and what.Acc read.Past.3Sg
         'Who read and what was it they read?'

The coordination of an argument and an adjunct is grammatical.

(285)   **Kit**   és **hova** kísértél   el?
         who.Acc and where escort.Past.2Sg Prt
         'Whom did you escort and where?'

(286)   **Ki** és **mikor** állította   az első karácsonyfát?
         who and when   dress.Past.3Sg the first Christmas tree.Acc
         'Who dressed the first Christmas tree and when?'

The coordination of adverbial arguments, if only one of them is obligatory, is grammatical.

(287)   **Hol** és **mikor** született   József Attila?
         where and when   be.born.Past.3Sg József Attila
         'Where and when was Attila József born?'

(288)   **Hol** és **mikor** találkozunk?
         where and when   meet.1Pl
         'Where and when do we meet?'

The coordination of two adjuncts is grammatical.

(289)   **Hogyan** és **miért** pusztítják az esőerdőket?
         how   and why   destroy.3Pl the rain forest.Pl.Acc
         'How and why do the rain forests get destroyed?'

3.4.3.2.2.2. In sentence-final coordination

As we have seen above, obligatory arguments are strictly forbidden as the sentence-final question word in sentence-final coordination, which was one of the reasons why we considered these structures biclausal. The sentence-final coordination of arguments not obligatorily present, or adjuncts, is grammatical.

In case an argument and a secondary predicate are coordinated, the secondary predicate cannot be coordinated sentence-finally:

(290)   ****Ki** tanul   és **minek**?
         who study.3Sg and what.Dat
         'Who studies and to acquire which profession?' (intended)

(291)   ****Kit**   tartasz   és **milyennek**?
         who.Acc consider.2Sg and what.kind.Dat
         'Whom do you consider and to be like what?' (intended)

(292)   ***Melyik fiút**   látod   és **milyennek**?
          which   boy.Acc see.2Sg and what.kind.Dat
          'Which boy do you take and for what?'

In case two obligatory arguments are coordinated, the sentence-final coordination of one of the obligatory arguments is ungrammatical:

(293)   ***Ki** csinál, és **mit**?
          who do.3Sg   and what.Acc
          '*Who does and what?'

(294)   ***Ki**   követett   el, és **mit**?
          who   commit.Past Prt and what.Acc
          '*Who committed and what?'

(295)   ***Ki** lakik,   és **hol**?
          who live.3Sg and where
          '*Who lives and where?'

On the other hand, if an obligatory and an optionally present, existentially bound argument are coordinated, the optional argument can be coordinated sentence-finally:

(296)   **Ki**   fizet   és **mivel**?
          who   pay.3Sg and what.Ins
          'Who pays and with what?'

(297)   **Ki**   lett   rosszul és **mitől**?
          who   become.Past.3Sg sick   and what.Abl
          'Who became sick and from what?'

The optional argument of optionally transitive verbs can be coordinated sentence-finally.

(298)   **Ki**   énekelt   és **mit**?
          who   sing.Past.3Sg and what.Acc
          'Who sang something and what was it?'

(299)   **Kit**   kísértél   el és **hova**?
          who.Acc   escort.Past.2Sg Prt and where
          'Whom did you escort and where?'

The coordination of an obligatory argument and an adjunct is grammatical.

(300)   **Ki**   állította   az első karácsonyfát   és **mikor**?
          who   dress.Past.3Sg the first Christmas tree.Acc and when
          'Who dressed the first Christmas tree and when?'

When adverbial arguments are coordinated, since only one of them is obligatory, but no matter which, any one of them can appear coordinated sentence-finally.

(301) a. **Hol** találkozunk és **mikor**?
       where meet.1Pl   and when
       'Where and when do we meet?'

  b. **Mikor** találkozunk és **hol**?
       when   meet.1Pl   and where
       'When and where do we meet?'

(302)   **Hol** született   József Attila és **mikor**?
       where be.born.Past.3Sg József Attila and when
       'Where and when was Attila József born?'

When it comes to adjuncts, any adjunct can be coordinated sentence-finally:

(303)   **Hogyan** pusztítják az esőerdőket   és **miért**?
       how   destroy.3Pl the rain forest.Pl.Acc and why
       'How do the rainforests get destroyed and why?'

3.4.3.2.3. *The order of the* wh-*phrases*

The grammaticality of coordinated *wh*-phrases, both preverbally and sentence-finally, depends not only on the argument/adjunct status of the given *wh*-phrases, but also on their order. We turn to this problem now.

3.4.3.2.3.1. In preverbal coordination

In preverbal coordination, if *ki* 'who' is coordinated with another *wh*-item, it is usually the linearly first question word:

(304) a. **Ki** és **mit**   vett?
       who and what.Acc buy.Past.3Sg
       'Who bought something and what was it?'

  b. *__Mit__   és **ki** vett?
       what.Acc and who buy.Past.3Sg

(305) a. **Ki** és **mit**   énekelt?
       who and what.Acc sing.Past.3Sg
       'Who sang something and what was it?'

  b. *__Mit__   és **ki** énekelt?
       what.Acc and who sing.Past.3Sg

(306) a. **Kit**   és **hova** kísértél   el?
       who.Acc and where escort.Past.2Sg Prt
       'Whom did you escort and where?'

  b. ??__Hova__ és **kit**   kísértél   el?
        where   and who.Acc escort.Past.2Sg Prt

(307) a.　**Ki** és **mikor** állította　　az első karácsonyfát?
　　　　who and when　 dress.Past.3Sg the first　Christmas tree.Acc
　　　　'Who dressed the first Christmas tree and when?'

　　 b.　??**Mikor** és　**ki**　állította　　az első karácsonyfát?
　　　　 when　　and who dress.Past.3Sg the first　Christmas tree.Acc
　　　　'When was the first Christmas tree dressed and by whom?'

The reason is probably pragmatic: *ki* is preferred as first question word since it refers to an animate entity, and very often to the subject. If we compare *ki* to *mi* 'what', we can see that *mi* is not subject to such constraints, irrespective of its grammatical function (subject or object), and nor is *ki*, if it does not refer to the subject:

(308) a.　**Kinek** és **mi** tetszett?
　　　　who.Dat　and what please.Past.3Sg
　　　　'Who liked something and what was it?'

　　 b.　**Mi**　　és **kinek**　tetszett?
　　　　what.Acc and who.Dat　please.Past.3Sg
　　　　'What pleased / [was pleasant to] someone, and who was it?'

(309) a.　**Hol** és **mit**　　vettél?
　　　　where and what.Acc buy.Past.2Sg
　　　　'Where did you buy something and what was it?'

　　 b.　**Mit**　　és **hol**　vettél?
　　　　what.Acc and where　buy.Past.2Sg
　　　　'What did you buy and where?'

(310) a.　**Mi** és **hogy** vett　　　　rá　erre　　téged?
　　　　what and how　　convince.Past.3Sg Prt　this.Sub you.Acc
　　　　'What convinced you of this, and how?'

　　 b.　**Hogy** és **mi** vett　　　　rá erre　　téged?
　　　　how　　and what convince.Past.3Sg　Prt this.Sub you.Acc
　　　　'How did something convince you of this, and what was it?'

The ordering of adjuncts is also free:

(311) a.　**Hol** és **mikor** született　　József Attila?
　　　　where and when　 be.born.Past.3Sg József　Attila
　　　　'Where and when was Attila József born?'

　　 b.　**Mikor** és **hol**　született　　József Attila?
　　　　when　　and where　be.born.Past.3Sg József　Attila
　　　　'When and where was Attila József born?'

(312) a.　**Hogyan** és　**miért** pusztítják az esőerdőket?
　　　　how　　　　and　why　　destroy.3Pl　the rain forest.Pl.Acc
　　　　'How and why do the rainforests get destroyed?'

b. **Miért** és **hogyan** pusztítják az esőerdőket?

why   and how   destroy.3Pl the rain forest.Pl.Acc

'Why and how do the rainforests get destroyed?'

3.4.3.2.3.2. In sentence-final coordination

In sentence-final coordination, the ordering partly follows the same rules, except for the fact that obligatory arguments cannot appear sentence-finally (since in that case they would be missing from the first clause). This applies to both *ki* 'who' and *mi* 'what' and their declined forms that appear in argument roles, and to locative arguments:

(313) a. ****Ki**   vett,   és **mit**?

who   buy.Past.3Sg and what.Acc

*'Who bought and what?'

b. ****Mit**   vett,   és **ki**?

what.Acc buy.Past.3Sg and who

(314) a. **Kit**   kísértél   el, és **hova**?

who.Acc escort.Past.2Sg Prt and where

'Whom did you escort and where?'

b. ****Hova** kísértél   el, és **kit**?

where   escort.Past.2Sg Prt and who.Acc

(315) a. **Mit**   vettél,   és **hol**?

what.Acc buy.Past.2Sg and where

'What did you buy and where?'

b. ****Hol** vettél,   és **mit**?

where buy.Past.2Sg and what.Acc

(316) a. **Ki** állította   az első karácsonyfát,   és **mikor**?

who dress.Past.3Sg the first Christmas tree.Acc and when

'Who dressed the first Christmas tree and when?'

b. ****Mikor** állította   az első karácsonyfát,   és **ki**?

when   dress.Past.3Sg the first Christmas tree.Acc and who

c. **Mikor** állították   az első karácsonyfát,   és **ki**?

when   dress.Past.3Pl the first Christmas tree.Acc and who

'When was the first Christmas tree dressed and by whom?'

Note that (316c) is grammatical since it contains an arbitrary subject in the first clause (see Section 3.4.3.2.4.1. below for more details on this issue).

(317) a. **Melyik bulira** mentél   az este,   és **kivel**?

which   party.Sub go.Past.2Sg the evening and who.Ins

'To which party did you go last night, and with whom?'

    b. ***Kivel** mentél   az este,   és **melyik bulira**?
       who.Ins go.Past.2Sg the evening and which   party.Sub

(318) a. **Hol**   lakik, és **mióta**?
       where live.3Sg and since when
       'Where does he live, and since when?'

    b. ***Mióta** lakik, és **hol**?
       since when live.3Sg   and where

If an obligatory argument is coordinated with an optional argument, the latter appears sentence-finally:

(319) a. **Ki** énekelt   és **mit**?
       who sing.Past.3Sg and what.Acc
       'Who sang and what?'

    b. ***Mit**   énekelt   és **ki**?
       what.Acc sing.Past.3Sg and who

When adjuncts are coordinated, they can appear in any order. However, when *miért* 'why' is present in the question, it is slightly preferred in the sentence-final position:

(320) a. **Hol** született   József Attila és **mikor**?
       where be.born.Past.3Sg József   Attila and when
       'Where was Attila József born and when?'

    b. **Mikor** született   József Attila és **hol**?
       when   be.born.Past.3Sg József   Attila and where
       'When was Attila József born and where?'

(321) a. **Hogyan** pusztítják az esőerdőket   és **miért**?
       how   destroy.3Pl the rain forest.Pl.Acc and why
       'How do the rainforests get destroyed and why?'

    b. **Miért** pusztítják az esőerdőket   és **hogyan**?
       why   destroy.3Pl the rainforest.Pl.Acc and how
       'Why do the rainforests get destroyed and how?'

3.4.3.2.4. *The pro-drop parameter*

Hungarian is a pro-drop language, in which the pronominal subject, singular object, and even dative (indirect object) arguments can be dropped, without leading to ungrammaticality. The dropped pronominal argument is problematic only in the biclausal structure, since the dropped argument of the first clause cannot appear as a question word in the second.

3.4.3.2.4.1. Dropped subjects

The subject can easily be dropped in preverbal coordination, no matter in which order the *wh*-items appear:

(322) a. **Hol** és **mit** vett?
where and what.Acc buy.Past.3Sg
'Where did he buy something and what was it?'

b. **Mit** és **hol** vett?
what and where buy.Past.3Sg
'What did he buy, and where?'

More specific *wh*-items are somewhat more preferred to less specific ones in first positions:

(323) a. **Mikor** és **hogyan** döntött erről?
when and how decide.Past.3Sg this.Abl
'When did he decide about this and how?'

b. ?**Hogyan** és **mikor** döntött erről?
how and when decide.Past.3Sg this.Abl
'How did he decide about this and when?'

The subject can also be dropped in sentence-final coordination, the sentence is grammatical if otherwise no argument is missing from the clauses:

(324) a. **Mit** vett, és **hol**?
what.Acc buy.Past.3Sg and where
'What did he buy, and where?'

b. *****Hol** vett, és **mit**?
Where buy.Past.3Sg and what
'Where did he buy, and what?'

(325) a. **Mit** evett, és **hol**?
what eat.Past.3Sg and where
'What did he eat and where?'

b. **Hol** evett, és **mit**?
where eat.Past.3Sg and what.Acc
'Where did he eat, and what?'

(326) a. **Hol** lakik, és **mióta**?
where live.3Sg and since when
'Where does he live and since when?'

b. *****Mióta** lakik, és **hol**?
since when live.3Sg and where
'*Since when has he lived, and where?'

However, if the subject is dropped from the first clause, it cannot be asked about in the second, simply because its identity is already taken to be known in the first clause, i.e., no cataphoric dependency is allowed:

(327)   ***Mikor** döntött   erről, és **ki**?
       when   decide.Past.3Sg this.Del and who
       '#When did (he) decide about this, and who was it?'

(328)   ***Hol**   lakik, és **ki**?
       where live.3Sg and who
       '*Where does he live, and who?'

(329)   ***Mit** evett,   és **ki**?
       what eat.Past.3Sg and who
       'What did he eat, and who?'

However, in the exceptional case of a dropped arbitrary subject, the identity of the subject can be inquired about in the second clause. In this case, the finite verb of the first clause has to be in the plural, and preferably *ki* 'who' also exhibits its plural form in the second clause, although the singular form is not excluded either:

(330)   **Hogyan** pusztítják az esőerdőket,   és **kik**?
       how   destroy.3Pl the rainforest.Pl.Acc and who.Pl
       'How do the rainforests get destroyed and by whom?'

(331)   **Mikor** döntöttek   erről, és **kik**?
       when   decide.Past.3Pl this.Del and who.Pl
       'When was a decision made about this, and by whom?'

(332)   **Miért** hívtak   az önkormányzattól, és **ki** volt   az?
       why   call.Past.3Pl the municipality.Abl   and who be.Past.3Sg it
       'Why did someone call from the municipality and who was it?'

Note that the 3rd person plural subjects function as generic subjects corresponding to French *on*, German *man* or Italian *ci*, like in the following example:

(333)   Brazíliában pusztítják az esőerdőket.
       Brasil.Ine   destroy.3Pl the rain forests.Acc
       'In Brasil, the rain forests get destroyed/people destroy the rain forests.'

3.4.3.2.4.2. Dropped objects

Pronominal objects can also be dropped in preverbal coordination without leading to ungrammaticality, provided that they are understood from the context, i.e. when they are used anaphorically:

(334)   **Ki** és **hányszor**   kölcsönözte ki?
       who and how many times borrow.Past.3Sg Prt
       'Who borrowed it, and how many times?'

(335)   **Hol** és **mikor** vetted?

        where and when   buy.Past.3Sg

        'Where did you buy it, and when?'

The object can also be dropped in sentence-final coordination and, similarly to dropped subjects, the dropped object cannot be asked about in the second clause:

(336)   **Ki** látta,   és **mikor**?

        who see.Past.3Sg.Def and when

        'Who saw it and when?'

(337)   **Mikor** mondta,   és **miért**?

        when   say.Past.3Sg.Def and why

        'When did he say it, and why?'

(338)   ***Mikor** mondta,   és **mit**?

        when   say.Past.3Sg.Def and what.Acc

        '*When did he say it, and what?'

(339)   ***Hogyan** készítetted,   és **mit**?

        how   prepare.Past.2Sg.Def and what.Acc

        '*How did you prepare it, and what?'

(340)   ***Meddig** vártad,   és **kit**?

        until when wait.Past.2Sg.Def and who.Acc

        '*Until when did you wait for him and for whom?'

(341)   ***Mikor** láttad,   és **mit**?

        when   see.Past.2Sg.Def and what.Acc

        '*When did you see it, and what?'

In the case of dropped optional objects, the object can appear in sentence-final coordination:

(342)   **Meddig** olvastál   tegnap, és **mit**?

        until when read.Past.2Sg yesterday and what.Acc

        'Until when did you read yesterday, and what?'

(343)   **Hány helyen** takarítasz,   és pontosan **mit**?

        how many place.Sup do.2Sg cleaning and precisely   what.Acc

        'At how many places do you do the cleaning, and what exatcly (do you clean)?'

3.4.3.2.4.3. Dropped subject and object

Pronominal subjects and objects can be dropped simultaneously, both in preverbal and in sentence-final coordination:

(344) a. **Mikor** és **miért** rendelte?
     when   and why   order.Past.3Sg.Def
     'When did he order it and why?'

    b. **Miért** és **mikor** rendelte?
     why   and when order.Past.3Sg.Def
     'Why did he order it and when?'

(345) a. **Mikor** láttad   és **kivel**?
     when   see.Past.2Sg.Def and whom.Ins
     'When did you see him and with whom?'

    b. **Kivel** láttad   és **mikor**?
     who.Ins see.Past.2Sg.Def and when
     'With whom did you see him, and when?'

(346) a. **Mikor** rendelted   és **miért**?
     when   order.Past.2Sg.Def and why
     'When did you order it and why?'

    b. **Miért** rendelted   és **mikor**?
     why   order.Past.2Sg.Def and when
     'Why did you order it, and when?'

3.4.3.2.4.4. Dropped indirect (dative) object

The dative argument can also be dropped, both in preverbal and in final coordination, if it is understood from the context:

(347) a. **Mi** és **miért** tetszik?
     what and why   please.3Sg
     'What pleases you and why?'

    b. **Miért** és **mi** tetszik?
     why   and what please.3Sg
     'Why does something please you and what is it?'

(348)   **Mi** tetszik, és **miért**?
     what please.3Sg and why
     'What pleases you and why?'

However, similarly to the previous cases, the dative argument cannot appear in the second clause in sentence-final coordination in the form of a *wh*-item, if it is already taken to be contextually given in the first clause. The acceptability of the example improves, however, if the dative object is understood generically.

(349) a. **Miért** tetszik   ez a kabát, és **kinek**?
     why   please.3Sg this the coat   and who.Dat
     'Why does someone like this coat, and who is it?'

b. *Vajon* **miért** tetszik   ez a   kabát és **kinek**?
   I.wonder why   please.3Sg this the coat   and who.Dat
   'Why would anyone like this coat, and who would like it?'

3.4.4. On hybrid coordination

We have shown above that whereas sentence-final coordination clearly exhibits a biclausal (and elliptical) structure, syntactic arguments support the view that preverbal coordination is a monoclausal structure, i.e. in which *wh*-phrases are coordinated and not clauses. We have also shown that Hungarian allows the coordination of subject and object, or argument and adjunct *wh*-phrases, in other words, the coordination of items with different grammatical functions, or hybrid coordination. Hybrid coordination has been a challenge in the linguistic literature of the past 20 years since it contradicts the basic laws of coordination. Cross-linguistically it can be observed that languages that allow the cumulation of *wh*-phrases in the preverbal domain, allow the coordination of *wh*-phrases with different syntactic functions as well. Apart from Hungarian, the languages concerned include Romanian and the Slavic languages.

   In Hungarian (and generally in other languages), only items of the same grammatical function can be coordinated, irrespective of their syntactic category and other morphosyntactic features:

(350)   Péter [*beteg* vagy *nyaral*]. (adjective and verb, common function: predicate)
         Péter sick   or   be.on.holiday.3Sg
         'Péter is either sick or on holiday.'

(351)   Péter [*festő* és *büszke rá*]. (noun and adjective, common function: predicate)
         Péter painter and proud   it.Sup
         'Péter is a painter and proud of it.'

Apparently even an NP and a clause can be coordinated. However, presumably the second term of the coordination involves a dropped pronominal object, and the subordinate clause in fact complements this pronoun:

(352) a. Ajánlom   mindenkinek [a   mozgásgazdag életmódot], és [hogy
          recommend.1Sg everyone.Dat   the sporty   lifestyle.Acc and Compl
          havonta cserélje a   jelszavát].
          monthly change.Subj the password.Poss.Acc
          'I recommend to everyone to do sports and to change their passwords monthly.'

    b.   Ajánlom   mindenkinek [a   mozgásgazdag életmódot], és [azt,
          recommend.1Sg everyone.Dat   the sporty   lifestyle.Acc and that.Acc
          hogy havonta cserélje   a   jelszavát].
          Compl monthly change.Subj the password.Poss.Acc
          'I recommend to everyone to do sports and to change their passwords monthly.'

If the function of the pronoun is not object, it cannot be dropped:

(353) a. *Beszélgettünk a   mozgásgazdag életmód**RÓL** és hogy mindenki
       talk.Past.1Pl   the sporty   lifestyle.Del   and Compl everyone

     havonta cserélje   a   jelszavát.
     monthly change.Subj the password.Poss.Acc

    b. Beszélgettünk *(arról), hogy mindenki havonta cserélje   a
        talk.Past.1Pl   that.Del Compl everyone   monthly change.Subj the
     jelszavát.
     password.Poss.Acc

    c. Beszélgettünk a   mozgásgazdag életmódról és arról, hogy mindenki
        talked.1Pl   the sporty   lifestyle.Del and that.Del Compl   everyone

     havonta cserélje   a   jelszavát.
     monthly change.Subj the password.Poss.Acc

     'We talked about the sporty lifestyle and that everyone should monthly change their password.'

Nevertheless, in preverbal coordination, the *wh*-items do not have to satisfy the same grammatical function constraint:

 (354)   [**Ki** és   **mikor**] érkezett?
         who and   when   arrive.Past.3Sg
        'Who arrived and when?'

This is even more surprising if we look at the answers: the answers to such questions cannot contain two coordinated foci in the preverbal position in a declarative sentence:

(355)   *["János és "tegnap] érkezett.
         John   and yesterday arrive.Past.3Sg

According to most analyses in the literature (see Lipták 2001, Skrabalova 2006), the common function shared by the coordinated items in hybrid coordinations is *focus*. However, as shown in the answer above, two foci cannot be coordinated in a declarative sentence.

    Interestingly, this hybrid coordination is possible in other structures as well, containing universal or negative quantifiers, when they are prosodically marked (stressed).
    Universal quantifiers:

(356) a. Ide "mindenki és "mindig bejöhet.   (Lipták 2001, Skrabalova 2006)
        here everyone   and always enter.Mod.3Sg
        'Everyone can enter here and at all times.'

    b. *Ide mindenki és mindig bejöhet.
        here everyone   and always enter.Mod.3Sg

Negative words:

(357) a. Itt "senki és "semmikor nincs biztonságban.
        here nobody and never   is not security.Ine
        'Here nobody is ever safe.'

    b. *Itt senki és semmikor nincs biztonságban.
        here nobody and never   is not security.Ine

It seems that the coordination of these items is not based on their common function, but on a common feature, i.e. on the fact that they are both interrogative items, negative or universal quantifiers.

3.5. Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at multiple questions containing coordinated *wh*-phrases in Hungarian. We examined two structures: in one of them, the *wh*-items are coordinated preverbally, whereas in the other, one of them is preverbal, whereas the other is (or the others are) coordinated sentence-finally. As was shown, preverbal coordination exhibits a monoclausal syntactic structure, in which *wh*-phrases are coordinated, on the phrasal level, as opposed to sentence-final coordination, which is a biclausal (or multiclausal) structure, in which separate single questions are conjoined and then the second clause undergoes forward ellipsis. These syntactic assumptions were motivated by various factors: the distribution of obligatory argument and adjunct *wh*-items, the different verb forms (definite or indefinite conjugation) in the different clauses, and the possibility of inserting an interrogative particle (*vajon*) into the sentence.

After establishing these syntactic structures, we moved on to examine what type of *wh*-phrases can be coordinated. We observed that in general, in preverbal coordination, either two adjuncts are coordinated, or an argument and another *wh*-item. The more obligatory this other item is, the less acceptable the sentence becomes. In sentence-final coordination, both clauses (both the full and the elliptical one) must be complete, i.e. no obligatory argument should be missing from them. The argument/adjunct status influences the order of the *wh*-phrases as well.

Finally, we dealt with the so-called *hybrid coordination* of *wh*-phrases. Hungarian is one of the languages that exhibit with certain items (*wh*-items, universal quantifiers and negative words) a type of coordination in which elements of different grammatical functions can be coordinated. This happens in preverbal coordination, when an argument and an adjunct *wh*-phrase are coordinated on the phrasal level. Analysing them as foci does not solve the problem, since two non-interrogative foci cannot be coordinated. We assume that the coordination is based on the common feature (i.e. the fact that both are *wh*-items or quantifiers) of the conjuncts, but the matter certainly needs further investigation.

3.6. Bibliographical notes

A descriptive analysis of Hungarian multiple questions in general, and conjoined *wh*-questions in particular can be found in Kálmán 2001 (in Hungarian). Turning to generative transformational frameworks, multiple questions in general are treated in É. Kiss 1992 (in Hungarian), whereas É. Kiss 2002 (in English), Lipták 2003 (in English) and Bánréti 2007 (in Hungarian) explicitly mention coordinated *wh*-questions as well. É. Kiss 2002 and Bánréti 2007 provide arguments for clausal, whereas Lipták 2003 for lexical coordination. Concerning non-transformational analyses, Gazdik 2011 (in English) proposes an account for multiple questions within the framework of LFG (Lexical-Functional Grammar), whereas Bîlbîie and Gazdik 2012 (in English) compare Hungarian and Romanian coordinated *wh*-questions

within the framework of HPSG (Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar). Concerning the hybrid coordintation of *wh*-phrases, the phenomenon is widely treated in the literature in a great variety of languages (see Bánréti 2007, Lipták 2001, 2003, Gazdik 2011, Bîlbîie and Gazdik 2012 on Hungarian, Laenzlinger and Soare 2006, Comorovski 2006, Rațiu 2011 on Romanian, Chaves and Paperno 2007, Gribanova 2009, Kazenin 2012 on Russian, Lambova 2003 on Bulgarian, Skrabalova 2006 on Czech, and Rudin 1988, Kliaschuk 2008, Citko and Gracanin-Yuksek 2013, and Tomaszewicz 2011 for cross-linguistic analyses).

Chapter 4
VP-ellipsis in coordinated clauses
with a parallel structure

Zoltán Bánréti

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes Hungarian data showing that forward and backward ellipsis in coordinate clauses should both be regarded as the non-insertion of the phonological form into the representation of the sentence. Accordingly, fully specified lexical and grammatical features are present in the position of ellipsis (as well), and thus participate in the interpretation of sentence meaning. 'Silent' lexical items without a phonological form will be claimed to be subject to ellipsis. Lexical items with a phonological form, which make the identification of the former possible, are available in another, coordinated or subordinated clause. These will be called **licensers**. Based on the explicit licensing material, the lexical items which lack a phonological form (subject to ellipsis) have to be precisely identifiable within their clause. In this case ellipsis is licensed. (We are only concerned with ellipses characterizable by grammatical rules and not with those which arise exclusively from communicative, pragmatic or discourse conditions, like, for example, labels, titles or speech acts based on the context).

Below, 'ellipsis' is understood as the omission of the projection of Verb. The filled operator positions (quantifier, focus) in the clauses may not undergo ellipsis and these operator positions constitute its boundary. The domain of ellipsis spreads to the end of a coordinate clause.

4.2. Two directions of ellipsis

Hungarian coordinated clauses may contain forward and backward ellipsis. If the **licensing clause precedes** the clause containing ellipsis, we have **forward ellipsis.** If the **licensing clause follows** the elliptic one, it is a case of **backward ellipsis.**

In what follows, we are going to extend, redevelop and reanalyse our earlier observations in two directions of ellipsis in coordinated clauses (cf. Bánréti 1994, 2001, 2007).

4.2.1. Reversible ellipsis in clauses with parallel structure

The structures subject to ellipsis are marked by ~~striking through~~. Capital letters will be used to denote contrastive focus and italicized capitals will denote contrastive topics. These will be preceded by the stress mark '"' when stressed (É. Kiss 2002; Gyuris 2009).

> Remark 16. We regard focus stress as one which makes it impossible that at least one of the following constituents have stress of an equal intensity. That is, it decreases or eradicates that stress. The prosodic domain of the focus stress may extend to the end of the sentence, or to another nonadjacent constituent with the same degree of stress. Focus stress may be the means of expressing contrast between coordinated clauses, repair relations, negation, questions or emphasis, as treated in Chapter 3 of the Volume on *Sentence Structure*.

Data show that the direction of ellipsis can be reversed. In the following sentences both forward and backward VP ellipses are grammatical. We examine first the forward type and then the backward type:

(358) a. Ferenc a "RENDŐRHÖZ rohant   oda, és János a "TŰZOLTÓHOZ
     Ferenc the policeman.All run.Past.3Sg there and János the fireman.All
     [~~rohant   oda~~].
     run.Past.3Sg Prt
     'Ferenc ran to the policeman and János to the fireman.'

    b. Ferenc a "RENDŐRHÖZ [~~rohant   oda~~], és János a "TŰZOLTÓHOZ
     Ferenc the policeman.All run.Past.3Sg there and János the fireman.All
     rohant   oda.
     run.Past.3Sg Prt
     'Ferenc ran to the policeman and János to the fireman.'

(359) a. János "JÓL tanul,   de Mari "MÉG jobban [~~tanul~~].
     János   well learn.3Sg but Mari   even better   learn.3Sg
     'János is a good student but Mari is an even better one.'

    b. János "JÓL [~~tanul~~],   de Mari "MÉG jobban tanul.
     János   well learn.3Sg but Mari   even better   learn.3Sg
     'János is a good student but Mari is an even better one.'

(360) a. Te a "SZERKESZTŐNEK írtad   a választ,   én meg a "KIADÓNAK
     you the editor.Dat   write.Past.2Sg the answer.Acc I   and the publisher.Dat
     [~~írtam   a választ~~].
      write.Past.1Sg the answer.Acc
     'You wrote the answer to the editor and I wrote the answer to the publisher.'

    b. Te a "SZERKESZTŐNEK [~~írtad   a választ~~], én meg a "KIADÓNAK
     you the editor.Dat   write.Past.2Sg the answer.Acc I   and the publisher.Dat
     írtam   a választ.
     write.Past.1Sg the answer.Acc
     'You wrote the answer to the editor and I wrote the answer to the publisher.'

Forward ellipsis may be produced in clauses with **non-parallel structures** as well. The **licenser** clause **without** focus constituent and focus stress, is followed by an elliptic clause containing a constituent with a stressed quantifier phrase in (361a) and a focus constituent in (361b), below:

(361) a. Ádám megbeszélt   Marival egy filmet, Péter pedig egy
     Ádám   Prt.discuss.Past.3Sg Mari.Ins a   film.Acc Péter whereas a
     "NOVELLÁT **is** [~~megbeszélt   Marival~~].
      short-story.Acc too Prt.discuss.Past.3Sg Mari.Ins
     'Ádám discussed a film with Mari, while Péter discussed a short story **too** with her.'

    b. Ádám megbeszélt   Marival egy filmet, Péter pedig egy
     Ádám   Prt.discuss.Past.3Sg Mari.Ins a   film.Acc Péter whereas a
     "NOVELLÁT [~~beszélt   meg   Marival~~].
      short.story.Acc discuss.Past.3Sg Prt Mari.Ins
     'Ádám discussed a film with Mari, whereas Péter discussed a short story with her.'

4.2.2. *Backward ellipsis is grammatical in coordinated clauses with parallel structure*

Backward ellipsis can arise in clauses containing parallel structures: the lexical items at the edges of the domain of ellipsis in the nonfinal clause have categorially and positionally equivalent counterparts in the final licensing clause. Let us compare (362a–b) and (363a–b):

(362) a.   Ferenc a "RENDŐRHÖZ [~~rohant~~ ~~oda~~], és János a "TŰZOLTÓHOZ
          Ferenc the policeman.All   run.Past.3Sg Prt   and János the fireman.All

          rohant   oda.
          run.Past.3Sg Prt

          'Ferenc ran to a policeman and János to a fireman.'

    b. *Ferenc a "RENDŐRHÖZ [~~rohant~~ ~~oda~~], és a tűzoltóhoz "JÁNOS
          Ferenc the policeman.All   run.Past.3Sg Prt   and the fireman.All   János

          rohant   oda.
          run.Past.3Sg Prt

(363) a.   Te a "SZERKESZTŐNEK [~~írtad~~ ~~a~~ ~~választ~~], én meg a "KIADÓNAK
          you the editor.Dat   write.Past.2Sg the answer.Acc I   and the publisher.Dat

          írtam   a választ.
          write.Past.1Sg the answer.Acc

          'You wrote the answer to the editor, and I wrote the answer to the publisher'

    b. *Te a "SZERKESZTŐNEK [~~írtad~~ ~~a~~ ~~választ~~], a kiadónak meg "ÉN
          you the editor.Dat   write.Past.2Sg the answer.Acc the publisher.Dat and   I

          írtam   a választ.
          write.Past.1Sg the answer.Acc

The beginning of the domain of backward ellipsis and the beginning of the licensing domain in the final clause is marked by (the constructions of) lexical items which are of the same category but are not identical lexical items. These categorially identical lexical items form pairs which are parallel with respect to their sequential position, since both occupy the same place in their own clause. The members of the pairs may also be coordinated within one clause, in a single phrase, cf. (364).

(364)   Te [a szerkesztőnek és a kiadónak] írtad   a választ.
          you the editor.Dat   and the publisher.Dat write.Past.2Sg the answer.Acc

          'You wrote the answer to the editor and the publisher.'

Within the domain of ellipsis there may be **totally identical** lexical items:

(365)   Te csak "PLETYKÁLTÁL [~~arról, hogy kivel látták~~ ~~a~~ ~~királynőt~~], de
          you only   gossip.Past.2Sg   that.Del Compl who.Ins see.Past.3Pl the queen.Acc   but

          én "ÍRTAM   is arról, hogy kivel látták   a   királynőt.
          I   write.Past.1Sg too that.Del Compl who.Ins see.Past.3Pl the queen.Acc

          'You only gossiped about who the queen was seen with, but I also wrote about it.'

4.2.3. The Immediate Precedence Condition

A clause containing backward ellipsis at its right edge must immediately precede the licensing clause, which also contains the licensing material at its right edge. There may be licensed backward ellipsis in a subordinated clause, as part of the licensing clause, e.g. (366a) is slightly marked but probably acceptable. A licenser in the subordinated clause, however, is not grammatical for backward ellipsis in the matrix clause, cf. (366b).

(366) a. ^(?)Annak ellenére,   hogy Mari egy "CIGÁNYZENEKART [~~szerződtetett az~~
         that.Dat against.Poss.Sub Compl Mari a   Gypsy-band.Acc   hire.Past.3Sg   the
         ~~ünnepségre~~], Félix egy "DZSESSZÉNEKESNŐT szerződtetett az ünnepségre.
         ceremony.Sub Félix a   jazz-singer.Acc   hire.Past.3Sg   the ceremony.Sub
         'In spite of the fact that Mari hired a Gypsy band for the ceremony, Félix hired a jazz singer.'

      b. *Félix egy "DZSESSZÉNEKESNŐT [~~szerződtetett az ünnepségre~~] annak
         Félix a   jazz-singer.Acc   hire.Past.3Sg   the ceremony.Sub   that.Dat
         ellenére,   hogy Mari egy "CIGÁNYZENEKART szerződtetett az
         against.Poss.Sub Compl Mari a   Gypsy-band.Acc   hire.Past.3Sg   the
         ünnepségre.
         ceremony.Sub

In the case of forward ellipsis, the licenser precedes the licensed elliptical material in the subordinate clause and immediate precedence is not necessary. (367) is also slightly marked but probably acceptable:

(367)   ^(?)Félix egy "DZSESSZÉNEKESNŐT szerződtetett az ünnepségre, annak
         Félix a   jazz-singer.Acc   hire.Past.3Sg   the ceremony.Sub that.Dat
         ellenére,   hogy Mari egy "CIGÁNYZENEKART [~~szerződtetett az~~
         against.Poss.Sub Compl Mari a   Gypsy-band.Acc   hire.Past.3Sg   the
         ~~ünnepségre~~].
         ceremony.Sub
         'Félix hired a jazz singer for the ceremony, in spite of the fact that Mari hired a Gypsy band for it.'

Forward VP ellipsis is possible between nonadjacent clauses, provided that the sandwiched clause does not contain a potential licenser.

(368)   A nagymama az "UNOKÁJÁTÓL   akart   segítséget kérni,
         the grandmother the grandchild.Poss.Abl want.Past.3Sg help.Acc   ask.Inf
         ugyanis az árvíz már a ház felé közeledett,   a nagypapa
         since   the flood already the house towards approach.Past.3Sg the grandfather
         meg a "LÁNYÁTÓL   [~~akart   segítséget kérni~~].
         and the daughter.Poss.Abl want.Past.3Sg help.Acc   ask.Inf
         'The grandmother wanted to ask for her grandchild's help since the flood was already approaching the house, whereas the grandfather wanted to ask for his daughter's help.'

In backward VP ellipsis the clauses containing the licenser and the licensee must be adjacent. (369), involving backward ellipsis, is ungrammatical:

(369)   *A nagymama az "UNOKÁJÁTÓL [~~akart~~ ~~segítséget kérni~~], ugyanis
            the grandmother the grandchild.Poss.Abl want.Past.3Sg help.Acc ask.Inf since
         az árvíz már a ház felé közeledett, a nagypapa meg a
            the flood already the house towards approach.Past.3Sg the grandfather and the
         "LÁNYÁTÓL akart segítséget kérni.
            daughter.Poss.Abl want.Past.3Sg help.Acc ask.Inf

The necessity of having parallel structures in the clauses and their being adjacent are thus a consequence of the backward direction of ellipsis. In the case of forward ellipsis, however, the non-obligatoriness of the parallelism of clause structures and their "separability" are related to the direction of the ellipsis, which agrees with the forward direction of antecedent–pronoun binding.

4.3. Morphosyntactic conditions

Applying the findings of Bartos (2000a, 2000b, 2001) to backward and forward VP ellipsis, we notice that the morphosyntactic conditions of licensing in the former are similar to those in the latter: the strict identity of the stem and the **tense marker** of the licensing verb and the ellipted verb is a necessary condition:

(370) a.   János "MA [~~tette~~ ~~le a vizsgát~~], Péter meg "TEGNAP tette
            János today put.**Past**.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc Péter and yesterday put.**Past**.3Sg

         le a vizsgát.
         Prt the exam.Acc

         'János passed the exam today, and Péter, yesterday.'

      b.   János "MA tette le a vizsgát, Péter meg "TEGNAP
            János today put.**Past**.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc Péter and yesterday

         [~~tette~~ ~~le a vizsgát~~].
         put.**Past**.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc

         'János passed the exam today, and Péter, yesterday.'

      c.   *János "MA [~~teszi le a vizsgát~~], Péter meg "TEGNAP tette
            János today put.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc Péter and yesterday put.**Past**.3Sg

         le a vizsgát.
         Prt the exam.Acc

         under the interpretation: 'János pass**es** the exam today, and Péter pass**ed** the exam yesterday.'

      d.   *János "MA teszi le a vizsgát, Péter meg"TEGNAP
            János today put.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc Péter and yesterday

         [~~tette~~ ~~le a vizsgát~~].
         put.**Past**.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc

         under the interpretation: 'János pass**es** the exam today, and Péter pass**ed** the exam yesterday.'

Since the Agr-suffixes attached to the verb are locally licensed by the person/number features of the clause-internal subject (and object) and the definiteness feature of the object, the ellipsis of Agr-suffixes may also be licensed if the Agr-suffixes of the ellipted verb and those of the parallel verb are **not** identical:

(371) a.   Ti   "SZÍNHÁZBA [~~mentek~~], én meg "MOZIBA   megyek.
         you.Pl   theatre.Ill   go.**2Pl**   I   and   cinema.Ill   go.**1Sg**
         'You go to the theatre and I, to the cinema.'

      b.   Ti   "SZÍNHÁZBA mentek, én meg "MOZIBA [~~megyek~~].
         you.Pl   theatre.Ill   go.**2Pl**,   I   and   cinema.Ill   go.**1Sg**
         'You go to the theatre and I, to the cinema.'

      c.   Mi csak "NÉHÁNY gyereket [~~mosdattunk   meg~~], de te az "ÖSSZESET
         we   only   few   child.Acc   wash.Past.**1Pl.Indef** Prt   but   you   the   all.Acc

         megmosdattad.
         Prt.wash.Past.**2Sg.Def**
         'We washed only a few children but you washed them all.'

      d.   Mi csak "NÉHÁNY gyereket mosdattunk   meg, de te az "ÖSSZESET
         we   only   few   child.Acc   wash.Past.**1Pl.Indef** Prt   but   you   the   all.Acc

         [~~megmosdattad~~].
         Prt.wash.Past.**2Sg.Def**
         'We washed only a few children but you washed them all.'

In forward and backward VP ellipsis a **tensed** verb may license the ellipsis of an infinitive, unspecified for tense, be it an unsuffixed infinitive (372a,b) or one with a person suffix (372c,d).

(372) a.   Péter csak "HOLNAP fogja   [~~letenni   a   vizsgát~~], de János "MA
         Péter   only   tomorrow Fut.3Sg.Def Prt.put.Inf the exam.Acc but János   today

         teszi   le   a   vizsgát.
         put.3Sg Prt   the exam.Acc
         'Péter will pass the exam only tomorrow, but János passes the exam today.'

      b.   János "MA   teszi   le   a   vizsgát, de Péter csak "HOLNAP fogja
         János   today   put.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc but Péter only   tomorrow Fut.3Sg.Def

         [~~letenni   a   vizsgát~~].
         Prt.put.Inf   the exam.Acc
         'János passes the exam today, but Péter will, only tomorrow.'

      c.   Péternek csak "HOLNAP kell [~~letennie   a   vizsgát~~], de János "MA
         Péter.Dat   only   tomorrow must   Prt.put.Inf.3Sg the exam.Acc but János   today

         teszi   le   a   vizsgát.
         put.3Sg Prt   the exam.Acc
         'Péter must pass the exam only tomorrow, but János must today.'

      d.   János "MA   teszi   le   a   vizsgát, de Péternek csak "HOLNAP kell
         János   today   put.3Sg Prt the exam.Acc but Péter.Dat   only   tomorrow must

         [~~letennie   a   vizsgát~~].
         Prt.put.Inf.3Sg   the exam.Acc
         'János passes the exam today, but Péter must only tomorrow.'

4.4. Some aspects of NP/ DP ellipsis

Chapter 7 presents an overview and some details on noun ellipsis. Here we highlight the data that forward DP ellipsis may be converted into backward ellipsis. Let us first examine cases of forward DP ellipsis. The licensing and licensed clauses contain Verbs with contrastive stresses:

(373) a. Én "VETTEM   drága   autót, te   meg "ÁRULTÁL [drága   autót].
           I   buy.Past.1Sg expensive car.Acc you and   sell.Past.2Sg expensive car.Acc
           'I bought an expensive car, and you were selling one.'

   b. János "MESÉLT   az   énekesnőről, Róbert meg "PLETYKÁLT
        János   talk.Past.3Sg the singer.Del   Róbert and   gossip.Past.3Sg
        [az   énekesnőről].
         the singer.Del
        'János talked about the singer and Róbert gossiped about her.'

   c. Alex csak "VÁSÁROLT egy könyvet, Mari viszont "EL is "OLVASOTT
        Alex only buy.Past.3Sg a   book.Acc Mari however Prt too read.Past.3Sg
        [egy könyvet].
         a   book.Acc
        'Alex only bought a book, Mari however read a book as well.'

Converted to backward ellipsis we get the following:

(374) a. Én "VETTEM [drága   autót], te   meg "ÁRULTÁL drága   autót.
           I   buy.Past.1Sg expensive car.Acc you and   sell.Past.2Sg expensive car.Acc
           'I bought an expensive car and you sold one.'

   b. János "MESÉLT   [az   énekesnőről], Róbert meg "PLETYKÁLT
        János   talk.Past.3Sg the singer.Del   Róbert and   gossip.Past.3Sg
        az   énekesnőről.
         the singer.Del
        'János talked about the singer and Róbert gossiped about her.'

   c. Alex csak "VÁSÁROLT [egy könyvet], Mari viszont "EL IS "OLVASOTT
        Alex only buy.Past.3Sg a   book.Acc Mari however Prt too read.Past.3Sg
        egy könyvet.
         a   book.Acc
        'Alex only bought a book, Mari however read a book as well.'

The interpretation of the data obtained by this means is debated in the literature. Besides backward ellipsis, there is also a considerable tradition of supposing right node raising here. In fact, movement is not involved even in true right node raising, there we are dealing with *in situ* constituents, which may not be put to their position by movement. This is supported by data in which the rightmost constituent has a "discontinuous" antecedent, one element of which is found in one and the other in another clause. This is the case in the two sentences in (375) (Moltmann 1992). In (376) the rightmost constituent was copied into both clauses. If the result is grammatical at all, their interpretation is not the same as of those in (375).

(375) a.   János fütyülte   __k, és Mari dúdolta __k ugyanazt a   dallamot_k.
               János whistle.Past.3Sg   and Mari hum.Past.3Sg   same.Acc the tune.Acc

             'János whistled, and Mari hummed the same tune.'

     b.   Péter dicsért   __j, és Vera bírált   __j más-más embereket_j.
               Péter praise.Past.3Sg   and Vera criticise.Past.3Sg   different   people.Acc

             'Péter praised and Vera criticized different people.'

(376) a.   János fütyülte ugyanazt a dallamot, és Mari dúdolta ugyanazt a dallamot.
             'János whistled the same tune, and Mari hummed the same tune.'

     b.   Péter dicsért más-más embereket, és Vera bírált más-más embereket.
             'Péter praised different people and Vera criticized different people.'

4.4.1. *The lexical head may in itself be ellipted in the case of backward ellipsis*

Structures ill-formed as forward ellipsis may become grammatical as backward ellipsis. Let us first examine ill-formed forward nominal ellipsis and ill-formed forward adverbial ellipsis:

(377) a.   *Én vettem   egy "DRÁGA autót, te meg eladtál   egy "OLCSÓ[~~autót~~].
             I   buy.Past.1Sg a   expensive car.Acc you and sell.Past.3Sg a   cheap   car.Acc

     b.   *Alex pletykált   a "KACÉR énekesnőről, és Félix mesélt   a
             Alex   gossip.Past.3Sg the flirtatious singer.Del   and Félix talk.Past.3Sg the
             "HÓBORTOS [~~énekesnőről~~].
              whimsical   singer.Del

     c.   *A kutya csaholt   a   kerítéstől "FÉL méterrel beljebb, a   gazda meg
             the dog   yelp.Past.3Sg the fence.Abl   half metre.Ins further.in the master and
             állt   a   kerítéstől "KÉT méterrel [~~beljebb~~].
             stand.Past.3Sg the fence.Abl   two   metre.Ins further.in

As cases of backward ellipsis the sentences become well-formed:

(378) a.   Te eladtál   egy "OLCSÓ [~~autót~~], én meg vettem   egy
             you sell.Past.3Sg a   cheap car.Acc I   and buy.Past.1Sg an
             "DRÁGA autót.
              expensive car.Acc

             'You sold a cheap car and I bought an expensive one.'

     b.   Alex pletykált   a "KACÉR [~~énekesnőről~~], és Félix mesélt   a
             Alex gossip.Past.3Sg the flirtatious singer.Del   and Félix talk.Past.3Sg the
             "HÓBORTOS énekesnőről.
             whimsical   singer.Del

             'Alex was gossiping about the flirtatious [singer] and Félix was talking about the whimsical singer.'

     c.   A kutya csaholt   a   kerítéstől "FÉL méterrel [~~beljebb~~], a   gazda meg
             the dog   yelp.Past.3Sg the fence.Del   half meter.Ins further.in   the master and
             állt   a   kerítéstől "KÉT méterrel beljebb.
             stand.Past.3Sg the fence.Del   two   meter.Ins further.in

             'The dog was yelping half a meter behind the fence and the master was standing two meters behind it.'

In backward ellipsis, then, the lexical head of a noun phrase may in itself be ellipted if its modifier receives contrastive stress. Similarly, the lexical head of an adverbial phrase can be elipted in backward ellipsis. Neither possibility is available in forward ellipsis.

4.4.2. *Morphological marking of elliptical noun phrases in forward and backward ellipsis*

In forward NP ellipsis, the overt number and case morphemes and postpositions that normally appear on the noun (and only there) must appear on the linearly **last remnant** preceding the elided noun, be that an adjective, a numeral, a modifier or their combination. The case morpheme appears on the adjective remnant in (379).

(379) Alex pletykált a "KACÉR énekesnőről és Félix mesélt a
  Alex gossip.Past.3Sg the flirtatious singer.Del   and Félix talk.Past.3Sg the
  "HÓBORTOS [énekesnő]-ról.
   whimsical   singer   -Del
  'Alex was gossiping about the flirtatious singer and Félix was talking about the whimsical one.'

The N+Infl lexical head of the possessive NP can be elided and the possessive suffix and case marker appear on the last remnant (namely on the possessor in (380a)). The structure is ungrammatical without the possessive suffix and case marker (380b):

(380) a. Én meglepődtem   a "DÉKÁN beszédén,   te meg csodálkoztál a
   I   Prt.be.surprised.Past.1Sg the dean   speech.Poss.Sup you and wonder.Past.2Sg the
   "REKTOR [beszéd]-é-n.
    rector   speech-Poss-Sup
   'I was surprised at the dean's speech and you wondered at the rector's.'

  b. *Én meglepődtem   a "DÉKÁN beszédén,   te meg csodálkoztál a
   I   Prt.be.surprised.Past.1Sg the dean   speech.Poss.Sup you and wonder.Past.2Sg the
   "REKTOR [beszédén]
    rector   speech.Poss.Sup

In backward ellipsis, however, the morphological marking of elliptical noun phrases yields ungrammatical structures:

(381) a. *Alex pletykált a "KACÉR [énekesnő]-ról, és Félix mesélt a
   Alex gossip.Past.3Sg the flirtatious singer-Del   and Félix talk.Past.3Sg the
   "HÓBORTOS énekesnőről.
    whimsical   singer.Del

  b. *Te csodálkoztál a "REKTOR [beszéd]-é-n,   és én meglepődtem   a
   you wonder.Past.2Sg the rector   speech-Poss-Sup and I   be.surprised.Past.1Sg the
   "DÉKÁN beszédén.
    dean   speech.Poss.Sup

Let us compare the grammaticality of (381a–b) with the perfectly grammatical (382) containing an overt possessor next to an elliptical nominal and backward licensing is operative without morphological markers:

(382)   Te csodálkoztál   a "REKTOR [beszédén],   és én meglepődtem   a
        you wonder.Past.2Sg the rector   speech.Poss.Sup and I   be.surprised.Past.1Sg the

        "DÉKÁN beszédén.
        dean   speech.Poss.Sup

        'You wondered at the rector's, and I was surprised at the dean's speech.'

Forward NP-ellipsis requires that the number and case morphemes that normally appear on the noun must appear on the linearly last remnant preceding the elided NP. Backward NP-ellipsis, however, requires a kind of deletion under identity, and there are no number and case morphemes on the last remnant.

4.5. Backward ellipsis operates on words

Backward ellipsis can operate on words including component parts of compound words called semiwords (Kenesei 2007). It requires a total form/feature identity with, or string or featural containment in, the licensor in a subsequent parallel conjunct.

The data below show that the boundary of ellipsis is (minimally) a contrastively stressed word which has a counterpart in the licensing clause. The members of the pair are in identical sequential positions in the clauses. Content recovery relies on this parallel identity.

(383)   Péter a "TÍZ[betűs szavakat kereste   meg a szótárban], Mari meg
        Péter the ten-letter   word.Pl.Acc search.Past.3Sg Prt the dictionary.Ine Mari   and

        a "HÚSZbetűs szavakat   kereste   meg a   szótárban.
        the twenty-letter word.Pl.Acc search.Past.3Sg Prt   the dictionary.Ine

         'Péter looked up the ten-letter words and Mari looked up the twenty-letter words in the dictionary.'

(384)   Alex "PÉNZ [nélkül vásárolt   be], Éva meg "FEDEZET
        Alex   money without shop.Past.3Sg Prt Éva and   funds

        nélkül vásárolt   be.
        without shop.Past.3Sg Prt

        'Alex did the shopping without money and Éva without funds.'

(385)   Ádám a "SZOCIO[lingvisztikai elméleteket sorolta],   Alex meg a
        Ádám   the sociolinguistic   theory.Pl.Acc list.Past.3Sg Alex   and   the

        "PSZICHOlingvisztikai elméleteket sorolta.
        psycholinguistic   theory.Pl.Acc list.Past.3Sg

        'Ádám listed the theories of sociolinguistics and Alex listed those of psycholinguistics.'

(386)   Számunkra Éva néni csak "EGY [angol tanár], de Gyuri bácsi
        for.1Pl   Éva aunt only   one   English teacher but Gyuri uncle

        "AZ angol   tanár.
        the English teacher

        'For us, Aunt Éva is just another English teacher, but Uncle Gyuri **is** the English teacher.'

In these sentences the contrastively stressed, focused words (*TÍZ/HÚSZ* 'ten/twenty', *PÉNZ/FEDEZET* 'money/funds', *SZOCIO/PSZICHO* 'socio/psycho' are in parallel

positions of the clauses. The beginning of ellipsis is marked by the contrastive focus. The common characteristic of the sentences above is that identical strings of words are subject to ellipsis.

The left-hand side part of a compound word may remain immune, while its right-hand side component falls victim to backward ellipsis: *TÍZ[betűs szavakat…]* 'ten[letter words]', *SZOCIO[lingvisztikai…]* 'socio[linguistic]', and the noun in a Postpostional Phrase may also remain immune, while the postposotion itself goes under elllipsis: *"PÉNZ nélkül vásárolt be* 'money without shop.Past.3Sg Prt'.

Only some of the native speakers interviewed accepted (386). For this group the potential of contrastive stress may be so strong that it may target otherwise unstressable articles: *EGY angol tanár* 'ONE English teacher', *AZ angol tanár* 'THE English teacher'.

The contrast here is of a cataphoric nature: it refers forwards to the **later** occurrence of a word with the same category as the stressed one. (383)–(386) are only possible in the case of backward ellipsis and are ungrammatical in the case of forward ellipsis:

(387)　　*Péter a "TÍZbetűs szavakat kereste　　meg a szótárban, Mari
　　　　　　Péter the ten-letter word.Pl.Acc search.Past.3Sg Prt　　the dictionary.Ine Mari
　　　　　　meg a　"HÚSZbetűs szavakat　kereste　　　meg a　szótárban.
　　　　　　and　the　twenty-letter word.Pl.Acc search.Past.3Sg Prt　　the dictionary.Ine

(388)　　*Alex "PÉNZ nélkül vásárolt　　be, Éva meg "FEDEZET nélkül
　　　　　　Alex　　money without shop.Past.3Sg Prt Éva and　funds　　without
　　　　　　vásárolt　　be.
　　　　　　shop.Past.3Sg　Prt

(389)　　*Ádám a "SZOCIOlingvisztikai elméleteket sorolta,　Alex meg a
　　　　　　Ádám　the sociolinguistic　　　theory.Pl.Acc list.Past.3Sg Alex　and　the
　　　　　　"PSZICHOlingvisztikai elméleteket sorolta.
　　　　　　psycholinguistic　　　　　theory.Pl.Acc　list.Past.3Sg

(390)　　*Számunkra Éva néni csak "EGY angol　tanár, de Gyuri　bácsi
　　　　　　for.1Pl　　　Éva aunt only　one English teacher but Gyuri　uncle
　　　　　　"AZ　angol　tanár.
　　　　　　the English　teacher

Without creating contrastive pairs, backward ellipsis is of doubtful grammaticality. According to the native speakers interviewed, the sentence in (391a–b), for example, is highly doubtful without contrastive pairs (391a), but it is grammatical with contrastive, hence focused pairs (391b):

(391) a.　??Alex pénz [nélkül elsétált　　　　az állomásra], Éva meg kalap
　　　　　　Alex　money without Prt.walk.Past.3Sg the station.Sub　　Éva and hat
　　　　　　nélkül elsétált　　　az állomásra.
　　　　　　without Prt.walk.Past.3Sg the station.Sub
　　　　　　'Alex walked to the station without money and Éva without hat.'

b. Alex ⁿPÉNZ [n̶é̶l̶k̶ü̶l̶ ̶s̶é̶t̶á̶l̶t̶   ̶e̶l̶ ̶a̶z̶ ̶á̶l̶l̶o̶m̶á̶s̶r̶a̶], Éva meg ⁿKALAP
Alex   money without walk.Past.3Sg Prt the station.Sub   Éva and   hat
n̲é̲l̲k̲ü̲l̲ ̲s̲é̲t̲á̲l̲t̲   ̲e̲l̲ ̲a̲z̲ ̲á̲l̲l̲o̲m̲á̲s̲r̲a̲.
without walk.Past.3Sg Prt the station.Sub
'Alex walked to the station without MONEY and Éva without HAT.'

It is an important condition that contrastive stress is placed on the words which,
because of their lexical features, can be **semantically** contrasted with each other as
well. If there is a lexical basis for the contrast, backward ellipsis is grammatical:

(392) A kapuban Alex a ⁿBE[r̶o̶h̶a̶n̶ó̶ ̶e̶m̶b̶e̶r̶e̶k̶e̶t̶ ̶s̶z̶á̶m̶o̶l̶t̶a̶], Mari meg
the gate.Ine   Alex   the in-running   people.Acc   count.Past.3Pl Mari   and
a ⁿKIrohanó embereket számolta.
the out-running   people.Acc   count.Past.3Pl
'At the gate, Alex was counting the people running in and Mari those running out.'

In this example the backward ellipsis that follows the contrastive stress breaks the
integrity of complex lexical items which contain elements that can be contrasted: *ki*
'out' and *be* 'in' indeed mean opposite directions.
    In (393) below, the verbal prefixes *BE* 'in', and *KI* 'out' as well as the participles
berúgott 'got drunk' and **kirúgott** 'fired' cannot be contrasted within a larger lexical
class, they are independent of each other semantically, and the lack of contrast
between the respective lexical meanings results in an instance of ungrammatical
ellipsis:

(393) Az értekezleten János a ⁿBE[r̶ú̶g̶o̶t̶t̶ ̶e̶m̶b̶e̶r̶e̶k̶e̶t̶ ̶s̶o̶r̶o̶l̶t̶a̶], Mari meg a
the meeting.Sup   János the in-kicked   people.Acc   list.Past.3Pl Mari and the
ⁿKI-rúgott embereket sorolta.
 out-kicked   people.Acc   list.Past.3Pl
'At the meeting, János was listing the people who got drunk and Mari was listing those who
were fired.' (intended meaning)

In sum, the following conditions have so far been established:
(i) backward ellipsis requires a total form/feature identity with, or string or featural
containment in, the licensor in a subsequent parallel conjunct;
(ii) the boundary of the domain subject to ellipsis and that of the licensing domain are
marked by contrastive stressed words which are of the same lexical category but are
not the same lexical items;
(iii) the structures of the clause containing the ellipsis and the licensing clause must
be perfectly parallel and have to be strictly adjacent.

4.6. Strict and/or sloppy identity of pronoun and the parallelism

Forward ellipsis allows both the strict and the sloppy identity interpretation of pronouns:

(394) Berta$_j$ "REGGEL vitte   le sétálni a *pro*$_j$ kutyáját,   Ferenc$_k$ meg
       Berta   morning take.Past.3Sg Prt walk.Inf the (her) dog.Poss.Acc Ferenc   and
       "ESTE [~~vitte   le sétálni a   *pro*~~$_{j/k}$ ~~kutyáját~~].
       evening take.Past.3Sg Prt walk.Inf the (his/her) dog.Poss.Acc
       'Berta walked her dog in the morning and Ferenc [walked] his/her dog in the evening.'

The example in (394) allows the **sloppy identity** of the pronoun: *pro* is first coindexed with *Berta* in the first clause, then with *Ferenc* in the second clause and **also** allows the interpretation that Ferenc did not walk his own but Berta's dog, that is, the **strict identity** of the pronoun (*pro* is coindexed with *Berta* in both cases under strict identity).

   If the first clause contains a universal quantifier, Hungarian admits only the sloppy reading of pronominals and reflexives in the second clause (and does not admit their strict reading): Compare a. (sloppy and strict readings are both available) with b. (only sloppy reading is available):

(395) a. Alex$_j$ előbb látogatta   meg az[*pro*$_j$] anyját,   mint Félix$_k$
          Alex$_j$ before visit.Past.3Sg Prt the his$_j$ mother.Poss.Acc than Félix$_k$
          [~~látogatta meg   az   *pro*~~$_{j/k}$~~anyját~~].
          visit.Past.3Sg Prt the his$_{(j/k)}$ mother.Poss.Acc
          'Alex$_j$ visited his$_j$ mother before Félix$_k$ did [visit his$_{j/k}$ mother].'

    b. Mindenki$_j$ előbb látogatta   meg az [*pro*$_j$] anyját,   mint Félix$_k$
        everyone$_j$ before visit.Past.3Sg Prt the his$_j$ mother.Poss.Acc than   Félix$_k$
        [~~látogatta   meg az *pro*~~$_k$~~anyját~~].
        visit.Past.3Sg Prt the his$_k$ mother.Poss.Acc
        'Everyone$_j$ visited his$_j$ mother before Félix$_k$ did [visit his$_{j/k}$ mother].'

Backward ellipsis only allows a sloppy identity interpretation:

(396) Berta$_j$ "REGGEL [~~vitte   le sétálni a   *pro*~~$_j$ ~~kutyáját~~],   Ferenc$_k$ meg
       Berta   morning take.Past.3Sg Prt walk.Inf the (her) dog.Poss.Acc Ferenc   and
       "ESTE vitte   le sétálni a *pro*$_{k/*j}$ kutyáját.
       evening take.Past.3Sg Prt walk.Inf the (his) dog.Poss.Acc
       'Berta walked her dog in the morning and Ferenc walked his dog in the evening.'

In (396) both Berta and Ferenc walked their own respective dogs. Thus, some version of structural **and** referential parallelism holds for the domains of ellipsis.

   Clause-**externally** bound pronouns may be accompanied by stress and/or deixis. Referential parallelism requires that the referent of the pronouns contained in the licensing and the elliptic VPs be identical. Pronouns must abide by the referential parallelism constraint if their stress is **reduced** or they are **subject to ellipsis**:

(397) a.   Reggel a "MATRÓZₘ szólt   nekiⱼ, és este   a "KORMÁNYOSₖ
        morning the sailor   speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat and evening the helmsman
        szólt   nekiⱼ.
        speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat
        'The sailor spoke to him in the morning and the helmsman in the evening.'

     b.   Reggel a "MATRÓZₘ szólt   nekiⱼ, és este   a "KORMÁNYOSₖ
        morning the sailor   speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat and evening the helmsman
        [s̶z̶ó̶l̶t̶   n̶e̶k̶i̶ⱼ].
        speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat
        'The sailor   spoke to him in the morning and the helmsman in the evening.'

     c.   Reggel a "MATRÓZₘ [s̶z̶ó̶l̶t̶   n̶e̶k̶i̶ⱼ], és este   a "KORMÁNYOSₖ
        morning the sailor   speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat   and evening the helmsman
        szólt   nekiⱼ.
        speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat

        'The sailor spoke to him in the morning and the helmsman in the evening.'

     d.   Reggel a "MATRÓZₘ szólt   "NEKIⱼ, és este   a "KORMÁNYOSₖ
        morning the sailor   speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat   and evening the helmsman
        szólt   "NEKIₖ.
        speak.Past.3Sg he.Dat
        'The sailor spoke to HIMⱼ in the morning and the helmsman spoke to HIMₖ in the evening.'

The sentences can in principle have several possible interpretations. Their preferred interpretations, nevertheless, obey the referential parallelism constraint, according to which the sailor and the helmsman spoke to the same third party: (397a–c). The elliptic clause and the clause containing the pronoun with reduced stress behave identically in respect of the constraint. None of the sentences of (397a–c) may have the interpretation that the sailor spoke to a third person and the helmsman to a fourth person. If the clauses do not have a simple/single falling intonation but end in a constituent with strong (i.e., contrastive) stress, the clause-final pronoun receives strong stress (397d). In this case the sentence does not contain ellipsis, and has an interpretation with non-parallel reference, in which the sailor spoke to a **third**, and the helmsman to a **fourth person**.

    Thus, elliptic clauses and verb phrases containing a pronoun with reduced stress belong to the same class in respect of referential parallelism, and in contrast to clauses ending in a pronoun with strong, contrastive stress.

    Fiengo and May (1994) proposes a parallelism constraint in a similar vein: NPs in the elided and antecedent VP must either (i) have the same referential value (=referential parallelism) or (ii) be linked by identical dependencies (=structural parallelism).

4.7. Gapping

Gapping is the omission of the tensed V possibly together with other major constituents. Gapping has the effect of leaving a 'gap' in the middle of the non-first clause. A tensed V or a non-maximal VP can undergo gapping and arguments can only be gapped along with the Verb. At least one explicit major constituent must be

before the gap, and another one after the gap under the VP node. Gapping can only be clause-internal.

The licensing clause and the gapped clause must be structurally parallel in the sense that they contain minimally two major constituents of identical categories and in identical syntactic position; in particular, the first and the last syntactic positions of both clauses must be overt. Coordinated sentences with gapping may have a neutral intonation pattern; in this case they do not contain focus stress or contrastive stress, see (398) and (399) below.

(398)   'Ádám 'megbeszélt   'Évával egy 'forgatókönyvet, 'Alex meg
        Ádám discuss.Past.3Sg Éva.Ins a   screenplay.Acc   Alex and
        [~~megbeszélt Évával~~] egy 'novellát.
        discuss.Past.3Sg Éva.Ins   a   short story.Acc
        'Ádám discussed a screenplay with Éva, and Alex discussed a short story with her.'

(399)   'János 'elküldött   egy 'levelet 'Marinak, 'Péter meg
        János send.Past.3Sg a   letter.Acc Mari.Dat   Péter   and
        [~~elküldött egy levelet~~] 'Évának.
        send.Past.3Sg a   letter.Acc Éva.Dat
        'János sent a letter to Mari, and Péter to Éva.'

The licensing clause and gapped clause must be structurally parallel. The sentence in (400) is of doubtful grammaticality because of non-parallel clause structures:

(400)   ??János elküldött   egy levelet Marinak, Évának meg
        János   send.Past.3Sg a   letter.Acc Mari.Dat   Éva.Dat and
        [~~elküldött egy levelet~~] Péter.
        send.Past.3Sg a   letter.Acc Péter

In gapping, the licensing clause must precede, rather than follow, the clause containing the gap. Compare the grammatical (398) with the ill-formed (401):

(401)   *Alex [~~megbeszélt Évával~~] egy novellát,   Ádám meg megbeszélt
        Alex   discuss.Past.3Sg Éva.Ins a   short story.Acc Ádám   and discuss.Past.3Sg
        Évával egy forgatókönyvet.
        Éva.Ins a   screenplay.Acc

Gapping is available in clauses involving contrastive pairs of foci (with contrasting emphasis) immediately before and after the Verb or V-bar, respectively (marked by CAPITALS):

(402)   János a "KALAUZNAK   adta   a "JEGY ÁRÁT,   és a
        János the ticket-inspector.Dat give.Past.3Sg the ticket price.Poss.Acc and the
        "HORDÁRNAK [~~adta~~]   a "BORRAVALÓT.
        porter.Dat   give.Past.3Sg the tip.Acc
        'János gave the price of the ticket to the TICKET INSPECTOR and tipped the PORTER.'

Gapping is also available in clauses with a parallel structure involving different topic constituents **and** contrastive pairs of foci immediately before and after the Verb:

(403) János a "KALAUZNAK   adta   a "JEGY ÁRÁT,
       János the ticket-inspector.Dat gave.3Sg the ticket price.Poss.Acc

       Alex meg a "HORDÁRNAK [~~adta~~]   a "BORRAVALÓT.
       Alex and the porter.Dat   gave.3Sg the tip.Acc

       'János gave the price of the ticket to the TICKET INSPECTOR, and Alex tipped the PORTER.'

4.8. Summary

'Silent' lexical items without a phonological form are claimed to be subject to ellipsis. Lexical items with a phonological form, which make the identification of the former possible, are available in another, coordinated or subordinated clause. These are termed **licensers**.

The filled operator positions (quantifier, focus) in the clauses may not undergo ellipsis. These positions form the boundary of ellipsis. The domain of ellipsis spreads to the end of a coordinate clause.

If the licensing clause precedes the clause containing ellipsis, we have a case of forward ellipsis. If the licensing clause follows the elliptic one, we have backward ellipsis.

4.8.1. Forward ellipsis

- Forward ellipsis may be produced in clauses with parallel and non-parallel structures as well;
- it is possible between nonadjacent clauses;
- in forward NP ellipsis, the overt number and case morphemes and postpositions that normally appear on the noun (and only there) must appear on the linearly **last remnant** preceding the elided noun;
- it follows the distribution of the phrasal constituents of the syntactic structures;
- it allows both the strict and the sloppy identity interpretation of pronouns;
- it adheres to the following morphological conditions:
  - the strict identity of the stem and the **tense marker** of the licensing verb and the ellipted verb is a necessary condition;
  - a tensed verb may license the ellipsis of an infinitive, unspecified for tense, be it an unsuffixed infinitive or one with a person suffix;
  - the Agr-suffixes attached to the verb are locally licensed by the person/number features of the clause-internal subject (and object) and the definiteness feature of the object. The **ellipsis** of Agr-suffixes may also be licensed if those of both the ellipted and parallel verbs are not identical.

4.8.2. Backward ellipsis

- Backward ellipsis can only arise in constructions containing perfectly parallel structures;
- elided material in backward ellipsis immediately precedes the licensing clause, which contains the licensing material at its right edge;
- it can operate on words including component parts of compound words (semiwords);

- it requires a total form/feature identity with, or string or featural containment in, the licensor in a subsequent parallel conjunct;
- the boundary of the domain subject to ellipsis and the licensing domain are marked by contrastively stressed words which are of the same lexical category but are not the same lexical items;
- nominal ellipsis requires a kind of deletion under identity, and there are no number and case morphemes on the last remnant preceding the elided noun;
- backward ellipsis only allows a sloppy identity interpretation of pronouns;
- it adheres to the following morphological conditions:
  - the strict identity of the stem and the tense marker of the licensing verb and the ellipted verb is a necessary condition;
  - a tensed verb may license the ellipsis of an infinitive, unspecified for tense, be it an unsuffixed infinitive or one with a person suffix;
  - the Agr-suffixes attached to the verb are locally licensed by the person/number features of the clause-internal subject (and object) and the definiteness feature of the object, the ellipsis of Agr-suffixes may also be licensed if the Agr-suffixes of the ellipted verb and those of the parallel verb are not identical.

4.8.3. *Gapping*

- In cases of gapping, the licensing clause obligatorily precedes the licensed clause;
- a tensed V or a non-maximal VP can undergo gapping, arguments can be gapped, but only with the verb,
- gapping can only be clause-internal in the non-first clause. At least one explicit major constituent must be before the gap, and at least one after the gap. The last must be in the clause-final position;
- it can only arise in clauses containing parallel structures, licensing and licensed clause must contain minimally two major constituents of identical category in identical syntactic position; in particular, the first and the last syntactic positions of both clauses contain parallel constituents in an overt form;
- it may optionally have a neutral intonation pattern;
- it is also available in clauses involving contrastive pairs of foci (bearing contrastive stresses) immediately before and after the V or V'.

4.9. Bibliographical notes

Bartos (2000a, 2000b, 2001) presented analyses on morphosyntactic and semantic features of Hungarian VP ellipsis. He argued that the key difference between backward and forward VP ellipsis is that the latter is anaphoric, hence it allows for 'sloppiness' by local identification of the feature content of the elided material, while the former is based on the strict identity or at least containment of sound forms and/or feature content between the elided material and its licensor in a subsequent parallel conjunct, backward VP ellipsis is non-anaphoric. An overview on Hungarian VP-ellipsis is presented in Bánréti (1994).

É. Kiss (2002) provides a description of the main characteristics of Hungarian focus. Gyuris (2009) gives an account on the semantics of contrastive topic in Hungarian.

Kenesei (2007) defines word-like items: autonomous words, dependent words, and semiwords (parts of compound words). All three undergo forward coordination reduction that operates only on semantic units. Since the minimal semantic unit is the word, a semiword must belong to the class of words. On the other side, there are lexical items below the level of words: affixoids and affixes. Word-like items and affixoids undergo the phonologically based backward deletion operations, but affixes are blind to any reduction processes.

Our view on strict and sloppy identity in VP ellipsis is based on proposals made by Fiengo and May (1994). They formulate the parallelism constraint in a framework where NPs are supplied not only with indices but also with pointers, α or β. These pointers determine the *dependent* or *independent* relationship of the given NP with the other NPs in the clause. The index of an NP which is independent of other occurrences is called the *α-occurrence* of the index; the index of an NP which depends on another occurrence is called the *β-occurrence* of the index. 'Independent' pronouns, bound clause-externally, and referential NPs may be accompanied by stress and/or deixis; dependent pronouns bound within their clause, however, may not. Pronouns with the β-occurrence of an index, that is, in the case of sloppy interpretation, are interpreted as bound variables, whereas pronouns with the α-occurrence of an index are referential, that is, they are bound clause-externally or are deictic. Based on Fiengo and May (1994), then, the referential or bound status of pronouns between VP ellipsis and the licensing domain in coordinated clauses can be expressed as follows: if an occurrence of an index is independent, an α-occurrence, 'copy' the occurrence itself, if the occurrence is dependent, a β-occurrence, 'copy' the dependency (Fiengo and May 1994: 149).

Chapter 5
Sluicing

Anikó Lipták

5.1. Sluicing in *wh*-interrogatives

Sluicing is a construction that has the surface form of a single *wh*-constituent but is interpreted as an entire question. In this chapter, it is treated as ellipsis of a clause to the exclusion of the question phrase. In English, and in most other languages, sluicing is restricted to interrogatives with constituent *wh*-questions, as has been known since Ross (1969), Lobeck (1995: 54–62) and Merchant (2001: 54–61). Hungarian sluicing is perfectly fine in *wh*-interrogatives, and unlike in English, the kind of ellipsis sluicing involves can also be found with *non-wh*-remnants and contexts other than interrogatives. The latter property is due to the fact that sluicing-like TP ellipsis is licensed after any operator material that participates in a movement similar to that of *wh*-constituents (sluicing tracks *wh*-movement, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006, Lipták 2015).

5.1.1. *Sluicing with a single* wh-*remnant*

Hungarian allows for sluicing in *wh*-interrogatives (Bánréti 1992, 2007, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006), in line with the fact that it fronts its *wh*-phrases to the left periphery, above the TP node. Just like in other languages, the *wh*-phrase in the sluice can be embedded or non-embedded and can correspond to an overt or implicit indefinite correlate, which can be either an argument or an adjunct. In case the correlate is implicit, the construction is referred to as sprouting.

(404) a. Valaki úszott   a tóban, de nem tudom, ki.   *embedded sluicing*
someone swim.Past.3Sg the lake.Ine but not know.1Sg who
'Someone was swimming in the lake, but I don't know who.'

b. Félix úszott   valahol, de nem tudom, hol.
Félix swim.Past.3Sg somewhere but not   know.1Sg where
'Félix was swimming somewhere, but I don't know where.'

c. A: Valaki úszott   a tóban.   *matrix sluicing*
someone swim.Past.3Sg the lake.Ine
'Someone was swimming in the lake.'

B: Igen? Ki?
yes   who
'Was that the case? Who?'

(405) a. Félix beszélgetett, de nem láttam,   kivel.   *embedded sprouting*
Félix   talk.Past.3Sg but not see.Past.1Sg who.Ins
'Félix was talking but I didn't see who with.'

b. A hajó elsüllyedt, és jó   lenne tudni, mitől.
the ship sink.Past.3Sg and good be.Cond know.Inf what.Abl
'The ship sank, and it would be good to know what it was due to.'

c. A: Félix   beszélgetett.   *matrix sprouting*
Félix   talk.Past.3Sg
'Félix was talking.'

B: Tényleg? Kivel?
　　really　　 who.Ins
　　　'Was that the case? Who with?'

The *wh*-phrase in the sluiced clause can have arbitrary complexity, including *which*-phrases (cf. (406a)) and may include coordinated *wh*-constituents as well (see Chapter 3) (cf. (406b)). Note that using coordinated *wh*-phrases is the predominant way to express a reading in which the question is about a single pair of entities.

(406) a.　Egy diákunk　　úszott　　 a　tóban, de nem tudom, melyik
　　　　　a　　 student.Poss.1Pl swim.Past.3Sg the lake.Ine but not know.1Sg which

　　　　　diákunk.
　　　　　student.Poss.1Pl

　　　　　'One of our students was swimming in the lake, but I don't know which one.'

　　　b.　Valaki ellopott　　　valamit.　　Ki fog　　derülni,　　hogy ki　és
　　　　　someone Prt.steal.Past.3Sg something.Acc Prt Fut.3Sg transpire.Inf Compl who and

　　　　　mit.
　　　　　what.Acc

　　　　　'Someone stole something. It will come to light who and what.'

The *wh*-phrase in sluicing can also contain a contrastive element – for example, a contrastive nominal – which must be in explicit contrast with a contrastive correlate in the antecedent of sluicing. Examples of this sort are referred to in the English literature as 'contrast sluicing'.

(407)　　Nem az érdekel, hogy hány　 KÓLÁT ittál.　　　 Az érdekel,　hogy
　　　　　not　 that interest.3Sg Compl how.many coke.Acc drink.Past.2Sg that interest.3Sg Compl

　　　　　hány　　 SÖRT.
　　　　　how.many beer.Acc

　　　　　'What interests me is not how many cokes you drank. What interests me is how many beers.'

Sluicing can linearly follow its antecedent containing the correlate (representing forward ellipsis), or precede its antecedent (representing backward ellipsis). The latter is possible when the sluiced clause expresses concessive meaning and is syntactically subordinated to the antecedent clause that follows it (Bánréti 2007):

(408) a.　Bár　　nem láttam, hogy ki, úgy tűnt,　　　 hogy valaki úszott　　　a
　　　　　although not　saw.1Sg Compl who so　　 seem.Past.3Sg Compl someone swim.Past.3Sg the

　　　　　tóban.
　　　　　lake.Ine

　　　　　'Although I did not see who, someone seemed to have swum in the lake.'

　　　b.　Nem tudjuk, hogy mitől,　de sokan　megijedtek.
　　　　　not　 know.1Pl Compl what.Abl but many　Prt.get.scared.Past.3Pl

　　　　　'We don't know what of, but many people got scared.'

The interrogative clause containing the sluice can not only be an interrogative complement to verbs (like all examples above) but can occur as an interrogative argument to nouns or be the clausal subject of adjectival predication as well.

(409) a. Valaki ellopta   az iratokat. Annak kiderítése,   hogy ki, nehéz
       someone Prt.steal.Past.3Sg the paper.Pl.Acc that.Dat finding.Poss.3Sg Compl who difficult

      lesz.
      be.Fut.3Sg

      'Someone stole the papers. Finding out who will be difficult.'

     b. Valaki ellopta   az iratokat. Érthetetlen,   hogy   miért.
       someone Prt.steal.Past.3Sg the paper.Pl.Acc understand.able.neg Compl   why

      'Someone stole the papers. It's impossible to understand why.'

Similarly, the sluiced proposition can be embedded inside a clausal complement to a postposition, like in the following case, which represents an instance of antecedent contained deletion (as the event modifier *nélkül* PP is contained inside the TP of the main clause).

(410)   Félix megcsókolt valakit,   anélkül,   hogy tudta   volna, kit.
           Félix   Prt.kiss.Past.3Sg someone.Acc that.without   Compl know.Past.3Sg Cond   who.Acc

           'Félix kissed someone without knowing who.'

Finally, when sluicing is a complement of existential predication, as in the so-called modal existential construction (Šimik 2010), it corresponds to a non-interrogative *wh*-clause:

(411)   Félix megcsókolna valakit,   de nincs   kit.
           Félix   Prt.kiss.Cond.3Sg someone.Acc but   neg.be.3Sg who.Acc

           'Félix would like to kiss someone, but there is nobody (to kiss).'

As some of the above examples illustrated, the sluicing *wh*-remnant is not necessarily initial in its clause. It can be preceded by the complementizer of interrogative (and indicative) clauses, *hogy*, due to the fact that *wh*-constituents occupy a low position in the left periphery below the complementizer layer (É. Kiss 1987). This position is furthermore reserved for (contrastive) focus constituents, standardly called FocP. Since FocP can be preceded not only by complementizers but also topics, the *wh*-remnant can be preceded by topics as well at least for some speakers (others find a topic and a *wh*-remnant degraded):

(412)   %Tudom, hogy Júlia ebédre   és vacsorára is meghívott   valakit,
           know.1Sg Compl Júlia   lunch.Sub and dinner.Sub also Prt.invite.Past.3Sg   someone.Acc

           de nem emlékszem, hogy vacsorára kit.
           but not   remember.1Sg Compl dinner.Sub   who.Acc

           'I know that Júlia invited people to her place for lunch and for dinner, but I don't remember who she invited for dinner.'

5.1.2. *Sluicing with multiple* wh-*remnants*

Similar to other multiple *wh*-movement languages, which can front more than one *wh*-phrase to the left periphery, Hungarian also allows for sluicing after multiple *wh*-pronouns (van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2013).

(413) Félix adott   mindenkinek valamit   enni. Elmondjam, kinek
       Félix give.Past.3Sg everyone.Dat   something.Acc eat.Inf Prt.tell.Subj.1Sg who.Dat

       mit?   Annának egy almát,   Balázsnak egy banánt   és Csillának
       what.Acc Anna.Dat   a   apple.Acc   Balázs.Dat   a   banana.Acc and Csilla.Dat

       egy csokit.
       a   chocolate.Acc

       'Félix has given something to eat to everyone. Shall I tell you what and to whom? An apple to
       Anna, a banana to Balázs and a chocolate to Csilla.'

As (413) shows, the interpretation of multiple *wh*-sluicing is usually used to refer to pairs of individuals, where each *wh*-phrase ranges over two or more entities paired to one another in the response to the question. In this respect, multiple *wh*-sluicing fully tracks the interpretation that is available for multiple *wh*-movement without ellipsis in the language. For many speakers (but not all), multiple *wh*-fronting like (414) in Hungarian asks for a response that is listing pairs made up of individuals who left messages and those who received them (É. Kiss 1993), this is the interpretation corresponding to (a). The interpretation that refers to a single message leaver–message receiver pair, i.e., interpretation (b), is unavailable.

(414) Ki kinek hagyott   üzenetet?
       who who.Dat leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc

       'Who left a message for whom?'

       a. ✓ Everyone left a message for someone. I wonder who each person left a message for.

       b. * A single person left a message for someone. I wonder who the person was and for whom he
       left a message.

For these speakers, multiple sluicing is also used in the (a) interpretation, but not the (b) one prompting the single pair answer. Accordingly, multiple sluicing is perfect in a context in which there are more than one individuals leaving messages (each to a potentially different one), as in (415).

(415) Mindenki hagyott   üzenetet valakinek. Nem tudom, hogy ki
       everyone   leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc someone.Dat not   know.1Sg Compl who

       kinek.
       who.Dat

       'Everyone left a message for someone. I don't know which person for which person.'

Multiple sluicing, however, is unavailable in contexts that presuppose the existence of only one message leaver, observe (416a). In contexts like this, the sluiced interrogative clause contains coordinated *wh*-phrases that characteristically refer to single-pair situations (see Section 3.8 in Chapter 3), as shown in (416b). Note that (416a) is pronounced with the characteristic intonation of multiple *wh*-fronting, that is, with accent on the immediately preverbal *wh*-word only. With accent on both *wh*-words, the single-pair reading is available (416c). This latter example illustrates the paratactic coordination of question phrases (see section 3.8).

(416) a. *Valaki hagyott üzenetet valakinek. Nem tudom, hogy ki "kinek.
　　　　someone leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc someone.Dat not know.1Sg Compl who who.Dat
　　　　'Someone left a message for someone. I don't know who or for whom.'

　　　b. Valaki hagyott üzenetet valakinek. Nem tudom, hogy ki és
　　　　someone leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc someone.Dat not know.1Sg Compl who and
　　　　kinek.
　　　　who.Dat
　　　　'Someone left a message for someone. I don't know who (it was) and for whom (he left a message).'

　　　c. Valaki hagyott üzenetet valakinek. Nem tudom, hogy "ki, "kinek.
　　　　someone leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc someone.Dat not know.1Sg Compl who who.Dat
　　　　'Someone left a message for someone. I don't know who (it was) and for whom (he left a message).'

In some cases of multiple *wh*-fronting, like the one in (417), asking for the beginning and end points of an interval, the interpretation makes reference to a single pair of times. In these contexts, multiple sluicing inherits this single pair interpretation, too:

(417)　　Hánytól hányig dolgozik ma Bea?
　　　　how.many.Abl how.many.Ter work.3Sg today Bea
　　　　'From what time till what time is Bea working today?'

(418)　　Bea dolgozik ma, de már nem emlékszem, hánytól hányig.
　　　　Bea work.3Sg today but already not remember.1Sg how.many.Abl how.many.Ter
　　　　'Bea is working today, but I don't remember from what time to what time.'

5.2. Sluicing with non-*wh* remnants

The ellipsis of clauses to the exclusion of a single constituent can also take place in non-interrogative clauses in Hungarian. The sole surviving phrase can be emphatic operator material like contrastive focus and quantifiers. This kind of clausal ellipsis will be referred to as focus-sluicing in this chapter.

(419)　　Valaki úszott a tóban. Azt hiszem, (hogy) PÉTER.
　　　　someone swim.Past.3Sg the lake.Ine that.Acc think.1Sg Compl Péter
　　　　'Someone was swimming in the lake. Péter, I think.'

(420)　　Tudtam, hogy Félix sok lányt meghívott, de nem tudtam,
　　　　know.Past.1Sg Compl Félix many girl.Acc Prt.invite.Past.3Sg but not know.Past.1Sg
　　　　hogy mindet.
　　　　Compl every.Acc
　　　　'I knew Félix had invited many girls, but I didn't know he had invited every one of them.'

Focus sluicing can be contrastive or non-contrastive with respect to its correlate in the antecedent clause. When non-contrastive, it has an indefinite correlate, as in the previous two examples. When contrastive, it has a contrastive focus correlate, which occurs in a parallel position in the clause (cf. (407) above for *wh*-sluicing):

(421) Mari szerint Beát hívta meg Félix. Én viszont úgy
       Mari according.to Bea.Acc invite.Past.3Sg Prt Félix I however so

      tudtam, hogy Júliát.
      know.Past.1Sg Compl Júlia.Acc

      'According to Mari it was Bea who Félix invited. I on the other hand believed that it was Júlia.'

Focus sluicing shares many properties with *wh*-sluicing. Just like in *wh*-sluicing, the remnant of ellipsis can be preceded by topics and quantifiers for some speakers (cf. (412) above):

(422) %Tudtam, hogy Júlia ebédre és vacsorára is meg szokott hívni
       know.Past.1Sg Compl Júlia lunch.Sub and dinner.Sub also Prt Habit.3Sg invite.Inf

      valakit, de nem tudtam, hogy vacsorára mindig PÉTERT.
      someone.Acc but not know.Past.1Sg Compl dinner.Sub always Péter.Acc

      'I knew that Júlia invites people for lunch and for dinner, but I didn't know that she always invites only Péter for dinner.'

In focus sluicing, ellipsis can also apply backwards, although some speakers find this pattern degraded:

(423) %Bár azt nem láttam, hogy éppen Péterrel, de azt
       although that.Acc not see.Past.1Sg Compl just Péter.Ins but that.Acc

      hallottam, hogy Félix beszélgetett valakivel.
      hear.Past.1Sg Compl Félix talk.Past.1Sg someone.Ins

      'Even though I could not see that it was with Péter, I could hear that Félix was talking to someone.'

The host clause of focus sluicing can also be a propositional argument to non-verbal elements:

(424) a. Valaki ellopta az iratokat. Annak a gyanúja, hogy
          someone Prt.steal.Past.3Sg the papers.Acc that.Dat the suspicion.Poss.3Sg Compl

      talán Péter, többekben felmerült.
      possibly Péter many.Ine Prt.arise.Past.3Sg

      'Someone stole the papers. The suspicion that it might be Péter arose in many.'

    b. Valaki ellopta az iratokat. Feltehető, hogy Péter.
        someone Prt.steal.Past.3Sg the papers.Acc possible Compl Péter

      'Someone stole the papers. It is possible that it was Péter.'

Focus sluicing furthermore can have multiple ellipsis remnants.

(425) Félix adott valamit valakinek. Azt hiszem, hogy egy
       Félix give.Past.3Sg something.Acc someone.Dat that.Acc believe.1Sg Compl a

      könyvet Júliának.
      book.Acc Júlia.Dat

      'Félix gave something to someone. I think he gave a book to Júlia.'

Such multiple focus sluicing has the interpretation of so-called complex focus constructions in non-elliptical sentences (Alberti and Medve 2000, Surányi 2003),

which contain one fronted and one in-situ focus, and establish focus on a pair of constituents, cf. (426).

(426) Félix adott   valamit   valakinek. Azt   hiszem, hogy EGY
       Félix give.Past.3Sg something.Acc someone.Dat that.Acc believe.1Sg Compl a
       KÖNYVET adott   JÚLIÁNAK.
       book.Acc give.Past.3Sg Júlia.Dat
       'Félix gave something to someone. I think he gave a book to Júlia.'

The reading of 'true' multiple focus constructions, in which the two foci appear unrelated in the semantic representation, is unavailable in multiple focus sluicing.

(427) Nem emlékszem pontosan, melyik évfolyam hány   tárgyból vizsgázik.
       not remember.1Sg exactly   which year   how.many subject.Ela take.exam.3Sg
       *De úgy emlékszem, hogy csak az ELSŐSÖK   csak EGY tárgyból.
         but so remember.1Sg Compl only the first.year.students only one subject.Ela
       'I don't recall exactly which students take an exam in how many subjects. But I do remember
       that only the first-year students take an exam in only one subject.'

Finally, given that focus sluicing is not restricted to a particular clause-type, it can occur in indicatives (see all examples so far in this section), polar questions (cf. (428)), as well as relative clauses (cf. (429)) or conditionals (cf. (430)).

(428) Valaki úszott   a   tóban. Kíváncsi vagyok, (hogy) PÉTER-e.
       someone swim.Past.3Sg the lake.Ine curious be.1Sg   Compl Péter-QPart
       'Someone was swimming in the lake. I wonder if it was Péter.'

(429) Péternek azt   a   fotót   mutattam meg, amit   Annának.
       Péter.Dat that.Acc the photo.Acc show.Past.1Sg Prt Rel.what.Acc Anna.Dat
       'The photo I showed to Péter was the (same) one that I showed to Anna.'

(430) Nem tudom, hogy Félix hány   lányt hívott   meg. Ha mindet,
       not know.1Sg Compl Félix how.many girl.Acc invite.Past.3Sg Prt   if every.Acc
       bajban   vagyunk.
       trouble.Ine be.1Pl
       'I don't know how many girls Félix invited. If he invited all of them, we are in trouble.'

5.3. Relative sluicing

A further subtype of non-*wh*-sluicing in Hungarian is sluicing after relative pronouns (Lipták 2015). One of the contexts where this is possible are relative clauses in which the relative pronoun is explicitly contrastive with respect to another relative pronoun, like in the following example.

(431) Olvasni kell. Elképesztő, amit   ír,   és elképesztő, ahogy.
       read.Inf must astonishing Rel.what.Acc write.3Sg and astonishing   Rel.how
       'You have to read him. It's astonishing what he writes, and also how.'

The other contexts involve relative pronouns in headless relative clauses and pronominally headed ones, which have a tautological meaning. Relative clauses of this type have a pragmatic import that is similar to free choice (*whatever-*)relatives.

(432)   A   rovaroknak   három pár lábuk   van, a   százlábúaknak   meg annyi,
        the insect.Pl.Dat   three   pair foot.Poss.3Pl is   the millipede.Pl.Dat   and that.much
        amennyi.
        Rel.how.much
        'Insects have three pairs of legs. Millipedes on the other hand have as many as they do.'

(433)   Nem   tudom, hogyan alakult   volna a   sorsom,   de bizonyos,
        not   know.1Sg how   develop.Past.3Sg Cond the life.Poss.1Sg but sure
        hogy másképp, mint ahogy.
        Compl otherwise   than Rel.how
        'I don't know how my life would have turned out, but surely it would have been different from the way it did.'

(434)   Az   építményadót eddig a   kerületek szedték – már ahol.
        the   building.tax.Acc this.Ter the district.Pl   collect.Past.3pl at.all Rel.where
        'It was the districts that collected the building tax till now – at least in places where they did.'

The latter type of relative sluicing (that in (432)–(434)) is an instance of antecedent contained deletion: the elided clause is contained inside the TP of the matrix clause.

    Unlike *wh-* and focus sluicing, relative sluicing does not operate backwards, and cannot have multiple remnants, as the following examples show.

(435)   *Már ahol,   az építményadót eddig a   kerületek szedték.
        at.all Rel.where the building.tax.Acc this.Ter the district.Pl   collect.Past.3Sg
        'It was the distirsts that collected the building tax till now – at least in places where they did.'

(436)   Az   építményadót eddig a   kerületek szedték – *már ahol   amikor.
        the   building.tax.Acc this.Ter the district.Pl   collect.Past.3pl at.all Rel.where Rel.when
        'It was the districts that collected the building tax – at least in places and at times where and when they did.'

Case connectivity in relative sluicing will be taken up in section 5.4 below.

5.4. Case connectivity in sluicing

Remnants of sluicing must appear with the same morphological case as their antecedent in Hungarian (cf. Ross 1967, Merchant 2001, Chung 2013 on English in this respect). This case restriction holds in all types of sluicing: *wh-*, focus and relative sluicing alike. Nominative remnants are ruled out when corresponding to non-nominative correlates. The latter observation discounts the possibility that Hungarian sluicing elides a cleft-type predicate structure like (438): in clefts, the subject can only appear in the nominative case.

(437) a. Félix beszélgetett valakivel, de nem láttam, {kivel/*ki}.

      Félix   talk.Past.3Sg someone.Ins but not   see.Past.1Sg who.Ins/ who.Nom

      'Félix was talking to someone, but I didn't see who with.'

    b. Júlia meghívott   valakit,   de nem tudom, {kit/*ki}.

      Júlia   Prt.invite.Past.3Sg someone.Acc but not   know.1Sg who.Acc/who.Nom

      'Júlia invited someone, but I don't know who (she invited).'

(438)   Félix beszélgetett valakivel, de nem láttam, ki   volt az.

      Félix   talk.Past.3Sg   someone.Ins but not   see.Past.1Sg who.Nom was that

      'Félix was talking to someone, but I didn't see who that was.'

Case connectivity extends to the use of adpositional markers and rules out mismatches in form even under synonymous readings. To illustrate a case of such a mismatch, consider *felől* and *-ről* 'about' in the following example. They can be used interchangeably to denote the theme of the verb *érdeklődik* 'inquire', but they cannot be exchanged under sluicing.

(439) a. *Érdeklődtek valaki felől, de   már   nem emlékszem, kiről.

      inquire.Past.3pl someone about but   already not remember.1Sg who.Del

      'They inquired about someone, but now I don't remember who.' (intended meaning)

    b. *Érdeklődtek valakiről, de most nem emlékszem, ki felől.

      inquire.Past.3pl someone.Del but now   not remember.1Sg who about

      'They inquired about someone, but now I don't remember who.' (intended meaning)

Case connectivity is thus responsible for the fact that sluicing remnants with a morphologically distinct case from their correlates are ungrammatical when followed by ellipsis.

    One further illustrative example for this comes from the realm of possessed noun phrases. The possessor in these can either be nominative or dative in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1994), dative possessors being extractable from their DPs. As the following examples show, a dative possessor cannot have a nominative correlate under sluicing, but must have a dative correlate, even though the two are semantically equivalent. (Note that we only illustrate sluices with dative case, as nominative *wh*-phrases cannot extract out of the possessed phrase.) An alternative is to use an anaphoric possessed *wh*-pronoun *kié* that corresponds to the entire nominal, as shown in (440c), see Chapter 7.

(440) a. *Egy résztvevő   telefonja   megcsörrent, de nem láttam,   kinek.

        a   participant.Nom phone.Poss3Sg Prt.ring.Past.3Sg but not   see.Past.1Sg who.Dat

    b. Egy résztvevőnek a   telefonja   megcsörrent, de nem láttam,   kinek.

        a   participant.Dat the phone.Poss3Sg Prt.ring.Past.3Sg but not   see.Past.1Sg who.Dat

      'A participant's phone started ringing, but I couldn't see whose.'

    c. Egy résztvevő   telefonja   megcsörrent, de nem láttam,   kié.

        a   participant.Nom phone.Poss3Sg Prt.ring.Past.3Sg but not   see.Past.1Sg who.Posr

      'A participant's phone started ringing, but I couldn't see whose.'

(441) shows that the observed case restriction is not found in non-elliptical sentences: there, the combination of the nominative-dative case is acceptable.

(441)   Egy résztvevő   telefonja   megcsörrent, de nem láttam,   kinek
         a   participant.Nom phone.Poss3Sg Prt.ring.Past.3Sg but not   see.Past.1Sg who.Dat

         csörrent   meg a   telefonja.
         ring.Past.3Sg Prt   the phone.Poss3Sg

         'A participant's phone started ringing, but I couldn't see whose phone started ringing.'

A different environment in which case connectivity rears its head is long distance dependencies with subjects. In non-elliptical clauses, an embedded subject can be placed into a superordinate clause across bridge verbs, a phenomenon referred to as sentence-intertwinning (cf. É. Kiss 1987). In such constructions, nominative subjects can show up with accusative case (for some speakers obligatorily, for others optionally, see Gervain 2003).

(442)   Melyik lányt szeretnéd,   hogy felolvassa   a   verset?
         which girl.Acc like.Cond.2Sg Compl Prt.read.Subj.3Sg the poem.Acc

         'Which girl would you like to read out the poem?'

The same kind of case-switch, however, is ruled out for all speakers under sluicing if the correlate of the accusative-marked subject is in the nominative, cf. (443a). The sentence is only well-formed if the correlate appears in the matrix clause and undergoes case-switch itself, cf. (443b). (443b), compared to (443c), shows an independent property of sluicing, namely that it can ignore a mismatch in verbal agreement on the elided verb: as can be observed in (443c), the embedded verb exhibits definite conjugation, while the verb in the antecedent clause exhibits indefinite conjugation (see Section 4.3. in Chapter 4 for similar facts involving ellipsis).

(443) a.   Azt   szeretné,   hogy egy lány olvassa   fel a   verset, de
           that.Acc like.Cond.3Sg.Def Compl a   girl read.Subj.Def Prt the poem.Acc but

           már   nem emlékszem, {✓melyik lány/*melyik lányt}.
           already not remember.1Sg   which girl   which girl.Acc

           'He'd like a girl to read out the poem, but now I don't remember which girl (he'd like to read it).'

      b.   Egy lányt szeretne,   hogy felolvassa   a   verset,
           a   girl.Acc like.Cond.3Sg.Indef Compl Prt.read.Subj.Def the poem.Acc

           de már   nem emlékszem,   {*melyik lány/✓melyik lányt}.
           but already not remember.1Sg   which girl   which girl.Acc

           'He'd like a girl to read out the poem, but now I don't remember which girl (he'd like to read it).'

      c.   Egy lányt szeretne,   hogy felolvassa   a   verset, de már
           a   girl.Acc like.Cond.3Sg.Indef Compl Prt.read.Subj.Def the poem.Acc but already

           nem emlékszem, melyik lányt   szeretné.
           not remember.1Sg which girl.Acc like.Cond.3Sg.Def

           'He'd like a girl to read out the poem, but now I don't remember which girl he'd like to read it.'

Note finally that postposition-stranding is possible by *wh-* and focus sluicing remnants only in case the postposition can strand via regular *wh-*/focus-movement,

too. Such postpositions, like *együtt* in (446) can be stranded and thus need not occur next to the *wh*-phrase in a sliuced clause (cf. (447)).

(444) a. Bea kin   keresztül kapott   híreket   Gyuriról?
        Bea who.Sup across   get.Past.3Sg new.Pl.Acc Gyuri.Del
        'Via who did Bea get some news about Gyuri?

     b. *Bea kin   kapott   híreket keresztül Gyuriról?
          Bea who.Sup get.Past.3Sg news.Acc across   Gyuri.Del
          intended: 'Via who did Bea get some news about Gyuri?'

(445)   *Bea híreket   kapott   valakin   keresztül, de nem tudom, kin.
        Bea new.Pl.Acc get.Past.3Sg someone.Sup across   but not   know.1Sg who.Sup
        intended: 'Bea got some news via someone, but I don't know across who.'

(446) a. Kivel együtt jön   ma Félix a színházba?
        who.Ins together come.3Sg today Félix the theatre.Ill

     b. Kivel jön   együtt ma Félix a színházba?
          who.Ins come.3Sg together today Félix the theatre.Ill

(447)   Félix valakivel együtt jön   ma a színházba, de nem tudom,
        Félix someone.Ins together comes.3Sg today the theatre.Ill   but not   know.1Sg
        kivel.
        who.Ins
        'Félix comes to the theatre together with someone tomorrow, but I don't know together with who.'

Relative sluicing differs from *wh-* and focus sluicing, however. This type of sluicing remnants can and in fact must occur without their postpositions even in cases the postposition in question cannot be stranded via ordinary A-bar fronting. The sluiced remnants that can occur this way must be case marked.

(448)   A felkelők azon   keresztül kapnak   fegyvereket, akin   (?*keresztül).
        the rebel.Pl that.Sup across   receive.3Pl weapon.Pl.Acc that.Sup   across
        intended: 'The rebels receive weapons with the mediation of some people, whoever they might be.'

The reason for this is most likely a prosodic ban on multi-word remnants in relative sluicing, a restriction that is also responsible for ruling out multi-word postpositional remnants as opposed to single-word case-marked ones for many speakers:

(449) a. Félix nem beszél   velem, azért,   amiért.
        Félix not   speak.3Sg Ins.1Sg that.Cau Rel.what.Cau
        'Félix does not speak to me for whatever reason that he does not speak to me.'

     b. ?*Félix nem beszél   velem, a miatt, ami   miatt.
          Félix   not   speak.3Sg Ins.1Sg that because Rel.what because
          *'Félix does not speak to me because of the reason for which he does not speak to me.'

Sluicing in modal existential constructions has to observe the same condition: two-word remnants are degraded, thus a *wh*-phrase and a postposition with independent word status sounds odd in this construction.

(450) a. Félix szívesen panaszkodott   volna valamiért,   de nem volt miért.
         Félix gladly   complain.Past.3Sg Cond something.Cau but not was what.Cau

     b. ?*Félix szívesen panaszkodott   volna valami miatt, de nem volt mi
          Félix gladly   complain.Past.3Sg Cond something because but not   was   what
         miatt.
         because
         'Félix would have gladly complained about something, but there was nothing to complain about.'

5.5. Sluicing and locality

Sluicing can occur in main clauses and in embedded ones and can involve remnant formation across clausal boundaries that are transparent to extraction. The following two examples show that both the short-distance and the long-distance readings are available, and the two derive distinct meanings, as expected. The elided chunk is given in brackets, with the most embedded extraction site marked as *t*. The grammaticality of non-elliptical continuation is given after the first bracket.

(451) Mondtam nekik, hogy vegyenek fel valakit.   Azt   ajánlottam,
        tell.Past.1Sg Dat.3pl Compl hire.Subj.3Pl Prt someone.Acc that.Acc suggest.Past.1Sg
        hogy PÉTERT (✓vegyék   fel *t*).
        Compl Péter.Acc   hire.Subj.3pl Prt
        'I told them to hire someone. I suggested they hire Péter.'

(452) Mondtam nekik, hogy vegyenek fel valakit.   Azt   hiszem,
        tell.Past.1Sg Dat.3pl Compl hire.Subj.3pl Prt someone.Acc that.Acc think.1Sg
        PÉTERT (✓mondtam nekik, hogy vegyék   fel *t*).
        Péter.Acc   tell.Past.1Sg Dat.3pl Compl hire.Subj.3pl Prt
        'I told them to hire someone. I think I told them to hire Péter.'

In many cases sluicing also appears to give grammatical results in cases where remnant formation proceeds across domains that are not transparent to extraction (Bánréti 2007). (453) involves extraction of a single conjunct from inside a coordinated phrase, (454) illustrates extraction out of a relative clause and (455) shows that sluicing can be grammatical when the *wh*-phrase corresponds to a postnominal modifier of a noun, something that cannot undergo extraction:

(453) Juli meghívta   Félixet és egy lányt, de nem tudom, kit
        Juli Prt.invite.Past.3Sg Félix.Acc and a   girl.Acc but not   know.1Sg who.Acc
        (* hívta   meg Félixet és *t*)
          invite.Past.3Sg Prt Félix.Acc and
        'Juli invited Félix and a girl, but I don't know who.'

(454) Keresnek valakit, aki beszél egy bizonyos szláv nyelvet,
search.3Pl somebody.Acc Rel.who speak.3Sg a certain Slavic language.Acc
de nem tudom, melyiket (*keresnek valakit aki beszéli *t*).
but not know.1Sg which.Acc search.3Pl someone.Acc Rel.who speak.3Sg
'They are looking for someone who speaks a certain Slavic language, but I don't know which one.'

(455) Említettek egy együttműködést, de nem emlékszem, kivel
mention.Past.3pl a cooperation.Acc but not remember.1Sg who.Ins
(*említettek egy együttműködést *t*).
 mention.Past.3pl a cooperation.Acc
'They mentioned a cooperation, but I don't remember who with.'

In these examples, it appears that sluicing is grammatical even though parallel non-elliptical examples are not, which indicates that sluicing is capable of 'repairing' the ungrammaticality in some way. The nature of this repair mechanism is not clear. There are also cases in which sluicing does not repair otherwise ungrammatical extractions, cf. the following case of extraction out of a *-va* participial adverbial clause:

(456) Félix valamit a fülére akasztva kiment a teremből.
Félix something.Acc the ear.Poss3Sg.Sub hang.Part Prt.leave.Past.3Sg the room.Ela
*Azt hiszem, egy CSERESZNYÉT (*a fülére akasztva
 that.Acc think.1Sg a cherry.Acc the ear.Poss3Sg.Sub hang.Part
ment ki).
leave.Past.3Sg Prt
intended: 'Félix left the room having hung something on his ear. I think it was a cherry.'

It is important to note that contrast sluicing does not repair ungrammatical extraction in any contexts. Consider the following case in which a contrastive *wh*-phrase appears in a subject clause island. The island nature of the subject clause is illustrated in (458).

(457) A: Pétert AZ érdekli, hogy hány KÓLÁT ittál.
Péter.Acc that interest.3Sg Compl how.many coke.Acc drink.Past.2Sg
'What interests Péter is how many cokes you drank.'

  B1: Nem, (AZ (érdekli)), hogy hány SÖRT (ittál).
 no that interest.3Sg Compl how.many beer.Acc drink.Past.2Sg
  B2: *Nem, hány SÖRT (ittál).
 no how.many beer.Acc drink.Past.2Sg
intended: 'No, what interests him is how many beers you drank.'

(458) *Hány KÓLÁT érdekli Pétert, hogy *t* ittál?
how.many coke.Acc interest.3Sg Péter.Acc Compl drink.Past.2Sg
intended: 'How many cokes does it interest Péter whether you drank them?'

As speaker B's response pattern shows, B1 being grammatical and B2 being ill-formed, only those responses are grammatical that minimally spell out the island

category, i.e. the embedded complementizer of the subject clause and, optionally, some matrix clause material and/or the embedded predicate that follows the fronted *wh*-phrase inside the island. Crucially, the fact that the embedded complementizer needs to be present shows that the *wh*-phrase is found in its source clause.

A similar pattern shows up in cases in which the sluiced remnant contains a prenominal modifier of the type that cannot extract out of the nominal it contains (so-called left branch extraction). Such prenominal modifiers can occur as sluiced remnants, but crucially they are always case marked.

(459)   A: Bea magas táncpartnert   választott   magának.
           Bea   tall   dance.partner.Acc   choose.Past.3Sg self.Dat
           'Bea chose a tall dance partner for herself.'

        B: Milyen magasat?
           how   tall.Acc
           'How tall (a dance partner did she choose for herself)?'

Since modifiers of nouns only appear with case on them in nominal ellipsis (see Chapter 7), the case ending on (459B) reveals that we are dealing with an elliptical noun phrase here *milyen magas táncpartner-t* 'how tall a dance partner-Acc'. In other words, the modifier does not undergo extraction out of the noun phrase.

5.6. Summary

Sluicing is a construction that has the surface form of a single *wh*-constituent but is interpreted as an entire question. It is treated as ellipsis of a clause to the exclusion of the question phrase. Hungarian sluicing is perfectly fine in *wh*-interrogatives, and unlike in English, the kind of ellipsis sluicing involves can also be found with non-*wh*-remnants and contexts other than interrogatives. The latter property is due to the fact that sluicing-type TP ellipsis is licensed after any operator material that participates in a movement similar to that of *wh*-constituents.

The *wh*-phrase in the sluice can occur in an embedded or a non-embedded clause and can correspond to an overt or implicit indefinite correlate, which can be either an argument or an adjunct. In case the correlate is implicit, the construction is referred to as sprouting. The *wh*-phrase in the sluiced clause can have arbitrary complexity, including *which*-phrases and may include coordinated *wh*-constituents as well. Note that using coordinated *wh*-phrases is the predominant way to express a reading in which the question is about a single pair of entities.

Sluicing can linearly follow or precede its antecedent containing the correlate (representing forward or backward ellipsis, respectively). The latter is possible when the sluiced proposition is concessive in meaning and is syntactically subordinated to the antecedent clause that follows it.

The interrogative clause containing the sluice can be an interrogative complement to verbs or nouns or can be the clausal subject of adjectival predication as well. The interpretation of multiple *wh*-sluicing is usually used to refer to pairs of individuals, where each *wh*-phrase ranges over more than one entity that is paired with another in the response given to the question. In this respect multiple *wh*-sluicing

fully tracks the interpretation that is available for multiple *wh*-movement without ellipsis in the language.

Sluicing can also be found with non-*wh*-remnants such as contrastive foci and quantifiers, as well as others. This kind of clausal ellipsis was referred to as focus-sluicing that can be contrastive or non-contrastive with respect to its correlate in the antecedent clause. When non-contrastive, this kind of sluicing has an indefinite correlate. When contrastive, it has a contrastive focus correlate, which occurs in a parallel position.

A further subtype of non-*wh*-sluicing in Hungarian is sluicing after relative pronouns. One of the contexts where this is possible is the relative clause in which the relative pronoun is explicitly contrastive with respect to another relative pronoun. Other contexts with relative pronouns as sluiced phrases are tautological relative clauses that have a pragmatic import similar to free choice relatives.

Remnants of sluicing must appear with the same morphological case as their antecedent in Hungarian. This case restriction holds in all types of sluicing: *wh*-, focus and relative sluicing alike. Nominative remnants are ruled out when corresponding to non-nominative correlates. The latter observation discounts the possibility that Hungarian sluicing elides a cleft-type predicate structure, as in clefts, the subject can only appear in the nominative case.

Case connectivity extends to the use of adpositional markers and rules out mismatches in form even under synonymous readings.

Sluicing can occur in main clauses and in embedded ones and can involve remnant formation across clausal boundaries that are transparent to extraction. Interestingly, sluicing is grammatical in some cases even though parallel non-elliptical examples are not, which indicates that sluicing is capable of 'repairing' the ungrammaticality in some way.

5.7. Bibliographical notes

Sluicing is a term of generative syntax, whose investigation started fairly recently. The first comprehensive treatment of Hungarian sluicing with reference to *wh*-phrases can be found in Bánréti (2007). Focus sluicing has been described in van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2006). The existence of relative sluicing was pointed out in Lipták (2015). The locality properties of Hungarian sluicing have been mentioned in Bánréti (2007), Lipták (2011) and Griffiths and Lipták (2014).

Chapter 6
Predicate ellipsis

Anikó Lipták

6.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the contexts in which Hungarian allows for a predicate to be elided. In section 6.2, predicate ellipsis following auxiliaries and semi-lexical verbs will be reviewed. In section 6.3, predicate ellipsis following lexical verbs will be covered. Section 6.4 will detail ellipsis following verbal modifiers, section 6.5. will give examples of preverbal modifiers of participials, while section 6.6 gives an overview of predicate ellipsis following polarity particles. The elided material will be indicated by strikeout in many examples provided for reasons of clarity, but not all.

6.2. Ellipsis following auxiliary and semi-lexical material

6.2.1. Ellipsis of infinitival predicates

Infinitival predicates can be missing in Hungarian following finite auxiliaries. Of the three auxiliaries identified by Kenesei (2001), *fog* 'future' and *szokott* 'habitual' freely allow ellipsis of their complements, cf. the examples in (460).

(460) a. Péter most éppen alszik. Mindig ilyenkor szokott ~~aludni~~.
    Péter now just   sleep.3Sg always this.time   Habit.3Sg sleep.Inf
    'Péter is sleeping right now. He always does around this time.'

   b. Tegnap PÉTER aludt   el az előadáson. Ma ÉN fogok
    yesterday Péter   sleep.Past.3Sg Prt the lecture.Sup today I Fut.1Sg
    ~~elaludni   az előadáson~~.
    Prt.sleep.Inf the lecture.Sup
    'Yesterday, it was Péter who happened to fall asleep during the lecture. Today I will.'

   c. Péter már   elaludt,   és én is   mindjárt el fogok ~~aludni~~.
    Péter already Prt.sleep.Past.3Sg and I also soon   Prt Fut.1Sg sleep.Inf
    'Péter has fallen asleep already and I will soon, too.'

While (460a) contains only a single-word predicate, (460b) clearly shows that the elided material corresponds to a verb phrase, also including the temporal modifier. (460c) furthermore shows that ellipsis does not block verbal particle climbing (the placement of verbal modifiers before a finite auxiliary): the verbal particle can and in fact must be placed before the finite form in all sentences where it would occupy that position in non-elliptical clauses as well.

   Unlike *fog* 'future' and *szokott* 'habitual', the third auxiliary in Kenesei's classification, *talál* 'happen', does not allow ellipsis after it, regardless of the presence of verbal particle-climbing out of the elided predicate:

(461) a. Péter időnként el talál   aludni az előadáson. *Néha   én is   el
    Péter sometimes Prt happen.3Sg sleep.Inf the lecture.Sup   sometimes I also Prt
    találok   ~~aludni~~.
    happen.1Sg sleep.Inf
    'Péter sometimes happens to fall asleep during the lecture. I also sometimes happen to.'

b. Tegnap PÉTER talált   elaludni   az előadáson. *Ma ÉN
    yesterday Péter   happen.Past.3Sg Prt.sleep.Inf the lecture.Sup   today I

    találtam   ~~elaludni   az előadáson~~.
    happen.Past.1Sg Prt.sleep.Inf the lecture.Sup

    'Yesterday, it was Péter who happened to fall asleep during the lecture. Today it was me who happened to.'

Infinitival predicates can also be elided after semi-lexical verbs, such as *akar* 'want', *szeretne* 'would like' or modals like *kell* 'need', *lehet* 'may'. As (462a) indicates, the elided predicate corresponds to the entire verb phrase, the verb and its internal arguments (which can also receive a sloppy reading as the translation indicates); the interpretation of (462b) shows that temporal modifiers can be captured in the ellipsis site as well.

(462) a. Péter mindig kölcsönadja a   könyveit   nekem, míg Pali sosem
    Péter always Prt.give.3Sg the book.Poss.3Sg.Acc 1Sg.Dat while Pali not never

    akarja ~~kölcsönadni a   könyveit   nekem~~.
    want. 3Sg Prt.lend.Inf   the book.Poss.3Sg.Acc 1Sg.Dat

    'Péter always lends his books to me, but Pali never wants to (lend Péter's books/ his own books to me).'

b. Péter aludt   délután, de nekem nem kellett ~~aludni délután~~.
    Péter sleep.Past.3Sg afternoon but 1Sg.Dat not need.Past sleep.Inf afternoon

    'Péter slept in the afternoon, but I did not need to (sleep in the afternoon).'

While arguments or adjuncts of the verb phrase can undergo ellipsis, they can also survive ellipsis and appear outside the elided predicate, in some cases to the right of the finite form (cf. Section 4.3., Chapter 4). In (463b), the pronouns *én* and *neki* are pronounced with contrastive accent.

(463) a. Péter aludt   délután, és én is fogok majd északa ~~aludni~~.
    Péter sleep.Past.3Sg afternoon and I   also Fut.1Sg then   night   sleep.Inf

    'Péter slept in the afternoon, and I will also do at night.'

b. Péter küldött   képeslapot nekem. ÉN is fogok ~~küldeni képeslapot~~
    Péter send.Past.3Sg postcard.Acc 1Sg.Dat I   also Fut.1Sg send.Inf postcard.Acc

    NEKI.
    3Sg.Dat

    'Péter sent a postcard to me and I will also (send a postcard) to him.'

The surviving remnant of ellipsis can also occur to the left of the auxiliary/semi-lexical verb, in the form of a *wh*-phrase, a topic, a relative pronoun or a focused constituent:

(464) a. Nem tudom, kivel beszéljek erről a   problémáról.
    not   know.1Sg who.Ins talk.Subj.1Sg this.Del the problem.Del

    Te kivel szoktál ~~beszélni erről a   problémáról~~?
    you who.Ins Habit.2Sg talk.Inf   this.Del the problem.Del

    'I don't know who to talk to about this problem. Who do you usually talk to?'

    b.   Péterrel beszéltem, de Marival nem fogok ~~beszélni~~.

          Péter.Ins talk.Past.1Sg but Mari.Ins not   Fut.1Sg talk.Inf

          'I talked to Péter, but I won't with Mari.'

    c.   Többet aludtam   ma, mint amennyit   máskor szoktam ~~aludni~~.

          more   sleep.Past.1Sg today than   how.much.Acc otherwise Habit.1Sg   sleep.Inf

          'I have slept more today than I usually do on other days.'

    d.   Azt   tudom, hogy JÁNOS kit   akar, hogy fölvegyünk. De

          that.Acc know.1Sg Compl János   who.Acc want.3Sg Compl Prt.hire.Subj.1Pl but

          azt   nem tudom, hogy ANNA kit   fog   ~~akarni, hogy fölvegyünk~~.

          that.Acc not   know.1Sg Compl Anna   who.Acc Fut.3Sg want.Inf Compl Prt.hire.Subj.1Pl

          'I know who János wants us to hire. But I don't know who Anna will (want us to hire).'

Infinitival predicates can be elided not just after finite auxiliaries and semi-lexical verbs, but also after non-finite semi-lexical verbs. Consider the example in (465b). Note that auxiliaries do not have infinitival forms, so corresponding examples with infinitives cannot be constructed:

(465) a.   Az edzésen Péter nem fog   akarni úszni. Lehet, hogy Mari sem

          the training.Sup Péter not   Fut.3Sg want.Inf swim.Inf possible Compl Mari also.not

          fog   ~~akarni   úszni~~.

          Fut.3Sg want.Inf   swim.Inf

          'During the training, Péter will not want to swim. Possibly, Mari will not, either.'

    b.   Az edzésen   Péter nem fog   akarni úszni. Lehet, hogy Mari sem

          the training.Sup Péter not   Fut.3Sg want.Inf swim.Inf possible Compl Mari   also.not

          fog   akarni ~~úszni~~.

          Fut.3Sg want.Inf swim.Inf

          'During the training, Péter will not want to swim. Possibly, Mari will not want to, either.'

Concerning the identity relation between the elided predicate and its antecedent, the two do not need to have identical tense specifications. The antecedent verb can be infinitival (466a) or tensed (466b), licensing the ellipsis of an infinitival predicate (cf. Section 4.3. in Chapter 4). Neither is the word order necessarily identical in the antecedent and the elliptical clause: while in the antecedent the modifier *sokat* follows the verb it modifies, it precedes it in the elliptical clause in (466b).

(466) a.   Péter HOLNAP fog   sokat   aludni, én pedig MA   fogok

          Péter   tomorrow Fut.3Sg much.Acc sleep.Inf I   however today Fut.1Sg

          ~~sokat   aludni~~.

          much.Acc sleep.Inf

          'It will be tomorrow that Péter sleeps a lot. I will do so today.'

    b.   Péter TEGNAP aludt   sokat,   én pedig MA fogok ~~sokat   aludni~~.

          Péter   yesterday sleep.Past.3Sg much.Acc I   however today Fut.1Sg much.Acc sleep.Inf

          'It was yesterday that Péter slept a lot. I will do so today.'

6.2.2. Ellipsis of lenni *'be.Inf'*

The copula verb *lenni* 'be.Inf' behaves differently from lexical predicates when it comes to contexts in which it can be elided after auxiliaries and semi-lexical verbs.

    When *lenni* is elided together with its lexical (adjectival, nominal, locative, etc.) predicate after auxiliaries or semi-lexical verbs, elision is only possible if the antecedent contains *lenni* in infinival form as well. Ellipsis is not allowed if the antecedent has a finite copula. Observe the contrast between the examples in (467)–(470), which shows that infinitival *lenni* can be elided if its antecedent is the infinitival *lenni* (467a), (468a), (469a), (470a) but not if its antecedent is a finite form, be that the future *lesz* 'be.Fut' (467b), the past form *volt* 'be.Past.3Sg' (467c), or the present form *vagy* 'be.2Sg' (468b), the zero copula in third person (469b), or its overt form *van* (470b).

(467) a. Juli az <small>EGYETEMEN</small> akar   tanár lenni, én pedig   egy <small>KÖZÉPISKOLÁBAN</small>
         Juli the university.Sup want.3Sg teacher be.Inf I   however a   secondary.school.Ine

         akarok ~~tanár lenni~~.
         want.1Sg teacher be.Inf

         'Juli wants to be a teacher at the university, and I want (to be a teacher) in a secondary school.'

    b. *Juli az <small>EGYETEMEN</small> lesz   tanár, én pedig   egy <small>KÖZÉPISKOLÁBAN</small>
         Juli the university.Sup be.Fut.3Sg teacher I   however a   secondary.school.Ine

         akarok ~~tanár lenni~~.
         want.1Sg teacher be.Inf

         'Juli will be a teacher at the university, and I want (to be a teacher) in a secondary school.'

    c. *Juli az <small>EGYETEMEN</small> volt   tanár, én pedig   egy <small>KÖZÉPISKOLÁBAN</small>
         Juli the university.Sup be.Past.3Sg teacher I   however a   secondary.school.Ine

         akarok ~~tanár lenni~~.
         want.1Sg teacher be.Inf

         'Juli was a teacher at the university, and I want (to be a teacher) in a secondary school.'

(468) a. Te <small>REGGEL</small> szoktál álmos lenni, én pedig <small>DÉLBEN</small>
         you morning Habit.2Sg sleepy be.Inf I and   noon.Ine

         szoktam ~~álmos lenni~~.
         Habit.1Sg sleepy be.Inf

         'You are sleepy in the morning and I am at noon.'

    b. *Te <small>REGGEL</small> vagy álmos, én pedig <small>DÉLBEN</small>
         you morning be.2Sg sleepy   I   and   noon.Ine

         szoktam ~~álmos lenni~~.
         Habit.1Sg sleepy be.Inf

         'You are sleepy in the morning and I am at noon.'

(469) a.　Juli ᴿᴱᴳᴳᴱᴸ szokott álmos lenni, én pedig ᴰᴱ́ᴸᴮᴱᴺ szoktam
　　　　　Juli morning Habit.3Sg sleepy be.Inf I and noon.Ine Habit.1Sg
　　　　~~álmos lenni~~.
　　　　sleepy be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is sleepy in the morning and I am at noon.'

　　b.　*Juli ᴿᴱᴳᴳᴱᴸ Ø álmos, én pedig ᴰᴱ́ᴸᴮᴱᴺ szoktam ~~álmos lenni~~.
　　　　Juli morning be.3Sg sleepy I and noon.Ine Habit.1Sg sleepy be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is sleepy in the morning and I am at noon.'

(470) a.　Juli ˢᴼᴷᴬᵀ szokott otthon lenni, én pedig ᴷᴱⱽᴱˢᴱᵀ szoktam
　　　　　Juli much.Acc Habit.3Sg at.home be.Inf I and little.Acc Habit.1Sg
　　　　~~otthon lenni~~.
　　　　at.home be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is at home a lot and I am (at home) a little.'

　　b.　*Juli ˢᴼᴷᴬᵀ van otthon, én pedig ᴷᴱⱽᴱˢᴱᵀ szoktam ~~otthon lenni~~.
　　　　Juli much.Acc be.3Sg at.home I and little.Acc Habit.1Sg at.home be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is at home a lot and I am (at home) a little.'

The following examples show that the observed pattern also obtains if the auxiliary preceding the elided predicate is not in turn preceded by a contrastively focused element:

(471) a.　Vasárnap Juli keveset szokott otthon lenni. Én is keveset szoktam
　　　　　Sunday Juli little.Acc Habit.3Sg at.home be.Inf I also little.Acc Habit.1Sg
　　　　~~otthon lenni~~.
　　　　at.home be.Inf
　　　　'Juli spends little time at home on Sundays. I also spend little time at home.'

　　b.　Vasárnap Juli keveset van otthon. *Én is keveset szoktam ~~otthon lenni~~.
　　　　Sunday Juli little.Acc be.3Sg at.home I also little.Acc Habit.1Sg at.home be.Inf
　　　　'Juli spends little time at home on Sundays. I also spend little time at home.'

(472) a.　Juli ilyenkor mérges szokott lenni. Én viszont nem akarok
　　　　　Juli such.Tmp angry Habit.3Sg be.Inf I and not want.1Sg
　　　　~~mérges lenni~~.
　　　　angry be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is usually angry when this happens. I don't want to be.'

　　b.　Juli ilyenkor mérges. *Én viszont nem akarok ~~mérges lenni~~.
　　　　Juli such.Tmp angry I and not want.1Sg angry be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is angry when this happens. I don't want to be.'

All the examples above improve to full grammaticality if ellipsis elides a larger chunk, i.e. it eliminates everything after the contrastive focus (the elliptical phenomenon called gapping, see Section 4.8. in Chapter 4), negation or an *is*-phrase (called stripping):

(473) a.　Juli REGGEL szokott álmos lenni, én pedig DÉLBEN
　　　　Juli morning Habit.3Sg sleepy be.Inf I and noon.Ine
　　　　~~szoktam álmos lenni.~~
　　　　Habit.1Sg sleepy be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is sleepy in the morning and I am at noon.'

　　　b.　Vasárnap Juli keveset van otthon. Én is ~~keveset vagyok otthon.~~
　　　　Sunday Juli little.Acc be.3Sg at.home I also little.Acc be.1Sg at.home
　　　　'Juli spends little time at home on Sundays. I also spend little time at home.'

In cases where the copula elides to the exclusion of its lexical predicate, deletion of the copula is degraded even under full morphological identity. The following examples containing ellipsis of *lenni* are all ungrammatical, regardless of whether the antecedent contains the infinitival *lenni* or a finite form.

(474) a.　Juli mindig FÜRGE szokott lenni ebéd után. *Én ÁLMOS szoktam ~~lenni.~~
　　　　Juli always brisk Habit.3Sg be.Inf lunch after I sleepy Habit.1Sg be.Inf

　　　b.　Juli mindig FÜRGE ebéd után. *Én ÁLMOS szoktam ~~lenni.~~
　　　　Juli always brisk lunch after I sleepy Habit.1Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is always brisk after lunch. I am usually sleepy.'

(475) a.　Juli ORVOS akar lenni. *Én CSILLAGÁSZ akarok ~~lenni.~~
　　　　Juli doctor want.3Sg be.Inf I astronomer want.1Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli wants to be a doctor. I want (to be) an astronomer.'

　　　b.　Juli ORVOS lesz. *Én CSILLAGÁSZ akarok ~~lenni.~~
　　　　Juli doctor be.Fut.3Sg I astronomer want.1Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli will be a doctor. I want (to be) an astronomer.'

(476) a.　Juli nem szokott mérges lenni. *Én mérges szoktam ~~lenni.~~
　　　　Juli not Habit.3Sg angry be.Inf I angry Habit.1Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli isn't usually angry. I am.'

　　　b.　Juli vasárnap nem szokott otthon lenni. *Én otthon szoktam ~~lenni.~~
　　　　Juli Sunday not habit.3Sg at.home be.Inf I at.home habit.1Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli isn't usually at home on Sundays. I am.'

This latter pattern is fully grammatical if ellipsis applies to a larger constituent, eliding the auxiliary and *lenni* after focus or negation.

(477) a.　Juli mindig FÜRGE szokott lenni ebéd után. Én ÁLMOS ~~szoktam lenni.~~
　　　　Juli always brisk Habit.3Sg be.Inf lunch after I sleepy Habit.1Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli is always brisk after lunch. I am sleepy.'

　　　b.　Juli ORVOS akar lenni. Én CSILLAGÁSZ ~~akarok lenni.~~
　　　　Juli doctor want.3Sg be.Inf I astronomer want.1Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli wants to be a doctor. I an astronomer.'

　　　c.　Juli orvos akar lenni. De háziorvos nem ~~akar lenni.~~
　　　　Juli doctor want.3Sg be.Inf but general practitioner not want.3Sg be.Inf
　　　　'Juli wants to be a doctor. But she does not want to be a general practitioner.'

6.3. Ellipsis following finite lexical verbs (V-stranding ellipsis)

The predicate can also be elided in Hungarian to the exclusion of the finite verb, a pattern which is referred to as *V-stranding* ellipsis in Lipták (2012, 2013), see also Kenesei et al. (1998), Surányi (2009a,b). There are two pragmatic-syntactic environments in which V-stranding can occur: (i) in contexts with emphatic polarity, which will be referred to as *polarity contexts*, (ii) in contexts with no emphasis on the polarity of the clause, which will be referred to as *non-polarity contexts*. The first two sections below provide examples for these types and the third section presents evidence for the elliptical nature of the missing material.

6.3.1. V-stranding in polarity contexts

Polarity contexts comprise those contexts in which the polarity of a clause is emphatically asserted, contrasted, questioned or forms the new information of the utterance. Typical polarity contexts are in polar question–answer pairs (478), (479), echo assertions in the terminology of Farkas (2009), Farkas and Bruce (2010), such as confirmation of polarity (480B1), (481B1) or the reversal of the polarity of assertions (480B2), (481B2). In all such contexts, it is possible to elide a predicate to the exclusion of the verb. This pattern is the so-called V-stranding pattern of ellipsis. In (479B2) and (480B2), *de* encodes the 'reverse' function that indicates switching to the opposite polarity relative to that of the antecedent, see Farkas (2009), Farkas and Bruce (2010).

(478) A: János találkozott a   szomszédokkal?
           János   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins
           'Did János meet the neighbours?'

      B1: Igen, találkozott ~~velük~~.
           yes   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
           'Yes, he did.'

      B2: Nem, nem találkozott ~~velük~~.
           no   not   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
           'No, he did not.'

(479) A: János nem találkozott a   szomszédokkal?
           János   not   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins
           'Did János not meet the neighbours?'

      B1: Nem, nem találkozott ~~velük~~.
           no   not   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
           'Yes, he did not.'

      B2: De, találkozott ~~velük~~.
           but   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
           'No, he did.'

(480) A: János találkozott a   szomszédokkal.
      János   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins
      'János met the neighbours.'

    B1: Igen, találkozott ~~velük~~.
       yes   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
       'Yes, he did.'

    B2: Nem, nem találkozott ~~velük~~.
       no   not   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
       'No, he did not.'

(481) A: János nem találkozott a   szomszédokkal.
      János   not   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins
      'János did not meet the neighbours.'

    B1: Nem, nem találkozott ~~velük~~.
       no   not   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
       'That's right, he did not meet them.'

    B2: De, találkozott ~~velük~~.
       but   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
       'No, he did.'

V-stranding ellipsis is also attested in sentences in which we find a polarity contrast between two non-identical clauses, such as (482).

(482)   János nem találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari találkozott ~~velük~~.
      János   not   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins   but Mari   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
      'János did not meet the neighbours, but Mari did.'

In line with the word order requirements of affirmative clauses, verb stranding ellipsis in affirmative clauses always retains the verbal modifier to the left of the verb if the verb has such a modifier. The verbal modifier can also be stranded alone, see Section 6.4 below for details and illustrative data.

(483) A: Felhívta   Bea a   szüleit   tegnap?
      Prt.call.Past.3Sg Bea the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday
      'Did Bea call her parents yesterday?'

    B1: Felhívta.
       Prt.call.Past.3Sg
       'She did.'

    B2: *Hívta.
        call.Past.3Sg
        'She did.'

In negative clauses, where the preverbal modifier is to the right of the verb, the preverbal modifier can survive ellipsis and show up to the right of the verb or can delete together with the rest of the predicate. Note that the latter option is somewhat degraded for some speakers.

(484) A: Felhívta   Bea a szüleit   tegnap?
      Prt.call.Past.3Sg Bea the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday
      'Did Bea call her parents yesterday?'

  B1: Nem, nem hívta   fel.
       no   not   call.Past.3Sg Prt
       'No, she did not.'

  B2: %Nem, nem hívta.
        no   not   call.Past.3Sg
        'No, she did not.'

It is important to note that V-stranding is only allowed in finite clauses. Non-finite verbs cannot participate in it:

(485) a. A: Megpróbálta Mari meghívni a   szomszédokat?
         Prt.try.Past.3Sg Mari   Prt.invite.Inf the neighbour.Pl.Acc
         'Did Mari try to invite the neighbours?'

   B: *Megpróbálta meghívni ~~őket~~.
      Prt.try.Past.3Sg Prt.invite.Inf they.Acc
      'She tried to invite (them).'

   b. A: Elment   Mari meghívni a   szomszédokat?
      Prt.go.Past.3Sg Mari   Prt.invite.Inf the neighbour.Pl.Acc
      'Did Mari go to invite the neighbours?'

   B: *Elment   meghívni ~~őket~~.
      Prt.go.Past.3Sg Prt.invite.Inf they.Acc
      'She went to invite (them).'

6.3.2. *V-stranding in non-polarity contexts*

V-stranding can also occur in contexts where the polarity of an elliptical clause is identical to that of an antecedent, i.e. where the polarity is neither contrastive nor emphatic. This kind of V-stranding has been identified by Surányi (2009a,b) and shows dialectal/idiolectal differences (Lipták 2013): unlike V-stranding in polarity contexts, it is not allowed by all speakers (cf. (486a,b)). Exceptional in this respect are stranded copulas, and verbs with locative arguments, which are allowed by all speakers (cf. (486c,d)).

(486) a. János hozzáérintette a   műszereket   a vezetékhez. %Mari is
      János Prt.touch.Past.3Sg the instrument.Pl.Acc the wire.All   Mari   also
      hozzáérintette ~~a   műszereket   a vezetékhez~~.
      Prt.touch.Past.3Sg the instrument.Pl.Acc the wire.All
      'John touched the instruments to the wire. Mari also did.'

b. Bea felhívta   Zolit és Bélát   tegnap. [%]Ili is   felhívta
Bea   Prt.call.Past.3Sg Zoli.Acc and Béla.Acc yesterday   Ili also   Prt.call.Past.3Sg
~~Zolit és Bélát   tegnap~~.
Zoli.Acc and Béla.Acc   yesterday
'Bea called Zoli and Béla yesterday. Ili also did (i.e. call Zoli and Béla yesterday).'

c. Huba volt   már   Kínában. Én is   voltam   ~~már   Kínában~~.
Huba be.Past.3Sg already China.Ine   I   also be.Past.1Sg already China.Ine
'Huba has been to China already. I have, too.'

d. Huba járt   már   Kínában. Én is   jártam   ~~már   Kínában~~.
Huba   go.Past.3Sg already China.Ine   I   also go.Past.1Sg already China.Ine
'Huba has been to China already. I have, too.'

V-stranding in this context is similar to V-stranding in polarity contexts in that there is evidence for the elision of an entire predicate. As (486b) shows, the temporal modifier is understood to be part of the ellipsis site, suggesting that the entire predicate is elided. Note also that ellipsis after non-finite verbs is ruled out, cf. (485) above:

(487) a. Mari ment   meghívni a   szomszédokat. *Péter is   ment
Mari   go.Past.3Sg Prt.invite.Inf the neighbour.Pl.Acc   Péter also go.Past.3Sg
meghívni ~~őket~~.
Prt.invite.Inf they.Acc
'Mari went to invite the neighbours. Péter also went to.'

b. Mari megpróbálta meghívni a   szomszédokat. *[?]Péter is   megpróbálta
Mari Prt.try.Past.3Sg Prt.invite.Inf the neighbour.Pl.Acc   Péter also   Prt.try.Past.3Sg
meghívni ~~őket~~.
Prt.invite.Inf they.Acc
'Mari tried to invite the neighbours. Péter also tried.'

Further, among the speakers who consider V-stranding in non-polarity contexts grammatical, there is variation in the acceptability of examples where the elided predicate contains material that is referentially *non-identical* to the parallel entity in the antecedent clause. Such readings are expected to be well-formed if the missing predicate undergoes deletion, but only a subset of speakers allow for such examples. To illustrate, in (488a) for example, the missing object is trivially non-identical in reference to the object of the antecedent clause and some speakers find this example ungrammatical. The same applies to (488b–c), where the set of four questions answered by Miklós need not be the same as the set of four questions answered by Bea. While some speakers consider these examples grammatical with the indicated reading, others do not.

(488) a. János megevett   egy banánt. [%]Mari is megevett   ~~egy banánt~~.
János Prt.eat.Past.3Sg a   banana.Acc Mari also Prt.eat.Past.3Sg a   banana.Acc
'János ate a banana. Mari also did (eat a banana).'

b. Miklós megválaszolt   legalább négy kérdést.   %Bea is
    Miklós   Prt.answer.Past.3Sg at.least   four   question.Pl.Acc Bea also

    megválaszolt   ~~legalább négy kérdést~~.
    Prt.answer.Past.3Sg at.least   four   question.Acc

    'Miklós answered at least four questions. Bea also did (answer at least four questions).'

c. Miklós válaszolt   legalább négy kérdésre.   %Bea is
    Miklós   answer.Past.3Sg at.least   four   questions.Sub Bea also

    válaszolt   ~~legalább négy kérdésre~~.
    answer.Past.3Sg at.least   four   question.Sub

    'Miklós answered at least four questions. Bea also did (answer at least four questions).'

6.3.3. *Evidence for ellipsis in V-stranding*

Evidence for the elliptical nature of the missing material in V-stranding in both polarity and non-polarity contexts comes from various observations.

First, the missing material can contain otherwise obligatory internal arguments that cannot be silenced by other means, such as *pro*-drop. Plural object pronouns cannot be dropped, for example (cf. (489)), but they can be missing in V-stranding (490):

(489)   Bea meg akarta   kérdezni a   szüleit   valamiről.
         János Prt   want.Past.3Sg ask.Inf   the   parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc something.Del

         Tegnap felhívta   *(őket).
         yesterday Prt.call.Past.3Sg   they.Acc

         'János wanted to ask his parents about something. Yesterday he called them.'

(490) A: Bea felhívta   a   szüleit   tegnap?
          Bea   Prt.call.Past.3Sg the   parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday

          'Did Bea call her parents yesterday?'

    B: Felhívta   ~~őket   tegnap~~.
          Prt.call.Past.3Sg they.Acc   yesterday

          'She did.'

The same can be shown about oblique arguments that cannot be dropped (491) but can appear to be missing in V-stranding (492):

(491)   János meg akarta   kérdezni a   szüleit   valamiről.
         János Prt   want.Past.3Sg ask.Inf   the   parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc something.Del

         Tegnap találkozott   *(velük).
         yesterday Prt.meet.Past.3Sg   they.Ins

         'János wanted to ask his parents about something. Yesterday he met them.'

(492) A: János találkozott a   szüleivel   kedden?
          János meet.Past.3Sg the   parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Ins Tuesday.Sup

          'Did János meet his parents on Tuesday?'

B: Igen, találkozott ~~velük   kedden~~.
yes   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins Tuesday.Sup
'Yes, he did (i.e. he did meet his parents on Tuesday).'

Furthermore, as the translation in (492) shows, the answer necessarily includes the temporal modifier of the missing predicate as well. B can only be understood as a statement that János met his parents on Tuesday, and it cannot mean, for example, that he has met his parents but not on Tuesday, or that he has met other people.

Second, V-stranding ellipsis allows for omission of subjects that can otherwise not undergo pro-drop. To consider the relevant case, note that Hungarian allows for pro-drop in subject position in all number and person combinations (reflected in the agreement morphology on the verb). Semantically plural individuals are necessarily referred to by a plural *pro*, which triggers plural subject agreement on the predicate. In the following situation, where János and Mari are the topic of the conversation, it is only possible to refer back to them using a plural *pro* form, which necessarily means plural conjugation on the verb. A singular form of the verb cannot be used with this meaning:

(493)   *Talking about János and Mari, you know what happened?*
        a. #Találkozott *pro*Sg.   b. Találkoztak *pro*PL.
            meet.Past.3Sg   meet.Past.3Pl
            'He/she met.'   'They met.'

Under V-stranding, however, it is possible to use a singular verb when the antecedent of the subject is formally singular but semantically plural. Coordinated singular DP subjects are a case at hand: although they are semantically plural, in postverbal position they obligatorily trigger singular agreement and do not allow for plural agreement on the verb (cf. É. Kiss 2012).

(494) A: Találkozott János és Mari?
          meet.Past.3Sg János and Mari
          'Did János and Mari meet?'

      B: Találkozott.
          meet.Past.3Sg
          'They did.'

(495) A: Tegnap nem találkozott János és Mari.
          yesterday not   meet.Past.3Sg János   and Mari
          'János and Mari did not meet.'

      B: De, találkozott.
          but   meet.Past.3Sg
          'That's not right, they did.'

That the singular verb in (494B), (495B) is well-formed, referring to the semantically plural subject 'János and Mari', indicates that the non-overt subject in these replies is not represented by a *pro*, but corresponds to the elided syntactically singular phrase *János és Mari*. If these responses involved *pro*-drop, we would expect, upon

parallelism with (493), that the singular conjugation on the verb should be ruled out, contrary to fact.

The third argument for ellipsis and against a *pro*-drop analysis is that the process of omission must be maximal: it is not possible to omit some but not all constituents of the predicate, a phenomenon observed by Kenesei et al. (1998).

(496) A: Meghívta   János a   szomszédokat a   házavatóra?
  Prt.invite.Past.3Sg János   the neighbour.Pl.Acc the housewarming.Sub
  'Did János invite the neighbours to the housewarming?'

  B1: *Meghívta   János.
    Prt.invite.Past.3Sg János

  B2: *Meghívta   a   házavatóra.
    Prt.invite.Past.3Sg the housewarming.Sub

Last but not least, evidence for ellipsis can be gained through reference to the lexical identity of the missing predicate. V-stranding ellipsis has a particular earmark that is cross-linguistically constant in this respect: the stranded lexical verb must have the exact same verb stem as its antecedent (see Goldberg 2005 among others). This means that verbs cannot be exchanged under V-stranding even if their meaning is similar, such as the verbs *rak* and *tesz*.

(497) A: Betette   János a   poharakat a   szekrénybe?
  Prt.put.Past.3Sg János   the glass.Pl.Acc the closet.Ill
  'Did János put the glasses into the closet?'

  B: ?*Berakta.
    Prt.put.Past.3Sg
    'Yes, he did.'

This restriction, however, is somewhat mitigated by the presence of an answer particle next to the verb.

(498) A: Betette   János a   poharakat a   szekrénybe?
  Prt.put.Past.3Sg János   the glass.Pl.Acc the closet.Ill
  'Did János put the glasses into the closet?'

  B: ?Igen, berakta.
    yes   Prt.put.Past.3Sg
    'Yes, he did.'

Lexical identity is also not required for contrastively focused lexical verbs, which allow ellipsis of the post-focal material (cf. Section 4.4.1. in Chapter 4.)

(499)   Én VETTEM drága   autót, te   meg ELADTÁL.
  I   buy.Past.3Sg expensive car.Acc you and Prt.sell.Past.3Sg
  'I BOUGHT an expensive car, and you SOLD one.'

6.4. Ellipsis following verbal modifiers: particle stranding ellipsis

In the realm of ellipsis, Hungarian also has what looks like a reduced variant of the V-stranding pattern. In this reduced V-stranding, the verb is missing and the sole remnant of ellipsis is a verbal modifier, such as a verbal particle (Surányi 2009, Lipták 2012). This kind of ellipsis occurs in polarity contexts only, and mostly occurs with verbal particles for which reason it will be referred to as particle stranding below.

6.4.1. The contexts of particle stranding

Particle stranding with finite verbs can occur in two contexts. One concerns polar question-answer pairs. As the following shows, a yes/no question can be answered positively with a single particle. The stranded particle can be preceded by a contrastive topic.

(500) A: Felhívta   Bea a   szüleit   tegnap?
        Prt.call.Past.3Sg Bea the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday
        'Did Bea call her parents yesterday?'

    B: Fel.
       Prt
       'She did.'

(501) A: Felhívták   a   gyerekek az anyjukat?
        Prt.call.Past.3Pl the kid.Pl   the mother.Poss.3Pl.Acc
        'Did the kids call their mothers?'

    B: Peti fel   (de Balázs nem).
       Peti Prt   but Balázs not
       'Peti did (but Balázs did not).'

While ordinary positive polarity questions are grammatical antecedents for particle stranding, alternative questions (in which both positive and negative polarity alternatives are spelled out in full clauses) are not – note that V-stranding is perfectly well-formed in this context (502B1):

(502) A: Felhívta   Bea a   szüleit   tegnap vagy nem hívta   fel
        Prt.call.Past.3Sg Bea the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday or   not   call.Past.3Sg Prt
        őket?
       they.Acc
       'Did Bea call her parents yesterday or did she not call them?'

    B1: Felhívta.
       Prt.call.Past.3Sg
       'She did.'

    B2: *Fel.
        Prt

In addition to polar question-answer contexts, particle stranding can be used in echo assertions, echoing a statement with positive polarity (503).

(503) A: Bea felhívta   a   szüleit   tegnap.
          Bea Prt.call.Past.3Sg the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday
          'Bea called her parents yesterday.'

    B: Igen, fel.
          yes   Prt
          'She did.'

Importantly, particle stranding can never be used in contexts where positive polarity is not emphatic or is not echoing an assertion. Particle stranding fails in such contexts as the following:

(504) Bea felhívta   a   szüleit   tegnap. *Mari is   fel.
       Bea Prt.call.Past.3Sg the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday   Mari   also Prt
       'Bea called her parents yesterday. Mari too.'

Evidence for ellipsis affecting the missing material in these constructions can be construed on the basis of the same types of arguments as reviewed in section 6.3.3 above. First, the missing material in these clauses can contain material that cannot be pro-dropped. Second, the ellipsis process is necessarily maximal. Third, the stranded verbal particles must be lexically identical to their antecedent. The latter property can be illustrated by the following two examples. The verbal particles *össze* and *szét* have identical meanings in combination with the verb *tör* 'break', nevertheless they cannot be exchanged under particle stranding (505). The same applies to the exchange of *fejbe* 'head.Ine' and *kupán* 'cup.Sup', which have identical meanings in combination with *vág* 'hit' and are uninterchangeable under particle stranding:

(505) A: Összetörte   János a   poharakat?
          Prt.break.Past.3Sg János the glass.Pl.Acc
          'Did János break (up) the glasses?'

    B: Össze. / *Szét.
          Prt   Prt
          'He did.'

(506) A: Fejbe vágott   János téged?
          head.Ine hit.Past.3Sg János you.Acc
          'Did János hit you on the head?'

    B: Fejbe. / *Kupán.
          head.Ine   cup.Sup
          'He did.'

Note that this restriction on the identity of the particles is also operating in the case of V-stranding ellipsis but gives a milder violation than particle stranding.

(507) A: Összetörte   János a   poharakat?
          Prt.break.Past.3Sg János the glass.Pl.Acc
          'Did János break (up) the glasses?'

B: Összetörte. / ??Széttörte.
Prt.break.Past.3Sg   Prt.break.Past.3Sg
'He did.'

An important restriction on particle stranding is that it is strictly confined to contexts in which its antecedent has positive polarity. It cannot be used as a response to a polar question or statement with negative polarity, in other words, it cannot be used to reverse the polarity of the antecedent. As the next two examples indicate, in this respect it is clearly different from V-stranding, which can be used in these contexts.

(508) A: Bea nem hívta   fel a   szüleit   tegnap.
Bea   not   call.Past.3Sg Prt the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday
'Bea didn't call her parents yesterday.'

B1: De, felhívta.
but   Prt.call.Past.3Sg
'She did.'

B2: *De, fel.
but   Prt
'She did.'

In the same way, particle-stranding cannot be used to contrast the polarity of two non-identical clauses, which V-stranding can:

(509) a. *Bea nem hívta   fel a   szüleit   tegnap, de Mari fel.
Bea   not   call.Past.3Sg Prt the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday but Mari   Prt
'Bea did not call her parents yesterday, but Mari did.'

b. Bea nem hívta   fel a   szüleit   tegnap, de Mari
Bea   not   call.Past.3Sg Prt the parent.Poss.3Sg.Pl.Acc yesterday but Mari
felhívta.
Prt.call.Past.3Sg
'Bea did not call her parents yesterday, but Mari did.'

6.4.2. The parallelism requirement in particle stranding

Particle stranding is furthermore subject to a parallelism condition, which requires the presence and parallel syntactic position of a particle in the preceding clause. Firstly, particle stranding can only apply if the stranded particle has an antecedent to begin with.

(510) A: Mondtad   Péternek, hogy nem megyünk?
say.Past.2Sg Péter.Dat   Compl not go.1Pl
'Did you tell Péter we are not going?'

B: *Meg~~mondtam Péternek, hogy nem megyünk~~.
Prt.say.Past.1Sg   Péter.Dat   Compl not   go.1Pl
'I did.'

Secondly, particle stranding is only possible if the antecedent particle is in the preverbal position in the antecedent cause, too. This effectively rules out particle stranding in clauses with progressive aspect, where the verbal modifier is in postverbal position.

(511) A: Épp   mentél   fel a lépcsőn, amikor hívtalak?
        just   go.Past.2Sg Prt the stairs.Sub when   call.Past.1Sg
        'Were you going up the stairs when I called?'

    B1: *Épp fel.
        just   Prt
        'I was.'

    B2: Épp mentem.
        just   go.Past.1Sg
        'I was.'

Provided there is an antecedent particle in parallel preverbal position, particle stranding is well-formed in simple clauses and also in complex clauses, affecting particles that are in derived position in a higher clause than their original one. As the next example indicates, in such cases particle stranding elides the matrix verb and its clausal complement.

(512) A: Fel akarod, hogy mondjak?
        Prt   want.2Sg Compl resign.Subj.1Sg
        'Do you want me to resign?'

    B: Igen, fel ~~akarom, hogy mondjál~~.
        yes   Prt want.1Sg Compl resign.Subj.2Sg
        'Yes, I do (want you to resign).'

6.4.3. *The types of preverbal elements in particle stranding*

Concerning the types of preverbal elements that can participate in particle stranding, the most frequent are verbal particles, which have been amply illustrated above. The stranded particle can be a simple or a phrasal verbal modifier (for the latter see (506) above). There is one systematic exception that particle stranding cannot do: it cannot strand reduplicated verbal modifiers (Piñón 1991, Lipták and Saab 2019). Such verbal modifiers are possible in Hungarian when reduplicated before the verb and indicate iterativity of the action (513A). As (513B1) indicates, reduplicated particles cannot occur in particle stranding. Note that the non-iterated version is also degraded in these contexts.

(513) A: Julcsi be-benézett   a szomszédba.
        Julcsi   Prt-Prt.look.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Ine
        'Julcsi kept popping into the neighbours.'

    B1: *Igen, be-be.
        yes   Prt-Prt
        'Yes, she did.'

B2: ?Igen, be.
    yes   Prt
    'Yes, she did.'

(514) A: Hogy tartotta   Péter az előadást? Állandóan meg-megállt?
    how   keep.Past.3Sg Péter the lecture.Acc continuously Prt-Prt.stop.Past.3Sg
    'How did Péter present the lecture? Did he stop continuously?'

    B1: *Igen, meg-meg.
        yes   Prt-Prt
        'Yes, he did.'

    B2: ?Igen, meg.
        yes   Prt
        'Yes, he did.'

In distinction to iterated preverbal particles, compound verbal modifiers, composed of two distinct particles such as *fel-le* 'up and down', *ki-be* 'out and in', *ide-oda* 'here and there' on the other hand can be stranded:

(515) A: Hogy tartotta   Péter az előadást? Folyamatosan össze-vissza
    how   keep.Past.3Sg Péter the lecture.Acc continuously   Prt-Prt
    beszélt?
    speak.Past.3Sg
    'How did he present the lecture? Did he talk nonsense?'

    B: Igen, össze-vissza, (és   piszkálta   az orrát).
      yes   Prt-Prt   and   pick.Past.3Sg the nose.Poss.3Sg.Acc
      'Yes, he did (and he was picking his nose).'

Other categories of verbal modifiers, such as incorporated objects, depictives or resultative secondary predicates cannot take part in the particle stranding pattern with the interpretation of polarity emphasis. Such preverbal modifiers can be the sole remnant of ellipsis (with the rest of the predicate elided), but their interpretation is that of a contrastive focus phrase, and not that of affirmative polarity of the clause. Consider *pirosra fest* 'red.Sub paint', in (516) or *fát vág* 'tree.Acc cut' in (517). The questions in A can receive a polarity reading, or one in which the verbal modifier is interpreted contrastively. The only interpretation available for the answer in B, however, is the contrastive focus reading. The answer cannot be taken to indicate positive polarity of the clause.

(516) A: Mit   csinálsz? Pirosra fested   az ajtót?
    what.Acc do.2Sg   red.Sub paint.2Sg the door.Acc
    'What are you doing? Are you painting the door red (as opposed to other colours)?'/'Are you engaged in painting the door red?'

    B: PIROSRA.
      red.Sub
      'Yes, it is red that I am painting the door.'/#'Yes, I am (engaged in painting the door red).'

(517) A: Mit csinál Zoli? Fát   vág   az erdőben?
       what do.3Sg Zoli   tree.Acc cut.3Sg the forest.Ine
       'What is Zoli doing? Is he felling trees (as opposed to other things)? / Is he engaged in tree-
       felling in the forest?'

    B: FÁT.
       tree.Acc
       'It is trees he is felling.'/#'He is.'

In examples where the contrastive focus reading is pragmatically odd in a given context, the verbal modifier cannot appear as a sole constituent in an answer:

(518) A: És mi lett   a   történet vége?   Pisti barátokra lelt
       and what become.Past.3Sg the story   end.Poss.3Sg Pisti   friend.Pl.Sub find.Past.3Sg
       végül?
       finally
       'And what was the end of the story? Did Pisti make friends in the end?'

    B: #BARÁTOKRA.
       friend.Pl.Sub
       'He did.'

6.4.4. Agreement (mis)matches with adpositional particles in particle stranding

Finally, adpositional particles that express pronominal arguments of the verb or are associated with an overt 3rd person argument (agreeing in number and person with the adposition) (Surányi 2009a,b, É. Kiss 1998, 2002, Lipták 2018) show further restrictions under particle stranding. Stranding adpositional particles of this sort can show mismatches in number/person if the mismatch affects the difference between 2nd and 1st persons (note that in these cases, there is no associated argument present).

(519) A: Rád   nézett   János? B: Rám   ~~nézett   János~~.
       Sub.2Sg look.Past.3Sg János   Sub.1Sg look.Past.3Sg János
       'Did János look at you?'   'He did.'

A mismatch between 3rd person and 1st/2nd person, however, is not allowed, as (520) illustrates, where the adpositional particle (anti-) agrees with the 3rd person plural argument of the verb. As the (B1) example shows, particle stranding is allowed if the answer is exactly identical to the question and contains a 3rd person plural nominal argument after the verb. As (B2) shows, particle stranding is not allowed if the adposition is inflected for 3rd person plural and, correspondingly, there is no nominal argument elided.

(520) A: Ránézett   a   lányokra János?
       Sub.3Sg.look.Past.3Sg the girls.Sub   János
       'Did János look at the girls?'

    B1: Ránézett ~~   a   lányokra János~~.
       Sub.3Sg.look.Past.3Sg the girls.Sub   János

B2: *Rájuk   ~~nézett~~   ~~János~~.
     Sub.3Pl   look.Past.3Sg János
     'He did.'

It is important to note that this kind of restriction only affects the elliptical process called particle stranding, as the V-stranding pattern is not restricted in this way: mismatching cases are well-formed in either combination.

(521) A: Ránézett   a   lányokra János?
     Sub.3Sg.look.Past.3Sg the girls.Sub   János
     'Did János look at the girls?'

    B1: Ránézett   ~~a   lányokra János~~.
     Sub.3Sg.look.Past.3Sg the girls.Sub   János

    B2: Rájuk   nézett   ~~János~~.
     Sub.3Pl   look.Past.3Sg János
     'He did.'

6.5. Ellipsis after preverbal modifiers of participials

Particle stranding ellipsis can also eliminate a predicate in Hungarian when the stranded particle belongs to a participial verb. There are two contexts where this can happen.

One is the *-vA* participle type (see Bartos 2009 for an overview). A prerequisite for this kind of ellipsis is that the particle of the *-vA* participle be syntactically independent of the participial verb in the sense that it can occur at a distance from it. Such particles at a distance can be found in contexts where the *-vA* participle associates with a copula and the particle belonging to the *-vA* participle verb appears before the copula in neutral clauses.

(522) a. Béla be van   rúgva.
     Béla Prt be.3Sg drink.Part
     'Béla is drunk.'

    b. A   tartozás ki van   fizetve.
     the   debt   Prt be.3Sg pay.Part
     'The debt is paid.'

In such contexts, particle stranding can apply in polarity contexts questioning/echoing the polarity of the finite assertion. The stranded particle can be left as a sole remnant in the answer to a polarity question for example.

(523) a. A: Béla be van   rúgva?
     Béla Prt be.3Sg drink.Part
     'Is Béla drunk?'

    B: Be ~~van   rúgva~~.
     Prt be.3Sg drink.Part
     'He is.'

b. A: Ki van fizetve a tartozás?
      Prt be.3Sg pay.Part the debt
      'Is the debt paid?'

    B: Ki ~~van fizetve a tartozás.~~
      Prt be.3Sg pay.Part the debt
      'It is.'

Particle stranding is only possible if the *-vA* participle (+copula) function as the main predicate of the clause. In cases where the *-vA* participle is a modifier of another lexical predicate, particle stranding is impossible.

(524) A: Béla berúgva jött haza?
       Béla Prt.drink.Part come.Past.3Sg home
       'Did Béla get home drunk?'

    B: *Be~~rúgva jött haza~~.
      Prt.drink.Part come.Past.3Sg home
      'He did.'

The second type of contexts where particle stranding can apply to a particle of a participle verb is the case of *-hAtÓ* '-able' participles (see Lipták and Kenesei 2017). *-hAtÓ* participles, similarly to *-vA* participles, can form the main predicate of the clause when combining with a copula. In such contexts, when the *-hAtÓ* participial has a particle, the particle can participate in particle stranding in polarity contexts. Consider the next illustrative examples.

(525) a. A: Megbízható volt János a feladattal?
          Prt.entrust.able be.Past.3Sg János the task.Ins
          'Was János entrustable with the task?'

       B: Meg~~bízható volt János a feladattal~~.
          Prt.entrust.able be.Past.3Sg János the task.Ins
          'He was.'

b. A: Kifizethető a tartozás több részletben is?
        Prt.pay.able the debt more installment.Ine also
        'Is it possible to pay the debt in more than one installment?'

      B: Ki~~fizethető a tartozás több részletben is~~.
        Prt.pay.able the debt more installment.Ine also
        'It is.'

6.6. Predicate ellipsis following polarity particles

In Hungarian, predicates can also be missing after polarity particles *igen* 'yes' and *nem* 'not'. While the two particles seem to have a parallel function, that of indicating polarity, they have many distinctive properties when they introduce ellipsis of a predicate. The next two sections give a characterization of both. As will be clear from the discussion in Section 6.6.1, the overt predicate and the polarity particle *yes* are in

complementary distribution. For this reason, the examples will be listed without struck-through material, i.e. without indication of the predicate that is missing in them.

6.6.1. *Ellipsis after* igen *'yes'*

In Hungarian, a finite or non-finite predicate can be missing after the polarity particle *igen*. This particle, which will be termed 'ellipsis-inducing *igen*' (and glossed as *yes*) for the sake of the discussion, is homophonous with the positive response particle meaning 'yes' (see Farkas 2009), which occurs in answers to polar questions (*Esik? Igen*. 'Is it raining? Yes.') but has a different syntactic distribution.

      First, ellipsis-inducing *igen* appears in polarity contexts where the predicate is anaphoric and is necessarily non-overt. As the examples in (526) show, (526a) is identical in meaning to (526b), and according to the evidence in (526c), *igen* is only allowed if the predicate *találkozott a szomszédokkal* is not present. *Igen* and an overt predicate are in complementary distribution.

(526) a.   János nem találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari találkozott velük.
         János   not   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins   but Mari   met.Past.3Sg they.Ins
         'János did not meet the neighbours, but Mari did meet them.'

     b.   János nem találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari igen.
         János   not   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins   but Mari   yes
         'János did not meet the neighbours, but Mari did meet them.'

     c.   János nem találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari (*igen) találkozott
         János not   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins   but Mari   yes   met.Past.3Sg
         velük.
         they.Ins
         'János did not meet the neighbours, but Mari did meet them.'

Strictly speaking, the complementary distribution observed in (526) is only there in case of finite predicates. Ellipsis-inducing *igen* can also occur where the missing predicate is infinitival. In these cases, however, for some speakers, the predicate cannot be spelled out in its place. *Igen* is the only option in these constructions.

(527) a.   Jó   lenne Jánost   nem meg hívni,   de Marit   igen.
         good be.Cond János.Acc not   Prt   invite.Inf but Mari.Acc yes
         'It would be good not to invite János but to invite Mari.'

     b.   %Jó   lenne Jánost   nem meg hívni,   de Marit   meghívni.
         good be.Cond János.Acc not   Prt   invite.Inf but Mari.Acc Prt.invite.Inf
         'It would be good not to invite János but to invite Mari.'

(528) a.   Próbálj   meg magadra   nem gondolni, de másokra igen.
         try.Subj.2Sg Prt   yourself.Sub not   think.Inf   but others.Sub yes
         'Try not to think about yourself, but to think about others.'

     b.   %Próbálj   meg magadra   nem gondolni, de másokra gondolni.
         try.Subj.2Sg Prt   yourself.Sub not   think.Inf   but others.Sub think.Inf
         'Try not to think about yourself, but to think about others.'

The fact that *igen* occurs in polarity contexts (as defined in Section 6.3.1. above) is shown in the next examples. *Igen* can occur as answer to a yes/no question, as a response to the polarity of a statement (529a,b), but is disallowed if it does not contrast with the polarity of the antecedent clause (529c).

(529) a.　A: János meghívta　　　a　szomszédokat?
　　　　　　János　Prt.invite.Past.3Sg　the　neighbour.Pl.Acc

　　　　　B: A　balszomszédot　igen.
　　　　　　the　left.neighbour.Acc　yes

　　　　　　'He did, the left neighbour.'

　　　b.　A: János nem hívta　　　meg a　szomszédokat.
　　　　　　János　not　invite.Past.3Sg Prt　the　neighbour.Pl.Acc

　　　　　　'János did not invite the neighbour.'

　　　　　B: De, a　balszomszédot　igen.
　　　　　　but　the　left.neighbour.Acc　yes

　　　　　　'But he did, the left neighbour.'

　　　c.　János meghívta　　　a　szomszédokat. *Mari is　igen.
　　　　　János　Prt.invite.Past.3Sg the　neighbour.Pl.Acc　Mari　also　yes

　　　　　'János invited the neighbours. Mari also.'

The contrastive polarity that *igen* spells out always contrasts with the highest negation in an antecedent clause. In clauses with a single negation, this negation is the one that occurs before the verb (530a). When the antecedent is a clause with two negations, one above and one below a focus constituent, *igen* can only contrast with the polarity of the highest negation, i.e. it must scope higher than the focus (530b).

(530) a.　Tegnap nem JÁNOS hívta　　　meg a　szomszédokat. Ma igen.
　　　　　yesterday not János　invite.Past.3Sg Prt　the　neighbour.Pl.Acc　today yes

　　　　　'Yesterday it was not János who invited the neighbours. Today it was.'

　　　b.　Tegnap　nem JÁNOS nem hívta　　　meg a　szomszédokat. Ma igen.
　　　　　yesterday　not　János　not　invite.Past.3Sg Prt　the　neighbour.Past.Acc today yes

　　　　　'Yesterday it was not János who did not invite the neighbours. Today it was János who did **not** invite the neighbours.', 'Yesterday it was not János who did not invite the neighbours. #Today it was **not** János who did invite the neighbours.'

Ellipsis-inducing *igen* is furthermore always accompanied on its left by what looks like a contrastive topic or an A-bar moved constituent in the high left periphery. Accordingly, the constituent to the left of *igen* can be a referential entity (531a), and can be followed by particles that typically follow contrastive topics (531b):

(531) a.　A szomszédokkal nem találkozott János, de a　házmesterrel igen.
　　　　　the　neighbour.Pl.Ins　not　meet.Past.1Sg János　but the janitor.Ins　　yes

　　　　　'János didn't meet the neighbours, but he did the janitor.'

　　　b.　Mari ne menjen　el, te viszont igen.
　　　　　Mari　not　go.Subj.3Sg Prt　you however　yes

　　　　　'Mari should not go, but you should.'

Igen can also be preceded by non-referential operator material as well, such as relative pronouns of all kinds (532a–c).

(532) a.   Kész   vannak   a   gyerekek? Aki   igen, az   kimehet.
        ready   be.3Pl   the kid.Pl   Rel.who yes   that Prt.go.Mod.3Sg
        'Are the kids ready? Those who are, may go out.'

    b.   ?Levi többet eszik, amikor nem sportol, mint amikor igen.
        Levi more.Acc eat.3Sg when not sport.3Sg than when yes
        'Levi eats more when he does not do sports, than when he does.'

    c.   Megoldottad   a   házi   feladatokat? Amit   igen, azt   megnézem.
        Prt.solve.Past.2Sg the homework.Pl.Acc   Rel.what.Acc yes   that.Acc Prt.see.1Sg
        'Did you do the homework? I will look at the ones you did.'

The data in (532), together with examples like (530a), incidentally provide the strongest evidence that *igen* in the phenomenon under discussion is followed by ellipsis of a predicate phrase. As these show, it is possible to extract the internal arguments from the predicate that is missing after *igen*. If the predicate was represented by some other means (e.g. as an anaphoric pronoun), such extraction should yield an ungrammatical result, contrary to fact.

      Importantly, the material that precedes *igen* cannot be a focus (cf. (533)), a question phrase or a quantifier (cf. (534)), and neither can it be an *is*-phrase (535):

(533) A: JÁNOS vagy MARI hívta   meg a   szomszédokat?
        János   or   Mari invite.Past.3Sg Prt the neighbour.Pl.Acc
        'Was it János or Mari who invited the neighbours?'

    B: *MARI   igen.
        Mari   yes
        'Mari did.'

(534) a.   Világos, hogy ki   nem akar   lemondani. *Kevésbé világos, hogy ki
        clear   Compl who not want.3Sg Prt.resign.Inf less   clear   Compl who
        igen.
        yes
        'It is clear who does not want to resign. It is less clear who does.'

    b.   Ki   akar   lemondani? *Mindenki igen?
        who want.3Sg Prt.resign.Inf   everyone   yes
        'Who wants to resign? Everyone does?'

(535)   János meghívta   a   szomszédokat. *Mari is   igen.
        János invite.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Acc Mari   also yes
        'János invited the neighbours. Mari also.'

In line with the above, *wh*-constituents that occur to the left of ellipsis-inducing *igen* can only receive an interpretation of referential topic pronouns, and not that of question words (see Lipták 2001). *Hol* 'where' and *ki* 'who' can occur in this way, with the meaning of the indefinite *sometimes* and *some people* respectively.

(536) A: Jár   Péter az előadásokra?
          go.3Sg Péter the lecture.Pl.Sub
          'Does Péter attend the lectures?'

   B1: Hol   igen, hol   nem.
        where yes   where not
        'Sometimes yes, sometimes not.'

   B2: *Hol   igen.
         where yes
         'Sometimes yes.'

(537) A: Járnak a   diákok az előadásokra?
          go.3Sg the student.Pl the lecture.Pl.Sub
          'Do the students attend the lectures?'

   B1: Ki   igen, ki   nem.
        who yes   who not
        'Some do, others do not.'

   B2: *Ki igen.
         who yes
         'Some do.'

As the B2 examples above indicate, such topic interpretation is only available if these pronouns are used in pairs, in clauses coordinated with contrastive polarity.

Ellipsis-inducing *igen* is furthermore a clause-final element, no other material belonging to the clause can show up to its right:

(538) a. *János nem találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari igen a   házmesterrel.
          János not meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins but Mari yes the janitor.Ins
          'János did not meet the neighbours, but Mari did the janitor.'

   b. Kész vannak a   gyerekek? *Aki   igen az ebéddel, az kimehet.
       ready be.3Pl the kid.Pl   Rel.who yes the lunch.Ins that Prt.go.Mod.3Sg
       'Are the kids ready? Those who are (ready) with the lunch, may go out.'

Ellipsis-inducing *igen* is not only a main clause phenomenon, it can occur in finite subordinate clauses as well:

(539) A: János meghívta   a   szomszédokat?
          János Prt.invite.Past.3Sg the neighbours.Acc
          'Did János invite the neighbours?'

   B1: Úgy hallottam,   hogy a   balszomszédot igen.
        so   hear.Past.1Sg Compl the left.neighbour.Acc yes
        'I heard he did, the neighbour on the left.'

   B2: Mindenki állítja,   hogy a   balszomszédot igen.
        everyone claim.3Sg   Compl the left.neighbour.Acc yes
        'Everyone is of the opinion that he did, the neighbour on the left.'

> B3: Olyan hírek keringnek, hogy a   balszomszédot igen.
> such   news   circle.3Pl   Compl the left.neighbour.Acc yes
> 'News got out that he did, the neighbour on the left.'

The clause whose polarity *igen* contrasts with, however, cannot itself be embedded in a relative clause that is an independent argument:

(540)   *Aki   nem ment   át a vizsgán, irigyli azt,   aki   igen.
         Rel.who not   go.Past.3Sg Prt the exam.Sup envy.3Sg that.Acc Rel.who yes
         'Who did not pass the exam envies those who did.'

6.6.2. Ellipsis after nem 'not'

The negative polarity particle, *nem* 'not' can also introduce ellipsis. Contrary to *igen*, however, it shows a different syntactic distribution.

First, *nem* is not in complementary distribution with an overt predicate: it can precede an overt predicate or occur in a clause without a predicate:

(541) a.   János találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari nem találkozott velük.
           János meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins   but Mari not   meet.Past.3Sg they.Ins
           'János met the neighbours, but Mari did not meet them.'

      b.   János találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari nem.
           János   meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins   but Mari not
           'János met the neighbours, but Mari did not.'

Nem can also precede infinitival predicates overtly or occur without such an infinitive.

(542) a.   Jó   lenne   Jánost   meghívni, és Marit   nem meghívni.
           good   be.Cond János.Acc Prt.invite.Inf and Mari.Acc nem Prt.invite.Inf

      b.   Jó   lenne   Jánost   meghívni, és Marit   nem.
           good   be.Cond János.Acc Prt.invite.Inf and Mari.Acc not
           'It would be good to invite János and to not invite Mari.'

Unlike *igen*, *nem* followed by ellipsis can occur not only in polarity contexts (as answer to a yes/no question, as a response to a positive statement) (cf. (543)) but also in clauses where there is no emphasis on the polarity. The crucial example is (544b) (compare with the ungrammaticality of (529c) above). Note that *sem* is the form of negation corresponding to an affirmative *is*-phrase, cf. (473).

(543) A: János meghívta   a   szomszédokat?
           János Prt.invite.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Acc
           'Did János invite the neighbours?'

      B: A balszomszédot nem.
           the left.neighbour.Acc not
           'No, he didn't the left neighbour.'

(544) a. A: János nem hívta   meg a   szomszédokat.
　　　　　　János not invite.Past.3Sg Prt the neighbour.Pl.Acc
　　　　　　'János did not invite the neighbours.'

　　　　　B: Nem, a   balszomszédot nem.
　　　　　　no   the left.neighbour.Acc not
　　　　　　'That's right, he did not the left neighbour.'

　　　b. János nem hívta   meg a   szomszédokat. Mari sem.
　　　　　János not invite.Past.3Sg Prt the neighbour.Pl.Acc Mari also.not
　　　　　'János did not invite the neighbours. Mari did not either.'

Another important difference between *igen* and *nem* concerns their requirements of what appears to their left. While *igen* needs a contrastive topic or a topic-like A-bar moved constituent to its left, *nem* can be preceded by a contrastive topic, a topic-like A-bar moved constituent, a question phrase or quantifier (note that negative quantifiers require a different form of negation, *sem*):

(545) a. A szomszédokkal találkozott János, de a   házmesterrel nem.
　　　　　the neighbour.Pl.Ins   meet.Past.1Sg János but the janitor.Ins   not
　　　　　'János met the neighbours, but he did not the janitor.'

　　　b. Kész vannak a   gyerekek? Aki   nem, az maradjon   itt.
　　　　　ready be.3Pl the kid.Pl   Rel.who not that remain.Subj.3Sg here
　　　　　'Are the kids ready? Those who are not, should remain here.'

　　　c. Világos, hogy ki akar   lemondani. Kevésbé világos, hogy ki   nem.
　　　　　clear   Compl who want.3Sg Prt.resign.Inf less   clear   Compl who not
　　　　　'It is clear who wants to resign. It is less clear who does not.'

　　　d. Ki akar   lemondani? Senki sem?
　　　　　who want.3Sg Prt.resign.Inf nobody not
　　　　　'Who wants to resign? Nobody does?'

What *nem* cannot be preceded by is a contrastive focus constituent, as the following examples show.

(546) a. A: JÁNOS vagy MARI nem hívta   meg a   szomszédokat?
　　　　　　János or   Mari not invite.Past.3Sg Prt the neighbour.Pl.Acc
　　　　　　'Was it János or Mari who did not invite the neighbours?'

　　　　　B: *MARI nem.
　　　　　　 Mari   not
　　　　　　 'Mari did not.'

　　　b. A: Ki nem hívta   meg a   szomszédokat?
　　　　　　who not invite.Past.3Sg Prt the neighbour.Pl.Acc
　　　　　　'Who did not invite the neighbours?'

　　　　　B: *MARI nem.
　　　　　　 Mari   not
　　　　　　 'Mari did not.'

Nem can be preceded by a constituent on the other hand if that constituent is a contrastive topic:

(547) A: Ki   nem hívta   meg a   szomszédokat?
         who not invite.Past.3Sg Prt the neighbour.Pl.Acc
         'Who did not invite the neighbours?'

     B: Hát, Mari nem.
         well Mari not
         'Well, Mari did not (it could be that others did).'

In a same vein, as was indicated in the previous section, paired question words with an indefinite reading can appear before *nem* (see (536)–(537) above):

(548) A: Jár   Péter az előadásokra?
         go.3Sg Péter the lecture.Pl.Sub
         'Does Péter attend the lectures?'

     B1: Hol igen, hol   nem.
          where yes   where not
          'Sometimes yes, sometimes not.'

     B2: *Hol   nem.
           where not
           'Sometimes not.'

Finally, *nem* can follow complementizers or coordinators, as the following examples demonstrate. In (550a), *nem* introduces ellipsis of a predicate in disjunctive *vagy* … *vagy* … 'either … or…' clauses, something that is impossible with *igen* (550b).

(549) A: János meghívta   a   szomszédokat?
         János Prt.invite.Past.3Sg the neighbours.Acc
         'Did János invite the neighbours?'

     B: Úgy hallottam,   hogy nem.
         so   hear.Past.1Sg Compl not
         'I heard he did not.'

(550) a. Vagy elment   Péter, vagy nem.
          or   Prt.go.Past.3Sg Péter or   not
          'Péter either left or not.'

     b. *Vagy nem ment   el Péter, vagy igen.
          or   not go.Past.3Sg Prt Péter or   yes
          'Péter either did not leave, or he did.'

In some properties, *nem* is similar to *igen* when introducing ellipsis of a predicate. Concerning its clause-finality, ellipsis-inducing *nem* must be final in its clause, too, just like *igen*.

(551) a. *János találkozott a   szomszédokkal, de Mari nem a   házmesterrel.
        János meet.Past.3Sg the neighbour.Pl.Ins   but Mari not   the janitor.Ins
        'János met the neighbours, but Mari did not the janitor.'

    b. Kész vannak a gyerekek? *Aki   nem az ebéddel, az maradjon.
        ready be.3Pl the kid.Pl   Rel.who not the lunch.Ins   that stay.Subj.3Sg
        lit. 'Are the kids ready? Those who are not with the lunch, should stay.'

Also, ellipsis-inducing *nem* can be embedded, just like *igen*. It can also be found inside relative clauses, as in the following examples.

(552) A: János meghívta   a   szomszédokat?
        János   Prt.invite.Past.3Sg the neighbours.Acc
        'Did János invite the neighbours?'

    B1: Úgy hallottam,   hogy a   balszomszédot nem.
        so   hear.Past.1Sg Compl the left.neighbour.Acc not
        'I heard he did not, the neighbour on the left.'

    B2: Mindenki állítja, hogy a   balszomszédot nem.
        everyone   claim.3Sg Compl the left.neighbour.Acc not
        'Everyone is of the opinion that he did not, the neighbour on the left.'

    B3: Olyan hírek keringnek, hogy a   balszomszédot nem.
        such   news circle.3Pl   Compl the left.neighbour.Acc not
        'News got out that he did not, the neighbour on the left.'

(553)   Aki   már befejezte   a   feladatot, segít   majd annak, aki
        rel.who already Prt.finish.Past.3Sg the exercise.Acc help.3Sg then   that.Dat Rel.who
    még nem.
        yet   not
        'Those who have already finished their exercise will help those who have not yet finished.'

6.7. Summary

Hungarian allows for a predicate to be elided. Infinitival predicates can be missing following finite auxiliaries. Of the three auxiliaries, *fog* 'future' and *szokott* 'habitual' freely allow ellipsis of their complements. When the infinitival form of the copula *lenni* is elided together with its lexical (adjectival, nominal, locative, etc.) predicate after auxiliaries or semi-lexical verbs, elision is only possible if the antecedent contains *lenni* in infinitival form as well.

For the pattern of *V-stranding* ellipsis there are two pragmatic-syntactic environments in which V-stranding can occur: (i) in contexts with emphatic polarity, which was referred to as *polarity contexts*, (ii) in contexts with no emphasis on the polarity of the clause, which was referred to as *non-polarity contexts*.

The two polarity particles *igen* 'yes' and *nem* 'not' seem to have a parallel function, that of indicating polarity, but they have many distinctive properties when they introduce ellipsis of a predicate. The overt predicate and the polarity particle *yes* are in complementary distribution. Ellipsis-inducing *igen* can also occur where the

missing predicate is infinitival. In these cases, however, the predicate cannot be spelled out.

Ellipsis-inducing *igen* is a clause-final element, no other material belonging to the clause can show up to its right. It can occur in finite subordinate clauses as well.

The constituent to the left of *igen* can be a referential entity and can be followed by particles that typically follow contrastive topics. *Igen* can also be preceded by non-referential operator material, such as relative pronouns of all kinds.

The polarity particle *nem* 'not' is not in complementary distribution with an overt predicate: it can precede an overt predicate or occur in a clause without a predicate. *Nem* can also precede infinitival predicates overtly or occur without such an infinitive.

Nem followed by ellipsis can occur not only in polarity contexts (as an answer to a yes/no question, as a response to a positive statement), but can also occur in clauses where there is no contrast on the polarity.

While *igen* needs a contrastive topic or a topic-like A-bar moved constituent to its left, *nem* can be preceded by a contrastive topic, a topic-like A-bar movement constituent, a question phrase or a quantifier (negative quantifiers require a different form of negation, *sem*). *Nem* can follow complementizers or coordinators.

In some properties, *nem* is similar to *igen* when introducing ellipsis of a predicate: ellipsis-inducing *nem* must be final in its clause, too, just like *igen*. Also, ellipsis-inducing *nem* can be embedded, just like *igen*.

6.8. Bibliographical notes

Predicate ellipsis is a reasonably well-studied phenomenon in Hungarian. There are dedicated studies about predicate ellipsis when it comes to the morphosyntactic and inflectional characteristics of the phenomenon in both forward and backward contexts, see Bartos (2000a, 2000b, 2001) and Bánréti (1992, 2001, 2007). Interpretational characteristics of the phenomenon are discussed in Gyuris (2001).

Certain types of verb-stranding ellipsis, such as answers to polar and constituent questions was described in great detail in Kenesei et al. (1998). Surányi (2009a, 2009b) addresses the theoretical implications of this phenomenon for the analysis of verb raising in the Hungarian clause. Dedicated studies on the existence of verb-stranding ellipsis and ellipsis after *igen* can be found in Lipták (2013). Particle stranding ellipsis was explicitly studied in Lipták (2012); particle stranding ellipsis with participials was mentioned in Lipták and Kenesei (2017); the impossibility of particle stranding with reduplicated particles in Lipták and Saab (2019) and agreement (mis)matches in particle stranding with adpositional particles in Lipták (2018).

Chapter 7
Nominal ellipsis

Anikó Lipták

7.1. NP ellipsis: the basic data

In Hungarian, the head noun in a noun phrase can be unpronounced in contexts where its content is recoverable from the preceding discourse (cf. Section 4.4.1. in Chapter 4 and Bánréti 1992, 2007, Lipták 2018). When this happens to the exclusion of a modifier, numeral or (quantificational) determiner in the (extended) noun phrase, we are dealing with noun ellipsis. In the following examples, the part of the noun phrase that is understood to be missing is indicated by __ .

(554) a. Ezt   a házat   nagyobbra tervezték,   mint azt   a kettő__-t.
this.Acc the house.Acc big.Comp.Sub design.Past.3Pl than   that.Acc the two   -Acc

'This house was designed to be bigger than those two.'

b. Ez a régi kis ház   nagyobb, mint az az új   nagy__.
this the old   small house big.Comp than   that the new big

'This old small house is bigger than that new big one.'

c. A hideg sör finomabb, mint a   meleg__.
the cold   beer tasty.Comp than   the warm

'Cold beer is tastier than warm beer.'

d. A régi ház   eltakarta   az új__-ak-at.
the old   house conceal.Past.3Sg the new -Pl-Acc

'The old house concealed the new ones.'

e. Levi kért   egy pár   ceruzát. Adtam neki   néhány__-at.
Levi   ask.Past.3Sg a   couple pencil.Acc gave.1Sg 3Sg.Dat some   -Acc

'Levi asked for some pencils. I gave him some.'

f. A: Ehhez a   filmhez magas férfiakat keresnek.
this.All the film.All   tall   man.Pl.Acc search.Pl

'They are looking for tall men for this film.'

B: Milyen magas__-akat?
how   tall   -Pl.Acc

'How tall?'

The noun can also be missing together with one or more adjectival modifiers, in which case we talk about noun phrase ellipsis. To illustrate, the following example is ambiguous between two readings: one in which the missing constituent corresponds to the noun *ház* 'house' alone and one in which the missing constituent is a modified noun, *új ház* 'new house'.

(555) Ezt   a négy új   házat   nagyobbra tervezték,   mint azt   a
this.Acc the four   new house.Acc big.Comp.Sub design.Past.3Pl than   that.Acc the
kettő__-t
two   -Acc

'These four new houses were designed to be bigger than those two {houses / new houses}.'

In the rest of this chapter, we will refer to noun ellipsis and noun phrase ellipsis under the cover term NP ellipsis.

The missing nominal in NP ellipsis can be understood with reference to an entity in the linguistic or the extra-linguistic context. In the previous examples, the linguistic context provides a fully pronounced antecedent for each elliptical noun phrase. When the context foregrounds a salient entity that is unambiguously recoverable to both the speaker and the hearer (accompanied by pointing for example), nominal ellipsis can apply without a linguistic antecedent as well:

(556)   [Context: Standing in front of a heap of melons at the market]

a.   Kérek két nagy__-ot!
      ask.1Sg two big   -Acc
      'I'd like to have two big ones.'

b.   Megkóstolhatok egy__-et?
      taste.Mod.1Sg   one   -Acc
      'May I taste one?'

7.2. Type of remnants in NP ellipsis

NP ellipsis can leave behind adjectives, numerals and determiners and their combinations.

(557) a.   A szép piros rózsákat kérem.
           the nice red   rose.Pl.Acc ask.1Sg
           'I'd like the nice red roses.'

b.   A szép piros__-akat kérem.
      the nice red   -Pl.Acc ask.1Sg
      'I'd like the nice red ones.'

c.   A szép__-eket   kérem.
      the nice   -Pl.Acc ask.1Sg
      'I'd like the nice ones.'

(558) a.   Azt   a   négy szép piros rózsát kérem.
           that.Acc the four nice red   rose.Acc ask.1Sg
           'I'd like those four nice red roses.'

b.   Azt   a   négy szép piros__-at kérem.
      that.Acc the four   nice red   -Acc ask.1Sg
      'I'd like those four nice red ones.'

c.   Azt   a   négy szép__-et   kérem.
      that.Acc the four   nice   -Acc ask.1Sg
      'I'd like those four nice ones.'

d.   Azt   a   négy__-et kérem.
      that.Acc the four   -Acc ask.1Sg
      'I'd like those four.'

The adjectival remnants can be lexical adjectives as in the previous examples or adjectival participial clauses, see (559) and (560):

(559) a. Csak közjegyző által hitelesített iratokat fogadunk el.
   only notary by certify.Part document.Pl.Acc accept.1Pl Prt
   'We only accept documents certified by a notary.'

 b. Csak közjegyző által hitelesített__-eket fogadunk el.
   only notary by certify.Part -Pl.Acc accept.1Pl Prt
   'We only accept ones certified by a notary.'

(560) a. A lemásolandó iratokat ide teszem.
   the Prt.copy.Part document.Pl.Acc here place.1Sg
   'I place the documents to be copied here.'

 b. A lemásolandó__-kat ide teszem.
   the Prt.copy.Part -Pl.Acc here place.1Sg
   'I place the ones to be copied here.'

The remnant of ellipsis can also be an argument to the missing nominal, which is normally linked to the noun by *való*. The postpositional phrase *cikkre* 'to article(s)' is an argument of the derived nominal *hivatkozás* 'reference'.

(561) A könyvre való hivatkozások rövidebbek, mint a cikkre való__-k.
   the book.Sub VALÓ reference.Pl short.Com than the article.Sub VALÓ -Pl
   'References to books are shorter than references to articles.'

The definite determiner cannot appear as the final remnant of an elliptical noun phrase, which shows that NP ellipsis is licensed by the leftmost item in the NP being overt:

(562) a. A rózsákat kérem.
   the rose.Pl.Acc ask.1Sg
   'I'd like the roses.'

 b. *A __-kat kérem.
   the -Pl.Acc ask.1Sg
   'I'd like the ones.'

Demonstratives on the other hand can appear without a nominal following them (cf. (563)), yet arguably this is not a case of NP ellipsis, but the context-dependent distal use of a demonstrative. (564) shows that demonstrative pronouns cannot have the interpretation of an elliptical noun phrase in cases where a numeral is also part of the elided material.

(563) a. Azokat a rózsákat kérem.
   that.Pl.Acc the rose.Pl.Acc ask.1Sg
   'I'd like those roses.'

 b. Azokat kérem.
   that.Pl.Acc ask.1Sg
   'I'd like those ones'

(564) a. Azt   a két szép rózsát   előbb veszik majd meg, mint ezt.
       that.Acc the two nice rose.Acc sooner buy.3Pl then Prt   than this.Acc
       'Those two nice roses will be sold sooner than {this / *these two nice ones}.'

    b. Ezt   a három feladatot   már   megoldottam. Mindjárt elkezdem
       this.Acc the three   exercise.Acc already Prt.solve.Past.1Sg soon   Prt.begin.1Sg
       azt   is.
       that.Acc too
       'I have already solved these three exercises. Soon I start {that / *those three} too.'

That the problem in (563) and (564) is not the morphological singularity of the demonstrative is shown by examples in which the elliptical reading is available. The singular demonstrative can be understood as an elliptical noun phrase (containing a numeral) when it contrasts with a preceding correlate in parallel syntactic position (that of contrastive topics or contrastive focus).

(565) a. Én AZT   A KÉT SZÉP RÓZSÁT kérem, nem EZT   __.
       I   that.Acc the two   nice   rose.Acc ask.1Sg not this.Acc
       'I'd like those two nice roses, not {this / these two nice roses}.'

    b. Ezt   a három feladatot   már   megoldottam, azt   __ viszont nem.
       this.Acc the three   exercise.Acc already Prt.solve.Past.1Sg that.Acc   however not
       'I have solved these three exercises already, {that / those three}, however, I didn't.'

The elided constituent in these examples, however, is bigger than in the cases of NP ellipsis: it contains not only the noun phrase, but also the definite determiner and the numeral.

7.3. Morphological marking of elliptical noun phrases

When NP ellipsis applies in Hungarian the overt number and case morphemes that normally appear on the noun (and only there) must appear on the linearly *last remnant* preceding the missing noun, as was shown above. This last remnant can be an adjective (cf. (557b,c)), a numeral (cf. (558d)), a participial modifier (cf. (559b), (560b)) or the linking element *való* (cf. (561)). This morphological requirement must hold for all case morphemes and postpositions alike ((566)–(568)) and applies also when the morphemes are inherited by complex remnants such as modified adjectives or adjectival participial clauses (569).

(566) a. Szép piros rózsákra   vágyom.
       nice   red   rose.Pl.Sub long.1Sg
       'I am longing for nice red roses.'

    b. Szép piros__-akra vágyom.
       nice   red   -Pl.Sub long.1Sg
       'I am longing for nice red ones.'

(567) a. Szép piros rózsákból kötök csokrot.
       nice   red   rose.Pl.Ell tie.1Sg bouquet.Acc
       'I am making a bouquet from nice red roses.'

b.　Szép　piros__-akból　kötök　csokrot.
　　nice　red　　-Pl.Ell　tie.1Sg　bouquet.Acc
　　'I am making a bouquet from nice red ones.'

(568) a.　Szép　piros　rózsák　mellett　döntöttünk.
　　　　nice　red　　rose.Pl　next　　decide.Past.1Pl
　　　　'We decided on nice red roses.'

b.　Szép　piros__-ak　mellett　döntöttünk.
　　nice　red　　-Pl　next　　decide.Past.1Pl
　　'We decided on nice red ones.'

(569) a.　A　festmények　közül　　a　nagyon　értékes__-eket　külön　szobában
　　　　the　painting.Pl　from.among　the　very　　valuable　-Pl.Acc　apart　room.Ine
　　　　őrizték.
　　　　keep.Past.3Pl
　　　　'Of the paintings, the very valuable ones were kept in a separate room.'

b.　Csak　közjegyző　által　hitelesített__-eket　fogadunk　el.
　　only　notary　　by　certify.Part　-Pl.Acc　accept.1Pl　Prt
　　'We only accept those certified by a notary.'

In case these endings contain harmonic vowels, they harmonize with the linearly last remnant, too (Bánréti 1992, 2007, Kenesei *et al.* 1998, Laczkó 2007). For example, an adjectival remnant containing back vowels triggers the back variant of the sublative case ending (cf. (570b)), an adjectival remnant containing front vowels triggers the front variant of the same case ending (570c). These examples also show that the linking vowel of the plural morpheme (*-(V)k*), which always occurs if the noun ends in a consonant, must harmonize with the adjectival remnant as well.

(570) a.　Szép　piros　rózsá-k-ra　vágyom.
　　　　nice　red　　rose-Pl-Sub　long.1Sg
　　　　'I am longing for nice red roses.'

b.　Szép　piros__-ak-ra　vágyom.
　　nice　red　　-Pl-Sub　long.1Sg
　　'I am longing for nice red ones.'

c.　Szép　fehér__-ek-re　vágyom.
　　nice　white　　-Pl-Sub　long.1Sg
　　'I am longing for nice white ones.'

There are three exceptional remnants that cannot inherit case morphology (either overt or covert) under NP ellipsis: the numeral *két* 'two' (unlike *kettő* in the same meaning) (571), the adjective *kis* 'small' (unlike *kicsi* in the same meaning) (572) and the determiner *minden* 'every', unlike *mind* in the same meaning (573).

(571) a.　Két　rózsára　vágyom.　　　b.　{*Két__-re / ˊkettő __-re}　vágyom.
　　　　two　rose.Sub　long.1Sg　　　　　two　-Sub　two　　-Sub　long.1Sg
　　　　'I am longing for two roses.'　　　　'I am longing for two.'

(572) a.   Kis rózsákat vettem.
         small rose.Pl.Acc buy.Past.1Sg
         'I bought small roses.'

     b.   {*Kis__-eket / ˅kicsi__-ket} vettem.
          small -Pl.Acc   small   -Pl.Acc buy.Past.1Sg
         'I bought small ones.'

(573) a.   Minden rózsát megvettem.
         every   rose.Acc Prt.buy.Past.1Sg
         'I bought every rose.'

     b.   {*Minden__-t / ˅mind__-et} megvettem.
          every   -Acc every   -Acc Prt.buy.Past.1Sg
         'I bought every one.'

In case the remnant of NP ellipsis contains conjoined adjectives, the inherited morphemes appear on all conjoined entities (in line with the fact that members of a conjunction always appear with the same case morphology):

(574) a.   A festmények közül   a szép__-eket és értékes__-eket külön
         the painting.Pl   from.among the nice   -Pl.Acc and valuable   -Pl.Acc apart
         szobában őrizték.
         room.In   keep.Past.3Pl

     b. *A festmények közül   a szép__ és értékes__-eket külön
         the painting.Pl   from.among the nice   and valuable -Pl.Acc apart
         szobában őrizték.
         room.In   keep.Past.3Pl
         'Of the paintings, the nice and valuable ones were kept in a separate room.'

NP ellipsis can also occur with zero, morphologically unmarked case on the elided constituent if that stands for nominative case (575). If, however, a zero case ending is idiosyncratically licensed on a noun in free alternation with oblique case, as in *az első vasárnap(on)* 'on the first Sunday', the zero case ending cannot be inherited by any remnant when the noun is missing as a result of ellipsis. In this case only the oblique case marker is licensed in the elliptical noun phrase (cf. (576b,c)), even if it has no overt correlate (576b).

(575) a.   Egy szép piros rózsa-Ø volt a vázában.
         a   nice   red   rose-Nom was the vase.Ine
         'There was a nice red rose in the vase.'

     b.   Egy szép piros__-Ø   volt a vázában.
         a   nice   red   -Nom was the vase.Ine
         'There was a nice red one in the vase.'

(576) a.   Az első vasárnap-Ø kirándultunk. *A második __ viszont otthon
         the first Sunday   hike.Past.1Pl   the second   however at.home
         maradtunk.
         stay.Past.1Pl

      b.   Az első vasárnap-Ø kirándultunk. A második__-on viszont otthon
         the first Sunday   hike.Past.1Pl   the second   -Sup however at.home
         maradtunk.
         stay.Past.1Pl

      c.   Az első vasárnapon kirándultunk, a   második__-on viszont otthon
         the first Sunday.Sub hike.Pst.1Pl   the second   -Sup however at.home
         maradtunk.
         stay.Past.1Pl
         'On the first Sunday we went hiking, on the second, however, we stayed at home.'

7.4. Semantic properties of NP ellipsis

Adjectival and numeral remnants of NP ellipsis must have a restrictive interpretation: they must further restrict the reference of the nominal constituent denoted by the antecedent. Because of this, NP ellipsis is not allowed after a non-restrictive modifier of the noun or repeated (given) modifiers. In the following examples, the elliptical noun phrase shares the same modifier and the same referent as its antecedent (577a,b).

(577) a.   Vettem   három új   könyvet. #Odaadom a   hárm__-at.
         buy.Past.1Sg three   new book.Acc   Prt.give.1Sg the three   -Acc
         lit. 'I bought three new books. I give you the three.'

      b.   A szorgalmas norvégok   heti 45 órát   dolgoznak. #Csodálom a
         the hardworking Norwegian.Pl weekly 45 hour.Acc work.3pl   admire.1Sg the
         szorgalmas__-okat.
         hardworking   -Pl.Acc
         lit. 'The hardworking Norwegians work 45 hours a week. I admire the hardworking ones.'

Non-intersective and non-subsective adjectives (using the terminology of Partee 1995) can be used as NP ellipsis remnants, but only when they are interpreted as restrictive modifiers. Thus, non-intersective *állítólagos* 'alleged' cannot be used when it is not restrictive, as in (578b), but can be used when it is restrictive (578c), similarly to the restrictive use of *előző* 'former' in (579).

(578) a.   Az FBI tegnap letartóztatott egy állítólagos terroristát.
         the FBI yesterday Prt.arrest.Past.3Sg an   alleged   terrorist.Acc
         'The FBI arrested an alleged terrorist yesterday.'

      b.   #Terroristákról szólva, az FBI tegnap letartóztatott egy állítólagos__-t.
         terrorist.Pl.Del   talking   the FBI yesterday arrest.Past.3Sg an   alleged   -Acc
         'Talking about terrorists, the FBI arrested an alleged one yesterday.'

   c. Milyen terroristát tartóztattak le? Egy igazi__-t vagy egy
what   terrorist.Acc arrest.Past.3pl Prt a   real   -Acc or   a

állítólagos__-t?
alleged   -Acc

'What kind of terrorist did they arrest? A real one or an alleged one?'

(579)   Péter kedveli az igazgatót. Az előző__-t is   kedvelte.
Péter like.3Sg the director.Acc the former -Acc also like.Past.3Sg

'Péter likes the director. He liked the former, too.'

The need for restrictive remnants is usually explained with reference to the necessarily partitive interpretation of NP ellipsis (Lobeck 1995, Sleeman 1996). According to this, NP ellipsis only allows for remnants that express a partitive relation, that is, they must refer to a *subset* of a contextually provided set. To illustrate, consider the following cases of pragmatically controlled NP ellipsis.

(580)   Context: There are two red apples on the table.
    a. #Kéred a   piros__-akat?
want.2Sg the red   -Pl.Acc

'Do you want the red ones?'
    b. #Kérsz   egy piros__-at?
want.2Sg a   red   -Acc

'Do you want a red one?'

(581)   Context: There are two apples on the table: a red and a green one.
     Kéred a   piros__-at?
want.2Sg the red   -Acc

'Do you want the red one?'

The utterances in (580) are infelicitous, as the elliptical NP in them does not single out a subset of the contextually provided set of apples. In a similar way, NP ellipsis in a DP yields a partitive interpretation, too. In (582), the elliptical phrase *a fehéret* 'the white one' preferably implies that Péter has more cars than just one, and that the others (which he didn't sell) are not white.

(582)   Eladtam az autómat.   Péter is eladta   a fehér__-et.
sell.Past.1Sg the car.Poss.1Sg.Acc Péter also sell.Past.3Sg the white -Acc

'I sold my car. Péter also sold the white one.'

7.5. Information structural properties of NP ellipsis

Further, there are some information structural criteria that NP ellipsis complies with. Preferentially, NP ellipsis contains adjectival remnants that are new/not given in the discourse – in the sense of not having been mentioned yet. Consider the following examples.

(583) a. Régóta gyűjtök egy autóra. Ma vettem egy piros__-at.
for.long save.1Sg a car.Sub today buy.Past.1Sg a red -Acc
'I have been saving up for a car for long. Today I bought a red one.'

    b. János vett egy kék autót, én pedig egy piros__-at.
János buy.Past.3Sg a blue car.Acc I Prt a red -Acc
'János bought a blue car and I a red one.'

If an adjectival remnant is given, it usually undergoes deletion. In (584), the version without the adjective *kék* 'blue' in the elliptical noun phrase sounds slightly better than the retention of the adjective (even though the latter is by no means ungrammatical):

(584) János vett egy kék autót. Mari is vett egy ([?]kék) __-et.
János buy.Past.3Sg a blue car.Acc Mari also buy.Past.3Sg a blue -Acc
'János bought a blue car. Mari also bought one/a blue one.'

In case the given adjective is contrastive in its own right, the preference for deletion does not apply. In the next examples, the elliptical NP is the contrastive focus (cf. (585)) and the contrastive topic (cf. (586)) of the sentence.

(585) Vettem egy fehér autót. CSAK FEHÉR __ volt eladó.
buy.Past.1Sg a white car.Acc only white was on.sale
'I bought a white car. Only white ones were on sale.'

(586) Vettem egy szürke autót. Egy szürké__-t ugyanis nem kell sokszor
buy.Past.1Sg a grey car.Acc a grey -Acc Prt not need frequently
mosni.
wash.Inf
'I bought a grey car. A grey one does not need frequent washing.'

The preference for deletion of a given adjective also does not apply if the retention of the given adjective disambiguates the meaning. In (587a), the elliptical adjective can only be interpreted with reference to a red car. In (587b), the elliptical noun phrase is preferably interpreted as a red car, but can also be understood as a car with an unspecified colour. To avoid interpretation with the latter reading, speakers can use (587a) instead.

(587) a. Vettem egy piros autót. Erre a szomszéd is vett egy
buy.Past.1Sg a red car.Acc this.Sub the neighbour also buy.Past.3Sg a
piros__-at.
red -Acc
'I bought a red car. As a reaction, the neighbour also bought a red one.'

    b. Vettem egy piros autót. Erre a szomszéd is vett
buy.Past.1Sg a red car.Acc this.Sub the neighbour also buy.Past.3Sg
egy__-et.
a -Acc
'I bought a red car. As a reaction, my neighbour also bought {[?]a car / a red car}.'

As a last point, it should be noted that there is no preference for deletion of given numerals as remnants of NP ellipsis. Numerals can be remnants of NP ellipsis also when they are completely identical to a previously mentioned numeric modifier.

(588)   Levi kivett   két almát   a   kosárból. Én is   kivettem   kettő__-t.
             Levi   take.Past.3Sg two apple.Acc the basket.Ela I   also take.Past.1Sg two   -Acc
             'Levi took two apples from the basket. I also took two.'

7.6.   Grammatical functions of elliptical noun phrases

7.6.1.   *Syntactic functions*

Elliptical noun phrases, both definite and indefinite ones, can have various grammatical functions. They can be subjects, objects, and oblique complements and adjuncts.

(589) a.   A   nagy   macska fekete volt. A   kicsi __   fehér.
           the big   cat   black   was   the small   white
           'The big cat was black and the small one white.'

      b.   A   nagy   macska nyalogatta   a   kicsi__-t.
           the big   cat   lick.Past.3Sg   the small   -Acc
           'The big cat was licking the small one.'

      c.   A   nagy   macska odaszaladt   egy kicsi__-hez.
           the big   cat   Prt.run.Past.3Sg   an   small   -All
           'The big cat ran to a small one.'

      d.   Egy esős vasárnapon több   ember szomorú, mint egy napsütéses__-en.
           a   rainy Sunday.Sup   more   people sad   than a   sunny   -Sup
           'More people are sad on a rainy Sunday than on a sunny one.'

Definite noun phrases can also be used as predicates when elliptical:

(590)   A   darabban Péter volt a   rossz orvos, és Pál   volt a   jó   __.
             the play.Ine   Péter   was   the bad   doctor   and Pál   was   the good
             'In the play, Péter was the bad doctor and Pál was the good one.'

Elliptical noun phrases with an indefinite article, however, come out ungrammatical when used as sentential predicates, as in the following two examples.

(591)   Péter egy rossz orvos. *De a   fia   egy jó __ lesz.
             Péter a   bad   doctor   but the son.Poss.3Sg a   good   be.Fut.3Sg
             'Péter is a bad doctor. But his son will be a good one.'

(592)   Zsiga egy ügyetlen kertész. *Pedig az apja   egy ügyes __ volt.
             Zsiga an awkward   gardener   while the father.Poss.3Sg a   skillful   was
             'Zsiga is an awkward gardener. Even though his father was a skillful one.'

Note that ungrammaticality only shows up with elliptical indefinite noun phrases that function as predicates. As the following examples show, elliptical noun phrases with

an indefinite article are perfectly fine when used referentially, and not predicatively (even when the referential reading is not specific, as in (593b)).

(593) a.　Ebben　a　rendelőben　　egy jó　orvos dolgozik. Ott viszont egy
　　　　　this.Ine　the medical.office.Ine　a　　good doctor work.3Sg　　there however　a

　　　　rossz __ rendel.
　　　　bad　　　work.3Sg

　　　　'A good doctor is working in this medical office. There, on the other hand, a bad one is working.'

　　　b.　Ehhez　a　szerephez egy magas lány kell, ahhoz pedig　egy alacsony
　　　　　this.All　the role.All　　a　tall　　girl　need that.All however　a　　short

　　　　__ lenne　　jó.
　　　　　be.Cond.3Sg good

　　　　'For this role, a tall girl is needed, for that a short one would be good.'

It is also important to note that indefinite predicative NPs without an indefinite article are similar to (591), in that they cannot be elliptical, consider the examples in (594):

(594) a.　Anna gyerekkorában　　vidám kislány volt. Bea szomorú　volt.
　　　　　Anna　childhood.Poss3Sg.Ine happy　girl　　was　Bea sad　　　was

　　　　'Anna was a happy girl in her childhood. Bea was {sad / *a sad one}.'

　　　b.　Annát　gyerekkorában　　vidám kislánynak tartották.　　Beát
　　　　　Anna.Acc childhood.Poss3Sg.Ine happy　girl.Dat　　　consider.Past.3Pl Bea.Acc

　　　　szomorúnak　tartották.
　　　　sad.Dat　　　　consider.Past.3Pl

　　　　'People considered Anna a happy girl in her childhood. They considered Bea {sad / *a sad one}.'

Where determinerless indefinite predicative noun phrases differ from those with an indefinite determiner are syntactic contexts where the elliptical noun phrase occurs in a clause in which the copula undergoes gapping. In these contexts, the elliptical interpretation is possible for the indefinite noun phrases, cf. (595) in comparison to (594):

(595) a.　Anna gyerekkorában　　vidám kislány volt. Bea szomorú.
　　　　　Anna　childhood.Poss3Sg.Ine happy　girl　　was　Bea sad

　　　　'Anna was a happy girl in her childhood. Bea was {sad / a sad one}.'

　　　b.　Annát　gyerekkorában　　vidám kislánynak tartották.　　Beát
　　　　　Anna.Acc childhood.Poss3Sg.Ine happy　girl.Dat　　　consider.Past.3Pl Bea.Acc

　　　　szomorúnak.
　　　　sad.Dat

　　　　'They considered Anna a happy girl in her childhood. They considered Bea {sad / a sad one}.'

When the verb is spelled out in the clause containing the purported noun phrase, as in (594), the possibility of ellipsis is not present and the interpretation of the adjective must be that of a clausal predicate and not a prenominal modifier of an elided noun. In contexts of gapping (595), both interpretations are available.

7.6.2. *The obligatoriness of ellipsis in noun phrases*

NP ellipsis is an entirely optional process in many cases, that is to say, the elided nominal constituent can be fully pronounced without a change in meaning.

(596) a.　A　hideg　sör　finomabb, mint　a　meleg　(sör).
　　　　　the　cold　beer　tasty.Com　than　the　warm　beer
　　　　　'Cold beer is tastier than warm beer.'

　　　b.　A　régi　ház　eltakarta　az　új　(ház)-akat.
　　　　　the　old　house　conceal.Past.3Sg　the　new　house-Pl.Acc
　　　　　'The old house concealed the new ones.'

In some cases, NP ellipsis is preferred to the retention of the nominal constituent, especially after numeric and amount-denoting determiners. Here the repetition of the noun sounds unnatural.

(597)　Levi　kért　egy　pár　tollat. Adtam　neki　néhány　(ᵗoll)-at.
　　　　Levi　ask.Past.3Sg　a　couple　pen.Acc　give.Past.1Sg　3Sg.Dat　some　pen-Acc
　　　　'Levi asked for some pens. I gave him some.'

One can also find syntactic environments in which NP ellipsis is obligatory: contexts of contrastive sluicing (Chapter 5) being a prime example for this. If a nominal constituent contains a contrastive adjective or numeral, the noun must be missing under sluicing:

(598) a.　Gondoltam, hogy pár　diák　megbukik, de nem　gondoltam volna,　hogy
　　　　　think.Past.1Sg Compl couple student fail.3Sg　but not　think.Past.1Sg Cond　Compl
　　　　　tíz (ᵗ*diák).
　　　　　ten　student
　　　　　'I thought that some students would fail, but I wouldn't have thought that ten would fail.'

　　　b.　Azt　hittem,　hogy csak két levelet bontottak　ki. Nem
　　　　　that.Acc thint.Past.1Sg Compl only two letter.Acc open.Past.3Pl Prt not
　　　　　gondoltam　volna,　hogy　{mind__-et　/ᵗ*minden levelet}.
　　　　　think.Past.1Sg Cond　Compl every　-Acc　every　letter.Acc
　　　　　'I thought they opened only two letters; I wouldn't have thought that they opened all (letters).'

Note that the crucial factor forcing NP ellipsis in these cases is the ellipsis of the finite predicate. In case a verb or auxiliary is present in these examples, the nominal need not undergo ellipsis and can be spelled out without causing any degradation:

(599) a.　Gondoltam, hogy pár　diák　megbukik, de nem gondoltam volna, hogy
　　　　　think.Past.1Sg Compl couple student fail.3Sg　but not think.Past.1Sg Cond　Compl
　　　　　tíz diák　fog　(megbukni).
　　　　　ten student Fut.3Sg　fail.Inf
　　　　　'I thought that some students would fail, but I wouldn't have thought that ten would.'

b. Azt   hittem,   hogy csak két levelet bontottak   ki. Nem
    that.Acc believe.Past.1Sg Compl only two letter.Acc open.Past.3Pl Prt not

    gondoltam volna, hogy minden levelet ki szoktak (bontani).
    think.Past.1Sg Cond   Compl every   letter.Acc Prt Habit.3Pl open.Inf

    'I thought they opened only two letters; I wouldn't have thought that they usually open all
    letters.'

c. Azt   hittem,   hogy csak két levelet bontottak   ki. Nem
    that.Acc believe.Past.1Sg Compl only two letter.Acc open.Past.3Pl Prt not

    gondoltam volna, hogy minden levelet kibontottak.
    think.Past.1Sg Cond   Compl every   letter.Acc Prt.open.Past.3Pl

    'I thought they opened only two letters; I wouldn't have thought that they opened all letters.'

7.7. Anaphoric possibilities in possessed nominals

In contrast to non-possessed noun phrases, possessed noun phrases do not allow for nominal ellipsis.

7.7.1. *Anaphoric possessives with* -é

In case the sole surviving remnant of ellipsis is the possessor, either a dative and or a nominative one (see Szabolcsi 1994 for differences), NP ellipsis is impossible:

(600) a. *Nádasdynak a   könyv-e   hosszabb, mint Esterházynak __.
          Nádasdy.Dat the book-Poss.3Sg long.Comp   than Esterházy.Dat

      b. *Nádasdy   könyv-e   hosszabb, mint Esterházy __.
          Nádasdy.Nom book-Poss.3Sg long.Comp than   Esterházy.Nom

          intended: 'Nádasdy's book is longer than Esterházy's.'

The lack of elliptical possessives stems from the fact that anaphoric possessives make use of a pronominal strategy and substitute a nominal *pro*-from for the possessed noun, as Bartos (2000), Laczkó (2007), Dékány (2011), Lipták (2018) unanimously point out. The pronominal strategy is earmarked by the use of the -*é* suffix, whose analysis is somewhat unsettled (Bartos 2000 equates it with the Poss head that selects the noun, Laczkó 2007 with the *pro*-form and Bartos 2001, Dékány 2015 with genitive case).

The anaphoric pronoun is incompatible with any overt adjectival modifier (601a) or numeral (601b). The possessor agreement morpheme and the number morpheme indicating plurality of possession are always obligatory on pronominal possessors: both when these are non-anaphoric and when they are anaphoric. For the latter, consider (601c), where -*i* indicates plural possession and -*tek* spells out agreement with a 2Pl possessor. (Note that in some pronominal forms -*é* is rendered as -*e*.)

(601) a. Nádasdy(nak az) új   könyv-e   hosszabb, mint {Esterházy-é /
          Nádasdy(Dat the) new book-Poss.3Sg long.Comp   than Esterházy-Posr

          *Esterházy új-é}.
           Esterházy   new-Posr

          'Nádasdy's new book is longer than {Esterházy's book / Esterházy's new book}.'

b.   Nádasdy(nak az) összes könyv-e   rövidebb, mint {*Esterházy
    Nádasdy(Dat   the) all   book-Poss.3Sg short.Comp than   Esterházy.Nom

   legutóbbi kettő-é}.
    last   two-Posr

    intended: 'All of Nádasdy's books are shorter than the last two of Esterházy.'

c.   a ti-   -é   -i -tek
    the you.Pl -Posr -Pl -2Pl

    'your(pl) ones'

7.7.2. Apparent cases of NP ellipsis in possessives

A set of examples in which NP ellipsis appears to be possible in possessed noun phrases are given in (602). In these examples, the ellipsis remnants are an adjective or numeral, and the possessor cannot be spelled out overtly. Note that the interpretation of the missing noun in the following examples can be that of a possessed nominal or that of a non-possessed noun.

(602) a.   Mari régi kabát-ja-i szebbek,   mint az új__-ak.
       Mari old   coat-Poss-Pl nice.Comp.Pl than   the new -Pl

       'Mari's old coats are nicer than { the new coats of Mary / the new coats}.'

    b.   Az idei   diák-ja-i-m   okosabbak, mint a tavalyi__ -ak.
       the this.year.Adj student-Poss-Pl-1Sg clever.Comp.Pl than   the last.year.Adj -Pl

       'This year's students of mine are cleverer than {last year's students of mine / last year's students}.'

There are two indications that the possessed interpretation is only pragmatically controlled for in cases like this and that we are dealing with an unpossessed nominal undergoing ellipsis here. One indication is the nominal morphology found in the elliptical nominals: the endings are characteristic of non-possessed noun phrases. In possessed noun phrases, the plurality of the possession is spelled out by the invariable *-i* morpheme (*kabát-ja-i, diák-ja-i-m*), while in the elliptical *új-ak* and *tavalyi-ak* the plural marker is the ordinary *-(V)k* morpheme, which is found on non-possessed nouns. As the ungrammatical forms furthermore illustrate in (603), there is no other variant of the noun phrase that is acceptable in these contexts (as noted in Kenesei et al. 1989).

(603) a.   Mari régi kabát-ja-i szebbek,   mint az {új__-ak / *új__-a-i / *új__-i}.
       Mari old   coat-Poss-Pl nice.Comp.Pl than   the new -Pl   new -Poss-Pl new -Pl

       'Mari's old coats are nicer than the new ones.'

    b.   Az idei   diák-ja-i-m   okosabbak, mint a {tavalyi__ -ak /
       the this.year.Adj student-Poss-Pl-1Sg clever.Comp.Pl than   the last.year.Adj -Pl

       *tavalyi-ja-i-m}
       last.year.Adj-Poss-Pl-1Sg

       'This year's students of mine are cleverer than last year's students of mine.'

The other argument against a possessed NP analysis of these data comes from the observation that the possessor can never be overtly present in the elliptical nominal, either in dative or nominative case (604).

(604) a. Mari régi kabát-ja-i szebbek, mint (*neki) az (*ő) új__-ak.
Mari old coat-Poss-Pl nice.Comp.Pl than 3Sg.Dat the 3Sg new -Pl
'Mari's old coats are nicer than her new ones.'

  b. Az idei diák-ja-i-m okosabbak, mint (*nekem) (az) (*én)
the this.year.Adj student-Poss-Pl-1Sg clever.Comp.Pl than 1Sg.Dat the 1Sg
tavalyi __-ak.
last.year.Adj-Pl
'This year's students of mine are cleverer than last year's students of mine.'

These two observations jointly confirm that the elliptical noun phrases of the sort exemplified in (603) are not possessed but unpossessed nominals.

The same conclusion must also carry over to those noun phrases in which the possessed item is singular, such as (605). Note that this example, just like those in (604), no possessor can be added to the elliptical phrase.

(605) Mari új barát-ja nagyon kedves, egyáltalán nem hasonlít a
Mari new boyfriend-Poss3Sg very kind not.at.all not resemble.3Sg the
(*Sára) régi__(*-jé)-re.
Sára old -Poss3Sg-Sub
#'Mari's new boyfriend is very nice; he is not at all like the old one of Sára.'; 'Mari's new boyfriend is very nice; he is not at all like the old one (of Mari).'

The only contexts in which an overt possessor occurs next to an elliptical possessive nominal – contradicting the claim that possessives cannot undergo NP ellipsis – can be found in the expression of *sentential possession*, where the possessive relation is the main predicate of the clause. Consider (606) in which we find an elliptical noun phrase and a dative-marked possessor.

(606) A: Van macskátok?
be.3Sg cat.Poss.1Pl
'Do you have a cat?'

  B: Igen, nekem egy fehér __ van.
yes 1Sg.Dat a white be.3Sg
'Yes, I have a white one.'

If the possessor in possessive sentences is generated as part of a possessed noun phrase, as usually assumed (see Szabolcsi 1992), this suggests that the elided NP in (606) must be a possessed nominal. An interesting quirk of these kinds of sentences is that the possessor can also show up when the elliptical noun phrase is plural, and in line with the observations in (603), carries the non-possessive plural marker. It is important to note that not all speakers find (607) perfectly fine, while all speakers accept the singular variant in (606).

(607)　　A: Vannak　macskáitok?
　　　　　　　be.3Pl　　cat.Poss.Pl.2Pl
　　　　　　　'Do you have cats?'

　　　　B: %Igen, nekem fehér__-ek vannak.
　　　　　　　yes　　1Sg.Dat　white　-Pl　be.3Pl
　　　　　　　'Yes, I have white ones.'

7.8. Summary

The Hungarian head noun in a noun phrase can be unpronounced in contexts where its content is recoverable from the preceding discourse. When this happens to the exclusion of a modifier, numeral or (quantificational) determiner in the (extended) noun phrase, we have to do with noun ellipsis. NP ellipsis is an entirely optional process in many cases, that is to say, the elided nominal constituent can be fully pronounced without a change in meaning. In Hungarian NP ellipsis the overt number and case morphemes that normally appear on the noun (and only there) must appear on the linearly *last remnant* preceding the missing noun, be that an adjective, a numeral, a participial modifier or the linking element *való*. This morphological requirement must hold for all case morphemes and postpositions alike and applies also when the morphemes are inherited by complex remnants such as modified adjectives or adjectival participial clauses.

In contrast to non-possessed noun phrases, possessed noun phrases do not allow for nominal ellipsis. A set of examples in which NP ellipsis appears to be possible in possessed noun phrases exhibit that ellipsis remnants are an adjective or numeral, and the possessor cannot be spelled out overtly.

The only contexts in which an overt possessor can be found next to an elliptical possessive nominal – contradicting the claim that possessives cannot undergo NP ellipsis – can be found in the expression of *sentential possession*, where the possessive relation is the main predicate of the clause.

7.9. Bibliographical notes

Discussion of Hungarian nominal constituents without a noun can be found in Kenesei et al. (1998) in descriptive terms. The reader can find distinct analytical approaches to these data and the representation of the missing noun in Bánréti (1992, 2007), Moravcsik (2001), Laczkó (2007) as well as Saab and Lipták (2016).

The structure of anaphoric possessive noun phrases, with special attention to the role that the *-é* suffix plays in them, is investigated by Bartos (2000c), Laczkó (2007) and most recently in Dékány (2011, 2015, 2021). Arguments to the effect that the anaphoric possessed noun phrases do not contain nominal ellipsis that occurs in non-possessed noun phrases are provided in Lipták (2018).

Chapter 8
Fragments

Anikó Lipták

8.1. Definition and setting the scope of this chapter

Fragments are elliptical clauses that are functionally equivalent to entire propositions, yet they only contain a single overt constituent of a clause (in some cases multiple subconstituents), typically non-verbal in category. Fragments occur frequently in natural language use and can be found in all sentence types.

   This chapter is dedicated to the discussion of fragments that indubitably represent sentential content and which have a linguistic antecedent. As will be seen, the grammaticality of many fragments of this type depends not only on the presence but also on the specific form of the antecedent, which make it necessary in these cases to discuss fragment and antecedent in one breath.

   The most typical case of fragments with a linguistic antecedent are answers to constituent questions. Consider the dialogue in (608), where the answer fills the position left behind by the question variable *who*. As the translation indicates, the fragment stands for the entire proposition *Peti is swimming in the lake*, with only the subject receiving pronunciation. The entire predicate gets elided. The answer in B2 shows that a non-elliptical answer would also be grammatically well-formed; this fully pronounced version, however, is often felt to be unnecessarily lengthy or verbose compared to (608B1).

(608) A: Ki úszik a tóban?
       who swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
       'Who is swimming in the lake?'

     B1: Peti.
        Peti
        'Peti.' (i.e. 'Peti is swimming in the lake.')

     B2: Peti úszik a tóban.
        Peti swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
        'Peti is swimming in the lake.'

Fragments that do not respond to linguistic material also abound in natural languages. One such type is illustrated in (609). In an appropriate discourse context in which the mother asserts her wish for the child to wash her hand or eat with cutlery, the fragments can be uttered without any linguistic material preceding them. These fragments can therefore initiate a dialogue, rather than follow up on previous discourse. In (609a), it is not evidently clear what lexical predicate is left unexpressed, in (609b), the missing predicate is most likely the imperative form of *eat*.

(609) *Mother speaking to her child:*
    a. Kézmosás!
      handwash.Nom
      'Handwashing! (= Go wash your hands).'

    b. Késsel - villával!
      knife.Ins - fork.Ins
      'With fork and knife! (= Eat with fork and knife).'

Hungarian also has conventionalized fragments that function as *scripts* in the terminology of Schank and Abelson (1977). Scripts are used in a certain context or situation type, always in the same linguistic form. Consider the case of (610a), which is uttered when someone answers the telephone in Hungarian. The script in this situation requires the speaker's name in the nominative. As (610b) shows, the copula, or for some speakers the verb *beszél* can be added to the speaker's name in the first singular form, making the utterance a full sentence.

(610)   *Someone answering the phone:*
    a. Kovácsné.
        Kovácsné.Nom
        'Mrs. Kovács.'
    b. Kovácsné   vagyok / %beszélek
        Kovácsné.Nom be.1Sg   speak.1Sg
        'Mrs. Kovács speaking.'

The conventionalized nature of this fragment transpires from the fact that such fragments are fixed expressions and tolerate no other grammatical form – (610) would not be well-formed with any other case on the noun for example (while other cases might be required in other languages, e.g. Dutch uses the instrumental in this situation). Similar conventionalized fragments are fixed expressions like greetings. These are marked for accusative case in Hungarian, suggesting that they derive from clauses in which these constituents are object arguments, see the examples in (611a) and their full sentential versions in (611b), the latter being more polite and formal than the former:

(611) a. Jó   estét! /   Boldog szülinapot!
        good evening.Acc happy   birthday.Acc
        'Good evening!'   'Happy birthday.'
    b. Jó   estét   kívánok! / Boldog szülinapot kívánok!
        good evening.Acc wish.1Sg   happy   birthday.Acc wish.1Sg
        'I wish you a good evening!'   'I wish you a happy birthday.'

This chapter will not give details about fragments without linguistic antecedents, such as examples (609)–(611) above. Neither will it discuss single constituent utterances such as vocatives or emotive/expressive expressions predicated about individuals (612):

(612) a. Peti!
        'Peti!' (when calling for someone's attention)
    b. Idióta!/Álomszuszékok!
        'Idiot!'/'Sleepyheads!'

There will also be no mention of fragments that are only grammatical when introduced by a coordinator or disjunctor, consider the examples in (613). The reason for excluding such examples from discussion is that their clausal status is not immediately evident. While in (613a), *és/vagy egy almát* appears to be a subconstituent of an entire clause, due to the fact that the coordinator and the second

conjunct occurs non-adjacent to the first conjunct, it shares many properties with (613b), where two conjuncts are in adjacent position (despite the clause-boundary intervening) and which therefore allow for a single-constituent analysis.

(613) a.   Egy barackot kérek. {És/vagy} egy almát.
> a   peach.Acc want.1Sg and/or   an   apple.Acc
>
> 'A peach I would like. And/or an apple.'

     b.   Kérek   egy barackot. {És/vagy} egy almát.
> want.1Sg a   peach.Acc and/or   an   apple.Acc
>
> 'I would like a peach. And/or an apple.'

Furthermore, this chapter will not discuss fragments that appear in appositives, such as (614), as their status as clausal material is non-evident:

(614)   Miki − a barátom − Kanadába költözött.
> Miki   the friend.Poss.1Sg Canada.Ill   move.Past.3Sg
>
> 'Miki – my friend – moved to Canada.'

Finally, it must be mentioned that this chapter will not discuss fragments that are treated elsewhere in this volume under different names. First, it will not treat fragments that replace/identify or correct an indefinite in the antecedent, such as the case of the *wh*-fragment in (615a) or the lexical focus fragment in (615b). These kind of entities in embedded or matrix positions are usually referred to with the specific term, *sluicing* and *focus sluicing* respectively, and are handled in Chapter 5.

(615) a.   A: Valaki úszik   a   tóban.
> someone swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
>
> 'Someone is swimming in the lake.'

          B: Ki?
> who
>
> 'Who?'

     b.   A: Valaki úszik   a   tóban.
> someone swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
>
> 'Someone is swimming in the lake.'

          B: Igen, Peti.
> yes   Peti.
>
> 'Yes, Peti.'

Last but not least, the chapter only deals with non-verbal fragments, mostly nominal and adpositional ones. Verbal and verb-related fragments, to the extent they figure as sole constituents of their clause, are discussed in Chapter 6 under the name V-stranding and verbal particle-stranding ellipsis.

8.2. The logical functions and types of fragmentary constituents

In this section, we exemplify the type of constituents that can be used in fragments when it comes to their logical function. We will show that fragments always correspond to left peripheral constituents (foci, quantifiers and contrastive topics),

and certain types require focal parallelism with their antecedent. In our exemplification of the various fragments, we also illustrate fragments in distinct sentence types: fragments that serve as an answer to an interrogative clause, a response to a declarative clause or a question about a previously mentioned declarative sentence, to illustrate the most frequent types only. The patterns identified below can also be found in other sentence types as well, such as in imperatives or exclamatives.

8.2.1. *Focal and quantificational fragments*

Fragments answering to *wh*-questions can be instantiated by left peripheral constituents such as a focus (616B1) or a universal quantifier (617B1). The left peripheral nature of these constituents is evidenced by the fact that the non-elliptical version of these fragments (illustrated in the B2 examples) would contain the same items before the verb. Despite this observation, we refrain from marking focal fragments with small caps, and will mark fragments in standard letter type throughout.

(616)   A: Ki   úszik   a   tóban?
            who   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
            'Who is swimming in the lake?'

        B1: Peti.
            Peti
            'Peti.' (i.e. 'Peti is swimming in the lake.')

        B2: Peti úszik   a   tóban.
            Peti swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
            'Peti is swimming in the lake.'

(617)   A: Hányan mentek   be   a   tóba?
            how.many go.Past.3Pl Prt the lake.Ill
            'How many of them entered the lake?'

        B1: Mindenki.
            everyone
            'Everyone.' (i.e. 'Everyone entered the lake.')

        B2: Mindenki bement   a   tóba.
            everyone   Prt.go.Past.3Sg the lake.Ill
            'Everyone entered the lake.'

Next to their propositional semantics, the clausal nature of these fragments is also evident from the fact that they can correspond to linguistic constituents that depend on other material in the same clause for their interpretation and syntactic licensing, such as anaphors that need to be bound by other nominals. The availability of anaphoric fragments provides strong indication that in some underlying representation, fragments correspond to fully clausal structures that contain the binders of the anaphors (see Merchant 2004 for a particular theory of this type).

(618)   A: Kit   hibáztatott   Laci?
                  who.Acc   blame.Past.3Sg Laci
                  'Who did Laci blame?'

             B: Saját magát.
                  own   self.Acc
                  'Himself.' (i.e. 'He blamed himself.')

Se-pronouns, which function as negative quantifiers and which need the presence of clause-mate negation particle *sem* (or *se*) in non-elliptical clauses for being well-formed, can also function as fragments, and in some cases (mostly in the case of adjuncts) they can occur on their own without being followed by sentential negation. In (619B1), the fragment occurs without the negative element. The well-formedness of (619B1) again demonstrates that fragments represent a clausal category in which clausal negation is present at some level of representation.

(619)   A: Hova mentek nyaralni?
                  where   go.2Pl   go.on.holiday.Inf
                  'Where do you go on holiday?'

             B1: Sehova.
                  nowhere
                  'Nowhere.' (i.e. 'We do not go anywhere on holiday.')

             B2: Sehova sem megyünk nyaralni.
                  nowhere   not   go.1Pl   go.on.holiday.Inf
                  'We do not go anywhere on holiday.'

After illustrating question-answer pairs with fragmentary answers, we move on to illustrate another type of fragments, which will be termed a *(contrastive) focal* fragment. The prototypical case is used to indicate *contrast* with respect to a left peripheral focus in the antecedent. The expression of contrast usually takes the form of correction that applies to the focal correlate (cf. Lipták 2020):

(620)   A: MISI úszik   a   tóban?
                  Misi   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
                  'Is Misi who is swimming in the lake?'

             B1: Nem, PETI.
                  no   Peti
                  'No, Peti.' (i.e. It is Peti who is swimming in the lake.')

             B2: Nem, PETI úszik   a   tóban.
                  no   Peti   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
                  'No, it is Peti who is swimming in the lake.'

(621)   A: HÁRMAN mentek be a   tóba?
                  three.Adv   go.Past.3Pl Prt the lake.Ill
                  'Did three of them enter the lake?'

B1: Nem, MINDENKI.

    no   everyone

    'No, everyone.' (i.e. 'No, everyone entered the lake.')

B2: Nem, MINDENKI bement   a   tóba.

    no   everyone   Prt.enter.Past.3Sg the lake. Ill

    'No, everyone entered the lake.'

(Contrastive) focal fragments form a special category of fragments in that they must have an antecedent which contains a constituent in a syntactic position/logical function parallel to theirs, namely a focused *correlate* in preverbal position. The following examples show that lack of such a preverbal correlate leads to ill-formedness (622B1): if the contrastive fragment has a postverbal correlate, the fragment is degraded. It is important to note that the need for a correlate is a property of fragments only and thus exemplifies a case of ellipsis parallelism: the non-elliptical full clause equivalent (622B2) does not have this requirement. The preverbal focus constituent in (622B2) can refer back to a postverbal constituent in the previous clause.

(622)   A: Bement   Peti a tóba.

                Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti   the lake.Ill

                'Peti entered the lake.'

        B1: ??Nem, MISI.

               no   Misi

               'No, Misi.' (i.e. 'It was Misi who entered the lake.')

        B2: Nem, MISI ment   be a tóba.

              no   Misi   entered.Past.3Sg Prt the lake.Ill

              'No, it was Misi who entered the lake.'

The need for a preverbal focus correlate can only be exceptionally bypassed by contrastive fragments that respond to the linearly last constituent in the antecedent (cf. (623)). In this case the fragment uttered by speaker B represents immediate corrections of the last constituent uttered by speaker A.

(623)   A: Bement   a   tóba Peti.

                Prt.go.Past.3Sg the lake.Ill Peti

                'Peti entered the lake.'

        B: Nem, Misi.

            no   Misi

            'No, Misi.' (i.e. 'Misi entered the lake.')

Fragments correcting final constituents are thus similar to fragments that break up an utterance by inserting a correction in it:

(624)   A: Bement   Peti....

                Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti

                'Peti entered...'

> B: Nem, Misi!
>
> no Misi
>
> 'No, Misi.'

> A: …a tóba.
>
> ....the lake.Ill
>
> '... the lake.'

The requirement of a preverbal focus correlate also explains why single (contrastive) focal fragments cannot refer back to a postverbal constituent even in cases where that constituent is focal in nature. In cases of multiple focus constructions, like (625A), one focal item is preverbal and another one is postverbal. Against this background, a single focal fragment can only correct for the preverbal focus item, not the postverbal one:

(625)   A: Csak AZ ELSŐSÖK   vizsgáztak   csak EGY TÁRGYBÓL

only   the first.year.student.Pl exam.take.Past.3Pl only one   subject.Sub

idén   a   tanszéken.

this.year the department.Sup

'Only the first-year students were such that they have taken an exam from one subject only this year in our department.'

   B1: Nem, csak A   MÁSODIKOSOK.

no   only the second.year.student.Pl

'No, only the second-year students.'

   B2: *Nem, csak KÉT TÁRGYBÓL.

no   only   two subject.Sub

'No, only from two subjects.'

Next to (contrastive) focal fragments that express contrast/correction with respect to an antecedent, fragments with identical structural properties can also express affirmation of the antecedent proposition with the given focal item being the exhaustive focus of the clause. In this case, too, the fragment is only well-formed if in the antecedent there is a preverbal focus correlate. The antecedent can be either a polar question or a statement; we illustrate the former in (626), the latter in (627).

(626)   A: MISI úszik   a   tóban?

Misi   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine

'Is it Misi who is swimming in the lake?'

   B1: Igen, MISI.

yes   Misi

'Yes, Misi.' (i.e. 'It is Misi who is swimming in the lake.')

   B2: Igen, MISI úszik   a   tóban.

yes   Misi   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine

'Yes, it is Misi who is swimming in the lake.'

(627)   A: MINDENKI bement   a   tóba.
            everyone   Prt.go.Past.3Sg the lake.Ill
            'Everyone entered the lake.'

        B1: Igen, MINDENKI.
            yes   everyone
            'Yes, everyone.' (i.e. 'Everyone entered the lake.')

        B2: Igen, MINDENKI bement   a   tóba.
            yes   everyone   Prt.go.Past.3Sg the lake. Ill
            'Yes, everyone entered the lake.'

Since these types of fragments share the need for parallelism with truly contrastive fragments, as (628) indicates due to the lack of emphasis on the subject, we classify this type as a case of (contrastive) focal fragments as well, despite the fact that it is not contrast but affirmation that gets expressed by them.

(628)   A: Bement   Peti a   tóba.
            Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti the lake.Ill
            'Peti entered the lake.'

        B: ??Igen, Peti.
            yes   Peti
            'Yes, Peti.' (i.e. 'Peti entered the lake.')

8.2.2. Stripping and contrastive topic fragments

Next to the above mentioned fragment types, Hungarian also has fragments accompanied by the particles *is/sem* 'also/neither'. This type is usually referred to as stripping in the generative literature on English and other languages. *Is*-phrases are left peripheral in Hungarian and occur to the left of quantifiers and focus. Even though *is/sem* and the phrase preceding them do not form a syntactic constituent (Bródy 1990), we exemplify these phrases in this chapter on fragments as they present a nice contrast with (contrastive) focal remnants with respect to parallelism. *Is*-phrases do not show parallelism, they have no restrictions with respect to the type of their correlate: they can have a preverbal focal correlate (629) or a postverbal non-focal one (630).

(629)   A: PETI ment   be a   tóba?
            Peti   go.Past.3Sg Prt the lake.Ill
            'Was it Peti who entered the lake?'

        B1: Nem, Misi is.
            no   Misi also
            Lit. 'No, Misi too.' (i.e. 'Misi also entered the lake.')

        B2: Nem, Misi is bement   a   tóba.
            no   Misi also Prt.go.Past.3Sg the lake.Ill
            'No, Misi also entered the lake.'

(630) A: Bement   Peti a   tóba.
           Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti the lake.Ill
           'Peti entered the lake.'

       B1: Misi is.
            Misi   also
            'Misi too.' (i.e. 'Misi also entered the lake.')

       B2: Misi is bement   a   tóba.
            Misi   also Prt.go.Past.3Sg the lake.Ill
            'Misi also entered the lake.'

The *is*-phrase can also have a negative equivalent, in which the particle is *sem*, the negative version of *is*:

(631) A: Nem ment   be Peti a   tóba.
           not   go.Past.3Sg Prt Peti the lake.Ill
           'Peti did not enter the lake.'

       B1: Misi sem.
            Misi   also.not
            'Misi neither.' (i.e. 'Misi did not enter the lake either.')

       B2: Misi sem   ment   be a   tóba.
            Misi   also.not go.Past.3Sg Prt the lake.Ill
            'Misi did not enter the lake either.'

Concerning the highest layer of the Hungarian left periphery, containing topics and contrastive topics, only the latter can form fragments. Contrastive topic fragments are allowed under strict conditions only: if the fragment is constituted by a pronoun. The fragment furthermore must be interpreted as a question, in which the question variable ranges over the same variable as the one being bound by the focal item in the antecedent. Lastly, the contrastive topic fragment must have an overt contrastive topic correlate (in the following examples the pronoun *én*), see the oddness of (632c), where the antecedent has a covert subject. The need for an overt contrastive correlate is a case of ellipsis parallelism, as the non-elliptical version of the same construction is well-formed without it (cf. (632d)).

(632) a. Én EZER   métert úsztam.   Te?
           I   thousand   metre.Acc swim.Past.1Sg you
           'I have swum a thousand metres. You?' (i.e. 'How many metres have you swum?')

      b. Én már   úsztam.   Te?
          I   already swim.Past.1Sg   ou
          'I have swum already. You? (Have you swum yet?)'

      c. Képzeld,   EZER   métert úsztam!   *Te?
          imagine.Subj.2Sg thousand   metre.Acc swim.Past.1Sg you
          'Imagine, I have swum a thousand metres. You? (How many metres have you swum?)'

      d. Képzeld,   EZER   métert úsztam!   Te mennyit   úsztál?
          imagine.Subj.2Sg thousand   metre.Acc swim.Past.1Sg you how.much.Acc swim.Past.2Sg
          'Imagine, I have swum a thousand metres. How many metres have you swum?'

If the fragment is non-pronominal, the contrastive topic cannot be used on its own. Rather, it must be introduced by a coordinator (the same coordinator can also optionally precede pronominal fragments in the examples in (632) as well).

(633) Én már úsztam. *(És) Peti?
     I already swim.Past.1Sg and Peti
     'I have swum already. And Peti? (Has Peti swum yet?)'

In specific contexts, such as when someone is offering food or drinks to others, contrastive topics can also serve as fragments, with a propositional meaning expressing a polar question (Varga 2002). These kinds of instances do not have a linguistic antecedent. The fragment in (634a) is plausibly the reduced form of (634b).

(634) a. Kávét?
      coffee.Acc
      'Would you like coffee?'

     b. Kávét kérsz?
        coffee.Acc like.2Sg
        'Would you like coffee?'

Finally, contrastive topics can also be uttered in combination with a negative (or positive) particle in elliptical utterances, cf. (635)–(636). We do not discuss these cases in the rest of this chapter, as topic and negation do not form a constituent, and in addition, these cases of ellipsis are discussed in the chapter dealing with predicate ellipsis (see Chapter 6).

(635) A: Ki úszik a tóban?
        who swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
        'Who is swimming in the lake?'

     B1: Peti nem.
         Peti not
         'Peti, not.' (i.e. 'As far as Peti is concerned, he is not swimming in the lake.')

     B2: Peti nem úszik a tóban.
         Peti not swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
         'As far as Peti is concerned, he is not swimming in the lake.'

(636) A: Bement Peti a tóba.
        Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti the lake.Ill
        'Peti entered the lake.'

     B1: De Misi nem.
         but Misi not
         'But Misi did not.' (i.e. 'Misi did not enter the lake.')

     B2: De Misi nem ment be a tóba.
         but Misi not go.Past.3Sg Prt the lake.Ill
         'But Misi did not enter the lake.'

8.2.3. Echo fragments

Fragments that repeat a constituent of their antecedent can be used with an echo question interpretation. When the constituent of the antecedent clause they repeat is a preverbal focus, two interpretations are possible for the fragment. It can be understood as a polar question about the focal proposition in the antecedent (as in (626B1)), or it can be understood as an echo question in which the listener is checking whether he understood a constituent correctly or indicates surprise about this constituent.

(637) A: MISI úszik   a   tóban.
      Misi   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
      'It is Misi who is swimming in the lake.'

   B: Misi?
      'Misi?'
      i. 'Is it Misi who is swimming in the lake (and not someone else)?'

      ii. 'Did you say *Misi*?' / 'Misi of all people? I am surprised!' (echo question interpretation)

(638) A: Bement   Peti a   tóba.
      Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti the lake.Ill
      'Peti entered the lake.'

   B: Peti?
      i. *'Is it Peti who entered in the lake (and not someone else)?'

      ii. 'Did you say *Peti*?' / 'Peti of all people? I am surprised!' (echo question interpretation)

As (638) shows, echo fragments do not need a focal correlate. They can respond to any constituent in the antecedent. In fragments with an *is*-phrase the polar question meaning is predominant, the echo interpretation about the nominal is difficult to get. The echo interpretation is available with a bare, *is*-less version nevertheless (639B2).

(639) A: Bement   Peti is a   tóba.
      Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti also the lake.Ill
      'Peti also entered the lake.'

   B1: Peti is?
      i. 'Was it the case that Peti also entered the lake?'
      ii. ?*'Did you say *Peti*?' / 'Peti of all people? I am surprised!'(echo question interpretation)

   B2: Peti?
      'Did you say *Peti*?' / 'Peti of all people? I am surprised!'(echo question interpretation)

8.3. Embedded and layered fragments

In this section we turn to the external distribution of fragments, focusing primarily on the question whether fragments can be embedded. In all examples above, we have illustrated matrix fragments only, which furthermore responded to an utterance by another speaker. Neither of these properties are necessary properties of fragments in Hungarian.

First, fragments need not only respond to a linguistic item across a discourse turn by a different speaker. They can also be used by the same speaker who utters the antecedent. These types of fragments represent instances of self-correction or afterthoughts. When it comes to syntactic properties, their behaviour is fully identical to fragments whose antecedent is in a distinct discourse turn.

(640) a. A: MISI úszik   a   tóban. Nem, PETI.
          Misi   swim3Sg the lake.Ine no   Peti
          'It is Misi who is swimming in the lake. No, Peti.' (i.e. 'Peti is swimming in the lake.')

     b. A: Úszik   Misi a   tóban. Peti is.
          swim.3Sg Misi the lake.Ine Peti   also
          'Misi is swimming in the lake. Peti too.'

Concerning their syntactic environments, fragments can represent embedded or unembedded clauses. They can be embedded by various predicates that embed finite argumental clauses, factive and non-factive, bridge verb and non-bridge verb alike. The embedded status of the fragments is indicated in the following examples by the fact that they can be preceded by a complementizer:

(641)   A: Ki úszik   a   tóban?
          who swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
          'Who is swimming in the lake?'

        B: {Azt   hiszem / remélem / Bea azt   állítja} (hogy) Peti.
          that.Acc believe.1Sg hope.1Sg   Bea that.Acc claim.3Sg Compl Peti
          lit. 'I believe / I hope / Bea claims that Peti.' (i.e. 'that Peti is swimming in the lake').

(642)   A: MISI úszik   a   tóban?
          Misi   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
          'Is it Misi who is swimming in the lake?'

        B: Nem, {attól   tartok / a vak is látja}, (hogy) PETI.
          no   that.Abl fear.1Sg the blind also see.3Sg   Compl Peti
          lit. 'No, {I fear / even the blind can see} that Peti.' (i.e. 'that Peti is swimming in the lake.')

Stripping-type fragments, i.e. fragments featuring *is*-phrases, can also be embedded under predicates selecting finite argumental clauses.

(643)   A: Bement   Peti a   tóba.
          Prt.go.Past.3Sg Peti   the lake.Ill
          'Peti entered the lake.'

        B: {Úgy tűnik / a lányok most jelentették / lefogadom}, hogy Misi is.
          so   seem.1Sg the girl.Pl now report.Past.3Pl Prt.bet.1Sg   Compl Misi also
          '{It seems / the girls have just reported / I bet} Misi, too.'

Fragments with a focal correlate can also be embedded in the protasis of conditionals:

(644)   A: Ki   úszik   a   tóban?
          who swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
          'Who is swimming in the lake?'

          B: Ha Peti, akkor mérges leszek.
          if Peti then angry be.Fut.1Sg
          lit. 'If Peti, (i.e. if Peti is swimming in the lake), I will be angry.'

(645)   A: PETI úszik   a   tóban?
          Peti swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
          'Is it Peti who is swimming in the lake?'

          B: Ha Peti, akkor mérges leszek.
          if Peti then angry be.Fut.1Sg
          lit. 'If Peti, (i.e. if Peti is swimming in the lake), I will be angry.'

Fragments with non-focal correlates are degraded in the protasis of conditionals:

(646)   A: Bement   Misi a   tóba.
          Prt.go.Past.3Sg Misi the lake.Ill
          'Misi entered the lake.'

          B: ?Ha Peti is, akkor mérges leszek.
           if Peti also then angry be.Fut.1Sg
           lit. 'If Peti too, (i.e. if Peti also entered the lake), I will be angry.'

Finally, we turn to cases of fragments where there is obligatory parallelism between the fragment and its correlate, and the correlate is found in embedded position. These contexts need to be discussed separately, as in these contexts fragments often correspond to complex structures in which the contrastive material cannot be pronounced on its own, only in combination with other material. These instances will be called *layered* fragments.

      The first configuration to discuss contains the correlate inside a finite embedded clause under a bridge verb, i.e. predicates that allow for movement out of their complement, such as *hall* 'hear', *mond* 'say', *gondol* 'think' to name only a few. In these cases of (contrastive) focal fragments, the antecedent is only well-formed if the embedded clause containing the correlate is marked for focus. Focal marking of the embedded clause is done by focusing the sentential pronoun (expletive) associated with the clause (cf. (647A)). In these cases, the majority of the speakers can give a short answer of the sort that contains only the contrastive fragment in (647B). A minority of the speakers consulted in Lipták (2011) disallowed such short fragments.

(647)   A: AZT   hallottad, hogy MISI úszik   a   tóban?
          that.Acc hear.Past.2Sg Compl Misi swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
          'Was what you heard that it was Misi who was swimming in the lake?'

          B: Nem, PETI.
          no   Peti
          lit. 'No, Peti (i.e. that it was Peti who was swimming there).'

What all speakers find grammatical in this case are fragments that are formed by retaining the sentential focused expletive in the matrix clause, followed by the embedded clause with the contrastive constituent in it, optionally eliding the embedded predicate (648B1). If the expletive is nominative or accusative, it can also undergo pro-drop. In this case, the fragment only contains the complementizer and the contrastive constituent in the embedded clause (648B2). Both of these structures correspond to *layered* fragments: a larger subconstituent of the matrix clause (i.e. a fragment of the matrix clause) contains an embedded clause with the contrastive lexical constituent inside it. The matrix predicate, as well as the embedded one is optionally pronounced, as is indicated by (648B1–B3).

(648)   A: AZT   hallottad,   hogy MISI úszik   a tóban?
                that.Acc hear.Past.2Sg Compl Misi   swim.3Sg the lake.Ine
                'Was what you heard that it iwa Misi who was swimming in the lake?'

        B1: Nem, AZT,   hogy PETI (úszik   ott).
                no   that.Acc Compl Peti   swim.3Sg there
                'No, what I heard was that Peti was swimming there.'

        B2: Nem, hogy PETI (úszik   ott).
                no   Compl Peti   swim.3Sg there

        B3: Nem, AZT   hallottam, hogy PETI (úszik   ott).
                no   that.Acc hear.Past.1Sg Compl Peti   swim.3Sg there

In configurations that differ from (648) in that the embedded domain is an island (disallowing movement out of it), a very similar pattern obtains, except that the short fragment pattern is unavailable to all speakers of Hungarian. To illustrate, consider the following examples. First of all, if the antecedent contains the correlate embedded in an island, the "head" of the island needs to be focused, in addition to focusing the embedded correlate. Such heads can be a sentential expletive (649) associated with an embedded clause or the nominal head of a relative clause (650), to give two examples. The elliptical possibilities inside the matrix and embedded clauses are indicated by brackets again. Importantly, in these configurations, short fragments, lacking overt material signalling the presence of the embedding domain, are ungrammatical for all speakers.

(649)   A: Pétert AZ bántja,   hogy KÓLÁT ittál?
                Péter.Acc that bother.3Sg Compl coke.Acc drink.Past.2Sg
                'What bothers Péter is that you drank a coke?'

        B1: Nem, (AZ (bántja)), hogy SÖRT   (ittam).
                no   that bother.3Sg Compl beer.Acc drink.Past.1Sg
                'No, what bothers him is that I drank beer.'

        B2: *Nem, SÖRT   (ittam).
                 no   beer.Acc drink.Past.1Sg

(650) A: AZT A DIÁKOT vették fel, aki PÉCSEN tanult?
       that.Acc the student.Acc hire.Past.3Pl Prt who Pécs.Sup study.Past.3Sg

       'Did they hire the student who studied in Pécs?'

   B1: Nem, (AZT (A DIÁKOT (vették fel))), aki PESTEN
       no   that.Acc the student.Acc hire.Past.3Pl Prt   who Pest.Sup

       (tanult).
         study.Past.3Sg

       'No, the one who studied in Budapest.'

   B2: *Nem, PESTEN (tanult).
       no   Pest.Sup study.Past.3Sg

8.4. Case connectivity in fragments

Fragments expressing arguments must appear with the same morphological case as
their correlate (see Merchant 2004 on English in this respect). This case restriction
holds for (contrastive) focal and non-contrastive fragments alike.

(651) A: Félix beszélgetett Mikivel.
       Félix talk.Past.3Sg Miki.Ins

       'Félix was talking to Miki.'

   B: Mónival is. / Nem, Misivel. / Igen, Mikivel.
       Móni.Ins also / no Misi.Ins yes Miki.Ins

       'With Móni, too'. / 'No, with Misi'. / 'Yes, with Miki.'

Nominative remnants are ruled out when corresponding to non-nominative correlates,
cf. (652). This shows that the fragment is not derived from a cleft-type construction,
illustrated in (652B2), which is also a well-formed response to the antecedent
utterance.

(652) A: Félix egy KUTYÁT sétáltatott.
       Félix a dog.Acc walk.Past.3Sg

       'It was a dog that Félix was walking.'

   B1: *Nem, egy GÖRÉNY.
       no a ferret.Nom

       'No, a ferret.'

   B2: Nem, egy GÖRÉNY volt az.
       no a ferret.Nom was that

       'No, that was a ferret.'

Case-identity of fragment and correlate is also required in cases where two distinct
case markers (case suffixes or postpositions) are available for the expression of one
and the same thematic relation. Consider the equivalency of the dative *-nak/nek*
ending and the postposition *számára*, which can both synonymously mark the
experiencer argument of the verb *jelent* 'mean to someone', cf. (653). (654)–(655)
illustrate that a mismatch between fragment and correlate is not allowed, only
identical case markers are tolerated.

(653)   {Félixnek / Félix számára} sokat   jelentett   Móni.
      Félix.Dat   Félix for   much.Acc mean.Past.3Sg Móni.Nom
      'Móni meant a lot to Félix.'

(654)   A: Félixnek sokat   jelentett   Móni.
        Félix.Dat   much.Acc mean.Past.3Sg Móni.Nom
        'Móni meant a lot to Félix.'

      B1: Misinek is.
        Misi.Dat   also
        'To Misi, too.'

      B2: *Misi számára is.
        Misi for   too

(655)   A: Félix számára sokat   jelentett   Móni.
        Félix for   much.Acc mean.Past.3Sg Móni.Nom
        'Móni meant a lot to Félix.'

      B1: Misi számára is.
        Misi for   too
        'To Misi, too.'

      B2: ?*Misinek is.
        Misi.Dat   also

The case matching requirement is not operative, however, with adjunct material and in the case of constituents (arguments or adjuncts) in which the choice of the case is solely dependent on the lexical content of the nominal head.

      The latter case is illustrated by the marking of location and direction on place denoting entities. In Hungarian, adpositional marking of names of human settlements and certain nominals like *város* 'city', *falu* 'village', etc. is lexically determined by the noun in question. For the marking of location, for example, either superessive or inessive case can be used, cf. (656), the choice depending on the lexical content of the nominal. Note that the location itself is an argument of the verb.

(656)   Peti {Pesten   /   Debrecenben / falun   /   nagy városban} lakik.
      Peti   Budapest.Sup Debrecen.Ine   village.Sup big   city.Ine   live.3Sg
      'Peti lives in Budapest / Debrecen / a village / a big city.'

Fragments expressing location can show up in a case different from their correlate, if the nominal in the fragment and the nominal in the correlate happen to select different cases:

(657)   A: Peti PESTEN   lakik?
        Peti   Budapest.Sup live.3Sg
        'Does Peti live in Budapest?'

      B: Nem, Debrecenben.
        no   Debrecen.Ine
        'No, in Debrecen.'

(658)   A: VÁROSBAN laktok?
        city.Ine   live.2Pl
        'Do you live in a city?'

      B: Nem, falun.
        no   village.Sup
        'No, in a village.'

Case matching is not required in the case of adjuncts, either, as long as the fragment and its correlate express the same kind of thematic relation. Adessive can be exchanged for inessive, for example, in (659) and modal-essive can be changed for instrumental in (660):

(659)   A: A KONYHASZTALNÁL ette   meg Levi a   vacsorát?
        the kitchen.table.Ade   eat.Past.3Sg Prt Levi the dinner.Acc
        'Did Levi eat the dinner at the kitchen table?'

      B: Nem, a   szobában.
        no   the room.Ine
        'No, in the room.'

(660)   A: ÜRESEN ette   meg Levi a   zsemlét?
        empty.Adv eat.Past.3Sg Prt Levi the bun.Acc
        'Did Levi eat the bun empty?'

      B: Nem, sajttal.
        no   cheese.Ins
        'No, with cheese.'

8.5. Multiple fragments

Similarly to the existence of multiple sluicing, where two independent constituents survive ellipsis of a clause, Hungarian also allows for multiple fragments. These fragments are necessarily adjacent to each other (since there is no other element in their clause), while in their antecedent the correlates are in many cases in non-adjacent positions, as the following examples will illustrate.

      Multiple fragments can be found as answers to multiple *wh*-questions of either the pair list (cf. (661)) or the single pair (cf. (662)) variety. The multiple fragments necessarily keep the order of the *wh*-phrases in the antecedent:

(661)   A: Ki kinek   hagyott   üzenetet?
        who who.Dat   leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc
        'Who left a message for whom?' ('Everyone left a message for someone. I wonder who
        each person left a message for.')

      B: Peti Beának, Misi az apjának.
        Peti Bea.Dat Misi   the father.Poss3Sg.Dat
        'Peti for Bea, Misi for his father.'

(662) A: Ki hagyott   kinek üzenetet?
　　　　　who leave.Past.3Sg who.Dat message.Acc
　　　　　'Who left a message for whom?' ('Someone left a message for someone. I wonder who they
　　　　　were.')

　　　　B: Peti Beának.
　　　　　Peti Bea.Dat
　　　　　'Peti for Bea.'

In a similar way, multiple fragments can also be of the (contrastive) focal type, requiring multiple focal correlates, as in the following example. As the acceptable and non-acceptable answers in (663) show, correction has to apply to both focus correlates at the same time. Correcting one and affirming the other is impossible. Finally, (663B5) shows that the focus correlates can be individually corrected when preceded by a negative particle each and separated from each other by a pause.

(663) A: PETI hagyott   MARINAK üzenetet?
　　　　　Peti leave.Past.3Sg Mari.Dat   message.Acc
　　　　　'Was it Peti who left a message for Mari?'

　　　　B1: Nem, Misi az apjának.
　　　　　no   Misi   the father.Poss3Sg.Dat
　　　　　'No, Misi for his father.'

　　　　B2: Igen, Peti Marinak.
　　　　　yes   Peti Mari.Dat
　　　　　'Yes, Peti for Mari.'

　　　　B3: *Nem, Misi Marinak.
　　　　　no   Misi   Mari.Dat
　　　　　'No, Misi for Mari.'

　　　　B4: *Nem, Peti Beának.
　　　　　no   Peti Bea.Dat
　　　　　'No, Peti for Bea.'

　　　　B5: Nem, Misi; nem, Beának.
　　　　　no   Misi   no   Bea.Dat

Multiple fragments can also be a combination of a contrastive topic constituent followed by a fragment that has a *wh-* or a focus correlate, as seen in (664B1). The contrastive focus phrase need not necessarily be a new linguistic item, it can repeat a phrase in its antecedent (664B2):

(664) A: Ki hagyott   üzenetet a lányoknak?
　　　　　who leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc the girl.Pl.Dat
　　　　　'Who left a message for the girls?'

　　　　B1: Beának Misi.
　　　　　Bea.Dat Misi
　　　　　'As far as Bea is concerned, it was Misi.'

> B2: A lányoknak Misi.
>> the girl.Pl.Dat   Misi
>> 'As far as the girls are concerned, it was Misi.'

(665)   A: A lányoknak ki   hagyott   üzenetet?
>> the girl.Pl.Dat   who leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc
>> 'When it comes to the girls, who left a message for them?'

> B: A lányoknak Misi.
>> the girl.Pl.Dat   Misi
>> 'As far as the girls are concerned, it was Misi.'

A contrastive topic with a non-focal correlate, however, cannot be followed by an *is*-phrase:

(666)   A: Peti üzenetet   hagyott   a   lányoknak.
>> Peti message.Acc leave.Past.3Sg the girl.Pl.Dat
>> 'Peti left a message for the girls.'

> B1: ?*Beának Misi is.
>> Bea.Dat Misi also
>> lit. 'As far as Bea is concerned, Misi, too.'

> B2: *(Nem), a   lányoknak Misi is.
>> no   the girl.Pl.Dat Misi   also
>> lit. 'No, as far as the girls are concerned, Misi, too.'

If the *is*-phrase has a contrastive correlate, the fragments are well-formed. This shows that multiple fragments containing a contrastive topic and another phrase necessarily contain a (contrastive) focal second fragment, which needs a preverbal focal correlate due to parallelism.

(667)   A: PETI hagyott   üzenetet a   lányoknak.
>> Peti   leave.Past.3Sg message.Acc the girl.Pl.Dat
>> 'It was Peti who left a message for the girls.'

> B1: Beának Misi is.
>> Bea.Dat   Misi also
>> lit. 'As far as Bea is concerned, Misi, too.'

> B2: (Nem), a lányoknak Misi is.
>> no   the girl.Pl.Dat Misi also
>> lit. 'No, as far as the girls are concerned, Misi, too.'

Finally, an *is*-phrase can also be first remnant in multiple fragments. The second remnant in this case is not an instance of a (contrastive) focal fragment but must be a new linguistic item compared to the antecedent.

(668)   A: Peti hagyott   egy üzenetet Marinak.
>> Peti leave.Past.3Sg a   message.Acc Mari.Dat
>> 'Peti left a message for Mari.'

B1: Misi is Beának.
    Misi   too Bea.Dat
    'Misi, too, for Bea.'

B2: *Misi is Marinak.
     Misi   too Mari.Dat
     'Misi, too, for Mari.'

Lastly, we can observe that echo questions cannot form multiple fragments. When more than one constituent is echoed in a question, these constituents are repeated in separate intonational phrases, i.e. we are dealing with juxtaposed single echo fragments in (669B2):

(669)   A: Bement   Peti is a   tóba.
            Prt.go.Past.3Sg   Peti also the lake.Ill
            'Peti also entered the lake.'

         B1: *Peti a   tóba?
              Peti the lake.Ill
              'Did you say *Peti in the lake*?' (echo interpretation)

         B2: Peti? A tóba?
             Peti   the lake.Ill
             'Did you say *Peti*? Did you say *in the lake*?' (echo interpretation)

Concerning embeddability (Section 8.3.) and case connectivity (Section 8.4.), multiple fragments have the same restrictions as single fragments.

8.6. Summary

Fragments are elliptical clauses that are functionally equivalent to entire propositions, yet they only contain a single overt subconstituent of a clause, typically non-verbal in category. The most typical case of fragments with a linguistic antecedent are answers to constituent questions. Fragments that represent propositional content have a linguistic antecedent. As it was shown, the grammaticality of many fragments of this type depend not only on the presence but also on the specific form of the antecedent, which make it necessary in these cases to discuss fragment and antecedent together.

Fragments answering to *wh*-questions can be instantiated by left peripheral constituents such as a focus or a universal quantifier. Contrastive topic fragments are allowed under strict conditions only: if the fragment is constituted by a pronoun.

Fragments can also be used by the same speaker who utters the antecedent. These types of fragments represent instances of self-correction or afterthoughts. When it comes to syntactic properties, their behaviour is fully identical to fragments whose antecedent is in a distinct discourse turn.

Concerning their syntactic environments, fragments can represent embedded or unembedded clauses. They can be embedded by various predicates that embed finite argumental clauses, factive and non-factive, bridge verb and non-bridge verb alike.

Fragments expressing arguments must appear with the same morphological case as their correlate. This case restriction holds for (contrastive) focal and non-contrastive fragments alike.

Hungarian allows for multiple fragments. These are necessarily adjacent to each other (since there is no other element in their clause), while in their antecedent the correlates are in many cases in non-adjacent positions.

8.7. Bibliographical notes

Fragments, both sentential and non-sentential types, are an understudied phenomenon in Hungarian, similarly to many other languages. A dedicated study of Hungarian fragments in the generative tradition is Lipták (2011). Some properties of multiple fragments in Hungarian are mentioned in van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2013). Information about the behaviour of fragments in syntactic islands can be found in Lipták and Zimmermann (2007) and Griffiths and Lipták (2014). Contrastive topic fragments are mentioned in Den Dikken and Surányi (2017). A study of the prosodic properties of Hungarian fragment-type constituents is found in Varga (2002).

Subject index

References

Abeillé, Anne. 2005. Les syntagmes conjoints et leurs fonctions syntaxiques. *Langages* 160 (4): 42–66.

Alberti, Gábor and Anna Medve. 2000. Focus constructions and the "scope–inversion puzzle" in Hungarian. In Approaches to Hungarian 7, ed. István Kenesei and Gábor Alberti, 93–117. Szeged: SZTE.

Bánréti, Zoltán. 1992. A mellérendelés [Coordination]. In *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan 1. Mondattan* [A structural grammar of Hungarian. 1. Syntax], ed. Ferenc Kiefer, 715–796. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Bánréti, Zoltán. 1994. Coordination. In *The syntactic structure of Hungarian* (Syntax and Semantics 27), ed. Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 355–414. New York: Academic Press.

Bánréti, Zoltán. 2001. Multiple lexical selection and parallelism in Hungarian VP-ellipsis. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 48: 25–58.

Bánréti, Zoltán. 2003a. Kötőszó és egyeztetés a mellérendelő szerkezetekben [Conjunctions and agreement in coordinate constructions]. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 100: 64–96.

Bánréti, Zoltán. 2003b. On the syntax of coordinate constructions. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 50: 265–340.

Bánréti, Zoltán. 2007. *A mellérendelés és az ellipszis nyelvtana a magyarban* [The grammar of coordination and ellipsis in Hungarian]. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó.

Bánréti, Zoltán. 2020. Disszociációk a magyar mellérendelő főnévi szerkezetek egyeztetési mintázataiban [Dissociations in the patterns of agreement with Hungarian noun phrases]. *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* 32: 33–54.

Bartos, Huba. 1999. *Morfoszintaxis és interpretáció: A magyar inflexiós jelenségek szintaktikai háttere.* [Morphosyntax and interpretation: The syntactic background of Hungarian inflectional phenomena]. Doctoral dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

Bartos, Huba. 2000a. VP-ellipsis and verbal inflection in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 47: 3–23.

Bartos, Huba. 2000b. Coordinate ellipsis as phonological non-insertion. In: *Papers on the mental lexicon*, ed. Huba Bartos, 41–67. Budapest: Research Institute for Linguistics.

Bartos, Huba. 2000c. Az inflexiós jelenségek szintaktikai háttere. [The syntatctic background of inflectional phenomena]. In *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan. 3. Morfológia.* [A structural grammar of Hungarian 3. Morphology], ed. Ferenc Kiefer, 653–761. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Bartos, Huba. 2001. Sound-form non-insertion and the direction of ellipsis. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 48: 3–24.

Bartos, Huba. 2009. The syntax of Hungarian -*va* adverbial pariticiples: a single affix with variable merge-in locations. In *Adverbs and adverbial adjuncts at the interfaces*, ed. Katalin É. Kiss, 75–102. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bîlbîie, Gabriela and Anna Gazdik. 2012. *Wh*-coordination in Hungarian and Romanian multiple questions. *Empirical Issues in Sytax and Semantics* 9: 19–36.

Bródy, Mihály. 1990. Some remarks on the focus field in Hungarian. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 2: 201–225.

Chaves, Rui Pedro and Denis Paperno. 2007. On the Russian Hybrid Coordination Construction. *Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on HPSG*, 46–64. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Chung, Sandra. 2013. Syntactic identity in sluicing: How much and why. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44: 1–44.

Citko, Barbara and Martina Gracanin-Yuksek. 2013. Towards a new typology of coordinated *wh*-questions. *Journal of Linguistics* 49: 1–32.

Comorovski, Ileana. 1996. *Interrogative phrases and the syntax-semantics interface*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Corver, Norbert, and Marjo van Koppen. 2009. Let's focus on noun phrase ellipsis. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen linguistik* 48: 3–26.

Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van and Anikó Lipták. 2006. The cross-linguistic syntax of sluicing: evidence from Hungarian relatives. *Syntax* 9: 248–274.

Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van and Anikó Lipták. 2008. On the interaction between verb movement and ellipsis: New evidence from Hungarian. *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 138–146.

Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van and Anikó Lipták. 2013. What sluicing can do, what it can't and in which language. In *Diagnosing syntax*, ed. Lisa Lai-Shen Cheng and Norbert Corver, 502–536. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

D. Mátai, Mária. 2003. Ómagyar kor. Szófajtörténet [Old Hungarian. The history of word classes]. In *Magyar nyelvtörténet* [The history of Hungarian], ed. Jenő Kiss and Ferenc Pusztai, 393–428. Budapest: Osiris.

Dayal, Veneeta. 2009. Variation in English free choice items. In *Universals and variation: Proceedings of GLOW in Asia VII,* ed. Rajat Mohanty and Mythili Menon. Hyderabad: The English and Foreign Languages Press.

Dékány, Éva. 2011. *A profile of the Hungarian DP. The interaction of lexicalization, agreement and linearization with the functional sequence*. Doctoral dissertation, Tromsø University.

Dékány, Éva. 2015. The syntax of anaphoric possessives in Hungarian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 33: 1121–1168.

Dékány, Éva. 2021. *The Hungarian nominal functional sequence* (Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 100). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Dékány, Éva and Csirmaz, Anikó. 2018. Numerals and quantifiers. In *Syntax of Hungarian: Nouns and noun phrases*, ed. Gábor Alberti and Tibor Laczkó, 1091–1135. (*Comprehensive Grammar Resources*. Series editors: Henk van Riemsdijk, István Kenesei, and Hans Broekhuis). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Dik, Simon C. 1968. *Coordination*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Dikken, Marcel den and Balázs Surányi. 2017. Contrasting contrastive left-dislocation explications. *Linguistic Inquiry* 48: 543–584.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 1992. A többszörös kérdésekről. [On multiple questions]. In *Könyv Papp Ferencnek* [In honour of Papp Ferenc], ed. László Hunyadi, Zsolt Lengyel, Kinga Klaudy and Gábor Székely, 79–90. Debrecen: KLTE.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 1993. *Wh*-movement and specificity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11: 85–120.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 2002. *The syntax of Hungarian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

É. Kiss, Katalin. 2012. Patterns of agreement with coordinate noun phrases in Hungarian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 30: 1027–1060. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-012-9178-0

Farkas, Donka F. 2009. Polarity particles in Hungarian. In *Approaches to Hungarian* 11, ed. Marcel den Dikken and Robert M. Vago, 95–118. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Farkas, Donka. F. 2020. *Canonical and non-canonical questions*. Manuscript. UCSC.

Farkas, Donka F. and Kim B. Bruce. 2010. On reacting to assertions and polar questions. *Journal of Semantics* 27: 81–118.

Farkas, F. Donka and Henriëtte E. de Swart. 2010. The semantics and pragmatics of plurals. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 3, 6: 1–54.

Farkas, Donka, F. and Draga Zec. 1995. Agreement and pronominal reference. In *Advances in Roumanian linguistics,* ed. Guglielmo Cinque and Giuliana Giusti, 83–101. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fiengo, Robert and Robert May. 1994. *Indices and identity*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press,

Fintel, Kai von. 2006. Modality and language. In Encyclopedia of philosophy, ed. Donald M. Borchert, 20–27. Detroit: Macmillan Reference.

Gazdik, Anna. 2011. *Multiple questions in French and in Hungarian: A Lexical-Functional analysis with special emphasis on the syntax-discourse interface.* Doctoral dissertation, Université Paris 7 and Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

Gervain, Judit. 2003. Syntactic microvariation and methodology: Problems and perspectives. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 50: 405–434.

Grebenyova, Lydia. 2007. Sluicing in Slavic. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 15: 49–80.

Goldberg, Lotus Madelyn. 2005. *Verb-stranding VP ellipsis: A cross-linguistic study*. Doctoral dissertation, McGill University.

Goodall, Grant. 1987. *Parallel structures in syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gracanin-Yuksek, Martina. 2007. *About sharing*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Gribanova, Vera. 2009. Structural adjacency and the typology of interrogative interpretations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40: 133–154.

Grice, Paul H. 1975. Logic and conversation. In *Syntax and semantics* 3, ed. Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan, 41–58. New York: Academic Press.

Griffiths, James and Anikó Lipták. 2014. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax* 17: 3, https://doi.org/10.1111/synt.12018

Grootveld, Marjan. 1992. On the representation of coordination. In: *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, ed. Reineke B. Bennema and Roeland van Hout, 61–73. Dordrecht: ICG Publications,

Gyuris, Beáta. 2001. Semantic licensing of VP ellipsis. *Acta Linguistica Hungaria* 48: 59–78.

Gyuris, Beáta. 2009. *The semantics and pragmatics of the contrastive topics in Hungarian*. Budapest: The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Lexica Ltd.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. In *Language typology and syntactic description*, ed. Timothy Shopen, 1–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511619434.001

Kálmán, László. 1985. Word order in neutral sentences; Word order in non-neutral sentences. In *Approaches to Hungarian* 1, ed. István Kenesei, 11–38. Szeged: JATE.

Kálmán, László. (ed.) 2001. *Mondattan* 1. [Syntax 1] Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó.

Kálmán, László and Viktor Trón. 2000. Értékek azonossága-e az egyeztetés? [Is agreement an identity of values?] In *A mai magyar nyelv leírásának újabb módszerei* 4. [New methods in the description of Hungarian 4], ed. László Büky and Márta Maleczki, 43–56. Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem.

Karttunen, Lauri and Stanley Peters. 1979. Conventional implicature. In *Presupposition* (Syntax and Semantics 11), ed. Choon-Kyu Oh and David A. Dinneen, 1–57. New York: Academic Press.

Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 25). Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Kazenin, Konstantin I. 2010. *On coordination of wh-phrases in Russian*. Ms. Universität Tübingen.

Kenesei, István. 1992. Az alárendelő mondatok [Subordinate clauses]. In *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan* I. *Mondattan.* [A structural grammar of Hungarian 1: Syntax], ed. Ferenc Kiefer, 529–713. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kenesei, István. 1994. Subordinate clauses. In *The syntactic structure of Hungarian* (Syntax and Semantics 27), ed. Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 275–354. San Diego/New York: Academic Press.

Kenesei, István. 2001. Criteria for auxiliaries in Hungarian. In *Argument structure in Hungarian*, ed. István Kenesei, 73–106. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kenesei, István. 2006. Focus as identification. In *The architecture of focus*, ed. Valéria Molnár and Susanne Winkler, 137–168. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kenesei, István. 2007. Semiwords and affixoids: the territory between word and affix. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 54: 263–293.

Kenesei, István, Anna Fenyvesi and Robert M. Vago. 1998. *Hungarian*. London/New York: Routledge.

Kiefer, Ferenc. (ed.) 1992. *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan* I. *Mondattan*. [A structural grammar of Hungarian 1: Syntax] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kiefer, Ferenc. 2000. A szóösszetétel [Compounding]. In: *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan 3. Morfológia* [A structural grammar of Hungarian 3: Morphology], ed. Ferenc Kiefer, 519–567. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kiefer, Ferenc. 2007. *Jelentéselmélet* [Theory of meaning]. 2nd edition. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.

Klemm, Antal 1942. *Magyar történeti mondattan II.* [The history of Hungarian syntax II]. A Magyar Nyelvtudomány Kézikönyve 6. [The Handbook of Hungarian Linguistics 6]. Budapest.

Kliaschuk, Mikalai. 2008. L'interrogation coordonnée dans les langues slaves. In *Proccedings of the 2007 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association.*

Komlósy, András. 1992. Régensek és vonzatok. [Complements and adjuncts] In *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan* I. *Mondattan.* [A structural grammar of Hungarian 1: Syntax], ed. Ferenc Kiefer, 305–527. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Komlósy, András. 1994. Complements and adjuncts. In *The syntactic structure of Hungarian* (Syntax and Semantics 27), ed. Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 91–178. San Diego/New York: Academic Press.

Laczkó, Tibor. 2007. On elliptical noun phrases in Hungarian. In *Proceedings of the LFG07 Conference, University of Albany, State University of New York*, ed. Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, 323–342. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/LFG/12/lfg07.pdf

Laenzlinger, Christopher and Soare, Gabriela. 2006. Multiple *wh*-fronting in Romanian: A cartographic approach. *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* 1: 23–60.

Lambova, Mariana. 2003. On the interaction of multiple (non) *wh*-fronting and multiple topicalization in Bulgarian. *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*, 8: 127–142.

Larson, Robert. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 335–391.

Lehmann, Willfried. (ed.) 1981. *Syntactic typlogy: Studies in the phenomenology of language.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Lipták, Anikó. 2001. *On the syntax of* wh-*items in Hungarian*. Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University.

Lipták, Anikó. 2003. Conjoined questions in Hungarian. In: *Multiple wh-fronting*, ed. Cedric Boeckx and Kleanthes Grohmann, 141–160. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lipták, Anikó. 2011. A fragmentumok mondattana a magyarban [The syntax of fragments in Hungarian]. *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* 23: 317–349.

Lipták, Anikó. 2012. V-stranding ellipsis and verbal identity: The role of polarity focus. *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2012*, ed. Marion Elenbaas and Suzanne Aalberse, 82–96. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lipták, Anikó. 2013a. Relative pronouns as sluicing remnants. Handout presented at *ICSH 11*. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter University.

Lipták, Anikó. 2013b. The syntax of positive polarity in Hungarian: evidence from ellipsis. In: *Emphatic polarity*, ed. Anne Breitbarth, Karen De Clercq and Liliane Haegeman. Special issue of *Lingua* 128: 72–94.

Lipták, Anikó. 2018a. Dissecting adpositional particle constructions: Remarks from ellipsis. In *Boundaries crossed, at the interfaces of morphosyntax, phonology, pragmatics and semantics* (Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 94), ed. Huba Bartos, Marcel de Dikken, Zoltán Bánréti and Tamás Váradi, 327–348. Springer.

Lipták, Anikó. 2018b. *Hungarian*. In *The Oxford handbook of ellipsis*. ed. Jeroen van Craenenbroeck and Tanja Temmerman. Oxford Handbooks Online. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/97801987013.30

Lipták, Anikó. 2020. Fragments with correction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 51: 154–167.

Lipták, Anikó and István Kenesei. 2014. *A putative multifunctional affix: the case of* -ható *(-able) in Hungarian*. Ms. Leiden University & Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Lipták, Anikó and István Kenesei. 2017. Passive potential affixation: Syntax or lexicon? *Acta Linguistica Academica* 64: 45–77.

Lipták, Anikó and Andrés Saab. 2019. Hungarian particle reduplication as local doubling. *Acta Linguistica Academica* 66: 527–574.

Lipták, Anikó and Malte Zimmermann. 2007. Indirect scope marking again: a case for generalized question formation. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25: 103–155.

Lobeck, Anne.1995. *Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing and identification*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27: 661–738.

Merchant, Jason and Andrew Simpson. 2012. *Sluicing. Cross-linguistic perspectives.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moltmann, Friderike. 1992. *Coordination and comparatives*. Doctoral dissertation, published in *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics,* Cambridge MA: MIT.

Moravcsik, Edith. 2001. On the nouniness of Hungarian adjectives. In *Naturally! Linguistic studies in honor of Wolfgang Ulrich Dressler presented on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, ed. Chris Schaner-Wolles, John Rennison and Friedrich Neubarth, 337–346.Vienna: Rosenberg & Seiler.

Munn, Alan. 1993. *Topics in the syntax and semantics of coordinate structures*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.

Mycock, Louise. 2006. *A new typology of* wh-*questions*. Doctoral dissertation, Manchester University.

Németh, T. Enikő. 1991: *A megnyilatkozástípus elméleti kérdései és a szóbeli diskurzusok megnyilatkozás példányokra tagolása* [Theoretical issues concerning types of utterances and an analysis of discourses into tokens of utterances]. Doctoral dissertation, Szeged University.

Németh, T. Enikő. 2015: *Interaction between grammar and pragmatics: the case of implicit subject and direct object arguments in Hungarian language use*. Doctoral dissertation, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.

Partee, Barbara H. 1995. Lexical semantics and compositionality. In *Language: An invitation to cognitive science*, ed. Lila R. Gleitman and Mark Liberman, 311–360. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Piñón, Christopher. 1991. *Falling in paradise: verbs, preverbs and reduplication in Hungarian*. Handout, Stanford University.

Ratiu, Dafina. 2011. *De la syntaxe à la sémantique des propositions interrogatives: Étude comparative des questions multiples en roumain*. Doctoral diassertation, Nantes University.

Rawlins, Kyle. 2013. (Un)conditionals. *Natural Language Semantics* 21: 111–178. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11050-012-9087-0

Reinhart, Tanya. 1983. *Anaphora and semantic interpretation*. London: Croom Helm.

Ross, Haj R. 1969. Guess who? In *Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, ed. Robert I. Binnick, Alice Davison, Georgia M. Green and Jerry L. Morgan, 252–286. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Rudin, Catherine. 1988. On multiple questions and multiple *wh*-fronting. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 445–501.

Saab, Andrés and Anikó Lipták. 2016. Movement and deletion after syntax: Licensing by inflection reconsidered. *Studia Linguistica* 70: 66–108.

Sag, Ivan. 1976. *Deletion and Logical Form*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.

Sag, Ivan, Gerald Gazdar, Thomas Wasow and Simon Weisler. 1985. Coordination and how to distinguish categories. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3: 117–171.

Schank, Roger and Robert Abelson. 1977. *Scripts, plans, goals, and understanding: An inquiry into human knowledge structures*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Šimik, Radek. 2010. *Model existential constructions*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Groningen.

Simonyi, Zsigmond. 1881–1883. *A magyar kötőszók I-II-III.* [Hungarian conjunctions]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

Skrabalova, Hana. 2006. Parataxe apparente et coordination des interrogatifs en tchèque. *Faits de langue* 28: 231–242.

Sleeman, Petra. 1996. *Licensing empty nouns in French*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Surányi, Balázs. 2003. *Multiple operator movements in Hungarian*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Utrecht.

Surányi, Balázs. 2005. Triggering *wh*-fronting. In *Approaches to Hungarian 9*, ed. Christopher Piñón and Péter Siptár, 231–259. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Surányi, Balázs. 2006. Quantification and focus in negative concord. *Lingua* 116: 272–313. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2004.08.007

Surányi, Balázs. 2009a. Verbal particles inside and outside *v*P. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 56: 201–249.

Surányi, Balázs. 2009b. "Incorporated" locative adverbials in Hungarian. In *Adverbs and adverbial adjuncts at the interface*s, ed. É. Kiss, Katalin, 39–74. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 1992. *A birtokos szerkezet és az egzisztenciális mondat.* [Possessive constructions and existential sentences]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó,

Szabolcsi, Anna. 1994. The noun phrase. In *The syntactic structure of Hungarian*, ed. Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 179–274. San Diego: Academic Press.

Szabolcsi, Anna. 2019. Unconditionals and free choice unified. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 29. https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v29i0.4616

Temesi, Mihály and Béla Rónai. 1969. *A leíró magyar nyelvtan alapjai* [The basics of Hungarian descriptive grammar]. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.

Tomaszewicz, Barbara M. 2011. Against spurious coordination in multiple *wh*-questions. In *Proceedings of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics 28*.

Tompa, József. (ed.) 1961. *A mai magyar nyelv rendszere* [The system of present-day Hungarian]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Varga, László. 2002. *Intonation and stress: Evidence from Hungarian*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Velde, John R. te. 1997. Deriving conjoined XPs: A minimal deletion approach. In *German: Syntactic problems – a problematic syntax* (Linguistische Arbeiten 374), ed. Werner Abraham and Elly van Gelderen, 231–260. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Wesche, Birgit. 1995. *Symmetric coordination: An alternative theory of phrase structure* (Linguistische Arbeiten 332). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Zhang, Nina. 2009. No special syntactic configuration. In *Coordination in Syntax* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 123), 7–8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The *Syntax of Hungarian* will include the following volumes:

Nouns and Noun Phrases Volume 1 and Volume 2 [published in 2018]
eds. Gábor Alberti and Tibor Laczkó

Postpositions and Postpositional Phrases [published in 2021]
eds. Katalin É. Kiss and Veronika Hegedűs

Coordination and Ellipsis [this volume] ed. Zoltán Bánréti

Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases

Finite embedding

Adjectival Phrases

Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases

Sentence Structure

Comprehensive Grammar Resources
Founded by Henk van Riemsdijk and István Kenesei

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 nonspecialist. 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 Hans Broekhuis, Norbert Corver and István Kenesei and the publishing house Amsterdam University Press.

Syntax of Hungarian aims to present a synthesis of the currently available syntactic knowledge of the Hungarian language, rooted in theory but providing highly detailed descriptions, and intended to be of use to researchers, as well as advanced students of language and linguistics. As research in language leads to extensive changes in our understanding and representations of grammar, the Comprehensive Grammar Resources series intends to present the most current understanding of grammar and syntax as completely as possible in a way that will both speak to modern linguists and serve as a resource for the non-specialist.

This volume provides a comprehensive overview and description of coordinate structures, the syntactic and semantic types of conjunctions, as well as the types of ellipses in sentences and short dialogues. It discusses multiple conjunctions, coordinated wh-constructions, sluicing, and sentence fragments.

ZOLTÁN BÁNRÉTI is a professor emeritus at the Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics, Budapest. His research interests include the syntactic rules in Hungarian coordinate structures, conjunction types and agreement rules, as well as VP-ellipsis. He also carries out research on neurolinguistic aspects of linguistic impairments in agrammatic aphasia.

AUP.nl

9 789463 728775