Licensing of nominal ellipsis in Hungarian possessives

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Introduction

▶ In Hungarian, number and case morphemes only occur on the noun:

(1) a. a piros játék-ok-at
    the red toy-PL-ACC
    ‘the red toys (acc)’

    b. *a piros-ak-at játék(-ok-at)
    the red-PL-ACC toy-PL-ACC
    Int: ‘the red toys (acc)’

▶ In nominal ellipsis, number and case attach to the remnant (here, adjective):

(2) a. piros-ak-at Ø
    the red-PL-ACC
    ‘the red ones (acc)’

→ Saab and Lipták (2016): Hungarian nominal ellipsis targets the NP and is licensed by Num
Observation: contra existing claims, possessor morphology can survive nominal ellipsis and be stranded on the remnant.

→ Possessor head (Poss) can also license ellipsis of its complement.

Proposal: variation in the head that licenses nominal ellipsis in Hungarian: Num vs. Poss.

Consequences: nominal ellipsis licensed by Poss can capture a previously unanalyzed systematic variation in the Hungarian possessive pronoun paradigm.
Roadmap

1. Background: Hungarian nominal morphemes
2. Hungarian nominal ellipsis
   1. Nominal ellipsis licensed by Num
   2. Nominal ellipsis licensed by Poss
3. Analysis: variation in licensing
4. Consequences: possessive pronouns
5. Conclusions
Hungarian nominal morphemes

Basic order of nominal morphemes in Hungarian (3)-(4):

(3) noun – possessedness suffix – number – agreement – case

(4) játék-a-i-m-at
toy-POSS-PL-1SG-ACC
‘my toys (acc)’

(5) játék-a-i-m-at
toy-POSS-PL-1SG-ACC
‘my toys (acc)’

(6) játék-a-i-m-at
toy-POSS-PL-1SG-ACC
‘my toys (acc)’

- **Possessedness** suffix (Poss) indicates that the head noun is a possessum. Appears in the forms -ja, -je, -a and -e, depending on the (morpho)phonological environment.
- **Number** suffix corresponds to the number of the possessum.
- **Agreement** suffix corresponds to the person and number of the possessor.
Hungarian nominal morphemes

- Plural head noun (i.e. possessum) → plural marker (-i) appears between possessedness suffix and agreement suffix:

(7) noun – possessedness suffix – number – agreement – case
(8) játék-a-i-m-at
toy-POSS-PL-1SG-ACC
‘my toys (acc)’

(Plural marker of possessed nouns (-i) is different from regular plural marker (-k).)

- Singular head noun → possessedness and agreement suffixes are fused (9):

(9) játék-om-at
toy-POSS.1SG-ACC
‘my toy (acc)’
Hungarian nominal ellipsis - Saab and Lipták (2016)

- Saab and Lipták (2016): nominal ellipsis in Hungarian targets the $nP$ ($nPE$)

(10) a. a piros játék-ok-at
   the red toy-PL-ACC
   ‘the red toys (acc)’

   b. a piros-ak-at ∅ ($nPE$)
      the red-PL-ACC
      ‘the red ones (acc)’

(11) $nPE$ licensed by Num:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{DP} & \quad \text{D NumP} \\
\text{AP} & \quad \text{NumP} \quad \rightarrow \quad nP \text{ ellipsis} \\
\text{piros} & \quad \text{red} \\
\sqrt{+n} & \quad \text{Num} \\
\text{játék} & \quad \text{toy} \\
\{} & \quad \{\text{pl, -k}\}
\end{align*}
\]

- Affixes attach to their host via the process of leaning.
- Ellipsis applies early on the PF branch $\rightarrow$ bleeds such processes.
- Stranded affixes reattach to non-canonical host: rightmost remnant (here, adjective) instead of noun.
- Under their analysis, $nPE$ is licensed only by Num.
Possessor morphology can be stranded under *nPE + show up on the adjectival remnant (cf. Saab and Lipták 2016; Kenesei et al. 1998).

\[(12) \begin{align*}
a. \text{Mari kölcsönkérte a te piros játék-od-at} & \quad \text{and az én kék-em-et.} \\
\text{Mary borrowed the you red toy-poss.2sg-acc and the I blue-poss.1sg-acc} \\
\text{‘Mary borrowed your red toy and my blue (toy).’} \\
b. \text{Mari kölcsönkérte a te piros játék-a-i-d-at} & \quad \text{and az én kék-e-i-m-et.} \\
\text{Mary borrowed the you red toy-poss.pl-2sg-acc and the I blue-poss.pl-1sg-acc} \\
\text{‘Mary borrowed your red toys and my blue (toys).’}
\end{align*}\]

→ It is not only Num, but also Poss that licenses ellipsis of its complement.

Judgements reported in prior literature were based on a remnant presented in isolation, e.g. \(*a ti érdekes-e-i-tek ‘your interesting ones’; cf. (12), where *nPE is licensed by an appropriate antecedent.
Parallely examples where the remnant has a 2nd or 3rd person possessor are also grammatical:

    Mary borrowed the I red toy-POSS.1SG-ACC and the you blue-POSS.2SG-ACC
    ‘Mary borrowed my red toy and your blue (toy).’

b. Mari kölcsönkérte az én piros játék-a-i-m-at és a te kék-e-i-d-et.
    Mary borrowed the I red toy-POSS-PL-2SG-ACC and the you blue-POSS-PL-1SG-ACC
    ‘Mary borrowed my red toys and your blue (toys).’

(14) a. Mari kölcsönkérte a te piros játék-od-at és az Ő kék-jé-t.
    Mary borrowed the you red toy-POSS.2SG-ACC and the (s)he blue-POSS-ACC
    ‘Mary borrowed your red toy and her/his blue (toy).’

b. Mari kölcsönkérte a te piros játék-a-i-d-at és az Ő kék-je-i-t.
    Mary borrowed the you red toy-POSS-PL-2SG-ACC and the (s)he blue-POSS-PL-ACC
    ‘Mary borrowed your red toys and her/his blue (toys).’

Note: the agreement marker for 3rd person is null.

Parallel examples with other adjectives are also grammatical.
(15) \( nPE \) licensed by Num

\[ \text{DP} \]
\[ \text{D} \quad \text{NumP} \]
\[ \text{AP} \quad \cdots \quad \rightarrow nPE \]
\[ \text{Num}_{[\text{E}]} \quad \_\_nP \]

(16) \( nPE \) licensed by Poss

\[ \text{DP} \]
\[ \text{D} \quad \cdots \]
\[ \text{Agr} \quad \cdots \]
\[ \text{Num} \quad \text{PossP} \]
\[ \text{Poss}_{[\text{E}]} \quad \_\_nP \quad \rightarrow nPE \]

- \( nPE \) licensed by either Num or Poss.
- Ellipsis always targets the complement of the licensing head, i.e. \( nP \).
Consequences of our analysis

- Prediction: we expect to see the same pattern in other contexts where Poss is present.
  → Hungarian possessive pronouns

But first: anaphoric possessive...
Hungarian anaphoric possessive

- When there is no adjective and the only remnant is the possessor noun
  → ‘anaphoric possessive’ -é is used in place of regular possessive morphology.
  (see i.a. Dékány (2015) and references therein)

(17) a. a fiú játék-a
      the boy toy-POSS
      ‘the boy’s toy’

      b. a fiú-é
      the boy-é
      ‘the boy’s one’

Note: the agreement marker for 3rd person is null.

- é is in complementary distribution with the possessedness suffix (-ja, -je, -a, -e absent):

(18) a. *a fiú-é-ja
      the boy-é-POSS
      ‘the boy’s one’

      b. *a fiú-ja
      the boy-POSS
      ‘the boy’s one’
Possessive pronouns: the basic paradigm

- Anaphoric possessive is found in possessive pronouns: *miénk* (ours), *tiétek* (yours), etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(19) Possessive pronouns</th>
<th>sg possessum</th>
<th>pl possessum</th>
<th>sg possessum</th>
<th>pl possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg eny-é-m</td>
<td>eny-é-m-ek</td>
<td>1pl mi-é-nk</td>
<td>mi-é-i-nk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg ti-é-d</td>
<td>ti-é-i-d</td>
<td>2pl ti-é-tek</td>
<td>ti-é-i-tek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg öv-é</td>
<td>öv-é-i</td>
<td>3pl öv-é-k</td>
<td>öv-é-i-k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(20) nominative pronoun – anaphoric possessive – number – agreement – case

(21) `mi-é-i-nk`

1PL.PRON-é-PL-1PL

‘our ones’
Possessive pronouns: alternations

▶ Previously unanalyzed systematic alternation: -é forms with the forms that contain -e.

▶ This occurs in the 1st/2nd person, e.g. miénk vs. mienk (ours), etc.

(22) Possessive pronouns: -é/-e alternation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg possessum</th>
<th>pl possessum</th>
<th></th>
<th>sg possessum</th>
<th>pl possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>eny-é-m/%eny-i-m</td>
<td>eny-é-m-ek/%eny-i-m-ek</td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-é-nk/mi-e-nk</td>
<td>mi-é-i-nk/mi-e-i-nk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>öv-é</td>
<td>öv-é-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>öv-é-k</td>
<td>öv-é-i-k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Possessive pronouns: alternations

▶ Dékány (2011): -é/-e alternation is phonological with no syntactic or semantic import.
   □ No such phonological alternation found elsewhere.

▶ Given our proposal, the alternation can now be understood as a syntactic one, not merely an allomorphic one.

▶ The -e versions of the pronouns exist as a consequence of nPE, licensed by the Poss head.

▶ -e pronouns can be derived by adding the suffixes that would ordinarily surface on the noun (-enk) to the nominative pronoun (e.g. mi ‘we’).
   (see Murphy 2018 for a similar account of pronominal inflection in German)
Possessive pronouns: proposed analysis

(23) nom. pron. – {anaphoric possessive | possessedness suffix} – num – agr – case

(24) mi-é-i-nk
1PL.PRON-é-PL-1PL
‘our ones’

(25) mi-e-i-nk
1PL.PRON-POSS-PL-1PL
‘our ones’

(26) kék-je-i-nk
blue-POSS-PL-1PL
‘our blue ones’

► -e versions of pronouns: result of nPE
Open questions

- nPE licensed by Poss is allowed with all persons when the remnant is e.g. an adjective.

- Only allowed with 1st/2nd persons when the only remnant is the possessor noun/pronoun (c.f. invariant övé ‘his/her’).
  - nPE is not allowed when the remnants is a 3rd person pronoun or a noun.

- Proposal: restriction on leaning, whereby in Poss-licensed nPE, remnant morphology can only attach to possessors that are 1st/2nd person pronouns.
  - 3rd person possessive pronouns in Hungarian are also exceptional in other respects, e.g. they exhibit the so-called anti-agreement pattern (É. Kiss 2002)
Conclusions

- Two possible licensors of nominal ellipsis in Hungarian.

- Poss head, as well as the Num head, can license nP-ellipsis of its complement.

- Novel analysis of the systematic variation in the possessive pronoun paradigm.
Thank you!

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