Modelling (In)definiteness, External Possessors and (Typological) Variation in Hungarian Possessive DPs

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Abstract

In this paper I set out to model the encoding of definiteness in Hungarian possessive DPs with particular attention to the (non)complementarity of definiteness markers and possessive markers. I develop a formal LFG account of the relevant phenomena. Its essence is that I propose that in Hungarian DPs the DEF feature is nonunifiable. Naturally, the definite article always encodes this feature, while some possessor types also encode it, and others do not. The latter can only require that this feature should be present in the possessive DP. It is in this way that I capture the (non)co-occurrence of the definite article and various possessors.

1   Introduction

Previous LFG analyses of Hungarian possessive DPs have mostly concentrated on basic morphosyntactic issues: the treatment of pro-drop, c-structure representation and the grammatical/discourse functions of nominative and dative possessors, see, for instance, Laczkó (1995), Chisarik & Payne (2001), Laczkó (2010) and Charters (2014). In this paper, I will address the following additional issue: the encoding of definiteness in possessive DPs with particular attention to the (non)complementarity of definiteness markers and possessive markers. I will examine both general and dialectal variation in this domain in a typological context, and I will also take DPs with external possessors into consideration. I will propose a formal LFG account of the relevant phenomena. Its essence is that I assume that in Hungarian DPs the DEF feature is nonunifiable. The definite article always contributes the [+DEF] feature value, and various types of possessors may or may not contribute this value. When a possessor does contribute it, the nonunifiability of this feature precludes the presence of the definite article. This is how I capture the complementarity of the given possessor type and the article. Possessors that must co-occur with the article are assumed not to contribute the [+DEF] feature value; instead, they constrain its existence in the possessive DP, which means that they prescribe the presence of the article. This is how I capture the co-occurrence of the two elements.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I present the relevant Hungarian facts in a typological context. In section 3, I develop my analysis of the major possessive DP types. In section 4, I conclude.

2   The basic facts

In this section, first I present the construction types under investigation (2.1), and then I put them in a typological context (2.2).

2.1. Definiteness and Hungarian possessive DPs

(A) Hungarian possessive DPs have nominative or dative possessors, see (1a) and (1b), respectively, and when they are present in the possessive DP, the interpretation of this DP is always definite.

(1)   a.   *Kati   toll-a*
             Kate.NOM   pen-her[1]
             'Kate's pen'

      b.   *Kati-nak   a   toll-a*
             Kate-DAT   the   pen-her
             'Kate's pen'

      c.   *a   (te)   toll-ad*
             the   you.NOM   pen-your
             'your pen'

(B) The possessed noun agrees with the possessor, see (1a-c), and possessor pro-drop is possible (typical), see (1c).

(C) When the possessor is a nominative pronoun, the definite article must be present, see (1c). (Dative pronominal possessors very rarely occur within possessive DPs.) When the pronominal possessor is dropped, the definite article must be present under normal circumstances, see (1c). Optionally it can be absent when the possessive DP is a topic.

(D) When the possessor is a nonpronominal DP (whether definite or indefinite), the definite article must not be present in standard Hungarian, but the interpretation of the possessive DP is always definite (which is straightforwardly indicated by the definite objective conjugation of the verb), see (2).

(2)   *János   olvas-t-a* | *Kati* | *vers-é-t.*
      John.NOM   read-PAST-3SG.DEF | Kate.NOM | poem-her-ACC
                                   | *a   lány*
                                     | the   girl.NOM
                                     | *egy lány*
                                     | a   girl.NOM
      'John read Kate's / the girl's / a girl's poem.'

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[1] In Hungarian, even 3SG pronouns are not gender sensitive. For simplicity's sake, in this paper I will consistently use the feminine English pronoun (*she* and its other forms) in the glosses, and when there is a 3SG possessive suffix attached to the noun head I will gloss it as *-her*.

In (2), the possessors are in nominative case. When they are dative case-marked, they follow the pattern in (1b), in which case the definite article is standardly present; hence, the definiteness of the entire possessive DP is directly encoded.

(E) In addition to this standard pattern, there is a dialectal variant (mainly in the Trans-Tisza region): when the possessor is expressed by a personal name, the definite article must be present in the possessive DP, see (3).

(3) a. *János   lát-t-a   Kati-t.*
          John.NOM   see-PAST-3SG.DEF   Kate-ACC
          'John saw Kate.'

     b. *János   lát-t-a   a   Kati   toll-á-t.*
          John.NOM   see-PAST-3SG.DEF   the   Kate.NOM   pen-her-ACC
          'John saw Kate's pen.'

The peculiarity of this dialect is that personal names are normally used without the definite article, but when they are possessors, they must be preceded by the definite article. Compare the first possessor in (2) and the possessor in (3) in this respect. In this dialect then the definite article clearly belongs to the entire possessive DP (and not to the possessor), thereby following the pattern of nominative personal pronoun possessors, see (1c).[2]

(F) The (always dative-marked) possessor can occur externally to the possessive DP.[3] In such cases, when the possessed DP contains the definite article, the interpretation is definite, as usual, see (4a). When it does not contain the definite article, the interpretation of the possessed DP is indefinite. This is partially supported by the morphology of the verb: a great number of speakers use the indefinite object marking paradigm of the verb (while others keep the definite marking paradigm, although the interpretation of the noun phrase is indefinite here, too), see (4b).

(4) a. *Kati-nak   olvas-t-ad   a   vers-é-t?*
          Kate-DAT   read-PAST-2SG.DEF   the   poem-her-ACC
          'Did you read Kate's poem?'

     b. *Kati-nak   olvas-t-ad/-ál   vers-é-t?*
          Kate-DAT   read-PAST-2SG.DEF/-2SG.INDEF   poem-her-ACC
          'Did you read one / several poem(s) by Kate?'

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[2] Interestingly, there is a third dialectal pattern (most typical in the Budapest area) in which personal names are always combined with the definite article; thus, in this variant *Katit* 'Kate.ACC' would be preceded by *a* 'the' in both (3a) and (3b).

[3] For an overview of previous GB/MP analyses and a recent MP analysis of Hungarian external possessors, see É. Kiss (2014).

2.2. The typological context

Consider the following typological generalizations from Carlier et al. (2016).[4,5]

> (a) From the point of view of *morphosyntax*, there is a *typological split* between languages that allow *possessive* and *definiteness markers* to *co-occur* within one and the same DP […], and those in which the markers in question are *in complementary distribution*, (2016: 1).

> (b) On the semantic side, languages again are *split* in that some have markers of possession that impose an *exhaustive quantification* on the domain *denoted by the possessee nominal* (in the sense that the resulting DP is normally taken to denote the totality of individuals with the relevant nominal property related to a given possessor), while other languages do *not* have *such possessives*, (2016: 1).

> (c) Moreover, there is evidence for the *typological alignment* of the morphosyntactic and semantic splits identified above. That is, on the one hand, it is precisely in those cases *where possessive markers trigger exhaustive quantification* that they are in *complementary distribution with definiteness markers*; on the other, languages which *do not have exhaustivity-triggering possessives*, seem to mark, if at all, *specificity* (in the sense of Enç 1991); *partitive type* (in terms of Heusinger 2002) *rather than definiteness*, (2016: 2).[6]

In the light of the typological characteristics and generalizations in (a)-(c) above, Hungarian exhibits a rather mixed picture, see Table 1 (next page).

Haspelmath (1999) makes the following generalizations.

- The complementarity of definiteness marking and possessive marking for the encoding of definiteness (exhaustivity) is due to a simple economy principle: the presence of the possessor is a sufficient form of expressing the definiteness of the entire possessive DP. The basis for this is that possessive DPs have a very high chance of being definite.

- If a language does not have this complementarity, it ranks another principle (i.e. OT-style violable constraint) higher: explicitness. This

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[4] This was a workshop proposal for *the 50th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (SLE)*, Zürich, 10-13 September, 2017. The title of the workshop was: *Definiteness, possessivity and exhaustivity: formalizing synchronic and diachronic connections*.

[5] The emphases are mine, TL.

[6] For lists of languages manifesting various types and for examples, see Carlier et al. (2016).

explains the difference between languages with complementarity and languages with noncomplementarity.

Hungarian exhibits a mixed picture in this respect as well, see Table 1.

(a)	(i) Pronominal nominative possessors must co-occur with the definite article.
	(ii) When the pronominal possessor is dropped, the definite article must be present (optionally, it can be dropped if the possessive DP is a topic).
	(iii) Nonpronominal dative possessors must co-occur with the definite article (dative pronominal possessors are vanishingly rare *within* possessive DPs).
	(iv) Nonpronominal nominative possessors strictly reject the presence of the definite article.
	(v) In the Trans-Tisza dialect personal name possessors in the nominative behave in the same way as pronominal nominative possessors.
(b)	(i) When there is an overt possessor in the DP (irrespective of the presence or absence of the definite article), the interpretation of this DP is strictly exhaustive.
	(ii) When there is no overt possessor and the definite article is present, the interpretation of this DP is strictly exhaustive.
	• In this case there is either pro-drop or there is an external possessor in the dative.
	(iii) When there is no overt possessor and no definite article.
	• There is pro-drop, and the default interpretation is nonexhaustive (optionally the interpretation can be exhaustive if the possessive DP is a topic).
	• There is an external possessor in the dative, and the interpretation is strictly nonexhaustive.
(c)	The alignment of exhaustivity and the complementarity of the definite article
	(i) holds in the case of nonpronominal nominative possessors;
	(ii) does not hold in the case of pronominal nominative possessors and dative possessors.

Table 1. The expression of definiteness in Hungarian possessive DPs

3 An LFG analysis

My key idea for capturing the (non)complementarity of the definite article and the possessor in an LFG framework is as follows. The definite article always encodes the [+DEF] feature value for the matrix DP, i.e. it has the standard lexical representation, as shown in (5).

(5)   *a(z)*, D (↑ DEF) = +

The (either definite or indefinite) possessor *can* also encode this feature. However, this feature is nonunifiable[7] in Hungarian. In the standard dialect, nonpronominal possessors do encode this feature; therefore, the presence of the definite article is blocked. Pronominal possessors, by contrast, are "weak" in this respect: they cannot encode definiteness; therefore, the presence of the definite article is required. I capture this formally by associating a constraining equation with these pronouns to this effect:

(6)   (↑ DEF) =c +

Dative possessors follow suit: they do not encode definiteness, either; instead, they also require the presence of the definite article. The special characteristic feature of the Trans-Tisza dialect is that it treats personal name possessors in the same way as pronominal possessors. Below, I spell out the formal details of my analysis of the major types of Hungarian possessive DPs.

3.1.   Overt possessors within the possessive DP

3.1.1.   Nonpronominal nominative possessors

It is this possessor type that blocks the occurrence of the definite article in possessive DPs in Hungarian. I capture this by assuming that the possessor itself contributes the [+DEF] feature value, and this precludes the insertion of

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[7] By a feature being nonunifiable I mean the same as Dalrymple's (2001) assumption that certain features cannot be multiply instantiated, and I use the nonunifiability term in this sense throughout this paper. Consider the following quote (Dalrymple (2001: 107). "In some cases, the value of a feature other than the PRED feature might be required to be uniquely contributed; for instance, the value of the TENSE feature is contributed by only a single form, and multiple contributions are disallowed:
(58)   a. *Is David yawning?*
         b. **Is David is yawning?*
An *instantiated symbol* can be used as the value of the TENSE attribute in such a situation. Like a semantic form, an instantiated symbol takes on a unique value on each occasion of its use. In general, any syntactic uniqueness requirement for a feature can be imposed by the use of an instantiated symbol as the value of that feature."

the article, given that the DEF feature is nonunifiable. Consider the representation of *a/egy lány tolla* 'the/a girl's pen' in (7).[8]

(7)

```
                                    NP
                                   /  \
                                  /    \
         (↑ POSS) = ↓          /      \
         (↓ CASE) =c NOM      /        \
         (↓ PRON-TYPE) ~= PERS          \
         (↑ DEF) = +                     \
              DP                          ↑ = ↓
             /\                            N'
            /  \                           |
           /    \                         ↑ = ↓
          /_____\                         N
          a/egy lány                     toll-a
         the/a girl.NOM                  pen-her
```
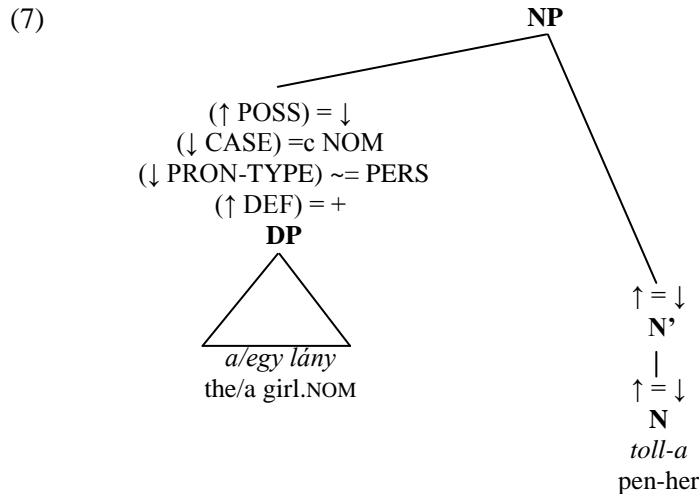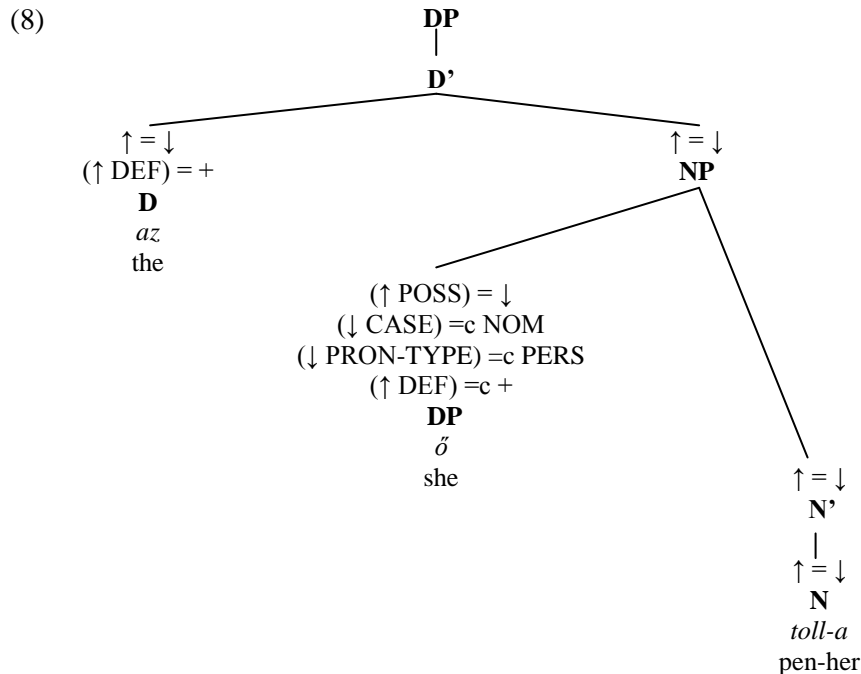
The first three equations are the annotations I generally associate with nominative possessors in Hungarian DPs, which occupy the Spec,NP position. The DP in this position has the possessor grammatical function: (↑POSS) = ↓, it has to be in nominative case: (↓CASE) =c NOM, and it is in a possessive DP. The crucial annotations assigned to the possessor DP in my current approach are the fourth and the fifth. They encode the following ingredients of the analysis: if the possessor is nonpronominal: (↓PRON-TYPE) ~= PERS, it itself contributes the definiteness feature: (↑DEF) = +.

3.1.2.   Pronominal nominative possessors

Consider the representation of *az ő tolla* 'her pen' in (8) and compare it with (7).

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[8] As in Laczkó (1995, 2010), I subscribe to Szabolcsi's (1994) DP analysis of Hungarian noun phrases. However, when there is no need for a DP projection from an LFG perspective, I use the NP maximal projection, as in (7).

(8)

$$\text{DP}$$
$$|$$
$$\text{D'}$$

$\uparrow = \downarrow$
$(\uparrow \text{DEF}) = +$
D
az
the

$\uparrow = \downarrow$
NP

$(\uparrow \text{POSS}) = \downarrow$
$(\downarrow \text{CASE}) =c \text{ NOM}$
$(\downarrow \text{PRON-TYPE}) =c \text{ PERS}$
$(\uparrow \text{DEF}) =c +$
DP
ő
she

$\uparrow = \downarrow$
N'
$|$
$\uparrow = \downarrow$
N
toll-a
pen-her

The first three annotations associated with the pronominal possessor in (8) are the same as those associated with the nonpronominal possessor in (7). The other two annotations in (7) and (8) are "mirror images" of each other, respectively. In (7) the two annotations encode that (i) the possessor must not be a (personal) pronoun, and (ii) it contributes the [+DEF] feature value. In (8), by contrast, it is constrained that (i) the possessor must be a pronoun, and (ii) the [+DEF] feature value must be present in the possessive DP (but it is not contributed by the possessor). Instead, it is contributed by the definite article, see the relevant annotation associated with it.

In the modelling of the Trans-Tisza dialect, the standard ($\downarrow$PRON-TYPE) =c PERS equation has to be disjunctively augmented by ($\downarrow$NOUN-TYPE) =c PERS. This formally captures the fact that in this variant of Hungarian personal name possessors behave in the same way as pronominal possessors.

The following legitimate question may arise at this point. Why are nominative possessors too weak to encode the [+DEF] feature value themselves? There are at least three factors that may play a role in this.

(A) Possessor pronouns are typically dropped (unless they have a discourse function), and Hungarian DPs are head-final. From this it follows that in a possessive DP with possessor pro-drop the definiteness of the DP would be recognized at the end of processing the entire DP. As opposed to this, DPs with overt (either definite or indefinite) nonpronominal possessors (which are, obviously, obligatory constituents) have these possessors at their left edge. Thus, the definiteness of the entire DP can be encoded by these

obligatory possessors already at the beginning of processing the DP. It is to be noted that at earlier stages in the history of Hungarian, pronominal possessors were also in complementary distribution with the definite article, then their co-occurrence became available optionally, and now this co-occurrence is obligatory. My suspicion is that the extremely high frequency of pro-drop and the processing factor as described above jointly contributed to the obligatory co-occurrence of the two constituents to a great extent.

(B) 1st and 2nd person OBJ pronouns trigger indefinite agreement on the verb as opposed to 3rd person pronouns, which trigger definite agreement. Compare (9a) and (9b).

(9) a. *Kati*   *lát-ott*   *engem/téged.*
         Kate.NOM   see-PAST.3SG.INDEF   me/you
         'Kate saw me/you.'

     b. *Kati*   *lát-t-a*   *őt.*
         Kate.NOM   see-PAST-3SG.DEF   her
         'Kate saw her.'

It should be obvious that the "weakness" of these 1st and 2nd person pronouns is not semantic in nature, since in an ordinary speech situation the speaker and the addressee can be most definitely identified. Consequently, this seems to be a formal (agreement) peculiarity of these pronouns. Even so, this formal weakness may have an (albeit) minor effect here.

(C) 3PL nonpronominal and pronominal possessors follow radically different (i.e. contrasting) agreement patterns. Here I only give a simplified (and theory-neutral) overview of the relevant facts (which have a huge generative literature).[9] Compare (10a) and (10b).

(10) a. *a*   *lány-ok*   *toll-a*
          the   girl-PL.NOM   pen-her
          'the girls' pen'

      b. *az*   *ő*   *toll-uk*
          the   she   pen-their
          'their pen'

---

[9] These very special cases of possessor concord in Hungarian are generally referred to as "anti-agreement". For a variety of analyses in the GB/MP tradition, see, for instance, Szabolcsi (1994), Dikken (1999), and É. Kiss (2014).

c. *az   ők   toll-a
   the   they   pen-her
   'their pen'

d. *az   ők   toll-uk
   the   they   pen-their
   'their pen'

As (10a) shows, a nonpronominal possessor naturally carries (encodes) the relevant person and number features, while the morphology of the noun head only encodes 3rd person,[10] and it does not agree for person. By contrast, as (10b) illustrates, in the case of pronominal possessors, it is the agreement inflection of the noun head that encodes the features of the 3PL possessor correctly, and the (droppable) pronoun has the 3SG form. This is another formal issue (see point (B) above), but notice that in theory the 3PL pronominal possessor could follow the (anti-agreement) pattern of the plural nonpronominal possessor: (10a), but, as shown in (10c), it does not. Or, alternatively, it could also trigger the ordinary agreement pattern, but, as shown in (10d), it does not. These facts may be partially due to the droppability of the pronominal possessor: when it is dropped, the correct person and number specification can only be encoded by the agreement morphology of the head noun. However, this should not preclude the possibility of the "normal" pattern in (10d), but it does, as reflected by the ungrammaticality.

3.1.3. Dative possessors
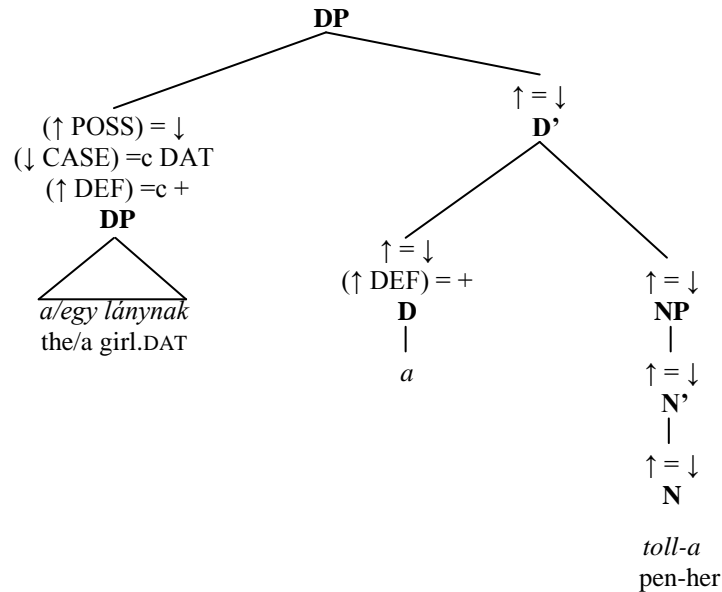
Consider the representation of (11) in (12).

(11) a/egy   lány-nak   a   toll-a
      the/a   girl-DAT   the   pen-her
      'the/a girl's pen'

---

[10] At most, because there are also proposals to the effect that the morpheme in question only encodes possessivity, and it does not encode any agreement features: either 3SG or just 3rd person, see, for instance, Bartos (2000).

(12)

DP
├─ (↑ POSS) = ↓
│ (↓ CASE) =c DAT
│ (↑ DEF) =c +
│ **DP**
│ △
│ *a/egy lánynak*
│ the/a girl.DAT
│
└─ ↑ = ↓
   D'
   ├─ ↑ = ↓
   │ (↑ DEF) = +
   │ **D**
   │ │
   │ *a*
   │
   └─ ↑ = ↓
      NP
      │
      ↑ = ↓
      N'
      │
      ↑ = ↓
      N

      toll-a
      pen-her

The first three annotations assigned to the possessor DP[11] in Spec,DP directly correspond to the first three annotations associated with the nominative possessor in Spec,NP, except that in (12) the case constraint is dative. The crucial aspect of my analysis is formalized by the last annotation: (↑DEF) = c+. Just like nominative pronominal possessors, these dative possessors do not contribute the [+DEF] feature value; instead, they only require the presence of this value. In this way, they make the presence of the definite article obligatory.

3.2. Definite article within the possessive DP and no overt possessor

3.2.1. Pro-drop

Consider the version of (1c) that does not contain an overt possessor in (13).

(13) *a   toll-ad*
    the   pen-your
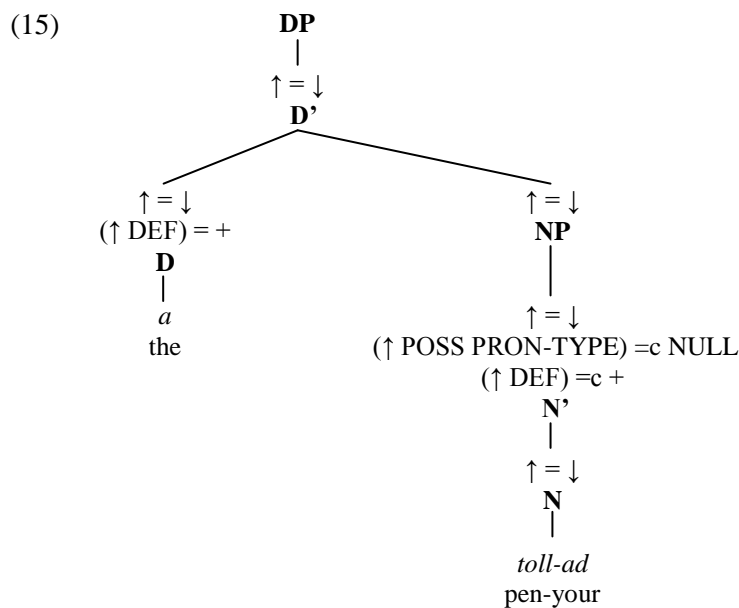   'your pen'

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[11] A reminder is in order here: pronominal possessors in the dative are vanishingly rare *within* possessive DPs. However, they are absolutely acceptable (and, indeed, the only option) as external possessors.

The default interpretation of such a DP is that of ordinary pro-drop. For instance, this interpretation is appropriate when the DP occurs in a sentence like that in (14).

(14) *Le   es-ett   a   toll-ad   a   padló-ra.*
      down fall-PAST.3SG.INDEF   the   pen-your   the   floor-onto
      'Your pen fell to the floor.'

Consider the representation of (13) as used in (14).

(15)
```
                        DP
                        |
                      ↑ = ↓
                        D'
              _____/ _____
             /                     \
          ↑ = ↓                   ↑ = ↓
        (↑ DEF) = +                NP
           D                        |
           |                        |
           a                      ↑ = ↓
          the           (↑ POSS PRON-TYPE) =c NULL
                              (↑ DEF) =c +
                                  N'
                                  |
                                ↑ = ↓
                                  N
                                  |
                               toll-ad
                              pen-your
```

The first two annotations assigned to the N' node should be familiar from previous representations. The third one constrains this configuration to a covert (i.e. phonetically null) pronominal possessor. The fourth, which is the constraining equation I deploy in my current analysis, requires the presence of the [+DEF] feature value; therefore, the definite article must be inserted.

This scenario is made more complex by the fact that, as I pointed out in section 2.1, in the case of pro-drop the definite article can also be dropped provided that the matrix possessive DP is a topic. This can be modelled by augmenting the (↑ DEF) =c + annotation in the following way:

(16)   { (↑ DEF) =c +
         | (TOPIC ↑)
           (↑ DEF) = + }

That is, if the DP is a topic then the N' node can contribute the [+DEF] value, and then the definite article must not be inserted. Also note that when the first conjunct in (16) is used, the DP can still be the topic.

In Laczkó (1995) I analyze possessor pro-drop in the mainstream LFG manner. I assume that when the pronominal possessor is overt in the possessive DP, the nominal inflection only encodes possessivity and the agreement features. When there is no overt pronominal possessor, the same inflectional morphology also contributes the possessor's PRED feature value: 'PRO'.[12] This contribution is always available as an option, but it leads to a grammatical output iff there is no overt possessor pronoun present in the DP. The reason for this is that an expressed pronoun does have its own 'PRO' PRED feature value and the contribution of the morphology of the noun head would "double" this; however, PRED features do not unify in LFG.[13]

3.2.2. External possessor

When a possessive DP like (13) occurs in a sentence like (17), the dative DP outside the possessive DP is interpreted as the external possessor of this DP.

(17) *Neked   es-ett   le   a   toll-ad   a   padló-ra.*
     you.DAT   fall-PAST.3SG.INDEF   down   the pen-your   the floor-onto
     'YOUR pen fell to the floor.'

In this example the external possessor is in the preverbal focus position of the sentence. I assume that it is associated with the following annotations.

(18)   (↑ SUBJ POSS) = ↓
         (↓ CASE) =c DAT

This means that this dative DP constituent expresses the possessor of the possessive DP (which is the subject of the sentence in (17)). It has its own PRED feature, 'PRO' in this case. It should be clear that the sentence can only be grammatical if there is no overt (pronominal) possessor within the possessive DP, and there is no pro-drop interpretation within that DP. In either case, there would be a 'PRO' PRED feature value realized within the possessive DP, and then the presence of the external possessor would be illegitimate, because its 'PRO' PRED feature value could not be integrated, as it could not be unified with the 'PRO' expressed within the possessive DP. It should be obvious from the foregoing discussion that nonpronominal external possessors can be analyzed in exactly the same way, see (19).

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[12] The relevant annotation associated with the +Poss tag in the XLE implementation of the analysis is this: (↑ POSS PRED) = 'PRO'.

[13] Note that the essence of my analysis of encoding definiteness in Hungarian possessive DPs is based on the assumption of a similar ban on unifiability.

(19) *Kati-nak   es-ett   le   a   toll-a   a   padló-ra.*
     Kate-DAT   fall-PAST.3SG.INDEF   down   the pen-her   the floor-onto
     'KATE'S pen fell to the floor.'

The situation is the same except that the dative external possessor is more meaningful: its PRED is 'KATE', and this cannot (or, rather, must not) unify with a 'PRO' PRED within the possessive DP, whether that 'PRO' is contributed by an overt pronoun in the possessive DP or by the possessive morphology of the head noun (on a pro-drop scenario).

3.3. No definite article and no overt possessor within the possessive DP

Recall that a possessive DP has a strictly exhaustive interpretation if it contains an overt possessor and/or the definite article. A nonexhaustive interpretation is available if neither element is present in the DP. There are two possibilities here: (i) a pro-drop interpretation of the DP, see section 3.3.1 and (ii) the combination of the possessive DP with an external possessor, see section 3.3.2.

3.3.1.   Pro-drop

A reminder: even this "no definite article and no overt possessor" configuration can have a definite (exhaustive) interpretation optionally provided that the matrix possessive DP is a topic, see the second disjunct in (16) in section 3.2.1. However, the default interpretation is indefinite (nonexhaustive). Consider the example in (20).

(20) *Megérkez-ett   a   híres   költő.*
     arrive-PAST.3SG   the   famous   poet.NOM
     'The famous poet has arrived.'

     Te   olvas-tál   már   vers-é-t?
     you.NOM   read-PAST-2SG.INDEF   yet   poem-her-ACC
     'Have you read a / several poem(s) by her yet?'

Here the dropped possessor pronoun of the possessive DP *versét* 'her poem.ACC' is anaphorically bound by *a híres költő* 'the famous poet', and the possessive DP has an indefinite (nonexhaustive) interpretation. In order to model this scenario, we need to augment (16) by a third disjunct, see (21).

(21)   { (↑ DEF) =c +
        | (TOPIC ↑)
          (↑ DEF) = +
        | (↑ DEF) =c – }

These three disjuncts have the following effects in a pro-drop configuration. First: the matrix DP is constrained to have the [+DEF] value; therefore, the definite article must be present (and the interpretation of the matrix DP is exhaustive). Second: when the matrix DP is a topic, the N' constituent itself can contribute the [+DEF] value; therefore, the use of the definite article is blocked (and the interpretation of the matrix DP is exhaustive). Third: the matrix DP is constrained to have the [–DEF] value; therefore, the use of the definite article is blocked (and the interpretation of the matrix DP is nonexhaustive).

3.3.2.   External possessor

Consider the sentence in (22).

(22)   *Kati-nak   te   olvas-tál   már   vers-é-t?*
        Kate-DAT   you.NOM   read-PAST-2SG.INDEF   yet   poem-her-ACC
        'Have you read a / several poem(s) by her yet?'

In this example *Katinak* [Kate.DAT] functions as the external possessor of the *versét* [poem.her.ACC] DP, and the interpretation of the DP is strictly nonexhaustive. Notice that for this analysis to work I do not have to modify or augment any aspect of the account I am developing here for the following reasons.

(A) The treatment of the external possessor in (22) is the same as in the case of the external possessor belonging to a definite possessive DP: it receives the same kinds of annotations, compare (18) in section 3.2.2 and (23).[14]

(23)   (↑ OBJ POSS) = ↓
        (↓ CASE) =c DAT

(B) Just like in the case of definite possessive DPs with external possessors, the inflectional morphology of the head noun within the possessive DP cannot contribute the 'PRO' PRED value to the possessor

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[14] The only difference is that in the relevant examples in (17) and (19) in section 3.2.2 the DP (with a dative external possessor) has the subject grammatical function, while in (22) the corresponding DP has the object function.

(following the pro-drop scenario), because this would lead to the duplication of PRED features, which are nonunifiable: a 'PRO' PRED value would come from the nominal morphology and another PRED value would come from the external possessor.

4   Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the encoding of definiteness in Hungarian possessive DPs with particular attention to the (non)complementarity of definiteness markers and possessive markers, and I have proposed a formal LFG analysis of the relevant phenomena.

In the light of the typological generalizations discussed in section 2.2, Hungarian manifests a rather mixed picture, see Table 2.[15]

| COMPLEMENTARITY	• (Droppable) Pronominal nominative possessors and dative possessors must co-occur with the definite article. • Nonpronominal nominative possessors strictly reject the presence of the definite article.
EXHAUSTIVITY	• When there is an overt possessor in the possessive DP and/or the DP contains the definite article, the interpretation of this DP is strictly exhaustive. • The nonexhaustive interpretation is available iff neither element is present within the possessive DP, and in this case we have either pro-drop or an external possessor in the dative.
ALIGNMENT	The alignment of exhaustivity and the complementarity of the definite article with possessors • holds in the case of nonpronominal nominative possessors; • does not hold in the case of pronominal nominative possessors and dative possessors.

Table 2. Complementarity, exhaustivity and alignment in Hungarian possessive DPs

The essence of my LFG analysis is as follows. I assume that in Hungarian DPs the DEF feature is nonunifiable. The definite article always contributes the [+DEF] feature value, and various types of possessors may or may not contribute this value. When a possessor does contribute it, the nonunifiability of this feature precludes the presence of the definite article. This is how I
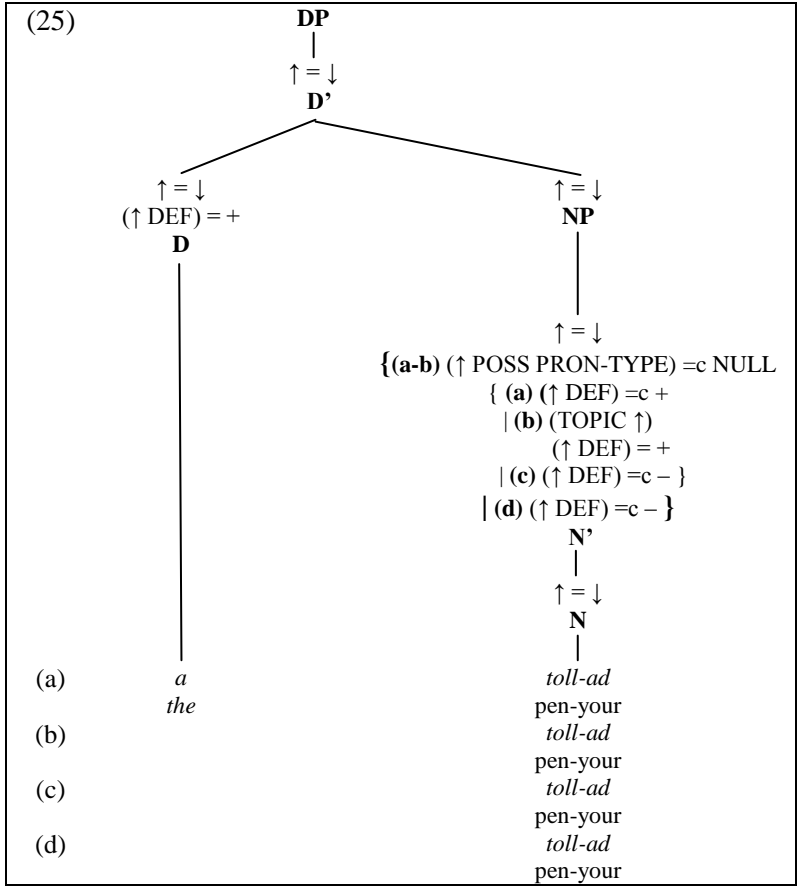
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[15] Here I only highlight the major aspects of the complexity of this picture.

capture the complementarity of the given possessor type and the article. Possessors that can co-occur with the article are assumed not to contribute the [+DEF] feature value; instead, they constrain its existence in the possessive DP, which means that they prescribe the presence of the article. This is how I capture the co-occurrence of the two elements.

In (24) I present the structural-annotational details of my analysis of possessive DPs with overt possessors, and in (25) I present those of my analysis of possessive DPs without overt possessors.
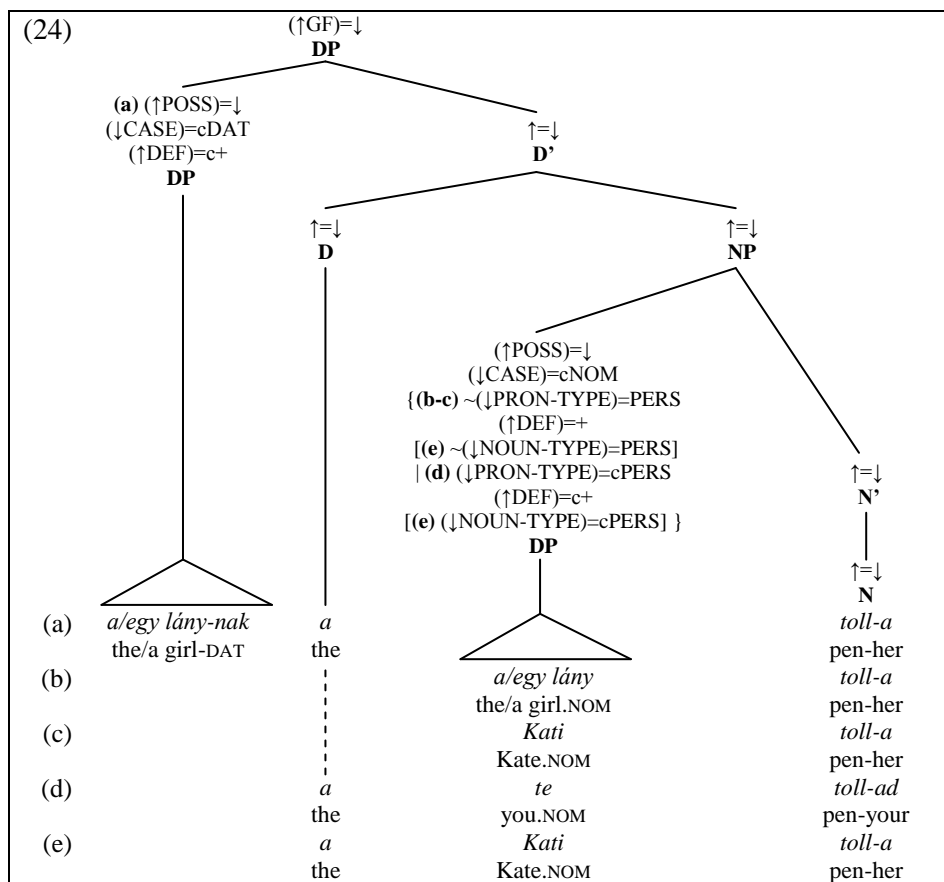
(e) represents the special property of the Trans-Tisza dialect

(25)

```
                          DP
                           |
                         ↑ = ↓
                          D'
            _____
           |                           |
         ↑ = ↓                       ↑ = ↓
       (↑ DEF) = +                    NP
           D                           |
                                     ↑ = ↓
                        {(a-b) (↑ POSS PRON-TYPE) =c NULL
                          { (a) (↑ DEF) =c +
                          | (b) (TOPIC ↑)
                               (↑ DEF) = +
                          | (c) (↑ DEF) =c – }
                          | (d) (↑ DEF) =c – }
                                    N'
                                    |
                                  ↑ = ↓
                                    N
                                    |
(a)        a                    toll-ad
           the                  pen-your
(b)                             toll-ad
                                pen-your
(c)                             toll-ad
                                pen-your
(d)                             toll-ad
                                pen-your
```

(b) exemplifies the exhaustive interpretation of the possessive DP when it is a topic

(c) illustrates the nonexhaustive interpretation of the possessive DP when there is pro-drop

(d) demonstrates the nonexhaustive interpretation of the possessive DP when there is an external possessor

In this paper I have developed an analysis of the relevant present day Hungarian phenomena. One of the two anonymous reviewers remarks that the nonunifiability assumption as I express it seems to be "a brute stipulation", and they suggest the following alternative: "In my Hungarian grammar, there are no cases of unifying two DEF [sic!]". My response to this criticism is as follows.

- The crucial factor is the contrasting behaviour of nominative pronominal and nonpronominal possessors. I think my suggestions about the possible reasons for this situation are valid.

- At the same time, capturing this contrast calls for some kind of stipulation anyhow (even in my reviewer's wording), and it appears to me that carrying this out along the nonunifiability lines at least has the flavour of raising this solution to some principled level.[16]

- I plan to explore the diachronic context of these Hungarian phenomena in future work. A preliminary look at the history of the relevant facts suggests that at earlier stages the nonco-occurrence of the definite article and possessors was characteristic of more constructions than in present day Hungarian. Thus, the appropriate generalization in the spirit of the analysis I have proposed in this paper is that earlier the nonunifiability of the DEF feature values affected more elements in Hungarian possessive DPs than now.

Acknowledgements

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[16] Recall that in LFG it is not only PRED feature values that are assumed not to be unifiable (i.e. reject multiple instantiation). Dalrymple (2001) points out that TENSE feature values, for instance, cannot be instantiated more than once, either, see Footnote 7.

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