

COMPREHENSIVE GRAMMAR RESOURCES

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

Syntax of *Hungarian*

*Nouns and
Noun Phrases*

VOLUME I

Edited by
Gábor Alberti
and Tibor Laczkó

Amsterdam
University
Press

Syntax of Hungarian
Nouns and Noun Phrases
Volume I

Comprehensive Grammar Resources

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

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

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

Series editors:

Henk van Riemsdijk

István Kenesei

Hans Broekhuis

**Syntax of Hungarian
Nouns and Noun Phrases
Volume I**

Editors:
Gábor Alberti
Tibor Laczkó

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

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Abbreviations and symbols

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

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

Abbreviations used in both the main text and the examples

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations used as subscripts in the examples

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

Diacritics used for indicating acceptability judgments

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

Other conventions

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

The Syntax of Hungarian

General Introduction

István Kenesei

1. The series

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

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

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

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

2. Previous research into the grammar of Hungarian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The project

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nouns and Noun Phrases – Gábor Alberti and Tibor Laczkó

Postpositions and Postpositional Phrases – Katalin É. Kiss

Sentence Structure – Balázs Surányi

Verb Phrases in General and Finite Verb Phrases – Károly Bibok

Adjectival Phrases – Huba Bartos

Non-Finite and Semi-Finite Verb Phrases – Tibor Laczkó and Gábor Alberti

Finite Embedding – Zsuzsa Gécseg

Coordination and Ellipsis – Zoltán Bánréti

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

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

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

4. The language

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

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

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

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

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

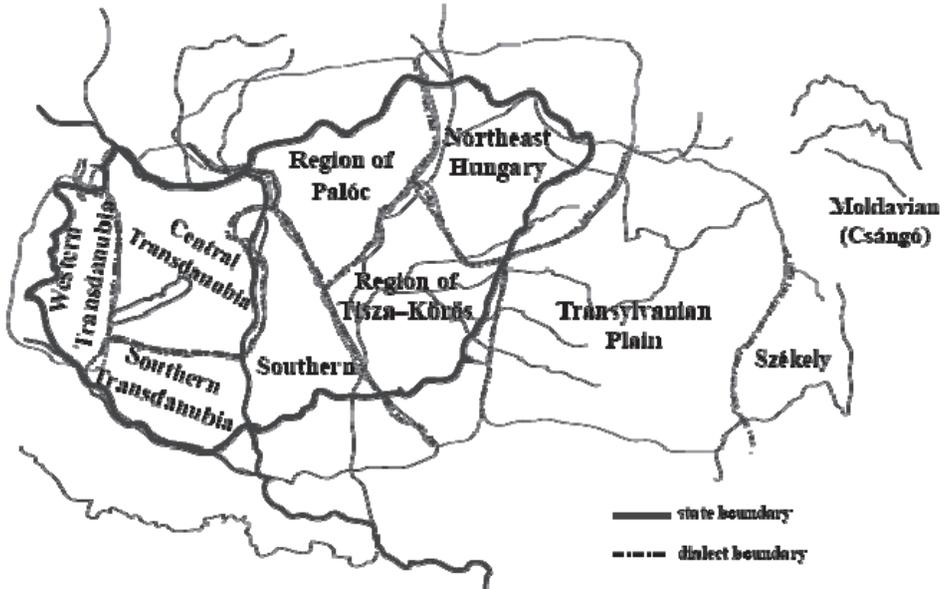


Figure 1: Main Hungarian dialects

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

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

- (1) a. Anna le szaladt-e? [Standard]
 Anna down ran Q
 'Did Anna run down?'
- b. Anna le-e szaladt? [Dialectal]
 'idem.'
- c. Anna nem szaladt-e le? [Standard]
 Anna not ran Q down
 'Didn't Anna run down?'
- d. Anna nem-e szaladt le? [Dialectal]
 'idem.'

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

- (2) a. Valószínű-leg (hogy) Anna le- szaladt
 probable-ADV that Anna down ran
 'Probably Anna ran down.'
- b. Természetes-en (hogy) Anna le- szaladt
 natural-ADV that Anna down-ran
 'Naturally Anna ran down.'

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

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

- (3) a. az Anna kalap-ja
 the Anna hat-Poss
 'Anna's hat'
- b. (*Az) Anna isz-ik.
 the Anna drink-3Sg
 'Anna drinks.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gábor Alberti and Tibor Laczkó

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

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

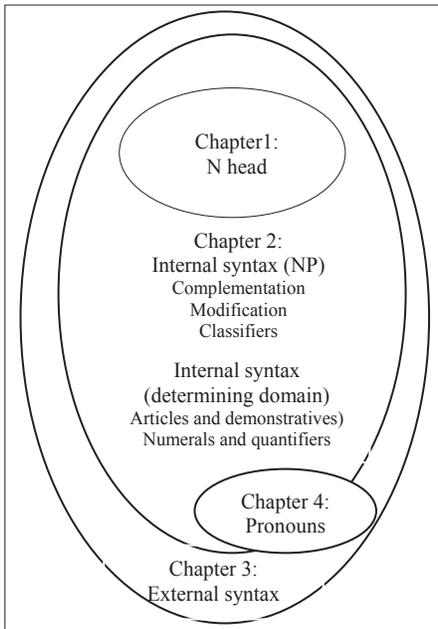


Figure 2: The onion-layer model of the four chapters

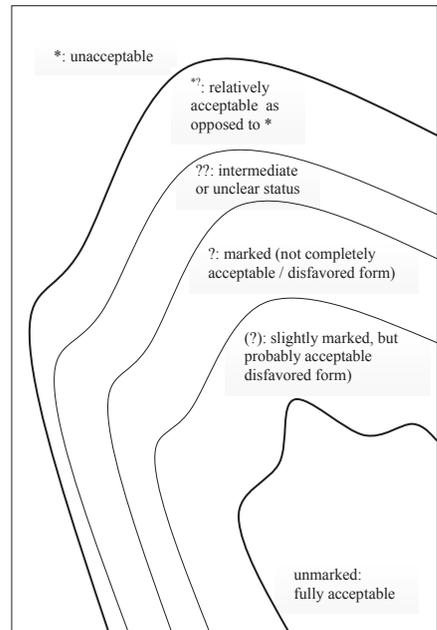


Figure 3: The “frontiers” of a language

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

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

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

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

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

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