

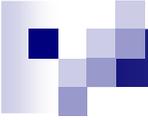
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Reflexivity marking in Hungarian PPs

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I. Introduction

- Reflexive strategies differ wrt whether they *can* or *must* apply in locative PPs (see Faltz 1985 for a typological overview).

Compare the following two “snake-sentences”:

(1) *John_i saw a snake near **him_i/himself_i**.*

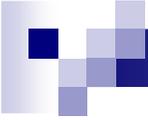
(2) German

*Hans_i sah eine Schlange neben ***ihm_i/sich_i**.*

Hans saw a snake near him /self

- All the examples to follow are meant to involve coreferential phrases in the relevant slots.

I will not employ any machinery here to mark these dependencies.



I. Introduction

- Hungarian, at first, seems to pattern up with German:

(3) *János látott ***mellette** / **maga mellett** egy kígyót.*

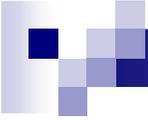
John saw beside.3SG himself beside a snake.ACC
'John saw a snake beside him.'

- However, the pronominal form becomes acceptable in non-third person for many speakers.

(4) *Látok **mellettem** / **magam mellett** egy kígyót.*

saw.1SG beside.1SG myself beside a snake.ACC
'I see a snake beside me/myself.'

I refer to this variety as the (in this respect) less restrictive dialect of Hungarian - which is Englishlike.



I. Introduction

- This variation within Hungarian has been commented on by den Dikken et al. (2001: 147-48, ft. 9), though they do not mention the 1&2 vs 3 person contrast:

While many Hungarians reject [the pronouns in (4) and (5)], there are speakers for whom [the pronouns in (4) and (5)] are perfect. ... [Possibly] the pronoun finds itself (embedded in) an adjunct/non-argument position.

(5) *Vigyél* ***veled*** / ***magaddal*** *esernyőt.*
take.imp.2SG with.2SG yourself.with umbrella.ACC
'Take an umbrella with you.'

- In fact, the pronoun is acceptable for many speakers in (4), but not so much in (5).



I. Introduction: Aims

- I focus on the following questions here:
 - (i) What kind of PPs allow for pronominal coreference in Hungarian?
 - (ii) Why is there variation among speakers of Hungarian in this domain?
 - (iii) Why is there a difference between 1&2 vs 3 person pronominal PPs?



I. Introduction: Structure of the talk

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II. The English pattern

- There is some disagreement over the status of reflexive anaphors in *snake*-sentences and in locative PPs in general, but what emerges is that the pronoun is the more natural choice (exceptions can be explained, see Rooryck & 2007 Vanden Wyngaerd):

(6) *John saw a snake near **him/himself**.*

- ☞ Faltz (1985:100) “With normal intonation, reflexive pronouns are at best odd in these positions, ... ”
- ☞ Huddleston & Pullum (2002:1489) “There is variation across speakers and particular examples, but for many, the non-reflexive form is preferred ...”
- ☞ Reinhart & Reuland (1993:687) “The use of the anaphor ... is much more marked ...”



II. The English pattern

- It does not so much matter whether the (VP-internal) PP is an argument or an adjunct, the reflexive is only necessary if the P-element is selected by the predicate (see Reinhart & Reuland 1993, Büring 2005, a.o.):

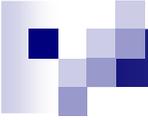
(7) a. *She looks after *her/herself.*

b. *She was beside *her/herself with rage.*

(8) a. *She put the book under/above him/himself.*

b. *She looked around/in front of her/herself.*

- The variation in (8) is known to have interpretative correlates.



II. The English pattern

1. Point of view effects/logophoricity

- The pronoun in these contexts is associated with a speaker-centred or outsider perspective, whereas the reflexive is licensed when the perspective is that of the antecedent referent (Cantrall 1974, Pollard & Sag 1992, Reinhart & Reuland 1993, Büring 2005, a. o.):

(10) a. *They placed their guns, as they look at it, in front of *them/themselves.*

b. *They placed their guns, as I look at it, in front of them/*themselves.*



II. The English pattern

2. The specification of the location

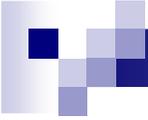
- The use of the reflexive evokes a closer proximity to the antecedent referent and a body-oriented reading, unlike the use of the pronoun (Kuno 1987, Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2007):

(11) a. *Upon awaking, John found a rope around **himself**.*

b. *Upon awaking, John found a rope around **him**.*

(12) a. *John hid the book behind **himself**.*

b. *John hid the book behind **him**.*



II. The English pattern

3. Bound readings

- No bound reading is possible for the pronoun, at least in episodic sentences (Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2007):

(11) a. **Everyone saw a snake near **him**.*

b. *Everyone saw a snake near **himself**.*

(12) a. *Every player puts a pawn near **him**.*

b. *Every player puts a pawn near **himself**.*

- Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd (2007) show that snake-sentences pattern up with cross-sentential anaphora in this respect.



III. Approaches

- Three types of explanation are known in the literature (see Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd for an overview):
 - (i) Despite the appearances, the pronoun and the reflexive are in fact located in different structures.
 - (ii) The structure is essentially the same, but the binding domains are different for pronouns and reflexives.
 - (iii) The structure is essentially the same, there is one definition of binding domain, but somehow the reflexive has special properties in this construction.
- We should also keep in mind that there is important cross-linguistic variation.



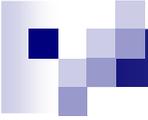
III. Approaches

- One may argue along, for example Chomsky (1965, 1981) to motivate the first approach:

(13) a. *John*_k saw a snake_i [_{sc} PRO_i near **him**_k].
b. *John saw a snake* [_{pp} near **himself**].

- The second approach appears in Dalrymple (1993) and Büring (2005), among others:

(14) a. *John saw a snake* [_{BD} near **him**].
b. [_{BD} *John saw a snake near himself*].



III. Approaches

- Reinhart & Reuland (1993) is a representative of the third approach. In their proposal every predicate sets up its own binding domain:

(15) a. [_{BD} *She looks after *her/herself*].

b. *She saw a snake* [_{BD} *around her/herself*].

- It follows that in (15b) the reflexive is not a true anaphor, but a logophor (16b is from Büring 2005:230):

(16) a. *She said that John saw a snake next to herself.*

b. *Her arms hugged around herself ... and it seemed quite incomprehensible to her now that she hadn't contacted her mother before.*



III. Approaches

- Reuland (2001, 2006) on cross-linguistic variation: (possibly covert) incorporation of the P-element.

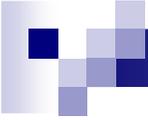
(17) a. *Jean parle de **lui** / **lui-même**.* French
Jean talks of him/himself

b. DP (λx (V x [P x]))

(18) a. *Jan praat over ***hem/zichzelf***
Jan talks of him/himself

b. DP (λx ([V-P] x x))

- Unlike French, Dutch allows for preposition stranding, which must involve a relation between V and P - this relation licenses covert P-incorporation in Dutch.



IV. The Hungarian pattern

- Hungarian has 3 types of P-elements.

These all go back historically to nominal expressions, but show different levels of grammaticalization (see Maráczi 1989, Bartos 1999, É. Kiss 2002, Asbury 2008, a.o.).

(i) **Suffixal Ps:**

(19) a. *János-nál*
John-at

b. *(én)-nál-am*
I-at-1SG

c. historically: **na* + *l* ‘vicinity + locative’



IV. The Hungarian pattern

(ii) Inflecting Ps:

- (20) a. *János mellett*
John beside
- b. *(én)-mellett-em*
I-beside-1SG
- c. historically: *mell + t(t)* ‘breast + locative’

(iii) Non-inflecting Ps:

- (21) a. *János-sal szemben*
John-with opposite/in.front.of/facing
- b. *(én)-vel-em szemben*
I-with-1SG opposite
- c. historically: *szem + ben* ‘eye + in’



IV. The Hungarian pattern

- Suffixal Ps tend not to allow for coreferential pronominals in any person at all:

(22) *Hoztam egy kígyót *velem / magammal.*
brought a snake.ACC with.1SG myself.with
'I brought a snake with me.'

(23) *Találtál kullancsot *benned / magadban?*
found.2SG tick.ACC in.2SG yourself.in
'Have you found a tick in you?'



IV. The Hungarian pattern

- Non-inflecting Ps do allow coreferential pronoun complements for every speaker. In fact, the reflexive may even be felt to be more marked:

(24) a. *Látok egy kígyót velem szemben.*

see.1SG a snake.SG with.1SG opposite

‘I see a snake opposite to me.’

b. *Látok egy kígyót magammal szemben.*

‘I see a snake opposite to myself.’

- The 3 person restriction is weaker or may even be absent with non-inflecting Ps:

(25) *János látott egy kígyót vele szemben.*

John saw a snake.ACC with.3SG opposite

‘John saw a snake opposite to him.’



IV. The Hungarian pattern

→ Non-inflecting Ps behave largely as English predicative Ps, whereas suffixal Ps behave as English non-predicative Ps.

The domain of interspeaker variation mentioned in the Introduction is largely restricted to the set of inflecting Ps: some speakers show an Englishlike pattern by accepting 1 and 2 person coreferring pronominals, and some do not.

The coming judgements are wrt the Englishlike dialect.



IV. The Hungarian pattern

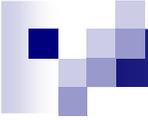
- Only non-selected Ps license the pronoun:

(26) a. *Látok egy kígyót mellettem / magam mellett.*
see.1SG a snake.ACC beside.1SG myself beside
'I see a snake beside me.'

b. *Kitartok *mellettem / magam mellett.*
stand.1SG beside.1SG myself beside
'I stand by myself.'

- Idiomatic readings are only available with the reflexive:

(27) *Vágom a fát alattam / magam alatt.*
cut.1SG the tree.ACC under.1SG myself under
(i) 'I am cutting the tree/wood under me.' **both ok**
(ii) 'I am cutting my own throat.' **only the reflexive**



IV. The Hungarian pattern

- There is tendency to disprefer the pronoun in point-of-view contexts, but it is not as strong as in English:

(28) *Most látnod kellene egy kígyót melletted.*
now see.INF must.COND a snake.ACC beside.2SG
'You should now see a snake beside you.'

(29) *Minden reggel láatsz egy kígyót magad mellett.*
every morning see.2SG a snake.ACC yourself beside
'Every morning you see a snake beside you.'



IV. The Hungarian pattern

- The use of the reflexive evokes greater spatial proximity:

(30) *Érzed a kígyókat magad körül?*
feel.2SG the snakes.ACC yourself around
'Do you feel the snakes around yourself?'

(31) *Érzed a kígyókat körülötted?*
feel.2SG the snakes.ACC around.2SG
'Do you feel the snakes around you?'



IV. The Hungarian pattern

- The pronoun does not license bound variable reading:

(32) *Csak én láttam kígyókat mellettem.*
only I saw.SG snakes.ACC beside.1SG

(i) ‘Nobody else saw a snake beside me.’

(ii) *‘Nobody else saw a snake beside himself.’

(33) *Csak én láttam kígyókat magam mellett.*
only I saw.SG snakes.ACC myself beside

(i) ?/*‘Nobody else saw a snake beside me.’

(ii) ‘Nobody else saw a snake beside himself.’



IV. The Hungarian pattern

- The less restrictive dialect of Hungarian is really similar to mainstream English (modulo the third person restriction).

One important difference is that even within this dialect, pronominal marking of coreference appears to be more marked in the sense that the reflexive is always available and generally tends to sound more natural.



IV. The Hungarian pattern

⇒ Suppose that whenever the pronoun is used in these contexts, it is always predicative in the particular sense that:

(i) it does not (cannot) incorporate into the verb,

(ii) it is reanalyzed as a possessive construction.

- What is not available to every speaker is the possessive reanalysis.

Such speakers only use reflexives in PPs.

V. The possessive reanalysis

- É. Kiss (1998, 2002) and Surányi (in press a,b) show that suffixal and inflecting Ps, especially directionals, show intricate incorporation and doubling patterns.

(34) **Hozzá-vágtam** a kígyót **Kati-hoz**.
to.3SG-threw.1SG the snake.ACC Kati-to
'I threw the snake at Kate.'

(35) **Hozzá-vágtam** a kígyót **magam-hoz/*hózzám**.
to.3SG-threw.1SG the snake.ACC myself-to/to.1SG
'I threw the snake at myself.'

(36) ***Hózzám** / **magam-hoz** **vágtam** a kígyót.
to.1SG / myself-to threw.1SG the snake.ACC
'I threw the snake at myself.'

V. The possessive reanalysis

- Inflecting Ps may reduplicate with a dative expression, and the judgements are slightly different.

(37) **Mögé-dobtam** *a kígyót* **Kati-nak.**
behind.3SG-threw.1SG the snake.ACC Kati-DAT
'I threw the snake behind Kate.'

(38) **Mögé-dobtam** *a kígyót* %**magam-nak/*nekem.**
behind.3SG-threw.1SG the snake.ACC myself-DAT/DAT.1SG
'I threw the snake behind myself.'

(39) %?(?) **Mögém /magam mögé dobtam** *a kígyót.*
behind.1SG myself behind threw.1SG the snake.ACC
'I threw the snake behind myself.'

V. The possessive reanalysis

- If an adverbial occupies the VM position that does not form a dependency of the above sort with the P, then pronominal coreference is generally acceptable.

(40) *Ki-rúgtam alólam a kígyót.*
out-kicked from-under.1SG the snake-ACC
'I kicked the snake out from under me.'

(41) a. *Le-dobtam mellém a kígyót.*
down-threw.1SG to-beside.1SG the snake.ACC.
'I threw the snake down beside me.'

b. %?(?) *Mellém-dobtam a kígyót.*
to-beside.1SG-threw.1SG the snake.ACC
'I threw the snake beside me.'

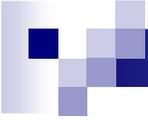
V. The possessive reanalysis

- Surányi (in press b) notes that the dative-type doubling of inflecting Ps is a marked option for many speakers.

(42) *Mögé-dobtam* *a kígyót* *magam-nak.*
behind.3SG-threw.1SG the snake.ACC myself-DAT
'I threw the snake behind myself.'

(43) *Mögé-dobtam* *a kígyót* *Kati-nak.*
behind.3SG-threw.1SG the snake.ACC Kate-DAT
'I threw the snake behind Kate.'

- He suggests that these Ps can function as a possessum, and (42-43) are instances of possessor extraction.
- What some speakers disprefer is the projection of the required higher possessive layer.



V. The possessive reanalysis

- Suppose that inflecting Ps are not, by default, possessive in any sense (cf. Bartos 1999, Asbury 2008, a.o.).
- Some speakers, however, may reactivate their predicative content and treat them as a possessum.
- The result is possessive type structure, which does not induce traditional Condition B effects since the dependency between the antecedent and the coreferring pronominal part (the “possessor”) is not local.
- Furthermore, these structurally richer Ps do not incorporate even as VMs (cf. Surányi in press b).



V. The possessive reanalysis

- With some P-like elements, the possessive structure is still visibly active (cf. Bartos 1999, Asbury 2008), so this is a synchronically active pattern:

(46) *Én fontos vagyok (a) / (az én) számomra.*

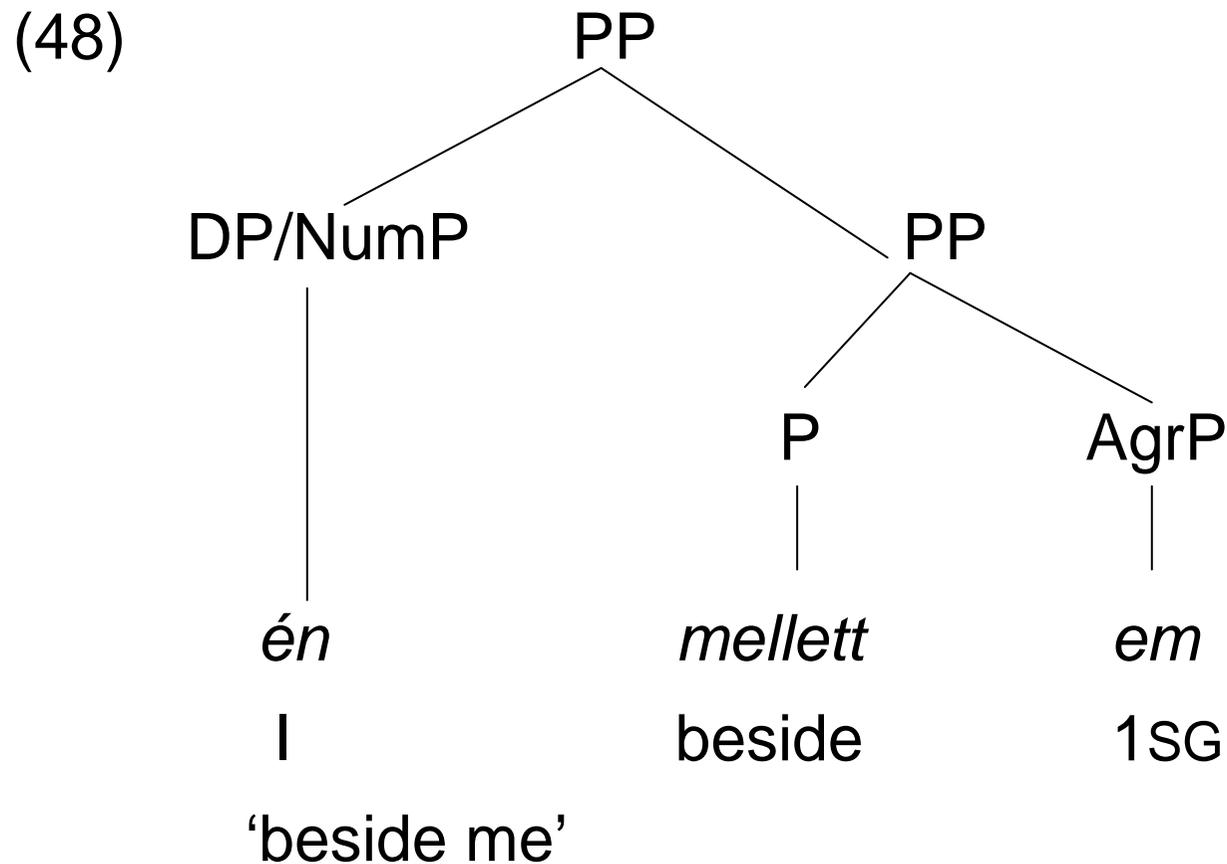
I important am the the I for.1sg

‘I am important for me.’

(47) **(az) én számomra*
the I number.onto
‘onto my number’

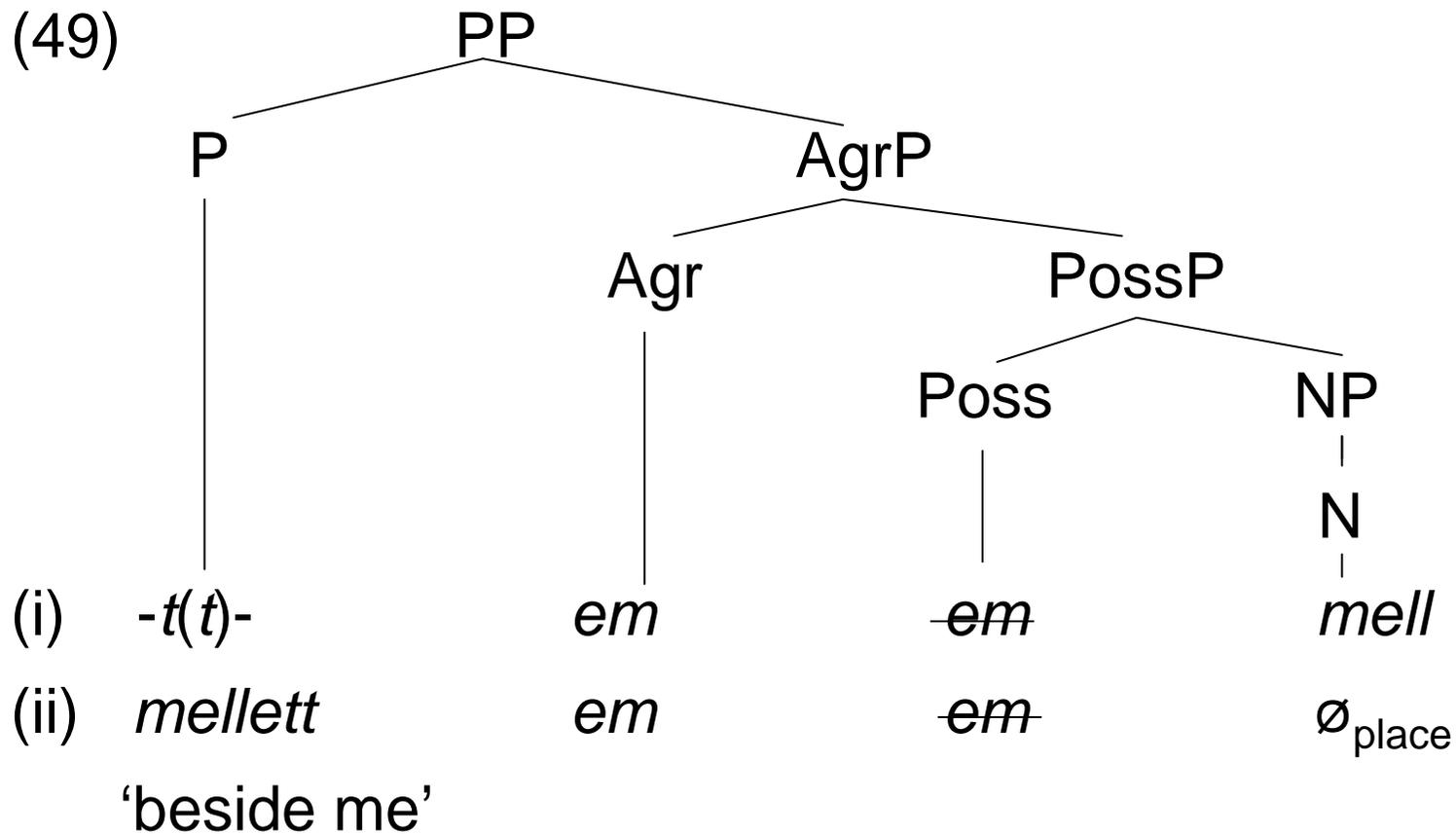
V. The possessive reanalysis

- I assume the structure in Bartos (1999) for non-reanalyzed inflecting Ps (simplified):



V. The possessive reanalysis

- After reanalysis, the P-complement becomes a kind of defective possessive structure.



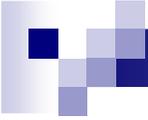


VI. The constraint on third person

- Back to the constraint against coreferring 3 person PPs.

We can now paraphrase the constraint as follows:

→ Why is it that 3 person pronominal PPs cannot undergo a possessive reanalysis?

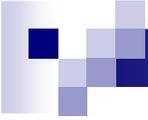


VI. The constraint on third person

- On closer inspection, it actually turns out that the constraint is really only strong for speakers of the less restrictive dialect if the antecedent is a 3SG non-pronominal noun phrase.

(50) **János látott **mellette** egy kígyót.*
John saw beside.3SG a snake.ACC
'John saw a snake beside him.'

(51) *(^(?)Ő) látott **mellette** egy kígyót.*
He saw beside.3SG a snake.ACC
'He saw a snake beside him.'



VI. The constraint on third person

- It is well-known that inflecting Ps differ from real possessive structures (among other things) in that only pronouns trigger agreement:

(52) *ő-mellett-e* *János mellett(*-e)*
he-beside-3SG John beside-3SG
'beside him' 'beside John'

(53) *az Ildi/ő kez-e*
the Ildi/she hand-3SG
'Ildi's/her hand'

- Bartos (1999) argues that with non-pronominal possessors there is in fact no (person) agreement, and the morphology is only the spellout of Poss.

VI. The constraint on third person

- 3PL non-pronominal antecedents marginally license coreferring pronominals for speakers of the less restricted dialect.

(55) *?(?) A fiúk láttak egy kígyót mellettük.*

the boys saw a snake.ACC beside.3PL

‘The boys saw a snake beside them.’

- This may be connected to the fact the inflected Ps have an agreeing variety dialectally (not showing the usual antiagreement).

(56) *%ők-mellettük*

they-beside-3PL

‘beside them ’



VII. Roundup

(i) What kind of PPs allow for pronominal coreference in Hungarian?

Non-inflecting PPs generally, inflecting PPs show variation.

(ii) Why is there variation among speakers of Hungarian in this domain?

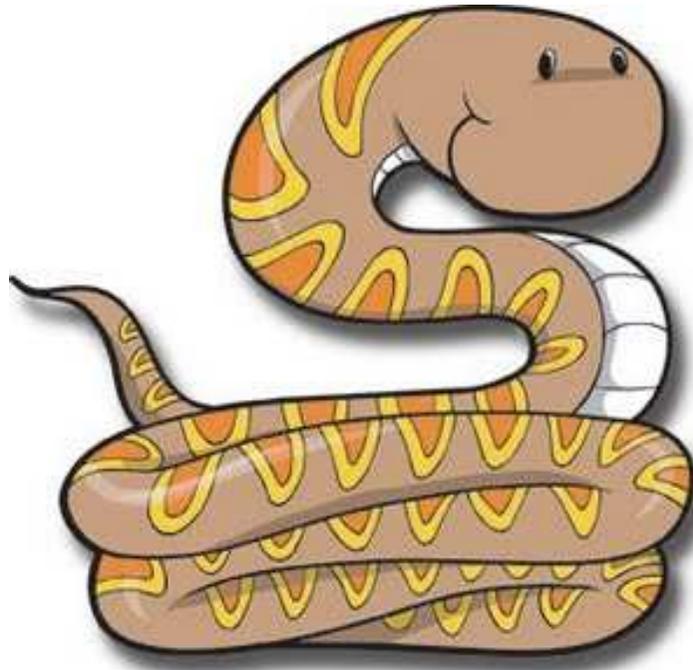
Possessive reanalysis of inflecting PPs is dispreferred by certain speakers.

(iii) Why is there a difference between 1&2 vs 3 person pronominal PPs?

Possibly, this is due to the lack of agreement with 3SG non-pronominal antecedents.



End



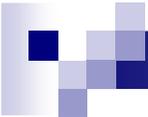
Thankx!



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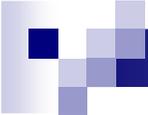
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