ON THE -*ÁS* SUFFIX:
WORD FORMATION IN THE SYNTAX?

TIBOR LACZKÓ

Department of English Linguistics
University of Debrecen
P.O. Box 73
H–4010 Debrecen
Hungary
laczkot@delfin.unideb.hu

Abstract: In this paper I discuss Kenesei's (2005) syntactic derivational approach to -*Ás* complex event nominals in Hungarian, and I compare it with previous lexicalist analyses. I demonstrate that the facts that, according to Kenesei, call for a syntactic analysis (e.g., binding and control phenomena, anti-agreement, negation, and aspect) can be captured in an appropriately developed lexicalist framework with at least the same degree of efficiency, consistency and in a sufficiently principled manner. I outline the most important aspects of such an analysis in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar. I also point out that there are additional considerations which support a lexical treatment.

Keywords: generative grammar, nominalization, lexical-functional grammar, morpho-syntax, lexicon

1. Introduction

Recently, Kenesei (2005) has proposed that Hungarian noun phrases containing complex event nominals ending in -*Ás* should be derived from underlying clauses, that is, this process is an instance of syntactic derivation. For instance, on Kenesei's account, a phrase like (1) has a clausal base which is combined with the deverbal derivational suffix (dev) in the syntax.

(1) a   dokumentum   meg-semmisít-és-e (az   ügynök által)
     the document.nom pv-destroy-dev-3sg the agent   by
     'the destruction of the document (by the agent)'

The fundamental goal of this paper[1] is to discuss Kenesei's arguments for this new approach and to compare its basic aspects with those of various lexicalist analyses, e.g., Szabolcsi (1994), Laczkó (1995), Komlósy (1998). My conclusion will be that the traits of the relevant phenomena that, according to Kenesei, call for a syntactic derivational analysis can be handled in an appropriate lexicalist framework in an efficient, consistent and principled manner (at least to the same extent); and, furthermore, there are considerations which favour a lexical treatment.

The paper is organized as follows. In section **2**, I outline some salient generative approaches to classical nominalization in English and Hungarian. In section **3**, I summarize Kenesei's arguments for the syntactic derivational analysis of complex event nominalization in Hungarian, and I also comment on them. In section **4**, I present a lexicalist alternative in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (henceforth: LFG) with particular attention to the key issues Kenesei addresses (binding, agreement, negation and aspect in derived nominals). In section **5**, I briefly discuss some general (theory-neutral) criteria for choosing between competing analyses, and I point out that, other things being equal, in this particular case the lexicalist alternative appears to be more feasible. Finally, in section **6**, I make some concluding remarks.

2. Classical nominalization in generative grammar

Before discussing Kenesei's (2005) proposal in his Minimalist Program (MP) framework and my alternative account in LFG, it is worthwhile positioning them in the broader context of the treatment of classical nominalization phenomena in the Chomskyan mainstream and in LFG.

The first explicit and comprehensive analysis of English nominalization in the Standard Theory was developed by Lees (1960). Given the architecture of (generative) grammar at the time, the only way to capture

the basic semantic correspondences between clauses and nominalized constructions, on the one hand, and the morphological relatedness of verbs and derived nominals, on the other hand, was to nominalize underlying clauses. For instance, on this account, a noun phrase like the subject in (2b) was derived from a clause like the first one in (2a).

(2)　(a)　That the agent destroyed the document surprised everybody.

　　　(b)　The destruction of the document by the agent surprised everybody.

Chomsky's (1970) extremely seminal paper meant an important turning point in the study of English nominalization. It argued that, verbal gerundive constructions aside,[2] ordinary nominalization should be treated lexically, that is, a verb and the nominal counterpart should be lexically (and not transformationally) related.

In her Government and Binding Theory (GB) framework, Szabolcsi (1994) pointed out that Hungarian -*Ás* nominals, like English -*tion* nominals, are not verbal gerunds (they cannot take object complements and they are modified by adjectives), and she also treated this nominalization process lexically.

A theory that considers derivational morphological phenomena to be lexical in nature is taken to adopt the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis (WLH). A theory which, in addition to derivation, also handles inflectional processes in the lexicon is assumed to follow the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (SLH). The Standard Theory was not lexicalist at all, Chomsky's (1970) proposal was weakly lexicalist. The mainstream GB framework also employed WLH. This was not unexceptional, however, because Baker (1988), for instance, treated even derivational processes syntactically (transformationally), thus discarding WLH as well. Interestingly, Szabolcsi's (1994) noun phrase model subscribed to SLH, as it did not only derive -*Ás* nominals lexically, but it also generated the relevant inflectional (agreement) phenomena in the lexicon. It is noteworthy that in MP, the latest Chomskyan framework, there is a strong tendency to abandon even WLH. So the Chomskyan paradigm seems to be returning, naturally at a more advanced and at a more carefully developed level, to

---

[2] As is well-known, verbal gerunds represent a special "mixed category". They clearly have a VP core (the verb can have object complements and it is modified by adverbs and not adjectives), which is embedded in a noun phrase shell. For this reason (and on the basis of further considerations), Chomsky retained their syntactic derivational (transformational) analysis.

the original standard theoretical view as far as morphological processes are concerned. In this theoretical setting, Kenesei's (2005) account of *-Ás* nominalization is along these old–new conceptual lines.

LFG, by contrast, has consistently adhered to SLH since the very beginning. The theory has always rejected syntactic transformational processes resulting in changing the initial grammatical functions assigned by the predicates involved.[3] Thus, in this framework, phenomena like passivization, the dative shift, nominalization, etc. are strictly handled by means of lexical (redundancy) rules. This immediately yields WLH. In addition, LFG also consistently rejects bound inflectional morphemes' living independent syntactic lives (their heading functional projections[4] and their participating in syntactic transformations). Words come from the lexicon fully-fledged, which means both fully-derived and fully-inflected. In other words, all morphology is in the lexicon, which is tantamount to SLH. Naturally, my account of *-Ás* nominalization to be presented in this paper retains LFG's SLH view on morphology, so when I compare Kenesei's (2005) analysis with mine, I compare a strongly syntactic approach with a strongly lexicalist alternative.

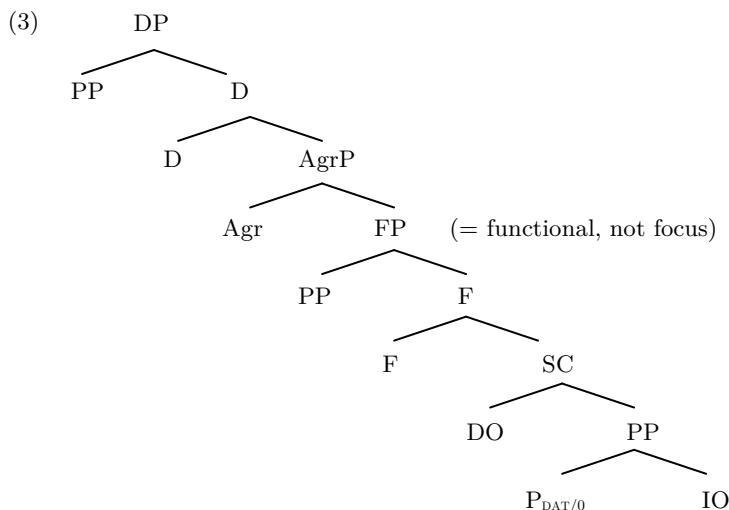## 3. On Kenesei's (2005) syntactic nominalization

In this paper I am concerned with the basic conceptual and theoretical ingredients of Kenesei's proposal, and, in particular, with his arguments for this radically new syntactic derivational approach. In the discussion below, occasionally I have to refer to various crucial aspects of his analysis. Therefore, at this point I briefly demonstrate how he generates DPs with nominals derived from intransitive verbal predicates.

Kenesei's approach relies heavily on den Dikken's (1999) analysis of Hungarian possessive DPs, on the one hand, and on van Hout and Roeper's (1998) account of *-er* and *-tion/-ing* nominalization in English, on the other hand. (3) and (4) schematically present the structures that den Dikken (1999) and van Hout and Roeper (1998), respectively, assume (these are the representations Kenesei gives).[5]

---

[3] This is stated as the principle of direct syntactic encoding, cf. Bresnan (1982c).

[4] In LFG, as opposed to the Chomskyan paradigm, a functional projection can only be headed by an (independent) function word (a free form), and never by a bound inflectional morpheme.

[5] Except that in the case of (4) Kenesei applies the labelled bracketing representation (without the indication of movement operations).

(3)

```
                    DP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
             PP             D
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                      D            AgrP
                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                             Agr            FP      (= functional, not focus)
                                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                                     PP             F
                                             ┌──────┴──────┐
                                             F            SC
                                                    ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                   DO            PP
                                                           ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                     P_DAT/0            IO
```

Den Dikken's (1999) account draws a parallel between Dative Shift/Predicate Inversion constructions as analysed in den Dikken (1995) and Hungarian possessive constructions. The key aspect of his generalized approach is that he assumes a small clause (SC) in both construction types. The two major constituents in the former are the direct object (DO) and the indirect object (IO), and their possessive DP counterparts are the possessed noun and the possessor, respectively.[6] Another crucial assumption den Dikken makes is that the IO/possessor constituent is embedded in a PP, and it receives Case from the P head. This P head comes in two varieties. When it is overt, it is realized by the dative suffix, and the whole PP moves into the [SPEC, DP] position of the matrix DP. When it is covert, the entire PP moves into the specifier position of the FP/PossP. The first scenario generates a possessive DP with a dative possessor, while the second generates one with a nominative possessor (see (4)).

The most relevant aspect of van Hout and Roeper's (1998) account of English nominalization is that it is clausal: the nominalizing suffix *(-ing/-tion)* takes a whole clause, a tense phrase (TP) as its complement, and the deeply embedded verb combines with this suffix in the syntax after successive head-to-head movement.

---

[6] Thus, in (3) DO can be equated with the possessum N, and IO can be identified with the possessor DP/NP. As Kenesei points out, den Dikken's functional projection (FP) is best instantiated as PossP (possession phrase).

(4)
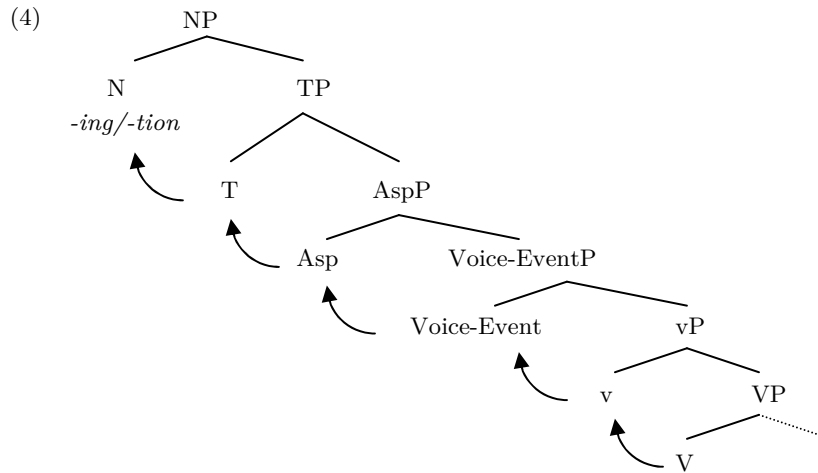
Motivated by certain binding facts and these two analyses, Kenesei proposes the following generation of complex event nominal phrases in which the input verb is transitive (2005, 179).

Kenesei postulates the following movement operations when the embedded clause contains a transitive verb.

(5) 1. V → v (the lexical verb moves to the light verb position)

2. V → Asp (*le-rajzol* 'draw [perfective]')

3. Object DP → Spec,AspP

4. V+Asp → T

5. Subject DP → Spec,TP

6. V+Asp+T → C

7. Spec,AspP → Spec,CP (= Object DP → Spec of CP)

8. V+Asp+T+C → P

9. V+Asp+T+C+P → Nom (= *lerajzol-ás* 'draw-dev = drawing')

10.1. PP with P_0 → Spec,FP ("nominative possessor"), or

10.2. PP with P_{DAT} → Spec,DP or outside DP ("dative possessor")

(6)
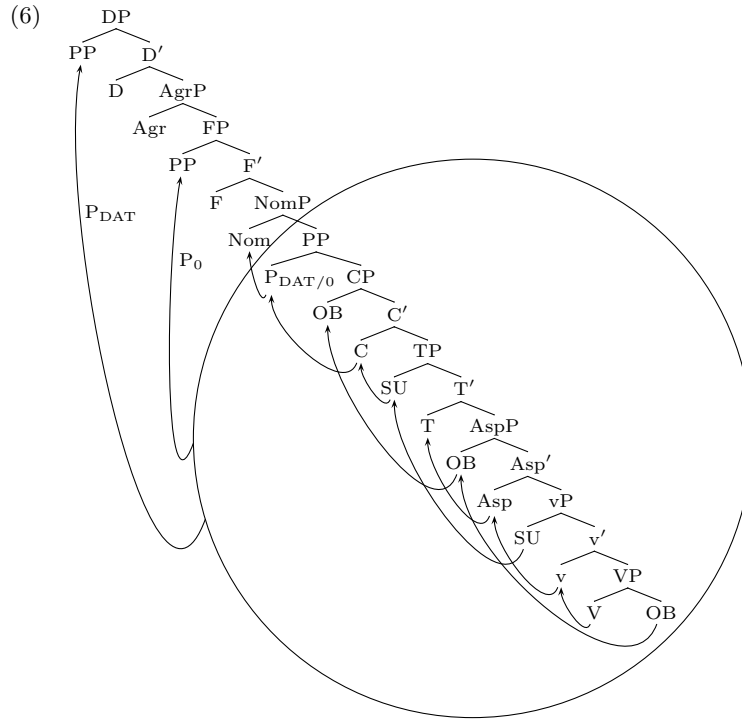
example: a   fiú-k   le-rajzol-ás-a
          the boy-pl pv-draw-dev-poss
          'the drawing of the boys'

Kenesei demonstrates these movements in a labelled bracketing representation in the following way.

(7) (a) [DP *a* [AgrP[Agr-*ja*] [FP [PP P_0 [DP *a fiúk*]_k [TP PRO_j [*t*_i[AspP *t*_k
          [*t*_i [vP *t*_j [v [VP *t*_i]]]]]]]_m F [NomP [v *le-rajzol*]_i -*ás* [PP *t*_m]]]]

     (b) [DP [PP P_DAT [DP *a fiúk*]_k [TP PRO_j [*t*_i[AspP *t*_k [*t*_i [vP *t*_j [v [VP *t*_i]]]]]]]]_m
          a [AgrP[Agr-*ja*] [FP F [NomP [v *le-rajzol*]_i -*ás* [PP *t*_m]]]]

The vP constituent is the standard verbal projection in the MP framework. The patient argument is generated in the VP complement (OB = object position), while the agent is inserted in the specifier of vP. Kenesei employs an aspectual projection (AspP), whose head hosts perfective preverbs.[7] GB's/MP's Extended Projection Principle also has to be satisfied, that is why he postulates a TP as well. He claims that the clausal complement of $P_{DAT/0}$ is such that the only position in which (structural) Case can be assigned to a DP is [SPEC, CP]. Given that when the verb is transitive there are two arguments that require case, and that the external (agent) argument, the subject can be covert, that is, realized by PRO, it is the patient (object) argument that will target this [SPEC, CP] position, where it will receive case through the principle called Agree.[8] The verb itself, through successive head movement operations, moves to Nom, where it combines with the nominalizing suffix -Ás.

Kenesei offers four main arguments for the clausal analysis of -Ás nominalization. In sections **3.1** through **3.4** below, I summarize them briefly and also comment on them. As will be clear from the discussion, they differ considerably as to how well-developed, how well-founded, and, consequently, how strong they are. In section **3.5** I discuss some further significant aspects of Kenesei's account.

3.1. Binding and control

Kenesei's central argument has to do with certain binding facts in noun phrases containing -Ás complex event nominals (CENs).[9] He claims that binding relations in CEN constructions are parallel to those in non-finite (verbal) clauses; therefore, they call for a clausal analysis of CENs. In order for this parallel clausal argument to go through, Kenesei devotes almost one third of his paper to showing that there are crucial similarities between -Ás constructions and -(V)(t)t participial clauses. I discuss his analysis of these participles, based on binding phenomena in Laczkó

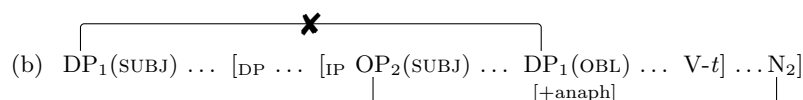[7] He claims that CEN derivation is fully productive from perfective verbs with preverbs.

[8] Whether this argument has a dative or nominative form depends on the type of the P involved: P_{DAT} or P_0, respectively.

[9] Kenesei adopts Szabolcsi's (1994) and Laczkó's (2000b) view, motivated by Grimshaw's (1990) partially different proposal, that a CEN inherits the argument structure of the input verbal predicate in its entirety.
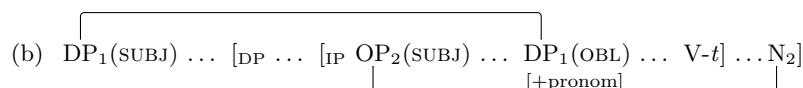
(2008). Here I confine myself to presenting the essence of his argumentation.

As far as *-(V)(t)t* participles are concerned, Kenesei, in his MP framework, claims that if the generally accepted generative linguistic principles of binding are taken for granted, some binding facts pose serious problems for analyses along the lines of Laczkó (2000a; 2005). His key examples are shown in (8a) and (9a) below.

(8) (a) A   lányok$_1$(SUBJ) elolvas-t-ák
          the girls.nom   read-past-3pl.def

          [$_{DP}$ az [$_{IP}$ OP$_2$(SUBJ) egymás-hoz$_1$|maguk-hoz$_1$(OBL) ír-t]   versek-et$_2$].
          the   each.other-to|themselves-to   write-*t* poems-acc
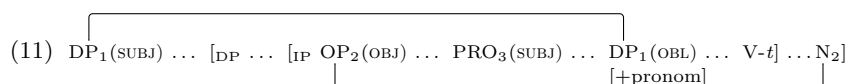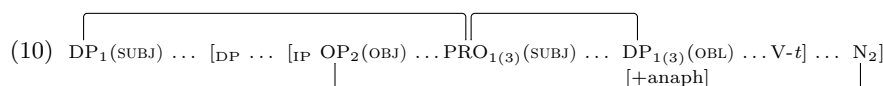   'The girls read the poems written to each other|themselves.'

     (b) DP$_1$(SUBJ) ... [$_{DP}$ ... [$_{IP}$ OP$_2$(SUBJ) ... DP$_1$(OBL) ... V-*t*] ... N$_2$]
                                                              [+anaph]

(9) (a) A   lányok$_1$(SUBJ) elolvas-t-ák
          the girls.nom   read-past-3pl.def

          [$_{DP}$ a [$_{IP}$ OP$_2$(SUBJ) hozzá-juk$_1$(OBL) ír-t]   versek-et$_2$].
          the   to-3pl   write-*t* poems-acc
          'The girls read the poems written to them.'

     (b) DP$_1$(SUBJ) ... [$_{DP}$ ... [$_{IP}$ OP$_2$(SUBJ) ... DP$_1$(OBL) ... V-*t*] ... N$_2$]
                                                              [+pronom]

According to Kenesei, if a passive analysis of these participial constructions is assumed, as in Laczkó (2000a; 2005), for instance, the agent argument is suppressed, and the patient is realized by an empty category which Kenesei takes to be an operator (OP). This OP is coindexed with the noun head.[10] As the two simplified structural representations in (8b) and (9b) demonstrate, the participial IPs have exactly the same internal structure. The former contains an anaphor, while the latter con-

---

[10] In my LFG analysis in Laczkó (2000a; 2005), this OP corresponds to a phonetically null subject pronoun which is present in the lexical form of the participial predicate and in the functional structure of the construction, but not in its constituent structure.

tains a pronoun;[11] nevertheless, both the anaphor in the former and the pronominal in the latter can be bound by an antecedent from the same position outside the same IP. Thus, the problem is as follows: the IP is the minimal binding domain for both relevant items, and the classical binding principles would require them to be in complementary distribution: the anaphor should be bound from within the IP and the pronoun from outside, contrary to fact: the analysis of (8a) in (8b) violates the principle pertaining to anaphors (binding condition A). Kenesei proposes that this problem should be solved by assuming a PRO (agent) argument in the participial construction, that is, the external argument of the input verb should not be suppressed as a result of *-(V)(t)t* participle formation. Consider (10) and (11), and compare them to (8b) and (9b), respectively.

(10) DP$_1$(SUBJ) ... [$_{DP}$ ... [$_{IP}$ OP$_2$(OBJ) ... PRO$_{1(3)}$(SUBJ) ... DP$_{1(3)}$(OBL) ... V-t] ... N$_2$]
[+anaph]

(11) DP$_1$(SUBJ) ... [$_{DP}$ ... [$_{IP}$ OP$_2$(OBJ) ... PRO$_3$(SUBJ) ... DP$_1$(OBL) ... V-t] ... N$_2$]
[+pronom]

In (10), the anaphor is bound by the coreferential PRO subject antecedent within the ordinary IP binding domain, which in turn, is controlled by the DP outside the IP.[12] In (11), the binding domain for the pronominal is again the IP (which contains an accessible subject, a noncoreferential PRO). Thus, the pronominal is free in this domain, and, consequently, it can be legitimately bound from outside this domain, in accordance with classical binding theory (cf. binding condition B).

[11] They both have an oblique grammatical function (OBL).

[12] As the indices in parentheses indicate in (10), there is another possible (but less likely) interpretation of (8a). On this reading, individuals other than those expressed by the matrix subject wrote poems to each other/themselves. Note that this scenario is also fully legitimate as far as binding relations are concerned. The PRO in the participial construction is not controlled, it receives arbitrary and, therefore, [+human] interpretation, and it appropriately binds the oblique anaphor within the IP binding domain. Furthermore, it is also possible for the OP constituent to bind an anaphor in the participial construction, cf.:

(i) A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) felszed-t-ék [$_{DP}$ az [$_{IP}$ OP$_2$ PRO$_1$ egymás-ra$_{1/2}$(OBL) kilő-tt] nyilak-at$_2$].
     the boys.nom   pick-past-3pl.def the   each.other-SUBL   shoot-t arrows-acc
     'The boys picked up the arrows shot at each other.'

On the basis of these considerations, Kenesei (2005) claims that -*(V)(t)t* participle formation never involves suppression of the input verb's external argument. In Laczkó (2008), however, I show that a generalized PRO subject (and no suppression) account is equally problematic if we keep all the relevant principles of generative grammar intact;[13] therefore, I argue for a mixed approach in this theoretical setting.[14] It should allow either a PRO or a suppression treatment and the choice between them will depend on the general principles involved (see footnote 13).

After arguing for the clausal nature and the PRO account of -*(V)(t)t* participial constructions, Kenesei goes on to claim that CENs exhibit strikingly similar traits, which calls for their clausal analysis.[15] The most crucial facts are the binding phenomena in CEN constructions as opposed to noun phrases containing ordinary noun heads. Consider his examples:

(12) (a) A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) lát-ták   [$_{DP}$ egymás$_{1/*2}$(POSS) kalap-já-t].
           the boys.nom   see-past.3pl   each.other.nom   hat-poss.3sg-acc
           'The boys$_1$ saw each other's$_{1/*2}$ hat.'

      (b) A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) lát-ták   [$_{DP}$ az   ő$_{1/2}$(POSS) kalap-juk-at].
           the boys.nom   see-past.3pl   the he.nom   hat-poss.3pl-acc
           'The boys$_1$saw their$_{1/2}$ hat.'

---

[13] This means that in addition to the classical principles of binding theory (including its domain of application), we continue to assume that a suppressed argument is existentially bound in the argument structure, whereas an uncontrolled PRO has an arbitrary interpretation with the obligatory [+human] feature. For a detailed discussion, see Laczkó (2008).

[14] I leave it to future research to explore alternative analyses, which do alter some widely accepted generative principles. For instance, it would be a worthwhile and not at all unprecedented avenue to assume a uniform suppression analysis and to relegate the treatment of binding (and control) relations to a different domain of grammar, e.g., semantic structure or argument structure. Another logical possibility would be a uniform PRO analysis (basically along the lines of Kenesei's original proposal), but then the general view on PROarb would have to be radically revised. For some discussion, see Laczkó (2008).

[15] Kenesei accepts Szabolcsi's (1994) argumentation to the effect that Hungarian -*Ás* complex event nominalization requires a PRO analysis (contra Gimshaw's (1990) suppression approach to English nominalization). However, Kenesei (2005) also differs strikingly from Szabolcsi (1994). The former proposes a clausal and syntactic account as opposed to the latter's non-clausal and lexicalist treatment.

(13) (a)   A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) abbahagy-ták
           the boys.nom   stop-past.3pl

    [$_{DP}$ PRO$_1$(SUBJ) egymás$_{1/*2}$(poss) rajzol-ás-á-t].
                  each.other.nom   draw-dev-poss.3sg-acc

  'The boys$_1$ stopped PRO$_1$ drawing each other$_1$ (lit.: the drawing of each other$_1$).'

   (b)   A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) abbahagy-ták
           the boys.nom   stop-past.3pl

    [$_{DP}$ az   PRO$_1$(SUBJ) ő$_{*1/2}$(POSS)^{16} rajzol-ás-uk-at].
      the   he.nom   draw-dev-poss.3pl-acc

  'The boys$_1$ stopped PRO$_1$ drawing them$_2$ (lit.: the drawing of them$_2$).'

As (12a) and (12b) show, when the DP contains an ordinary, non-derived (non-CEN) noun, an anaphor functioning as the possessor must be bound within the matrix clause, and a pronoun may or may not be bound. By contrast, (13a) and (13b) demonstrate that when the DP contains a CEN, the binding relations for a possessor anaphor are the same (13a), but when the possessor is a pronominal, it cannot be bound by the matrix subject (13b). Kenesei's solution is the postulation of a subject PRO, within the DP, controlled by the matrix subject (in a CEN construction). The anaphoric possessor is bound by this PRO subject, which, in turn, is controlled by the matrix subject. According to binding principle B, the pronominal possessor must not be bound by the PRO subject, which is controlled by the matrix subject; hence the explanation for why the matrix subject cannot be coindexed with the possessive pronoun within a CEN DP.[17]

It is pointed out by Kenesei that one of the main reasons why both Szabolcsi (1994) and Laczkó (1995) postulate a PRO argument in CEN constructions is control phenomena which are also exemplified in (13).[18] However, both authors admit that in their current respective models they

---

[16] In (12b) and (13b) there is no agreement for number between the possessor pronoun (*ő*) and the possessed noun (*kalap-**juk**-at, rajzol-ás-**uk**-at*). This phenomenon is called anti-agreement in the literature. It will play a role in Kenesei's other argument for the clausal analysis of CENs to be discussed in section **3.2.**

[17] Thus, binding facts in both *-(V)(t)t* participles and CENs require a PRO analysis. It is interesting to note, however, that in the former construction type, it is the binding properties of anaphors, while in the latter type, it is the binding relations of pronominals that motivate the PRO treatment.

[18] In Laczkó (1995) I briefly mention that, in addition to control facts, the treatment of binding relations also requires a PRO argument.

can only offer a rather marked solution. Let us take a brief look at the issues to be addressed and at the crucial aspects of the two analyses.

It is a basic requirement for any principled approach to draw parallels between infinitival and derived nominal constructions with respect to control into these constituents when their "subject" argument is unexpressed.

Consider the examples in (14).

(14) (a) János   kiabál-t.
         John.nom shout-past.3sg
         'John shouted.'

   (b) János   elkezd-ett   kiabál-ni.
       John.nom start-past.3sg shout-inf
       'John started to shout.'

   (c) János   kiabál-ás-a
       John.nom shout-dev-3sg
       'John's shouting'

   (d) János   elkezd-te   a kiabál-ás-t.
       John.nom start-past.3sg.def the shout-dev-acc
       'John started the shouting.'

In (14a), there is a finite intransitive clause with an overt external argument realized as the subject. This clause has an embedded infinitival counterpart in (14b). Its covert external argument is assumed to have the subject grammatical function. This is a standard case of what is called obligatory or functional control in various generative theories. In (14c), there is a DP containing a noun head derived from an intransitive verb. Its overt external argument is realized by the possessor constituent. In (14d), the corresponding "intransitive" DP has been embedded in a clause. The nominal predicate in this DP has a covert external argument which we can assume to have the possessor function. This is another typical control situation. Thus, the intransitive parallel illustrated in (14b) and (14d) can be naturally captured. The subject external argument is missing from (14b) and the possessor external argument is missing from (14d), and both can be assumed to be controlled in the usual manner.

Now let us take a look at the related transitive cases in (15).

(15) (a) János   elkezd-te   énekel-ni a   dal-t.
         John.nom start-past.3sg.def sing-inf   the song-acc
         'John started to sing the song.'

(b) János   elkezd-te   a dal   énekl-és-é-t.
    John.nom start-past.3sg.def the song.nom sing-dev-3sg-acc
    'John started the singing of the song.'

In (15a), the patient argument has the object function, and it is still the
subject external argument, which is covert, that can be equally naturally
handled by the well-established control mechanism. However, the pos-
sessor (expressing the patient argument) is present in (15b), and there
can only be one possessor argument in a Hungarian DP. So the problem
(15b) raises is how one can accommodate the unexpressed agent in this
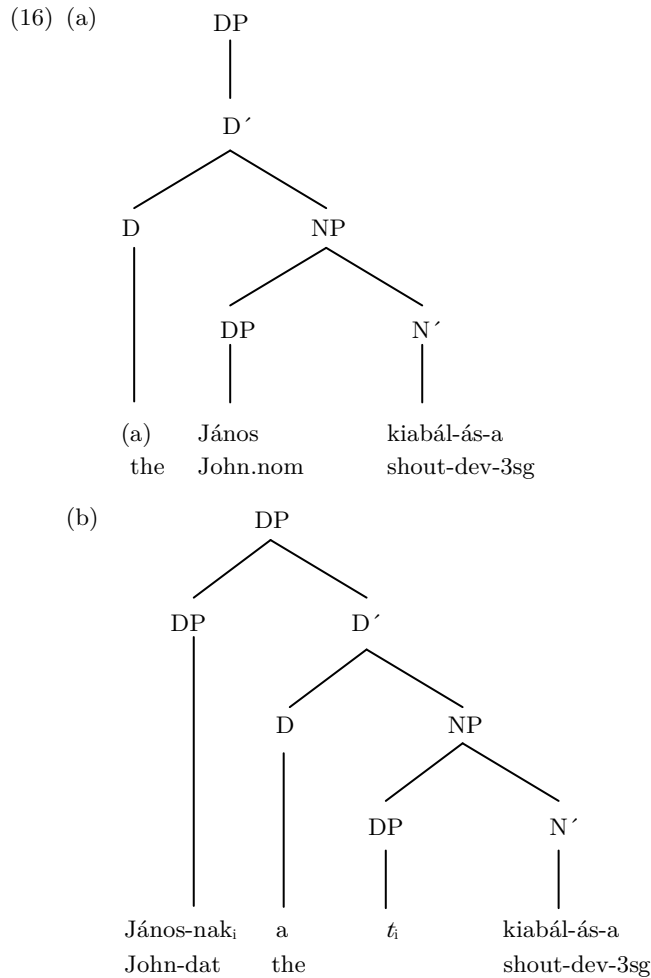case so as to ensure that it should be controllable in a principled manner.

    Szabolcsi (1994) points out that in her system simply there is no
syntactic position for the PRO in a DP containing a CEN derived from
a transitive verb. Consider her structures in (16).

    The problem is that the possessor constituent, realizing the patient
argument, occupies the subject(-like) position in the DP. In Szabolcsi's
model the nominative possessor is in [Spec, NP], where it receives both
a Theta role and Case. The [Spec, DP] position, which is a non-theta,
operator position, is reserved for the same argument. As (16b) shows,
the nominative and dative possessor positions are transformationally re-
lated.[19] This is an elegant way of capturing the complementary distrib-
ution of Hungarian nominative and dative possessors. But it also means
that there is no syntactic position legitimately available to the PRO sub-
ject external argument. Therefore, Szabolcsi's considerably marked solu-
tion is to assume that predicates have a hierarchically organized lexical
structure (mimicking the crucial aspects of the sytactic structure they are
inserted in) and to place the PRO of CENs derived from either intran-
sitive or transitive verbs in the subject position in this pseudo-syntactic
lexical structure.

    In Laczkó (1995), in my LFG framework, my problem is different.
In order to explain it and also in order to provide the necessary theoret-
ical context for the discussion of my modified analysis, below I present
an overview of how LFG handles control (and binding) phenomena.[20]
In this theory, practically there are no empty categories like PRO or pro

---

[19] In Szabolcsi's analysis, the dative suffix is not a case marker (because this would
   result in the dative possessor having two Cases: Nominative and Dative), instead,
   it is an operator marker.

[20] For further details, see Bresnan (1982a; 2001) and Dalrymple (2001).

(16) (a)

```
                    DP
                     |
                     D´
                    /  \
                   D    NP
                   |    / \
                   |  DP   N´
                   |  |     |
                  (a) János  kiabál-ás-a
                  the  John.nom  shout-dev-3sg
```

   (b)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                 DP    D´
                 |    /  \
                 |   D    NP
                 |   |   /  \
                 |   |  DP   N´
                 |   |  |     |
            János-nak_i  a   t_i   kiabál-ás-a
            John-dat   the      shout-dev-3sg
```

in constituent structure (c-structure).[21] Phonetically null pronominal
elements are encoded in the relevant lexical forms of predicates, on the
one hand, and in the functional structure (f-structure) representation of
sentences, on the other hand. Consider the following English sentences
and their LFG analysis. The theory distinguishes two kinds of control
relations: functional and anaphoric control. (17) is an example of the
former, and (22) illustrates the latter.

---

[21] For a discussion of LFG-style "extraction gaps" in English topicalization, see
   Bresnan (2001).
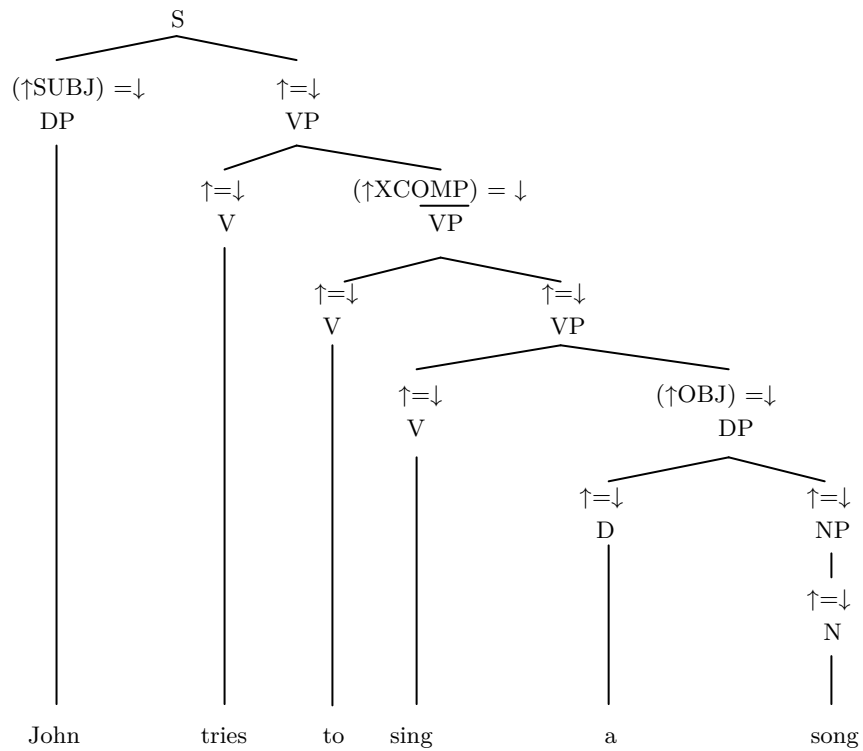
(17) John tries to sing a song.

(18) (a) *try:* V (↑PRED) = 'try ⟨(↑SUBJ), (↑XCOMP)⟩'
             (↑SUBJ) = (↑XCOMP SUBJ)

      (b) *-s:* [V＿＿]ᵥ
             (↑TENSE) = present
             (↑SUBJ NUM) = sg
             (↑SUBJ PERS) = 3

      (c) *tries:* V (↑PRED) = 'try ⟨(↑SUBJ), (↑XCOMP)⟩'
             (↑SUBJ) = (↑XCOMP SUBJ)
             (↑TENSE) = present
             (↑SUBJ NUM) = sg
             (↑SUBJ PERS) = 3

      (d) *sing:* V (↑PRED) = 'sing ⟨(↑SUBJ), (↑OBJ)⟩'

(19) c-structure:

$$(20) \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'try } \langle (\uparrow\text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow\text{XCOMP}) \rangle\text{'} \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{present} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'John'} \\ \text{NUM sg} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{DEF +} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{XCOMP} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'sing } \langle (\uparrow\text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow\text{OBJ}) \rangle\text{'} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'song'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{sg} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{DEF} & - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$
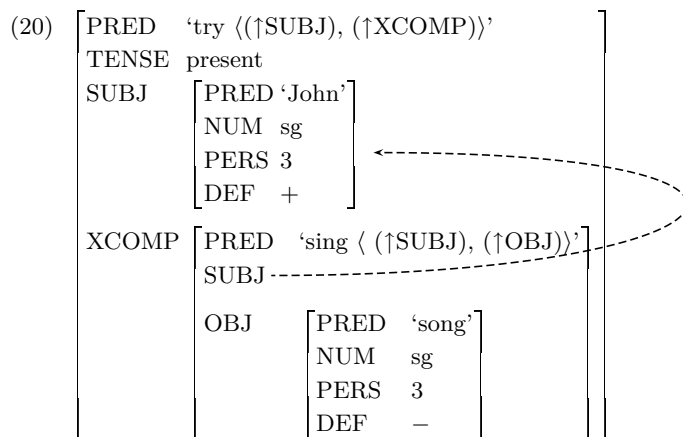
The relevant lexical forms of the predicates in (17) are given in (18c,d). The most important aspects of a lexical form are as follows. It contains the phonetic representation of the word (*tries*), its lexical category (V), and its meaning (↑PRED) in 'inverted commas', which includes the specification of the meaning of the word (so in a fully-fledged representation the appropriate semantic characterization would appear instead of 'try...'). Part of the meaning description is the argument structure of the word (if it has one) in angle brackets,[22] which also specifies what grammatical functions are associated with the arguments.[23] As I pointed out above, LFG subscribes to the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis and posits both inflectional and derivational processes in the lexicon, by means of lexical redundancy rules. Thus, an inflected word like *tries* has a lexical form like (18c) resulting from the application of a redundancy rule combining two simplex lexical forms, (18a) and (18b). As (18a) shows, the non-finite verb form carries the relevant semantic (argument structural) information, and as (18b) demonstrates, the inflectional ending encodes formal grammatical information about tense and agreement (specifying

---

[22] Certain predicates (for instance, "raising" and idiomatic predicates) can also assign non-thematic grammatical functions. Conventionally, these functions are indicated outside the angle brackets.

[23] In more recent versions of the model, arguments receive syntactic featural underspecification, and a component called Lexical Mapping Theory executes the mapping of these arguments onto grammatical functions. As these aspects are irrelevant to the topic of this paper, for simplicity's sake in the argument structure I indicate not the features associated with individual arguments but the grammatical functions yielded by the mapping process.

the number and person features of the subject). When the two morphemes are combined, these two types of information are unified in the new lexical form, as is illustrated in (18c). (18d) shows the non-finite lexical form of *sing*. The LFG style c-structure representation of (17) is given in (19). It differs from the Chomskyan GB/MP mainstream structural concept in the following respects. (a) In addition to the standard endocentric X-bar view on phrase structure, LFG also parametrically admits exocentric structures (that is, not only CPs and IPs, but also Ss at the clausal level). (b) The nodes are associated with functional annotations of two main types: $(\uparrow GF) = \downarrow$ and $\uparrow = \downarrow$. The former designates the grammatical function the given constituent has, while the latter indicates that the node is the functional head of the immediately dominating node.[24] (c) Most importantly for our present purposes, the infinitival constuction does not have a GB/MP style "clausal" (IP, vP, etc.) projection in the sense that there is no "subject" syntactic position and this non-existent position is not occupied by a GB/MP style empty category: PRO to be controlled by the matrix subject (in this case). Instead, this theory captures the referential identity (control relation) between the matix subject and the unexpressed infinitival subject as follows. In the lexical form of a control predicate there is a functional equation encoding this relationship, cf. the second line in (18c): $(\uparrow SUBJ) = (\uparrow XCOMP\ SUBJ)$. The XCOMP function is a special "open" grammatical function assigned to propositional arguments. Its speciality lies in the fact that its own subject argument is always covert, and it has to be referentially identified, that is, functionally controlled, by an overt argument of some other predicate in the sentence. This functional control is instantiated

---

[24] Informally, the arrow notations can be interpreted in the following way. $(\uparrow GF) = \downarrow$: my mother constituent's grammatical function is realized by myself (the node associated with this annotation). $\uparrow = \downarrow$: my mother constituent's features are the same as my own features, that is, I am the head of my mother constituent. Head relations are transitive: if A is the head of B, and and B is the head of C, then, by transitivity, A is also the head of C. For instance, in (19) the head of the S is the highest VP and the head of this VP is the highest V; therefore, this V is also the head of the S. It is also possible for two sister nodes to have the head annotation simultaneously. However, there is a very severe condition on this: only one of them is allowed to have a PRED feature (that is to say, only one of them can have genuine lexical content). For example, in the object DP in (19), the D and the NP are co-heads, but the D only contributes the indefinite feature value to the functional structure of the DP, and the lexical content (a value for the PRED feature) is provided by the NP (and, ultimately, by its N head).

in the functional structural representation[25] of the sentence. Its essence is that the two designated arguments share exactly the same functional (sub)structure (with the same PRED and other features). The most typical way of indicating this is shown in (20). There is a line connecting the two f-structure positions.[26]

Functional control in LFG has the following main properties.

– It is always the unexpressed SUBJ argument of an open propositional argument (XCOMP or XADJUNCT) that is controlled.
– Its (always overt) controller must have a semantically unrestricted grammatical function: either SUBJ or OBJ.
– This control relationship must be local, that is, the open propositional constituent must be either an argument of the matrix predicate (in this case it receives the XCOMP function), or an adjunct, in which case it carries the XADJUNCT grammatical function.

It is important to note that LFG analyzes both "raising" and "equi" predicates along the same functional control lines.[27] The difference between them is captured by assuming that an equi predicate like *try* assigns the "matrix" SUBJ grammatical function to one of its thematic arguments, while a raising predicate like *seem* assigns this function to a non-thematic

[25] LFG has a representational (as opposed to a derivational) architecture. It assigns two parallel levels of syntactic structure to each well-formed sentence in a language: (a) c-structure, which is designed to represent language particular properties of sentence organization (including word order phenomena and the manner in which grammatical functions are encoded in the given language); (b) f-structure, where cross-linguistic, universal relations are captured.

[26] Other representational conventions include using indexation in the two f-structure positions with or without copying the relevant substructure in the XCOMP SUBJ portion of the f-structure.

[27] This means, among other things, that the c-structure representations of both raising and equi predicates are exactly the same on this account, and in the f-structure the only difference is that the matrix controlling grammatical function is not linked to a thematic argument in the case of a raising predicate. This scenario contrasts with various versions of treating raising and equi constructions in the Chomskyan mainstream (cf. raising, equi, exceptional case marking, control of PRO). It is interesting to note that Hornstein's (1999) treatment of control in terms of movement (rejecting the PRO analysis) is the closest translation of LFG's functional control theory into MP. However, his proposal has triggered a heated debate in the Chomskyan literature, cf. Culicover–Jackendoff (2001) and Jackendoff–Culicover (2003), for instance.

argument.[28] The same contrast holds for object equi and rasing predicates like *instruct* and *believe*, respectively. Compare (18a) with the corresponding lexical forms of the other three predicate types in (21) below.

(21) (a) *seem:* V (↑PRED) = 'seem ⟨(↑XCOMP)⟩ (↑SUBJ)'
           (↑SUBJ) = (↑XCOMP SUBJ)
      (b) *instruct:* V (↑PRED) = 'instruct ⟨(↑SUBJ), (↑OBJ), (↑XCOMP)⟩'
           (↑OBJ) = (↑XCOMP SUBJ)
      (c) *believe:* V (↑PRED) = 'believe ⟨(↑SUBJ), (↑XCOMP)⟩ (↑OBJ)'
           (↑OBJ) = (↑XCOMP SUBJ)

Now consider an example of LFG's anaphoric control in the second sentence of (22) and the most important aspects of the analysis in (23)–(25).

(22) John congratulated himself. To sing a song was important.

(23) (a) *important:* A (↑PRED) = 'important ⟨(↑SUBJ)⟩'
      (b) *was:* V
               (↑TENSE) = past
               (↑SUBJ NUM) = sg
               (↑SUBJ PERS) = 3
      (c) *sing:* V (↑PRED) = 'sing ⟨(↑SUBJ), (↑OBJ)⟩'
               (↑SUBJ PRED) = 'pro'
               (↑SUBJ U) = +

The crucial lexical forms for the second sentence in (22) are given in (23). The adjective *important* is used predicatively, and it is assumed that it is a one-place predicate with a SUBJ argument: (23a). The copula, contributing only the usual grammatical features (tense and agreement) is its co-head, cf. (23b) and (24). As (24) shows, the infinitival construction functions as the SUBJ of this sentence. Its predicate is the non-finite *sing*, whose lexical form is spelled out in (23c). Compare (18d) and (23c). The latter is a richer representation, because, in addition to the PRED information provided by (18d), it also introduces a SUBJ pronoun: (↑SUBJ PRED) = 'pro', and it specifies that this pronominal element is of the phonetically null type: (↑SUBJ U) = +. This situation is somewhat similar to GB's (or MP's) use of PRO, with the following significant differences. This "pro" does not appear in LFG's constituent structure.

---

[28] Recall that non-thematic grammatical functions are indicated outside the angle brackets of argument structure representation in the lexical forms of predicates.

(24) c-structure:
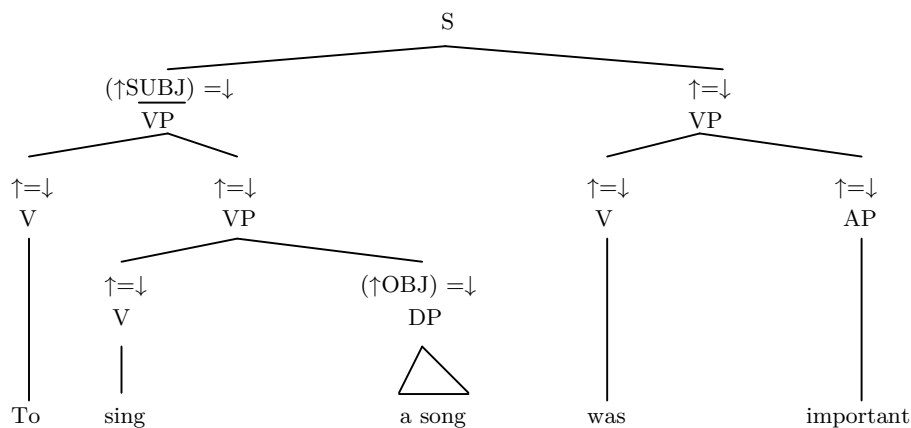
(25)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \text{'important } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\rangle\text{'} \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{past} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \text{'sing } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow\text{OBJ})\rangle\text{'} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'pro'} \\ \text{U} & + \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'song'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{sg} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{DEF} & - \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Instead, on the one hand, it is encoded in the lexical form of the non-finite verbal predicate, cf. (23c), and, on the other hand, on this basis, it is also represented in functional structure. It has to appear here, because it is at this level of representation that LFG's three major well-formedness conditions operate: completeness, coherence and function-argument bi-uniqueness.[29] If there were no SUBJ argument present in f-structure, the principle of completeness would be violated, and this would rule the sentence out.[30] The "pro" in this sentence receives its reference from the linguistic context, in particular, from one of the DPs in the previous sentence.[31] Note that the coreference between the subject of the first sen-

---

[29] For details, see Bresnan (2001).

[30] This is comparable to the operation of GB's Theta Theory. If a predicate cannot discharge one of its theta roles, the Theta Criterion is violated.

[31] In other instances, it can also have the well-established "arbitrary" [+human]

tence in (22) and the unexpressed subject of the infinitive in the second
could not be captured by LFG's functional control device, given its local-
ity principle. In the second sentence there is simply no local controller.
Fundamentally, this phonetically null "pro" is treated in the same way
as ordinary overt pronominal elements in LFG. In other words, in this
theory anaphoric control relations are part and parcel of binding rela-
tions in general, and, therefore, they are handled alike.[32] LFG's binding
theory applies in f-structure. Its principles are formulated in terms of
(a hierarchy of) grammatical functions and on the basis of f-structural
relationships among various types of DPs. The crucial relationship to be
checked is f-command, which corresponds, in some significant respects,
to c-command in the constituent structural approach in the Chomskyan
mainstream.[33] At the end of this overview of the relevant aspects of
LFG, it is worthwhile summarizing the crucial correspondences between
this theory and the Chomskyan paradigm, thereby paving the way for
our subsequent discussion. Consider (26).

As I pointed out before the LFG overview, as regards control into
Hungarian DPs, Szabolcsi's (1994) problem is that in her DP there is no
appropriate (syntactic) structural position for her PRO in the "transitive"
case. Therefore, her marked solution is to insert this PRO uniformly in
the hierarchically organized lexical structures of both "transitive" and
"intransitive" CENs.[34] From the last row in the second column of the
table in (26) it is also obvious that Szabolcsi (1994) would also have to
relegate to a different component of grammar (at least) the treatment of
the binding phenomena in the Hungarian DP, as discussed by Kenesei
(2005). Thus, these binding facts and the problem of (the control of)
PRO go hand in hand.[35]

---

interpretation familiar from the interpretation of uncontrolled PRO in the Chom-
skyan tradition, as in the following example: *To sing a song at the beginning of
a party is always very important.*

[32] For a detailed presentation of LFG's binding theory and a discussion of a mi-
nor (systematic) difference between overt and covert pronominals, see Bresnan
(2001).

[33] On the similarities and differences between the two concepts and on the cross-
linguistic, typological superiority of f-command over c-command, see Bresnan
(2001).

[34] For obvious reasons, Szabolcsi (1994) does not intend to extend this lexical PRO
analysis to clauses with verbal predicates. This move would be in conflict with
the Extended Projection Principle, which requires that each clause must contain
a subject position, and this position must be filled at some stage of the derivation.

[35] It is noteworthy that Kenesei's example in (13b) simultaneously illustrates both

(26)

phenomena	Chomskyan tradition	LFG
"raising" constructions	movement exceptional case marking	functional control (complete f-structural identity of two substructures), encoded by identifying grammatical functions
controlled covert subjects	PRO	
uncontrolled covert subjects	PROarb	anaphoric control of "pro" (= pronominal binding)
binding	– c-command – in terms of structural positions – at the level of Logical Form	– f-command – in terms of grammatical functions – at the level of f-structure

Before the LFG overview I also mentioned that my control dilemma in Laczkó (1995) was considerably different, following from some crucial differences between the two generative frameworks. On the basis of the overview above, now I am in a position to explain this contrast. My fundamental problem was as follows.[36] First of all, it is clear that in CEN DPs the relevant control relationship is anaphoric and not functional, because even in a local control relationship it is possible for an oblique argument to control the covert argument of the nominal, cf. (27). This is strictly prohibited in functional control, which requires either a subject or an object to be the controller.

---

problems for Szabolcsi's account. For the null hypothesis, that is, for both control and binding theories, to work in the customary manner in her GB framework, a "syntactic" PRO subject would be necessary in the relevant DP: it should be controlled by the matrix subject. On the one hand, this would capture the control relationship appropriately, and, on the other hand, the obligatory coreferentiality of the two subjects would naturally explain the binding property of the pronominal possessor in the DP: it must not be coreferential with the matrix subject. The reason for this is that the PRO subject in the DP must not bind the pronominal possessor, as pronouns must be free in their minimal binding domain, which in this case is the DP. As the principles of control theory (and the semantics of the control predicate) dictate that the matrix subject must (obligatorily) be coreferential with the PRO subject in the DP, it straightforwardly follows that the matrix subject and the pronominal possessor must not be coreferential under any circumstances. Szabolcsi only mentions and handles the control problem, and she does not elaborate on binding phenomena of this sort.

[36] For a detailed discussion, see Laczkó (2004).

(27) Mária   ráerőltet-te   *János-ra* a   dal   elénekl-és-é-t.
       Mary.nom force-past.3sg.def *John-subl* the song.nom sing-dev-3sg-acc
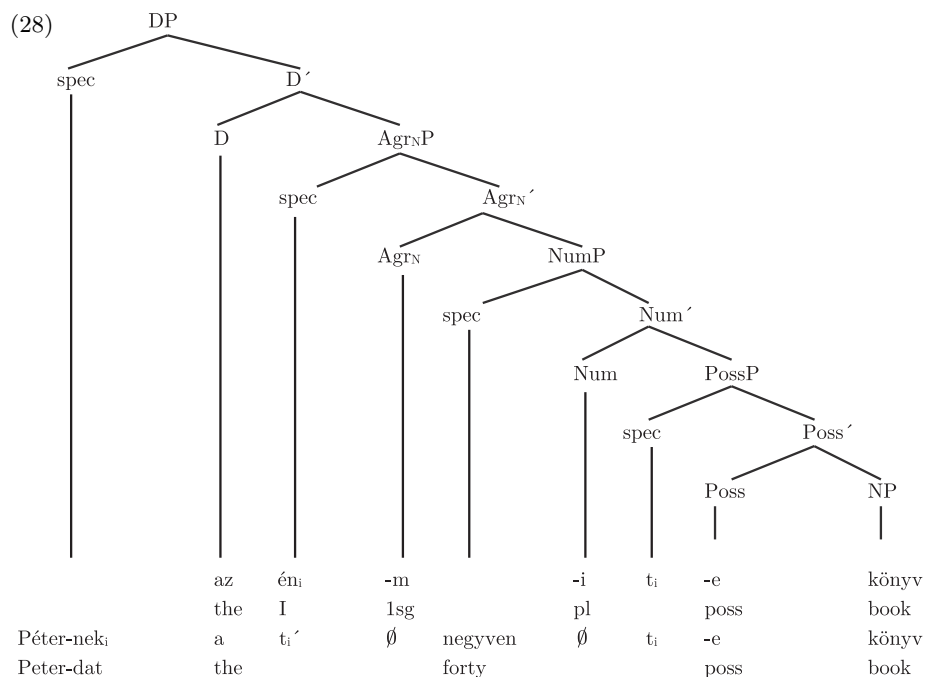   'Mary forced the singing of the song upon John.'

In anaphoric control we need an LFG style "pro" encoded in the lexical form of the CEN nominal, and this "pro" is to be represented in f-structure. It has to have a grammatical function to appear there, and it is to be bound by the matrix argument (outside the minimal binding domain in LFG terms). The problem is that there is no obvious grammatical function for this "pro" in the DP.[37] The only logical candidate, the possessor function, has been taken by the overt patient argument. In Laczkó (1995) I simply mention the idea that the treatment of control phenomena, and, consequently, that of binding in LFG should be shifted to semantic structure from functional structure. However, I do not develop this idea any further.[38]

It is unquestionable that Kenesei's clausal proposal immediately, simultaneously and elegantly solves both the control and the binding problems posed for either Szabolcsi (1994) or Laczkó (1995). Nevertheless, it seems to me that Szabolcsi's account could be modified easily without invoking the whole complex apparatus of clausal syntactic derivation. In various versions of MP, there is a proliferation of functional heads not only at the clausal level but also in the DP domain. As a randomly selected example, consider (28), the DP structure Bartos (2000) postulates, and compare it with Szabolcsi's version in (16). I think it would be possible to find a principled syntactic position for the PRO subject of a CEN in this richer, more articulated representation. I leave it to practitioners of MP to explore this theoretical possibility.[39]

---

[37] Furthermore, I would also need a "pro" subject in f-structure in order to account, in LFG's binding theory in the usual manner, for the obligatory non-coreferentiality of the matrix subject and the pronominal possessor in the DP, cf. footnote 35.

[38] In Laczkó (2002) I sketch an analysis along these lines, but it is not fully-fledged, and its broader consequences have never been explored.

[39] If this proves to be a viable solution, the choice between this approach and Kenesei's clausal alternative has to be based on some general and (at least partially) theory-neutral considerations. I discuss some of these issues in section **5.**

(28)

```
                    DP
             _____
          spec           D´
                    _____
                   D            AgrNP
                            _____
                          spec          AgrN´
                                   _____
                                 AgrN          NumP
                                          _____
                                        spec          Num´
                                                  _____
                                                 Num          PossP
                                                          _____
                                                        spec          Poss´
                                                                  _____
                                                                 Poss        NP
```

	az	én_i	-m		-i	t_i	-e	könyv
	the	I	1sg		pl		poss	book
Péter-nek_i	a	t_i´	∅	negyven	∅	t_i	-e	könyv
Peter-dat	the			forty			poss	book

As far as Kenesei's (2005) criticism and his proposal are concerned from the perspective of Laczkó (1995), the two main points emerging from the foregoing discussion are as follows. (A) LFG's Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis view on morphology strictly rejects a clausal derivation of CENs in Hungarian.[40] (B) Both the control and binding problems noted by Kenesei and characterized as requiring a syntactic derivational approach can be eliminated in a principled manner by introducing an "extra" subject grammatical function and keeping all the other (lexicalist) aspects of the original analysis intact. Partially based on previous work by Komlósy (1998) and Laczkó (2004), in section **4.1** I present a modified account along these lines.

---

[40] As has been pointed out above, even the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis rules syntactic derivation out.

3.2. (Anti-)Agreement

Kenesei's (2005) second argument for the clausal derivational analysis has
to do with certain agreement phenomena. Its essence is as follows. It is a
well-known fact that the possessor can be extracted from a DP. When a
3rd person, plural, non-pronominal possessor is extracted, the possessed
noun can be marked in two different ways with respect to agreement:
it can be either singular/unmarked or plural. When, however, such a
possessor is not extracted, it only has the former (anti-agreement) option.
Kenesei subscribes to Dikken's (1999) analysis of these phenomena, which
assumes that these possessors within the DP obligatorily trigger anti-
agreement.[41] When the (obligatorily dative) possessor is outside the DP,
there are two distinct scenarios. A) In the case of anti-agreement, the
possessor is generated within the DP, it participates in obligatory anti-
agreement (cf. footnote 41), then it is extracted from the DP, and it leaves
a (coindexed) trace behind. B) In the case of ordinary agreement, the
possessor is generated outside the DP, the possessor position within the
DP is occupied by a resumptive pronoun (and the two constituents are
coindexed). Consider Kenesei's examples in (29) demonstrating the two
alternative analyses.

(29) (a) *singular/unmarked agreement*

      A   fiú-k-nak$_i$ jó   volt [a t_i rajz-a].
      the boy-pl-dat good was the   picture-poss.3sg
      'The boys' picture was good.'

   (b) *plural agreement*

      A   fiú-k-nak$_i$ jó   volt [a   *pro*$_i$ rajz-uk].
      the boy-pl-dat good was the   picture-poss.3pl
      'The boys' picture was good.'

Then Kenesei goes on to claim that in the case of CENs only the anti-
agreement extraction option is available, cf. his examples and his indica-
tion of grammaticality judgements.

---

[41] The following example illustrates this point.

   (i) a   fiú-k(-nak   a)   rajz-a   / *rajz-uk
      the boy-pl(-dat the) picture-poss.3sg   picture-poss.3pl
      'the boys' picture'

(30) (a) *singular/unmarked agreement*

    A   fiú-k-nak$_i$ veszélyes   volt [a t_i lerajzol-ás-a].

    the boy-pl-dat dangerous was the   draw-dev-poss.3sg

    '(The) drawing (of) the boys was dangerous.'

  (b) *plural agreement*

    *A   fiú-k-nak$_i$ veszélyes   volt [a   *pro*$_i$ lerajzol-ás-uk].

    the boy-pl-dat dangerous was the   draw-dev-poss.3pl

    '(The) drawing (of) the boys was dangerous.'

Kenesei writes: "If CENs were run-of-the-mill possessive DPs in Hungarian, we would have no account for why they cannot exhibit the resumptive pronoun strategy rampant with almost all possessive DPs" (2005, 172).

I would like to make three remarks on this argumentation.

(A) I have elicited judgements from some native speakers of Hungarian, and what I found seriously queries Kenesei's star (ungrammaticality) marking in (30b). My questionnaire contained 38 sentences with relevant examples, and I had 12 informants (teachers, librarians and secretaries from Debrecen). For 10 of them (30b) was fully grammatical, just like (29b). Only one of them felt the same grammaticality vs. ungrammaticality contrast between (29b) and (30b) as was indicated by Kenesei. However, another person also felt the same kind of sharp contrast—but in exactly the opposite direction. Thus, we can safely say that the judgements of these two people mutually eliminate each other, and then we are left with the judgements of the overwhelming majority, which definitely question the empirical basis for this argument put forth by Kenesei.[42] In all probability, Kenesei described a different version (dialect) of Hungarian.

(B) Even if we take Kenesei's version of Hungarian for granted, I think in his paper he does not demonstrate to a sufficient extent why and/or how the facts as reported by him can be captured (explained) by his clausal derivational analysis. He writes: "Since what moves is a PP with a clausal complement, rather than a PP containing a DP complement, in case the PP is or moves outside the DP, there is no possible resumption by a pronoun since no pronoun can substitute for a clausal argument" (*op.cit.*, 179). Without any further elaboration, I do not find this argument very convincing. This ban on a coreferential relationship between a pronoun and a clause is probably a recent development in the

***

[42] I would like to add that my own judgements fully coincide with those of the majority.

(Chomskyan) model, because earlier on Kenesei himself postulated that a phonetically null pronoun could refer back to a *that*-clause in Hungarian, cf. Kenesei (1992, 649). Furthermore, practically we do not have any information about how Kenesei envisages certain other related and relevant aspects of agreement in this new setting. It would be interesting to see what mechanism guarantees that in the ordinary case it is the DP complement of $P_{DAT/0}$ that is involved in (anti-)agreement processes, including pro-drop, while in the CEN case it is a DP argument of the clausal complement of $P_{DAT/0}$ that is involved in exactly the same processes.[43] Also, one would be interested in the details of Kenesei's treatment of "possessor" extraction phenomena.[44]

(C) As I will emphasize later on several times, Kenesei's paper is programmatic in several respects. It does not set out to develop a fully-fledged account. However, whatever solution he will work out in this particular respect, he will have to bear in mind that at least two versions of Hungarian are to be described in a principled manner, and this may prove to be challenging in the case of the tension between a clausal approach to CEN nominalization and the version of Hungarian my informants and I speak. As far as I can see, the problem is this. If, according to Kenesei, the obligatory nature of anti-agreement between

---

[43] In particular, if on Kenesei's account the possessor is buried in an "invisible" CP/TP shell in the case of CENs, and it is for this reason that a resumptive pronoun cannot stand in for this clausal constituent in an "extraction" configuration, then it is all the more surprising that the same clausal constituent (or, more precisely, its "replacement") can be involved in pro-drop phenomena just like pro-dropped possessors of non-CENs, cf.:

(i) a   *pro* rajz-om   (ii) a   *pro* (?) le-rajzol-ás-om
     the   picture-poss.1sg   the   pv-draw-dev-poss.1sg
  'my picture'   'the drawing of me'

There seems to be a clash between the required non-pronominal and pronominal relations of Kenesei's CEN clause containing the possessor.

[44] I find a crucial aspect of Kenesei's proposal rather marked: the (dative or nominative) "possessor-looking element" that appears (or even does not appear, in the case of pro-drop, cf. the previous footnote) in his analysis is not an ordinary (P case marked) DP constituent. Instead, it is the whole "underlying" clause, entirely (and obligatorily) vacated (except for the invisible PRO with transitive input verbs). This clause only (obligatorily) contains the designated argument corresponding to the ordinary possessor argument in all other (lexicalist) models of CEN constructions. Intuitively, one would expect these "possessor-looking elements" to be analyzed as arguments proper in their own right, and not arguments situated in an invisible clausal shell.

a dative possessor outside a possessive DP and the noun head within the DP is explicable by assuming that this dative constituent is (ultimately) a clause, then the logic of this argumentation would dictate that the lack of this obligatoriness is evidence against the clausal analysis in this other version of Hungarian. Thus, it seems to me that Kenesei could not retain the uniform clausal approach by somehow trying to parameterize the two dialects of Hungarian. By contrast, in section **4.2.** I show briefly that these two patterns can be easily captured on an LFG style lexical account.

3.3. Aspect

Kenesei writes: "...most CENs are marked for perfective aspect carried visibly by the preverb, although it is also possible to produce CENs with verbs without prefixal preverbs. [...] since the standard deverbative nominalizer affix, which derives nouns from (all) verbs is the same as the one producing CENs, the only waterproof distinction, apart from the '*való*-test', between deverbal nouns and CENs is based on the presence/absence of the preverb. [...] Aspect is obviously a clausal, rather than a nominal property, and it belongs to the V-I system, rather than the N-D system" (2005, 172–3).[45] This citation is significant in the following two respects.

(A) Kenesei multiplies the -*Ás* suffix, and he distinguishes between "the standard deverbative nominalizer" and "the one producing CENs". The former is involved in a lexical process, while the latter is syntactic in nature. This issue is addressed in section **5**, where I am concerned with theory neutral criteria and considerations for choosing between various analyses. My point is that a "one suffix + conversion" approach is more feasible than multiplying the suffix, but this option is only available to a fully lexicalist account, and not to Kenesei's mixed analysis.

(B) As far as aspect and the use of preverbs are concerned, Kenesei's basic generalization is straightforward: CENs are perfective predominantly, and this perfective aspect is typically realized by preverbs, and in an MP framework grammatico-semantic features like aspect are naturally encoded by a functional projection: AspP. However, Kenesei himself admits that not all CENs are derived from verbs with preverbs and/or several of them are not perfective. Let me also add that nouns that are unquestionably non-CENs may also contain preverbs. In this light, Kenesei's claim that the presence of a preverb is waterproof evidence for

---

[45] On the *való*-test mentioned by Kenesei, see section **5.2** and Szabolcsi (1994).

the CEN status of a derived noun has to be qualified significantly (which leaves the '*való*'-test as the only really reliable diagnostic). The more correct generalization appears to be this. The presence of a preverb is not a necessary condition on a derived noun's belonging to CENs. It is a sufficient condition on the CEN status of a derived noun just in case the sole function of the preverb is perfectivizing and it makes no additional contribution to the semantics of the verb. Consider Kenesei's own example in (13b), repeated here as (31) for convenience.

(31) A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) abbahagy-ták
      the boys.nom   stop-past.3pl

    [$_{DP}$ PRO$_1$(SUBJ) egymás$_{1/*2}$(POSS) rajzol-ás-á-t].
                    each.other.nom   draw-dev-poss.3sg-acc

  'The boys$_1$ stopped PRO$_1$ drawing each other$_1$ (lit.: the drawing of each other$_1$).'

The derived nominal it contains has no preverb and its aspect is imperfective. Nevertheless, it is regarded as a CEN by Kenesei as well.[46]

(32) (a) János   át-helyez-és-e   a   marketing osztály-ra
           John.nom pv-place-dev-poss.3sg the marketing department-subl
           váratlan   volt.
           unexpected was
           'The transferring of John to the marketing department was unexpected.'

    (b) Ez-ek az át-helyez-és-ek   a   marketing osztály-ra
           this-pl the pv-place-dev-pl.nom the marketing department-subl
           váratlan-ok   voltak.
           unexpected-pl were
           'These transfers to the marketing department were unexpected.'

In this pair of examples the input verb's preverb (*át* 'across, over') is not simply perfective: it also contributes to the meaning of the verb. (32a) contains a CEN on anybody's account, and the derived noun in (32b) is not a CEN (it is usually called a simple event noun or institutionalized

---

[46] Note that other types of matrix control verbs allow (or require) the presence of a preverb in the CEN, cf.:

(i) A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) befejez-ték
     the boys.nom   finish-past.3pl

    [$_{DP}$ PRO$_1$(SUBJ) egymás$_{1/*2}$(POSS) (le-)rajzol-ás-á-t].
                    each.other.nom   (pv-)draw-dev-poss.3sg-acc

  'The boys$_1$ finished PRO$_1$ drawing each other$_1$ (lit.: the drawing of each other1).'

event noun) for at least two reasons: (a) the input verb's obligatory internal argument (object) has not been inherited by the noun and (b) the noun is in the plural. Genuine CENs cannot behave in this way according to Grimshaw's (1990), Szabolcsi's (1994) and Laczkó's (2000b) criteria, which Kenesei (2005) also accepts. Thus, (32b) definitely weakens the waterproof nature of Kenesei's "if preverb then CEN" generalization.

(33) (a) A regény   le-fordít-ás-a   két év-et
          the novel.nom pv-translate-dev-poss.3sg two year-acc
          ve-tt   igény-be.
          take-past.3sg demand-ill
          'The translation of the novel took two years.'

     (b) A regény   (*le-)fordít-ás-a-i   az asztal-on vannak.
          the novel.nom pv-translate-dev-poss.3sg the table-sup are
          'The translations of the novel are on the table.'

The examples in (33), on the other hand, bear out the validity of this generalization. The sole function of the preverb *le* 'down' is perfectivizing. It is present in (33a), and the noun can only have the CEN interpretation. By contrast, in (33b) the noun is in the plural, which calls for the simple event reading. In this case the use of the preverb is unacceptable. All these examples together seem to lend strong support to the modified generalization I have offered.[47]

3.4. Negation

Kenesei writes:

> "Another clausal characteristic of CENs is negation. There is no negation inside DPs in Hungarian, including possessives, except if the negation scopes over an adjective—but then it is technically inside an AP, rather than a DP proper. Since postverbal negation is ruled out in this language, the examples contain DPs placed postverbally, or more exactly, following the finite predicate.
>
> (34) (a) Láttam [a   fiúk-nak (*nem) a   rajz-á-t]
>   I-saw   the boys-dat not   the picture-poss-acc
>   'I saw the boys' (*not) picture.'

---

[47] For detailed discussion, see Laczkó (2000b)).

    (b) Láttam [a fiúk-nak a [$_{AP}$ nem egészen új]   rajz-á-t]
                                   not quite   new
      'I saw the boys' not quite new picture.'

However, negation in CENs is perfectly possible; moreover, the negative word occurs 'inside' the supposed head nominal, that is, between the preverb and the head word.

(35) Veszélyes volt [a   fiúk-nak a   le nem rajzol-ás-a]
      dangerous was the boys-dat the pv not draw-dev-poss
      '(The) not drawing (of) the boys was dangerous.'[48]

While it is possible to have lexically derived nouns containing the negative word, such as *meg-nem-támad-ás* 'pv-not-attack-dev; noninterference' as in *meg-nem-támadási szerződés* 'pact of noninterference', or *meg-nem-értés* 'pv-not-understanding; lack of understanding', these are best treated as lexicalized exceptions, although the issue has hardly been studied and any premature conclusion may risk the danger of widely missing the mark."

                                                            (2005, 173)

My comments on this argument are as follows.

    (A) Kenesei confines himself to noting some apparent clausal properties of CEN negation. He does not present any aspect of a possible analysis along these lines. Therefore, his negation argument, impossible to assess, has no real weight. Naturally, if in future work he develops such an analysis, it will have to be seriously compared with the alternative sketched in section **4.4** or any other lexicalist account.

    (B) Although this requires further thoroughgoing testing, my preliminary impression is that it is quite possible to derive adjectives from negated CENs by means of the adjectivizing suffixes *-i* and *-(V)s* "semi-productively" (or, on the basis of analogical word formation). This can be best illustrated by the help of relatively new or nonsense verbs. Consider:

(36) (a) az el nem szével-és-i probléma
         the pv not save-dev-*i* problem
         'the problem of not saving (something on a computer)'

     (b) a   ki nem csaskol-ás-os   jelenség-ek
          the pv not *csaskol*-dev-*os* phenomenon-pl
          'the phenomena of not *kicsaskol*ing'

---

[48] Above, I use my own example numbering. (34) is Kenesei's (24), and (35) is his (25).

The verb *elszével* 'save' is quite new in the computer vocabulary, and *kicsaskol* is a nonsense verb. If my intuitions are on the right lines, then these facts pose the following problem for Kenesei's clausal account. As has already been mentioned above, he is forced to multiply the -*Ás* suffix. Say -*Ás*$_1$ is a syntactic derivational suffix which is used in a fully productive manner, while -*Ás*$_2$ is a lexical suffix involved in non-productive word formation. Given that (denominal) adjective formation is most appropriately regarded as a lexical process and that negated CENs, as the examples in (36) show, can at least "semi-productively" serve as input to adjectivization, Kenesei's sharp contrast between -*Ás*$_1$ and -*Ás*$_2$ seems to be considerably weakened. The reason for this is that in instances like these it is highly implausible to assume that we are dealing with "lexicalized exceptions". As far as I can see, Kenesei could tackle this problem in two different ways. On the one hand, he could relegate (at least) this kind of (semi-productive) adjective formation to the syntax. On the other hand, he could also assume that it is his (lexical) -*Ás*$_2$ suffix that is involved in this morphological process. However, this move would force him to admit a kind of a "morphological *nem*". I think the lexicalist alternative, assuming one and only (lexical) -*Ás* and generating all negated CENs in the lexicon (by dint of a morphological *nem*) appears to be simpler and more principled than either of these two solutions.[49]

(C) As Kenesei's own example demonstrates, negation in APs is also possible, cf. (34b). From this it follows that his generalization and his discussion of the relevant data are not fully consistent or complete. In order to accommodate this fact, either he would need to add that APs can be negated just like clauses, or he would need to assume that APs are clauses.[50] The first option would weaken his clausal argument to a considerable extent, while the second would require him to develop a fuller theory of clause structure to include non-verbal predicates like adjectives.

(D) I think the greatest challenge for a clausal (syntactic) analysis of CEN negation would be that it would have to explain why it is only the simple negative particle (*nem*) that can be involved in processes in CENs. After all, if these constructions are derived from a Nom + Clause configuration, then it is highly surprising, and, therefore, it calls for a principled

---

[49] Naturally, all these considerations are rather hypothetical and speculative, because my lexicalist approach has not been fully developed, and Kenesei has not even offered a sketch of his solution yet.

[50] In an entirely different context, Kenesei (2000) does raise exactly this analytical option, but the paper, given its scope, offers no AP-clause analysis at all.

explanation, that all other preverb + particle + verb combinations which are customary in clauses are strictly prohibited in CENs, cf.:

(37) (a) A   fiú-t   le nem rajzol-ná-m.
          the boy-acc pv not draw-cond-1sg
          'I wouldn't draw the boy (under any circumstances).'

     (b) a   fiú   le nem rajzol-ás-a
          the boy.nom pv not draw-dev-poss.3sg
          'the not drawing of the boy'

This pair of examples illustrates and supports Kenesei's clausal parallel. In both the clause in (37a) and the CEN construction in (37b) the negative particle intervenes between the preverb and the verbal or derived nominal predicate.[51] Indeed, this parallel could straightforwardly be captured by assuming a clausal basis for the CEN construction.[52]

(38) (a) A   fiú-t   nem rajzol-t-am   le.
          the boy-acc not draw-past-1sg pv
          'I didn't draw the boy.'

     (b) *a   fiú   nem rajzol-ás-a   le
          the boy.nom not draw-dev-poss.3sg pv
          'the not drawing of the boy'

These examples show that even the simple negative particle does not behave in exactly the same manner in the two domains as regards word order. In ordinary clauses the unmarked order of the relevant elements is nem + verb + preverb, cf. (38a). This order, however, is definitely ungrammatical in CEN constructions, cf. (38b). Kenesei's analysis to be developed will have to address this contrast, too.[53]

---

[51] It is to be noted that the preverb + nem + verb order in clauses like (37a) normally conveys some additional element of meaning, for instance, some kind of emphasis, cf. the English translation. The most neutral way of negating a clause has the nem + verb + preverb basic order, cf. (38a).

[52] As I have already pointed out, all the details of such an analysis are yet to be developed, and the whole account can be evaluated only then.

[53] It appears to me that Kenesei's best strategy for handling negation facts in CENs could be generating the negative particle in the head position of a NegP functional projection and then the verb in its head-to-head movement operations could pick up both this particle and the preverb before ending up in the Nom head position and combining with the derivational suffix. The practical reason why the verb +

(39) (a) A   fiú-t   le is   rajzol-t-am.
          the boy-acc pv also draw-past-1sg
          'I even drew the boy.'

     (b) *a   fiú   le is   rajzol-ás-a
          the boy.nom pv also draw-dev-poss.3sg
          'even drawing the boy'

(40) (a) A   fiú-t   le sem   rajzol-t-am.
          the boy-acc pv also.not draw-past-1sg
          'I didn't even draw the boy.'

     (b) *a   fiú   le sem   rajzol-ás-a
          the boy.nom pv also.not draw-dev-poss.3sg
          'not even drawing the boy'

As these two pairs of examples demonstrate, the use of particles other than the simple negative particle (*nem*) is fully grammatical in ordinary clauses, cf. (39a) and (40a), while it is strictly prohibited in CEN constructions, cf. (39b) and (40b). In (39) the particle *is* means 'also, even', and the particle *sem* in (40) is informally best characterized as the combination of the two simplex particles mentioned before: $is + nem \rightarrow sem$. Now if Kenesei's approach postulates a clausal basis for CENs then it would need some mechanism to eliminate the particles *is* and *sem* from the CEN clausal domain.

---

nem order in the input clause has to be blocked is that on Kenesei's account the remainder of the whole of the radically (vacated) clause, limited to containing only the direct arguments of the predicate, is moved in one of the two possessor positions, cf. (5). If this emptied clause in the possessor position comprised a "stranded" preverb then the attested order of elements could not be generated. In that case the preverb would inevitably have to precede the dative suffix and the definite article, contrary to fact, cf.:

(i)   *a   fiú le -nak a   nem rajzol-ás-a
        the boy pv dat   the not draw-dev-poss.3sg
        'the not drawing of the boy'

Thus, Kenesei needs to ensure that the verb obligatorily "pied pipes" the preverb (and the negative particle) from the clause before it moves into the nominal domain. For a similar problem pertaining to verbal modifiers, see section **3.5.** For a complication caused by the fact the Kenesei admits preverbs in a head or in a specifier position (Asp and Spec,AspP, respectively) and the fact that his assumptions force him to treat negation in CEN constructions clausally, see section **3.5.**

(41) (a)   A   kapu-t   piros-ra fest-ett-em.
           the gate-acc red-sub paint-past-1sg
           'I painted the gate red.'

     (b)   a   kapu   piros-ra fest-és-e
           the gate.nom red-sub paint-dev-poss.3sg
           'painting the gate red'

(42) (a)   A   kapu-t   nem fest-ett-em   piros-ra.
           the gate-acc not paint-past-1sg red-sub
           'I didn't paint the gate red.'

     (b) *a   kapu   piros-ra nem fest-és-e
           the gate.nom red-sub not paint-dev-poss.3sg
           'not painting the gate red'

     (c) *a   kapu   piros-ra való nem fest-és-e
           the gate.nom red-sub *való* not paint-dev-poss.3sg
           'not painting the gate red'

     (d) *a   kapu   nem fest-és-e   piros-ra
           the gate.nom not paint-dev-poss.3sg red-sub
           'not painting the gate red'

(41) and (42) illustrate a further potential complication for Kenesei's clausal CEN analysis. In Hungarian certain verbs have a designated argument which, in neutral sentences, has to precede the verb immediately, cf. (41a). An argument like this is frequently called a verbal modifier in the generative literature.[54] The CEN counterparts of these verbs retain these designated arguments in a special way: although they precede the derived nominal (CEN) head, they do not have to acquire an adjectival form, cf. (41b).[55] When clauses with such verbs are negated, in the neutral, unmarked case the word order patterns with negation involving preverbs, cf. (42a). However, neutral, ordinary negation involving verbal modifiers in the CEN domain is impossible, whether the modifier precedes or follows the derived nominal, cf. (42b), (42c) and (42d), respectively.[56]

---

[54] Cf., for instance, Komlósy (1985).

[55] For further discussion, see section **3.5.**

[56] Let me note in this connection that in my idiolect (42b) is marginally acceptable (ranked at ??) if the verbal modifier receives heavy (focus) stress. This, however, does not weaken the point I am making here.

As I discuss in the next section, Kenesei assumes that the verbal modifier (at least at one stage of the derivation) occupies the specifier position in AspP. Furthermore, he assumes that in certain cases a preverb also occupies this position, and they are in complementary distribution. Given this scenario, it is unclear why preverbs allow CEN negation, while verbal modifiers reject it. Compare (37b) and (42b,c).[57]

Finally, I would like to point out that in attributive participial constructions the preverb + particle + participle permutation is not limited to the negative particle *nem*, cf.:

(43) (a) a   fiú-t   le nem rajzol-ó   tanár-ok
          the boy-acc pv not draw-part teacher-pl
          'the teachers not drawing the boy'

     (b) a   fiú-t   le is   rajzol-ó   tanár-ok
          the boy-acc pv also draw-part teacher-pl
          'the teachers even drawing the boy'

     (c) a   fiú-t   le sem   rajzol-ó   tanár-ok
          the boy-acc pv also.not draw-part teacher-pl
          'the teachers not even drawing the boy'

As the clausal parallel between CEN constructions and verbal (including participial) constructions is at the heart of Kenesei's argumentation, this partial contrast calls for an explanation in his system.

At the end of this section let me emphasize again that Kenesei only informally uses negation facts as a potential argument for the clausal analysis of CEN constructions. Not a single aspect of an analysis along these lines is offered in his paper. Therefore, here I have only been able to make some general remarks on what difficulties and complications I can envisage for his model. It may well be the case that he will develop a coherent and principled account of all the issues I have mentioned. However, it seems to me that he will need quite a complex and sophisticated apparatus to capture these phenomena. Consequently, I think that the very same goal can be achieved in a much more straightforward way by simply employing the notion of a morphological *nem*, as I briefly discuss in section **4.4.**

---

[57] For further comments on Kenesei's treatment of verbal modifiers in CENs, see section **3.5.**

3.5. On additional aspects of Kenesei's analysis

Kenesei writes:

> "[...] if the verb is a three-place (or triadic) predicate, as in the case of verbs
> of giving, sending, etc., the following options are available for CENs: (a)
> the internal argument occupies the only structurally case-marked position
> and a preverb in Spec,AspP stands in for the oblique argument, specify-
> ing the direction of the action and changing the oblique argument into
> an adjunct; (b) with the internal argument in the case-marked position, a
> PP/KaseP is placed in the Spec,AspP; finally, (c) following the lexical in-
> corporation of the internal argument, the external argument moves into the
> case-marked position and the oblique argument is lined up as an adjunct
> again."   (Kenesei 2005, 181–2)

He illustrates these three cases with the following examples.[58],[59]

(44) (a)   a   csomag (Péter-nek való) *(el)-küld-és-e
           the package Peter-dat *való*   pv-send-dev-poss
           'the sending of the package to Peter'

     (b)   a   csomag [PP Péter után] (*el)-küld-és-e
           the package   Peter after   pv-send-dev-poss
           'the sending of the package on to Peter'

     (c)   Anna (Péter-nek való) csomag-(*el)-küld-és-e
           Anna Peter-dat *való* package-pv-send-dev-poss
           'Anna's sending of packages to Peter'

Then he goes on to say:

---

[58] In Kenesei's text the relevant examples are in (46).

[59] Notice that the three examples do not manifest entirely minimal contrasts, be-
cause in (44b) the goal argument of the predicate is expressed by a constituent
different from what Kenesei considers adjuncts in the other two examples (*Péter
után* 'after Peter' vs. *Péternek* 'to Peter'). (This is partially justified by the
slightly different translations of (44a) and (44b).) In actual fact, in the major-
ity of the cases the types exemplified by (44a) and (44b) are in complementary
distribution. (For discussions of the severe limitations on the (44b) type, see
Szabolcsi 1994 and Laczkó 1995.) For instance, a version of (44b), which is a real
minimal pair counterpart of (44a), is only marginally acceptable:

(i) ??a   csomag Péter-nek (*el)-küld-és-e
        the package Peter-dat pv-send-dev-poss
        'the sending of the package to Peter'

> "We may suppose then that whenever the verb underlying the CEN has an oblique argument in addition to an internal and an external one, the oblique argument will be optional in the corresponding CEN. This holds, incidentally, for both prenominal and postnominal positions. As for postnominal PP/KaseP, it moves out of the CP presumably to an adjunct position in Spec,PP of the $P_{dat/0}$, just below Nom, which is, in effect, ultimately the right edge of the DP (see the structure in (6))."[60]   (Kenesei 2005, 182)

My main concerns about this approach are as follows.

(A) As regards (44a), it is unclear to me what brings about the change from an oblique argument into an adjunct in the CEN domain, on this clausal nominalization account. I cannot see a real argument vs. adjunct contrast with respect to the status of an oblique constituent in the ordinary verbal clausal domain and in Kenesei's CEN clausal domain. It seems to me that *Péter-nek* (Peter-dat) is equally optional even when it combines with the corresponding verbal predicate:

(45) Anna el-küld-t-e   a   csomag-ot   (Péter-nek).
     Anna pv-send-past-3sg.def the package-acc Peter-dat
     'Anna sent the package (to Peter).'

In addition, Kenesei's contrast also requires that the status of the preverb should be radically different in the nominal clausal and the verbal clausal domains. Again, it is hard to see what can trigger this change in the syntax in a principled manner. This aspect of the analysis is yet to be developed.

At this point it has to face the following challenge. Although these issues are not explicitly addressed, it appears to be the case that Kenesei distinguishes at least two types of preverbs: (a) those that function as the head of an AspP (ordinary perfectivizing preverbs); (b) those that are inserted in Spec,AspP, and, therefore, have a phrasal (XP) status, and function as proper arguments of the verbal predicate. It is in this context that the treatment of preverbs in the case of examples like (44a) and (45) may cause the following analysis-internal problem. If the preverb is not an argument of the verb, that is, if it only "perfectivizes" the verb, then the most natural assumption is that they make up a complex predicate by head-to-head movement (V → Asp), cf. Kenesei's analysis in (5). By contrast, if the preverb, in the CEN domain, is taken to function as an argument and to occupy the Spec,AspP positions, then there seems to be

---

[60] In Kenesei's paper the structure is in (40), and it is in (6) in this paper.

a clash between the X^0 status of the preverb in the verbal clausal domain
and the XP status of the same preverb in the CEN clausal domain, cf.
the citation from Kenesei above. It is unclear what triggers this $X \rightarrow$
XP change in the status of the preverb, and how this can be treated in
a principled manner in Kenesei's model.

(B) Apparently, it is a closely related difficulty to handle that both
types of preverbs (X^0 and XP) have exactly the same distribution in CEN
constructions. This needs to be ensured in some principled manner. As
far as I can see, the most striking problem in this connection would be
to capture the negation facts. Whether the preverb is X^0 or XP (in Asp
or Spec,AspP, respectively), Kenesei's system has to yield the preverb +
negative particle + verb-dev morpheme order in his CEN clauses. It seems
to me that he needs two different (and independent) processes to achieve
this. In addition, he has to ensure that (i) verbal modifiers should not
be involved in CEN negation; (ii) only the negative particle (*nem* 'not')
can participate in these processes and no other particles (*is* 'also even',
sem 'not even'), as opposed to the verbal clausal domain, as discussed
in section **3.4.**

(C) As regards (44b), a fuller analysis is yet to be developed. As
far as I can see, the following issues will require special attention. In
Kenesei's sketch of an account, the designated argument occupies the
Spec,AspP position. At the end of the derivation, this argument must
precede the CEN head without being adjectivized (for instance, without
occurring in a *való* constituent, compare (44a) and (44b) in this respect).
It is not clear what position Kenesei would employ for this purpose.[61]
More importantly, it is not clear what motivates, triggers or licenses this
movement.[62]

(D) I have two problems with Kenesei's analysis of the (44c) type.
First of all, it appears to be crucial for him that the incorporated inter-
nal argument and the preverb should be incompatible. However, this is
not always the case, cf. (46a,b). Secondly, and even more importantly,
Kenesei assumes a lexical incorporation of this internal argument. Given
his overall clausal approach, this can only mean that the argument incor-
porates into (the lexical form of) the verb. However, if this is the case,
that is, if complex verbal predicates like *csomag-küld* 'package-send' are

---

[61] Apparently, it should be the same position as the preverb inserted in the
Spec,AspP position is supposed to move into, cf. (44a).

[62] On the problem of generating and expressing arguments and adjuncts in CEN
clauses in general, see point (H) below.

readily available in the lexicon, it appears to be a mystery on this account why such verbs cannot normally be used in their own right in ordinary verbal clauses, cf. (46c).

(46) (a) csomag-át-rak-ás
        package-pv-put-dev
        ca. 'package transposition'

   (b) csomag-fel-ad-ás
        package-pv-give-dev
        ca. 'package mailing'

   (c) *Csomag-küld-t-em   Péter-nek.
        package-send-past-1sg.def Peter-dat
        '*I packagesent to Peter.'

It seems to me that a fully lexicalist analysis can easily avoid these problems. We can assume that -*Ás* CEN nominalization takes place in the lexicon, and certain kinds of these CENs can serve as input to compounding. The first member of the compound is one of the arguments of this nominal predicate.[63]

(E) As regards Kenesei's remark on the position that a postnominal PP/KaseP occupies, namely Spec,PP of the $P_{dat/0}$, it seems to me that he may have had a different Spec position in mind. The reason for this is that in his analysis the whole PP (containing the CP and, naturally, including its own Spec position) moves into a prenominal "possessor" position; therefore, this Spec,PP cannot be postnominal on Kenesei's

---

[63] Szabolcsi (1992) argues that not all -*Ás* compounds following the pattern presented above should be regarded as containing CENs. Consider her minimal pair:

(i) Péter   rá-szok-ott   a reggeli   előtt való pizza-ev-és-re.
     Peter.nom pv-get.used-past.3sg the breakfast before *való* pizza-eat-dev-subl
     'Peter got used to pizza-eating before breakfast.'

(ii) *Péter   reggeli előtt való pizza-ev-és-e   bosszantó.
     Peter.nom breakfast before *való* pizza-eat-dev-3sg annoying
     'Peter's pizza-eating before breakfast is annoying.'

She claims that in these examples the *való* construction only admits the CEN reading of the -*Ás* nominal, and the fact that (ii) is ungrammatical on this reading clearly shows that it does not contain a CEN. If we adopt Szabolcsi's argumentation, then Kenesei's (44c) can be eliminated as a problematic case for his analysis, given that this clausal approach is strictly confined to CENs. However, the general problem still remains, because from his discussion it is straightforward that he would also analyze (i) as an instance of clausal CEN derivation.

account. I think the Spec,NomP position (at the right edge) would serve
the required purpose more appropriately.

(F) In a fully developed analysis along these clausal CEN lines, the
status of *által* 'by' phrases will also have to be addressed. The question is
as follows. If PRO subjects are uniformly present in these constructions,
what licenses the appearance of 'by' phrases, as opposed to, say, infinitival
clauses, which strictly reject them.

(G) Kenesei claims that the overwhelming majority of CENs are per-
fective (typically containing perfectivizing preverbs). However, he also
mentions that some CENs express continuous/imperfective actions. It
seems to me that these descriptive generalizations are hard to capture on
his syntactic derivational account, for the following reason. The verbal
predicates serving as input to CEN formation are inserted in an entirely
verbal-clausal, TP/CP environment. I can see no principled way of spec-
ifying in the lexical entry of a continuous/imperfective verbal predicate
whether the Nom head can take as its complement the TP/CP in which
the verb in question is inserted. In Kenesei's structure, the two elements,
Nom and the verb, are a long way away from each other. By contrast,
a lexical approach can capture the relevant facts more naturally: in the
lexical entry of a verb it can be specified whether it is possible to derive
a CEN from it or not.

(H) As far as some open questions or unresolved problems are con-
cerned, Kenesei writes:

> "[...] since oblique arguments cannot be (structurally) case-marked by the
> $P_{dat/0}$ they must be accommodated either, in effect, as a postnominal ad-
> junct unchanged, or prenominally in the *való*-construction. But this de-
> scriptive generalization accounts in no way for why oblique arguments have
> to move out of the CP/vP containing them or how the *való*-construction
> arises. As our predecessors, we will have to leave these questions for further
> research."   (Kenesei 2005, 183–4)

Let me make three remarks on this excerpt. First, it seems that the fore-
going generalization does not cover the type illustrated in (44b), cf. my
comments in point (C) above. In that type, the oblique argument does
precede the nominal head without having recourse to a *való* construc-
tion. This case would require special attention and, I think, a special
mechanism in Kenesei's system.[64] Second, as I mentioned in section **3.2**,

---

[64] For a plausible GB account, see Szabolcsi (1994). For an LFG alternative, see
Laczkó (2003), and for a summary, see section **4.5.**

it seems to me that the need for vacating the CP/vP is basically an analysis-specific problem created by some fundamental assumptions and crucial aspects of Kenesei's approach. Obviously, the practical reason, in his system, for radically vacating the clausal core of CEN constructions is that the overtly remaining part of the clause can only be what corresponds to an ordinary possessor argument in several other analyses, cf. Szabolcsi (1994), Laczkó (1995), Chisarik–Payne (2003), among others. Thus, it is a challenge for Kenesei's account to find some more principled motivation or explanation for radically emptying the clausal core. Third, the treatment of *való* constructions has always been a recalcitrant problem in the Chomskyan paradigm; cf., for instance, the discussion in Szabolcsi (1994). In Laczkó (2003) I develop an LFG analysis that can be claimed to be more principled than the previous attempts, cf. section **4.5.**

(I) If, on Kenesei's account, the dative and nominative possessor PPs are radically different in possessive DPs with ordinary noun heads and in possessive DPs with CENs, because in the former instance the P has a DP complement, while in the latter instance it has a clausal complement, he may need some special mechanism to ensure that in the case of pronominal possessors pro-drop can work in the same way.[65]

4. On a lexicalist alternative

So far, all LFG approaches to Hungarian CEN nominalization have been lexical in nature, which follows from the fundamental principles of the theory, discussed in section **2**, cf., for instance, Laczkó (1995; 2000b;c);

---

[65] Consider the following examples.

(i) a   (te) rajz-od
     the (you) picture-poss.2sg
     'your picture'

(ii) a   (te) lerajzol-ás-od
      the (you) draw-dev-poss.2sg
      'the drawing of you'

In the pro-drop version of (i) the phonetically null P has a phonetically null pro complement, while in the pro-drop version of (ii) the same phonetically null P has a phonetically null clausal complement, which in turn contains the phonetically null pronominal. It would be interesting to see how Kenesei's system can handle this issue.

Komlósy (1998); Chisarik–Payne (2003).[66] In this section, I present those aspects of an LFG account, based on previous work for the most part, which are directly relevant to the discussion of Kenesei's (2005) syntactic analysis in section **3.** For the sake of easy comparison, the sections below follow the same thematic pattern as those in section **3.**

4.1. Binding and control

In section **3.1** I discussed Kenesei's most thoroughly developed argument for a clausal analysis of CEN constructions. Its essence is that binding and control relations within these constructions are similar in nature to those in ordinary clauses, and this calls for a clausal approach to CENs. In the same section, I offered an overview of how the standard version of LFG treats binding and control phenomena. I also pointed out that Kenesei (2005) is right in criticizing the relevant binding and control aspects of my LFG analysis in Laczkó (1995; 2000b). The major problem is that in the case of CENs derived from transitive verbs there is no appropriate grammatical function for an LFG style PRO element that could be involved in binding and control. The reason for this is that in the inventory of grammatical functions in the CEN domain in those analyses it is only the POSS(essor) function that is available, and that function is obligatorily assigned to the patient(-like) argument, leaving the agent(-like)[67] PRO argument without any suitable function.

This LFG-specific problem was solved by Komlósy (1998). The crucial feature of his solution is that he assumes that the SUBJ(ect) function is also available in the CEN domain, in addition to POSS. In particular, the possessive inflectional morphology introduces the POSS function, which, as a rule, is associated with the patient(-like) argument in the case of transitive input verbs,[68] and the SUBJ function is assigned to the (al-

---

[66] The classical LFG paper on English nominalization corresponding to Hungarian CEN nominalization is Rappaport (1983). Bresnan (2001) offers an overview of the most important issues nominalization phenomena raise for LFG in general, including verbal gerundive "mixed" categories.

[67] Agent(-like) is LFG's informal term for GB's external argument, and LFG's patient(-like) roughly corresponds to GB's (direct) internal argument.

[68] Both Komlósy and I assume that both the nominative and the dative possessors express the same grammatical function (as opposed to Chisarik and Payne's (2003) analysis, which associates two distinct functions with these two possessor forms).

ways covert) agent(-like) PRO argument.[69] Independently of Komlósy (1998), Chisarik and Payne (2003) also assume that the SUBJ function is also available in (both English and Hungarian) CEN constructions; however, they do not address binding and control phenomena, and their account appears to be incapable of solving the problem.[70] In Laczkó (2004), I compare Laczkó (1995), Komlósy (1998) and Chisarik–Payne (2003), and adopt Komlósy's analysis by modifying it to some extent.[71] For our present purposes this modification is irrelevant; therefore, in the analysis below I use the distribution of grammatical functions as postulated by Komlósy.

Consider the examples in (47)–(48) and the most important aspects of an LFG analysis in the spirit of Komlósy (1998).[72]

(47a) shows a CEN construction containing a nominal derived from a transitive verb. The predicate's agent argument is realized by an oblique 'by'-phrase, and the patient argument has the (POSS) grammatical function. All this information is encoded in the lexical form of the nominal predicate given in (47b). As this representation itself manifests, in this approach nominalization is a lexical process, as its output is a new lexical entry with a new distribution of grammatical functions. In accordance with the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis, which LFG subscribes to, all words have fully inflected lexical forms. In this particular case, the lexical representation also encodes agreement information pertaining to the possessor constituent with respect to person and number.[73] The c-structure of the DP is given in (47c). Here, just like in all my previous analyses, I basically adopt Szabolcsi's (1994) DP structure in her GB framework, and I supplement it with LFG's customary functional annotations.[74,75]

---

[69] This argument can be overtly realized only by an oblique expression: by an *által* 'by' phrase, cf. (47) below.

[70] For a detailed discussion, see Laczkó (2004).

[71] The essence of the modification is that I allow the SUBJ function to be overtly realized by a possessor constituent when the CEN is derived from an intransitive verb, or when the agent(-like) argument of a transitive input verb is expressed by a 'by'-phrase.

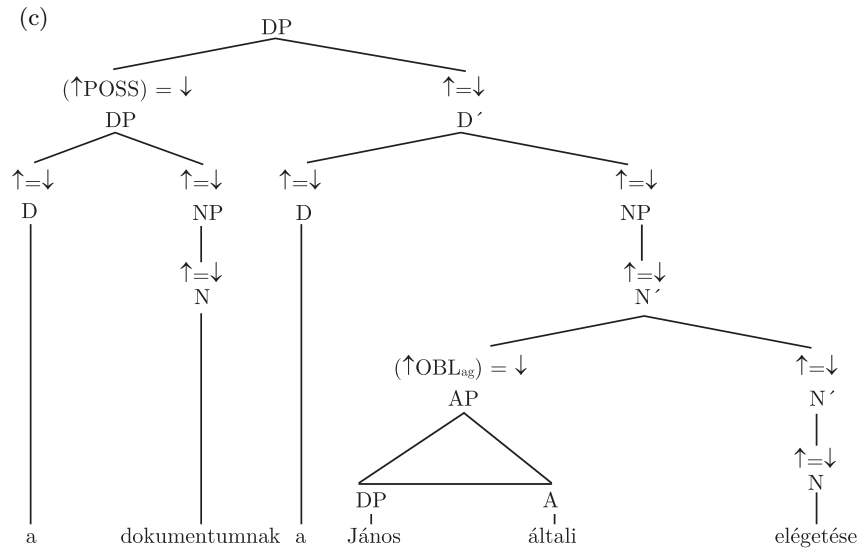[72] For the relevant traits of the LFG formalism, see section **3.1.**

[73] For simplicity's sake here I abstract away from complications caused by anti-agreement phenomena, because they are separately discussed in the next section.

[74] For some information on these annotations, see footnote 24 in section **3.1.**

[75] Here I gloss over the expression of the oblique argument by an AP, as the adjectivization of adjuncts and oblique arguments is discussed in section **4.5.**

(47) (a) a   dokumentum-nak a   János által-i el-éget-és-e
        the document-dat   the John by-aff pv-burn-dev-3sg
        'the burning of the document by John'

(b) *elégetése,* N 'burning $\langle (\uparrow OBL_{ag})$, $(\uparrow POSS) \rangle$'
    $(\uparrow POSS\ PERS) = 3$
    $(\uparrow POSS\ NUM) = sg$

(c)

(d)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
POSS & \begin{bmatrix} DEF & + \\ PRED & \text{'document'} \\ CASE & dat \\ PERS & 3 \\ NUM & sg \end{bmatrix} \\
DEF & + \\
OBL_{ag} & \begin{bmatrix} PRED & \text{'by } \langle (\uparrow OBJ_\Theta) \rangle\text{'} \\ OBJ_\Theta & \text{'John'} \end{bmatrix} \\
PRED & \text{elégetése, N 'burning } \langle (\uparrow OBL_{ag})\text{ , } (\uparrow POSS) \rangle\text{'}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The f-structure carries the usual LFG information based on the linking conventions between this representation and the functionally annotated c-structure. The DP is definite, and its predicate is *elégetése*, which has two arguments. The arguments have the (POSS) and the (OBL_{ag}) grammatical functions.[76] In this example, the possessor, realizing the

[76] Recently several LFG researchers consider 'by' phrases in passive and CEN con-

patient, is definite, third person singular, and the agent has the (OBL$_{ag}$) function.[77]

(48) (a) a   dokumentum-nak az   el-éget-és-e
         the document-dat   the pv-burn-dev-3sg
         'the burning of the document'

   (b) *elégetése,* N 'burning ⟨↑(SUBJ) , (↑POSS)⟩'
       (↑POSS PERS) = 3
       (↑POSS NUM) = sg
       (↑SUBJ PRED) = 'pro'
       (↑SUBJ U) = +

   (c)

```
                              DP
                    _____
                   /                        \
           (↑POSS) = ↓                       ↑=↓
               DP                             D´
         _____          _____
        /                  \        /                  \
       ↑=↓                 ↑=↓     ↑=↓                 ↑=↓
        D                  NP       D                  NP
        |                   |       |                   |
        |                  ↑=↓      |                  ↑=↓
        |                   N       |                   N
        |                   |       |                   |
        a            dokumentumnak  az             elégetése
```
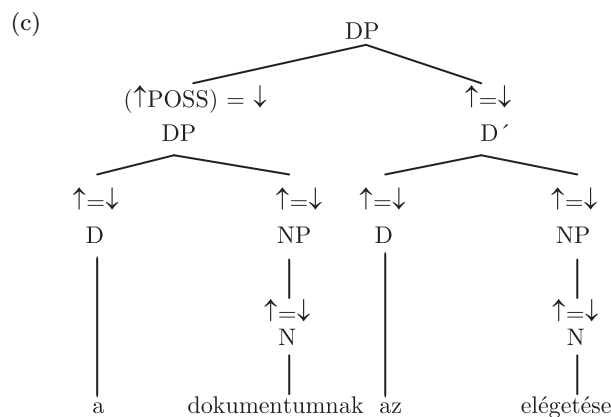
   (d)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{DEF} & + \\ \text{PRED 'dokumentum'} \\ \text{CASE dat} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM sg} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DEF} & + \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{U} & + \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{PRED elégetése, N 'burning ⟨(↑SUBJ) , (↑POSS)⟩'}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

---

structions to be adjuncts, rather than oblique arguments. For a discussion, see Bresnan (2001). This issue is irrelevant for the purposes of the present paper, and, therefore, I adopt the oblique view here without any justification.

[77] The representation of OBL$_{ag}$ says that the predicate is the (adjectivized) postposition, and it takes the DP constituent as its semantically restricted object complement.

From the perspective of the present paper, this is the more significant case. The nominal is derived from a transitive verb, and its agent argument is not expressed overtly. The patient receives the same (POSS) grammatical function, and the covert agent argument is realized by an LFG style PRO element, which is mapped onto the (SUBJ) function. As I pointed out in section **3.1**, in LFG there are no phonetically null PROs in c-structure. On the one hand, covert pronominal elements are encoded in the lexical form of their predicate, and, on the other hand, on the basis of this encoding, they appear in f-structure, cf. the lexical form in (48b) and the f-structure representation in (48d). In (48b) the ($\uparrow$SUBJ PRED)='pro' equation means that the semantic value of the subject is pronominal, and the ($\uparrow$SUBJ U) = + equation means that this constituent is unexpressed (covert).

Hungarian is a pro-drop language. Consider the following examples.

(49) (a) az   ő   el-éget-és-e
         the he.nom pv-burn-dev-3sg
         'the burning of him'

     (b) az   el-éget-és-e
         the pv-burn-dev-3sg
         'the burning of him'

For the analysis of (49a), we need the same lexical form of the nominal predicate as is given in (48b); however, for (49b) we need a partially different lexical entry, because in this case the pronominal semantic value of the possessor must also be encoded in the predicate's lexical form, cf.:

(50) *elégetése,* N 'burning $\langle$($\uparrow$SUBJ) , ($\uparrow$POSS)$\rangle$'
         ($\uparrow$POSS PERS) = 3
         ($\uparrow$POSS NUM) = sg
         ($\uparrow$POSS PRED) = 'pro'
         ($\uparrow$POSS U) = +
         ($\uparrow$SUBJ PRED) = 'pro'
         ($\uparrow$SUBJ U) = +

The f-structures of (49a) and (49b) are only minimally different. The f-structure of the former is shown in (51). In this example, all the values of the possessor are contributed by the overt pronoun. In addition, the inflection on the noun head also encodes agreement features for the person and number of the possessor. These agreement features and the corresponding features of the overt pronoun must match. If they do, then

these matching features are unified and represented in the f-structure of the possessor.

(51)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM sg} \\ \text{U} \quad - \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DEF} \quad + \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{U} \quad + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{PRED elégetése, N 'burning } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow\text{POSS})\rangle\text{'} \end{bmatrix}$$

The f-structure of (49b) is as follows.

(52)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM sg} \\ \text{U} \quad + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DEF} \quad + \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{U} \quad + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{PRED elégetése, N 'burning } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow\text{POSS})\rangle\text{'} \end{bmatrix}$$

In this case, all the values of the possessor are encoded in the lexical form of the nominal predicate. The f-structure representation of the possessor here differs from the former one in two related properties. The possessor is unexpressed, so it has the U=+ specification, and as a covert element it cannot have a case feature. In all other respects, the two f-structures are identical.

Notice that (50) also illustrates the fact that, in its own system, LFG treats the notions corresponding to GB's PRO and pro in a uniform manner. Both have pronominal semantic value, both are covert (unexpressed), and the only difference between them is that pro has agreement features, thanks to the inflectional elements on the predicate, while the other does not. From this it follows that LFG does not ascribe a special status to the pronominal element corresponding to GB's PRO.[78]

---

[78] For the cross-theoretical consequences of this difference, see Bresnan (1982a; 2001).

Before demonstrating how Kenesei's (2005) key examples on binding and control can be analyzed in our LFG framework, let me summarize the aspects of LFG's binding theory that will be essential for this discussion.

As I pointed out in section **3.1**, LFG treats binding and control relations at the level of f-structure representation. A "nuclear pronoun" in this theory corresponds to an anaphor in GB/MP, while a "non-nuclear pronoun" is comparable to GB's/MP's pronouns. [+nuclear] is mnemonic of the requirement that such a pronoun has to be bound by an appropriate antecedent in the minimal nucleus (the binding domain) it occurs in. The nucleus must contain a predicate and an argument assigned the SUBJ (or, in DPs, the POSS) grammatical function.[79] As is well-known, in the GB tradition, binding is defined configurationally in constituent structure: the bound element must be coindexed with a c-commanding antecedent. By contrast, in LFG, the relationship between the bound element and its antecedent is captured in f-structure in terms of f-command. An f-structure unit a f-commands f-structure unit b, iff a does not contain b, b does not contain a, and f-structure unit c, which immediately contains a, also contains b (not necessarily immediately). F-command is a necessary but not sufficient condition on binding. When the two elements mutually f-command each other, then the binder must outrank the bindee in the following grammatical functional hierarchy:

(53) SUBJ > OBJ > OBJ$_\Theta$ > OBL$_\Theta$ > COMPL > ADJUNCT

This functional hierarchy is essential in LFG's binding theory, given the fact that in the f-structure representation arguments (and adjuncts) of the same predicate mutually f-command each other. For instance, there is no subject vs. object f-structural, that is f-command, asymmetry in the representation of an English sentence, as opposed to the asymmetrical c-command relationship in GB.[80] Consider the simplified f-structure representation of (54a) in (54b).[81]

---

[79] This notion of the nucleus is comparable to Chomsky's (1981) complete functional complex.

[80] For a detailed comparison of GB and LFG binding theories and some favourable aspects of the latter, see Bresnan (2001).

[81] When an irrelevant portion of f-structure is not spelt out in the interest of saving space, it is conventionally represented by the lexical item(s) involved between "quotation marks".

(54) (a) The boy kicked himself in the garden.

(b)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{``kicked''} \\ \text{SUBJ} & [\text{``the boy''}] \\ \text{OBJ} & [\text{``himself''}] \\ \text{ADJUNCT} & [\text{``in the garden''}] \end{bmatrix}$$

(c) *Himself kicked the boy in the garden.

In (54b), the antecedent (SUBJ), the reflexive (OBJ) and the (AD-JUNCT) mutually f-command one another. As is well-known, the anaphor could not have the (SUBJ) function with the antecedent having the (OBJ) function, cf. (54c).

(53) is the classical hierarchy, cf. Bresnan (2001). It covers the relevant grammatical functions in the (verbal) clausal domain, where the overwhelming majority of binding relations have been investigated. For the purposes of the present discussion, let me supplement it with the following observations and ideas.

On what we can call the standard derived nominal view, the two major types of grammatical functions available to the arguments of a nominal predicate are (POSS) and (OBL). For a proper treatment of binding relations, we need the following subhierarchy for this domain:

(55) POSS > OBL > ADJUNCT

This hierarchy is justified by the examples in (56), containing a noun head derived from an adjective. As (56b) shows, in the f-structure (POSS) and (OBL) mutually f-command each other,[82] but only (POSS) can serve as an antecedent.[83] Compare the grammatical (56a) with the ungrammatical (56c).

---

[82] For purposes of illustrating the most fundamental binding theoretical assumptions of LFG from our present perspective, here I ignore the possibility of analyzing the f-structure of the reflexive pronoun as embedded in the f-structure of the (OBL) constituent, which, on this account, would be headed by the f-structure value of the preposition. On this scenario, we would have an asymmetrical f-command relationship between the possessor and the anaphor, and this by itself would suffice to rule (56c) out.

[83] LFG practitioners differ with respect to their view on the nature of the (POSS) function: whether it is semantically restricted, cf., for instance, Rappaport (1983) and Asudeh (2005), or semantically unrestricted, cf., for instance, Markantonatou (1995) and Laczkó (1995). This issue does not concern binding generalizations, but it is highly relevant to the Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) component of LFG as applied to the CEN domain, to be briefly discussed in section **4.5.**

(56) (a) John's dependence upon himself

(b) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & [\text{"dependence"}] \\ \text{POSS} & [\text{"John's"}] \\ \text{OBL} & [\text{"upon himself"}] \end{bmatrix}$

(c) *himself's dependence upon John

With the traditional view on the inventory of grammatical functions in the clausal and in the CEN domains, the postulation of the hierarchies in (53) and in (55) in complementary distribution is entirely sufficient, because (SUBJ) and (OBJ) belong to the verbal territory and (POSS) belongs to CENs. However, adopting Komlósy's (1998) proposal that both (SUBJ) and (POSS) should be available to arguments of CENs requires that we should reconsider these hierarchies. When I discuss the relevant CEN examples, because it is only in this case that the (SUBJ) function can also appear, I will propose a solution that collapses the two hierarchies in a simple and principled manner, cf. (62) below.

Let us now turn to Kenesei's (2005) examples. First, we consider pronominal and anaphoric possessors in DPs headed by ordinary (non-CEN) nouns. Below I repeat the examples in (12) in section **3.1** as (57a) and (57b), and I give their f-structure representations in (58) and (59), respectively.

(57) (a) A   fiúk$_1$ lát-ták   [$_{\text{DP}}$ egymás$_{1/*2}$ kalap-já-t].
         the boys.nom see-past.3pl   each.other.nom hat-poss.3sg-acc
         'The boys$_1$ saw each other's$_{1/*2}$ hat.'

(b) A   fiúk$_1$ lát-ták   [$_{\text{DP}}$ az   ő$_{1/2}$ kalap-juk-at].
     the boys.nom see-past.3pl   the he.nom[84] hat-poss.3pl-acc
     'The boys$_1$ saw their$_{1/2}$ hat.'

---

[84] On the problem of anti-agreement, see sections **3.2** and **4.2.**

(58) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED fiúk, N 'boy'} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM pl} \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{DEF} \quad + \end{bmatrix}_{(1)} \\ \text{PRED} \quad \text{látták, V 'see } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow\text{OBJ})\rangle' \\ \text{TENSE past} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED kalapját, N 'hat } \langle(\uparrow\text{POSS})\rangle' \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM sg} \\ \text{CASE acc} \\ \text{DEF} \quad + \\ \text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{U} \qquad - \\ \text{NCL} \quad + \\ \text{TYPE rec} \end{bmatrix}_{(1/*2)} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

As the indices borrowed from Kenesei show, the reciprocal pronoun, having the (POSS) grammatical function in the object DP must obligatorily be bound by the subject of the sentence, and it cannot be bound by any other DP even in a larger context. Here the LFG version of the binding theory works in its system in a way similar to GB's binding theory. Its most essential aspects are as follows. The possessor in the f-structure of the object is an overt (U=−) pronoun (PRED='pro') in the nominative (CASE=nom), it is reciprocal (TYPE=rec); therefore, it is nuclear (NCL=+). This means that it must be bound within the minimal nucleus that contains it, the predicate of the nucleus and a (SUBJ) or (POSS). The object DP is not an appropriate nucleus (binding domain), because although it does contain the anaphor: *egymás* 'each other' and the predicate: *kalap* 'hat', it does not additionally contain a (SUBJ) or (POSS), as within the DP the anaphor itself has the (POSS) function. Therefore, the f-structure of the entire sentence counts as the relevant binding domain, and so the (SUBJ) f-structure can legitimately bind the (POSS) anaphor within (OBJ). Incidentally, note that (SUBJ) f-commands (POSS), but (POSS) does not f-command (SUBJ).

In the f-structure in (59), the possessor in the object DP, which is an ordinary personal pronoun (TYPE=pers), and, therefore, non-nuclear (NCL= −), must be free in its binding domain. The relevant nucleus (containing the pronoun, the predicate and a possessor) in which the

(59) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED fiúk, N 'boy'} \\ \text{PERS } 3 \\ \text{NUM } \text{pl} \\ \text{CASE } \text{nom} \\ \text{DEF } + \end{bmatrix}_{(1)} \\ \text{PRED } \text{látták, V 'see } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}), (\uparrow\text{OBJ})\rangle\text{'} \\ \text{TENSE past} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED kalapjukat, N 'hat } \langle(\uparrow\text{POSS})\rangle\text{'} \\ \text{PERS } 3 \\ \text{NUM } \text{sg} \\ \text{CASE } \text{acc} \\ \text{DEF } + \\ \text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{CASE } \text{nom} \\ \text{U } - \\ \text{NCL } - \\ \text{TYPE pers} \end{bmatrix}_{(1/2)} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

freeness of the pronoun may, in principle, be possible is the f-structure of the (OBJ). This condition is trivially satisfied, given that the pronoun is the highest ranking argument within the DP (it is the possessor). Consequently, it can be legitimately bound by the (SUBJ) "from outside", as well as by some other DP in the larger context or speech situation (as is indicated by the indices). Notice that here, too, the (SUBJ) f-commands the (POSS), which is a necessary condition on binding.

The foregoing discussion has briefly explained the essence of the standard LFG treatment of binding relations in DPs containing a non-CEN noun head. Let us now turn our attention to Kenesei's CEN examples. For convenience's sake, below I repeat (13a) and (13b) from section **3.1** as (60a) and (60b), respectively.

(60) (a)   A   fiúk$_1$(SUBJ) abbahagy-ták
       the boys.nom   stop-past.3pl

       [$_{DP}$ PRO$_1$(SUBJ) egymás$_{1/*2}$(poss) rajzol-ás-á-t].
                           each.other.nom   draw-dev-poss.3sg-acc

     'The boys$_1$ stopped PRO$_1$ drawing each other$_1$ (lit.: the drawing of each other$_1$).'

(b) A   fiúk₁(SUBJ) abbahagy-ták
      the boys.nom   stop-past.3pl

    [DP az   PRO₁(SUBJ) ő∗1/2(POSS) rajzol-ás-uk-at].
        the   he.nom   draw-dev-poss.3pl-acc

  'The boys₁ stopped PRO₁ drawing them₂ (lit.: the drawing of them₂).'

The simplified f-structure of (60a) is as follows.

(61)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED fiúk, N 'boy'} \\ \text{PERS } 3 \\ \text{NUM } pl \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{DEF } + \end{bmatrix}_{(1)} \\
\text{PRED} & \text{abbahagyták, V 'stop } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}) , (\uparrow\text{OBJ})\rangle' \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{past} \\
\text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED rajzolását, N 'drawing } \langle(\uparrow\text{POSS})\rangle' \\ \text{PERS } 3 \\ \text{NUM } sg \\ \text{CASE acc} \\ \text{DEF } + \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{U} \quad + \\ \text{NCL} \quad - \\ \text{TYPE} \quad \text{pers} \end{bmatrix}_{(1/*2)} \\ \text{POSS} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{U} \quad - \\ \text{NCL} \quad + \\ \text{TYPE rec} \end{bmatrix}_{(1/*2)} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

(57a), containing a non-CEN head, and (60a), containing a CEN head, are similar in that the (POSS) anaphor must be coreferential with the (SUBJ). In our present lexical framework, just like in Kenesei's clausal proposal, this contrast can be captured in a principled manner. The essence of the analysis is the following. The (PRED) of (OBJ) is a two-place (derived nominal) predicate that assigns the (SUBJ) grammatical function to its agent argument and the (POSS) function to its patient. The former is realized by an LFG style PRO, and the latter is expressed by an anaphor. According to LFG's binding principle, the [+nuclear] anaphor must be bound within its binding domain (i.e., the minimal

nucleus that contains it, a predicate and a (SUBJ) or (POSS)). The anaphor is (POSS), the predicate is *rajzolás* 'drawing', and, as opposed to the situation in the non-CEN counterpart, there is a (SUBJ) available within (OBJ); therefore, the f-structure of (OBJ) is the binding domain for the anaphor. The only potential binder is the (SUBJ) within (OBJ). Binding is possible for the following reason. The (SUBJ) of (OBJ) and the (POSS) of (OBJ) mutually f-command each other, and in such cases the hierarchy of grammatical functions determines which function can bind which function. I propose the following "mixed" hierarchy, which covers the inventory of grammatical functions in both the clausal and the nominal domains.[85]

(62) SUBJ > OBJ > OBJ$_\Theta$ > POSS > OBL > ADJUNCT

Given that (SUBJ) is highest in the hierarchy (which appears to be a plausible cross-linguistic assumption), it can bind (POSS).

The sentence contains a control predicate: *abbahagy* 'stop'. It anaphorically and obligatorily controls the LFG style (SUBJ) PRO of the derived nominal.[86] From these principles, requirements and relationships it follows that the (SUBJ) of the sentence must be coreferential with the (SUBJ) of (OBJ), the (POSS) of (OBJ) must be coreferential with the (SUBJ) of (OBJ), and, by transitivity, the (SUBJ) of the sentence must also be coreferential with the (POSS) of (OBJ).

---

[85] Notice that I have collapsed the two subhierarchies in the simplest possible manner: the originally exclusively "verbal" functions come first: (SUBJ), (OBJ) and (OBJ$_\Theta$), they are followed by the solely "nominal" function: (POSS), and finally come the functions shared by both hierarchies: (OBL) and (ADJUNCT). This simple unification of the two hierarchies serves my present purposes of demonstrating that the principles of LFG's binding theory can be easily augmented in order for them to cover cases in which the (SUBJ) function emerges in the nominal domain. Let me also add that there is ample cross-linguistic evidence that deverbal nominal constructions can exhibit much more mixed verbal and nominal properties, including the types of grammatical functions available (for a comprehensive typological overview, see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993). For the treatment of binding relations in such constructions, it may prove necessary to modify this hierarchy. For instance, it may be more appropriate to posit (POSS) higher in the hierarchy: SUBJ > POSS > OBJ > ... . It may also turn out that the status of (POSS) should be subjected to parametric variation. I leave this to future research.

[86] For a brief overview of the treatment of control, see section **3.1.**

(60b) has the following simplified f-structure on this account.

(63) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED fiúk, N 'boy'} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM pl} \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{DEF +} \end{bmatrix}_{(1)} \\ \text{PRED abbahagyták, V 'stop } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}),(\uparrow\text{OBJ})\rangle' \\ \text{TENSE past} \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED rajzolásukat, N 'drawing } \langle(\uparrow\text{POSS})\rangle' \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM sg} \\ \text{CASE acc} \\ \text{DEF +} \\ \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{U} & + \\ \text{NCL} & - \\ \text{TYPE} & \text{pers} \end{bmatrix}_{(1/*2)} \\ \text{POSS} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED 'pro'} \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{U} & - \\ \text{NCL} & - \\ \text{TYPE rec} \end{bmatrix}_{(*1/2)} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

Again, the binding relations fall out from our assumptions and general LFG principles. The personal pronoun (POSS) of (OBJ), being non-nuclear, must not be bound by the (SUBJ) PRO of (OBJ). The (SUBJ) of the sentence must be coreferential with the (SUBJ) PRO of the (OBJ), given that the former obligatorily controls the latter. From all this it automatically follows that the (SUBJ) of the sentence must not be coreferential with the (POSS) of the (OBJ).

In this section I have demonstrated that an appropriately developed (or modified) lexicalist approach can offer a principled solution to the binding problems for Laczkó (1995) as discussed in section **3.1**; thus, there is no inevitable need for a clausal analysis of CEN constructions on such grounds. It is to be emphasized that this approach also offers a principled solution to Laczkó's (1995) control problem, also discussed in section **3.1.** The examples and analyses above, (60a,b), (61) and (63), also illustrate the possible treatment of the relevant control phenomena in

this framework. The introduction of the LFG style (SUBJ) PRO solves both problems simultaneously.[87]

4.2. (Anti-)Agreement

In section **3.2** I discussed Kenesei's (2005) anti-agreement and extraction argument for a clausal analysis of CEN constructions. I made the following three significant comments.

1. Empirically, it seems to be the case that the crucial (partial) contrast Kenesei reports between CEN and non-CEN extraction and agreement phenomena does not exist at least in one variety of standard Hungarian.
2. In his analysis, there appears to be a clash between the required non-pronominal and pronominal relational properties of the CEN clause containing the possessor argument.
3. Even if this inconsistency in Kenesei's approach can be overcome, the other variety of standard Hungarian, which I report in section **3.2**, apparently poses a rather serious problem for the central (clausal) aspect of his proposal.

For details, see section **3.2.** In this section I confine myself to showing briefly (i) how I treat the same (anti-)agreement phenomena in my LFG framework;[88] and (ii) why an analysis along these lines does not face the problems listed above.

Let us first consider the basic and undisputed non-CEN (anti-)agreement facts. For convenience's sake, below I repeat Kenesei's examples in (29a) and (29b) from section **3.2** as (64a) and (64b), respectively.

(64) (a) *singular/unmarked agreement*

      A   fiú-k-nak$_i$ jó   volt [a t_i rajz-a].
      the boy-pl-dat good was the   picture-poss.3sg
      'The boys' picture was good.'

---

[87] From a different perspective, one can also claim that the introduction of the (SUBJ) PRO is mutually and independently supported by both binding and control facts.

[88] In work in progress, I set out to develop a detailed LFG analysis of these special agreement facts. Here I only offer a simplified and partially informal overview of the gist of that account.

(b) *plural agreement*

A fiú-k-nak₍ᵢ₎ jó volt [a *pro*₍ᵢ₎ rajz-uk].
the boy-pl-dat good was the picture-poss.3pl
'The boys' picture was good.'

As these examples show, when the plural, non-pronominal possessor is outside the DP, the noun head exhibits either singular/unmarked or plural agreement, cf. (64a) and (64b), respectively. This sharply contrasts with the non-extraction situation, in which only the former version is permitted, cf.:

(65) a fiú-k-nak a rajz-a/*-uk
the boy-pl-dat the picture-poss.3sg/*poss.3pl
'the boys' picture'

As I pointed out in section **3.2**, the representations in (64) also indicate the GB/MP solution. In (64a) extraction proper has taken place, and the extracted possessor has left its trace behind. By contrast, in (64b) the possessor is generated outside the DP, and it is "represented" within the DP by a coreferential phonetically null resumptive pronoun. For agreement purposes, (64a) is the same as (65), while (64b) is identical to a construction with an ordinary possessive pronoun, which obligatorily triggers plural agreement on the noun, cf.:

(66) az ő rajz-*a/-uk
the he.dat picture-*poss.3sg/poss.3pl
'their picture'

As is well-known, the interesting fact here is that the possessor pronoun itself is 3sg, instead of the expected 3pl.

It is obvious that these anti-agreement phenomena cannot be given any deep explanation. For instance, there is no principled reason why 3pl possessor pronouns do not follow the pattern of 3pl non-pronominal possessors, and vice versa, cf.:

(67) (a) a fiú-k rajz-a
the boy-pl.nom picture-poss.3sg
'the boys' picture'

(b) *az ők rajz-a
the they.nom picture-poss.3sg
'their picture'

(c) *a   fiú   rajz-uk
     the boy.sg.nom picture-poss.3pl
     'the boys' picture'

(d) az   ő   rajz-uk
     the he.sg.nom picture-poss.3pl
     'their picture'

It is usually claimed that the principle of economy is responsible for
only marking number on either the possessor or the possessum and not
on both. However, the choice between the two options appears to be
accidental or arbitrary. Therefore, the major goal of any account can
only be to provide an appropriate formal mechanism for capturing these
special facts. LFG's architecture is an ideal tool for this purpose as well.[89]

Let us assume that an ordinary possessive agreement morpheme car-
ries values for the possessor's number and person simultaneously.[90] In
addition, it optionally encodes the pronominal semantic value for the
possessor. As I showed in section **4.1**, in LFG, pro-drop phenomena are
captured in the lexical forms of the relevant predicates. In the case of
possessor pro-drop, the most natural solution is to optionally associate
the pronominal semantic value for the possessor with the agreement mor-
pheme, because it is this morpheme that carries grammatical information

---

[89] It is to be pointed out that there are two different views on the inflectional mor-
phology of the noun head in these special agreement cases. According to the
more wide-spread one, in (67a), for instance, the head is marked for third person
and it is not marked for number. Bartos 2000, by contrast, argues that the head
in such cases has no agreement features at all. In the present discussion I demon-
strate how the partial agreement view can be modelled in my LFG framework,
but the no agreement view can be equally naturally captured with the same ap-
paratus. The only difference is that both person and number information about
the possessor is solely encoded by the possessor constituent. It comes from one
source, and the inflectional morphology of the head is not involved; therefore, in
this respect no feature–value unification takes place in f-structure.

[90] Szabolcsi (1994), Kiefer (1998) and Bartos (2000), among others, postulate a
distinct possession morpheme, in addition to the possessive agreement morpheme,
cf.:

(i) kalap-ja-i-m
     hat-poss-pl-3sg
     'my hats'

In Laczkó (2007), I also subscribe to this view. However, given that for the
purposes of the present paper this issue is irrelevant, for the sake of simplicity
here I abstract away from it. This simpler view is reflected in the glosses of all
the examples in the paper.

about the possessor.[91] Consider the following generalized lexical form for this morpheme and the 1sg version.

(68) (a) -*px,* [N___]$_N$
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS PERS)=α
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS NUM)=β
$\quad\quad$ ((↑POSS PRED)= 'pro')

$\quad$ (b) -*(V)m,* [N___]$_N$
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS PERS)=1
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS NUM)=sg
$\quad\quad$ ((↑POSS PRED)= 'pro')

The third person anti-agreement phenomena can be captured by dint of the following lexical forms for the relevant morphemes.[92]

(69) (a) -*(j)A,* [N___]$_N$
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS PERS)=3
$\quad\quad$ ((↑POSS NUM)=sg)
$\quad\quad$ ((↑POSS PRED)= 'pro')

$\quad$ (b) -*(j)Uk,* [N___]$_N$
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS PERS)=3
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS NUM)=pl
$\quad\quad$ (↑POSS PRED)=$_C$ 'pro'
$\quad\quad$ ((↑POSS PRED)= 'pro')

I have already explained the optional (↑POSS PRED)= 'pro' equation in these agreement morpheme lexical forms. In this analysis, the two morphemes always encode third person agreement (but also see footnote 89).

$\quad$ In (69a) we need the singular number equation, because in the case of pro-drop, that is, when the (↑POSS PRED)= 'pro' equation is employed, this equation is the sole source of information about the possessor's number. However, we have to make the equation optional in order to accommodate plural non-pronominal possessors, as in (67a), for instance.

$\quad$ In (69b) the person and number specifications are obligatory. In addition, we also need the (↑POSS PRED)=$_C$ 'pro' constraining equation.

---

[91] This value is employed when there is no overt possessor pronoun in the construction, and it is blocked when a pronoun is present. The reason for the latter case is that in LFG PRED features do not unify, so if both an overt pronoun and the agreement morpheme contributed a PRED value, this would lead to ill-formedness, because the PRED of the possessor would not have a unique value.

[92] A reminder: in this simplified analysis, I do not separate a possession morpheme, cf. footnote 90.

It requires that the PRED value of the possessor should always be 'pro', whether it is contributed by an overt pronoun or the optional (↑POSS PRED)= 'pro' equation. In this way we can ensure that only overt or pro-dropped pronouns can function as possessors in DPs containing a noun head with this inflectional morphology.

In the case of (69b) it is an additional task to ensure that in the third person *ő* 'he' (and not *ők* 'they') is the grammatical form of the overt possessor pronoun, cf.:

(70) az   ő   / *ők   rajz-uk
      the he.sg.nom   they.pl.nom picture-poss.3pl
      'their picture'

Given that this appears to be an entirely accidental and unpredictable irregularity in the pronominal paradigm, this fact can only be stipulated. This can be carried out in the following way in our framework.

(i) We associate a negative existential constraint with *ők* 'they' to the effect that it cannot occur in a possessive construction, that is, a construction that contains the (POSS) grammatical function, cf.:

(71) *ők*, PRON
          (↑PRONTYPE)= pers
          (↑U)= −
          (↑PERS)= 3
          (↑NUM)= pl
          (↑CASE)= nom
          ∼(POSS↑)

(ii) We associate an alternative specification with *ő* 'he' to the effect that if it has the (POSS) function, then it is has no number feature, or it is underspecified for number. The representation below encodes underspecification.[93]

---

[93] The equations above the curly brackets are shared by both varieties, and those in the two pairs of curly brackets encode the distinguishing specifications.

(72) *ő*, PRON
        (↑PRONTYPE)= pers
        (↑U)= −
        (↑CASE)= nom
        (↑PERS)= 3
    { (↑NUM)= sg } or
    { (POSS↑)
        (↑NUM) }

In LFG the effects of GB's/MP's movement operations are achieved radically differently, as the theory rejects empty categories like traces in its c-structure representation. One standard way of handling "extraction" phenomena, that is, configurations that are treated by extraction operations in GB/MP, is to employ inside-out function application. Its essence is that by the help of functional annotations we can define a path that leads through grammatical functions to a "misplaced" f-structure unit. For example, the simplified f-structure of (64a) is as follows.

(73)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{jó, A 'good } \langle(\text{↑SUBJ})\rangle\text{'} \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{past} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{rajza, N 'picture } \langle(\text{↑POSS})\rangle\text{'} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{NUM} & \text{sg} \\ \text{DEF} & + \\ \text{CASE} & \text{nom} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{fiúknak, N 'boy'} \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{NUM} & \text{pl} \\ \text{DEF} & + \\ \text{CASE} & \text{dat} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Compare this with the f-structure of the ordinary, non-extraction counterpart:

(74) (a) [A fiú-k-nak a rajz-a]   jó   volt.
         the boy-pl-dat the picture-poss.3sg good was
         'The boys' picture was good.'

(b) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{jó, A 'good } \langle(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\rangle' \\ \text{TENSE past} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED rajza, N 'picture } \langle(\uparrow\text{POSS})\rangle' \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM sg} \\ \text{DEF +} \\ \text{CASE nom} \\ \text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED fiúknak, N 'boy'} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM pl} \\ \text{DEF +} \\ \text{CASE dat} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

In (73) the (POSS) is "misplaced" as it emerges at the "top" level of the f-structure of the sentence on a par with the (SUBJ), of which it is an argument, as is illustrated by (74b). That is, under ordinary (non-extraction) circumstances, the f-structure of the (POSS) has to be within the f-structure of the (SUBJ). (74b) trivially satisfies LFG's well-formedness conditions, which are checked in f-structure. The predicate *jó* 'good' needs a (SUBJ), and it has one; thus, completeness is satisfied. On the other hand, (SUBJ) is a subcategorizable function, and as such it must occur in the environment of a predicate that specifies this function in its argument structure. This condition is also met, so the principle of coherence is also satisfied. The very same relations hold between the predicate *rajz* 'picture' and the possessor within the (SUBJ), and, consequently, the well-formedness conditions are met in this domain as well. By contrast, the (SUBJ) in (73) appears to be incomplete, because it does not contain the (POSS) subcategorized for by its predicate, and the "top" level of the f-structure of the sentence seems to be incoherent, because in addition to a (SUBJ) it also contains a (POSS), and this function is not subcategorized for by the predicate of the sentence. LFG's solution in cases like this is inside-out function application. The definition of a path, in terms of grammatical functions, makes it possible for the predicate of the (SUBJ) to "find" its (POSS) argument outside the (SUBJ) and for the (POSS) to be linked to its predicate. The definition of the path takes the following form:

(75) ((GF ↑) POSS)

Here GF is a variable over the grammatical functions that a possessive DP allowing "extraction" can have, e.g., (SUBJ) as in (73), (OBJ), etc. The (GF ↑) notation defines the path to the "top" level of the f-structure of the sentence, and the entire notation identifies the (POSS) emerging at this level. The heart of the solution is that while in the ordinary, non-extraction case the relevant elements have the (↑POSS) specification, in the extraction case they have the alternative specification in (75). For instance, the lexical form in (69a) has to be augmented with an alternative set of equations in the following way.

(76)   *-(j)A,* [N___]ₙ
     { (↑POSS PERS)= 3
       ((↑POSS NUM)= sg)
       ((↑POSS PRED)= 'pro') } or
     { ((GF ↑) POSS PERS)= 3
       (((GF ↑) POSS NUM)= sg) }

Notice that in the alternative, extraction specification there is no equation that should correspond to (((↑POSS PRED)= 'pro') in the ordinary equation. The reason for this is that we do not want to allow a pro-dropped pronoun to be extracted from the DP, as it is phonetically null. Consequently, the extraction of such a null element would be vacuous, and if we allowed it, practically all such pro-dropped constructions in the third person would be ambiguous between the non-extracted and the extracted versions. In the same vein, (69b) has to be augmented in the following fashion.

(77)   *-(j)Uk,* [N___]ₙ
     { (↑POSS PERS)= 3
       (↑POSS NUM)= pl
       (↑POSS PRED)=$_C$ 'pro'
       ((↑POSS PRED)= 'pro') } or
     { ((GF ↑) POSS PERS)= 3
       ((GF ↑) NUM)= pl
       ((GF ↑) PRED)=$_C$ 'pro' }

The inside-out function application analysis takes care of the (64a) type of extraction, in which we find the same agreement pattern as in the non-extraction counterpart. As far as (64b) is concerned, which has no grammatical non-extraction counterpart, the resumptive pronoun account can be easily accommodated in our LFG framework. Fundamentally, the same treatment would be required in the analysis of the follow-

ing extremely archaic, "biblical" construction, which is ungrammatical in present day Hungarian. It can be claimed that here *ő* 'he' functions as an overt resumptive pronoun.

(78) *A fiú-k-nak$_i$ jó   volt [az ő$_i$ rajz-uk].
    the boy-pl-dat good was the he picture-poss.3pl
    'The boys' picture was good.'

Let me point out that an alternative solution is also readily available in this case: "extraction", that is, LFG style inside-out function application. All we have to do is to eliminate the ((GF ↑) PRED)=$_C$ 'pro' constraining equation from the extraction specification in (77). In this way we can ensure that a plural non-pronominal possessor can also occur in the extraction configuration (but not in the non-extraction setting).[94]

As I discussed in section **3.2**, Kenesei claims that in the case of CENs only the anti-agreement extraction option is available. Below I repeat his examples in (30a,b) as (79a,b), with his indication of grammaticality judgements.

(79) (a) *singular/unmarked agreement*

      A fiú-k-nak$_i$ veszélyes volt [a t_i lerajzol-ás-a].
      the boy-pl-dat dangerous was the   draw-dev-poss.3sg
      '(The) drawing (of) the boys was dangerous.'

    (b) *plural agreement*

      *A fiú-k-nak$_i$ veszélyes volt [a   *pro*$_i$ lerajzol-ás-uk].
      the boy-pl-dat dangerous was the   draw-dev-poss.3pl
      '(The) drawing (of) the boys was dangerous.'

I pointed out in section **3.2** that in the variety of standard Hungarian that I and my informants speak (79b) is fully grammatical. The description of this variety seems to create a very serious problem for Kenesei's clausal CEN analysis (for details, see section **3.2**). By contrast, for my LFG approach neither variety poses any difficulty. Naturally, the variety in which there is no difference between non-CEN and CEN extraction agreement facts, CEN extraction must be treated in exactly the same manner as I demonstrated for non-CEN extraction above. As regards

---

[94] When I discuss the CEN extraction and agreement facts that Kenesei (2005) reports, I will show that with an appropriate extension of this latter account it is possible to capture these facts as well.

Kenesei's variety, the resumptive pronoun analysis cannot be applied in our non-clausal framework. However, the alternative account I sketched above can be easily augmented to take care of Kenesei's facts. Recall that the essence of the alternative treatment was to remove the $((\text{GF}\uparrow)$ $\text{PRED})=_C$ 'pro' constraining equation from the lexical form of -*(j)Uk*. The result is the possibility of using non-pronominal plural possessors as well in an extraction configuration. Now we can add to this that this removal only pertains to constructions that contain non-CEN heads:[95] $(\uparrow\text{N-TYPE}) \sim=_C$ cen. When they do contain a CEN head, then the $((\text{GF}\uparrow)$ $\text{PRED})=_C$ 'pro' constraint does hold, cf.:

(80) -*(j)Uk,* [N ⎯]ₙ
   { ($\uparrow$POSS PERS)= 3
    ($\uparrow$POSS NUM)= pl
    ($\uparrow$POSS PRED)=$_C$ 'pro'
    (($\uparrow$POSS PRED)= 'pro') } or
  { (($\text{GF}\uparrow$) POSS PERS)= 3
   (($\text{GF}\uparrow$) NUM)= pl
   {($\uparrow$N-TYPE)$\sim=_C$ cen} or
   {($\uparrow$N-TYPE)$=_C$ cen
   (($\text{GF}\uparrow$) PRED)=$_C$ 'pro' }}

One might object to this solution by pointing out that it appropriately but stipulatively captures these extraction and agreement facts. My response to a remark like this is that the nature of these facts is such that they do not lend themselves to any deep explanation, cf. also my preliminary observations at the beginning of this section. Undoubtedly, if the only version of standard Hungarian that existed was the one reported by Kenesei, then his clausal CEN account (fully developed and made thoroughly consistent) could be taken to be much more explanatory. However, this strength vanishes entirely if both versions of Hungarian are to be described in one and the same framework, so much so that at this point I cannot see how Kenesei's clausal analysis could cope with the other version. The reason for this is that the agreement facts of this version simply contradict Kenesei's crucial assumptions and principles, for details see section **3.2.**

---

[95] The need for distinguishing various noun types (N-TYPE) is a commonplace in LFG; cf., for instance, Butt et al. (1999). In Laczkó (2003) I argue that for a proper analysis of *való* constructions in Hungarian DPs we need the [±cen] feature, thus, it is independently required.

4.3. Aspect

As far as aspectual phenomena are concerned, in section **3.3** I pointed out that the CEN picture is not as black-and-white as Kenesei's fundamental generalization states. It would be interesting to see the details of how he treats these complications in his syntactic derivational system. Naturally, I do not mean to suggest that it is impossible to capture subregularities and irregularities in such a transformational model, but I do think that they considerably undermine its feasibility. For instance, it is unclear what mechanism is intended to be used to derive CENs without preverbs and/or with imperfective interpretation. Moreover, the partial unreliability of the presence of preverbs in the case of non-CENs is also to be accounted for.[96] By contrast, LFG's lexical component is an ideal dimension in which to handle absolute regularities, subregularities and exceptions in the case of a particular set of phenomena.

Although in an MP framework it is, indeed, quite customary to treat grammatico-semantic features like aspect, mood, voice, etc. syntactically by means of functional projections, LFG has a much more restricted approach to functional categories. To begin with, in each and every case, it requires independent syntactic evidence for the introduction of any single functional category in any single language. This means in essence that, given LFG's subscription to the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis, the postulation of a functional category is justified just in case there is at least one word (and not a bound morpheme) that demonstrably belongs to that category. As I have not studied these issues at the clausal level from an LFG perspective yet, at this point I cannot decide definitively whether it is tenable to assume that Hungarian preverbs belong to the functional category Asp, or it is more justifiable to posit them in some other category, e.g., the category of Adv(erbs).[97] At first (and superficial) sight it seems to me that this latter option is more promising to explore in an LFG framework.[98] Also note that on Kenesei's account the preverb

---

[96] It seems that a classification of preverbs is necessary, and the relevant generalizations have to be made with respect to various types of preverbs, cf., for instance, Kiefer–Ladányi (2000) and É. Kiss (2005).

[97] Incidentally, this is what the overwhelming majority of Hungarian generative linguists assumed in the GB era. For a classical analysis, see É. Kiss (1992).

[98] The well-known empirical generalization is that, in the case of predicates with appropriate (telic) semantics, the immediately preverbal position has to be filled by an element that belongs to what are informally and collectively called verbal

is generated in the Asp head position. This suggests that the clause-level perfective aspect and the semantic function of the preverb are intimately related. However, the more appropriate generalization appears to be that a preverb fundamentally has a lexical semantic (aktionsart) contribution to the meaning of the verb it combines with and it does not primarily encode clause-level aspect. This claim is supported by the well-attested fact that a preverb (even one merely encoding telicity) is fully compatible, in a postverbal position, with imperfective aspect, cf.:

(81) Éppen most fordít-om   le az utolsó mondat-ot.
      just   now translate-pres.1sg pv the last   sentence-acc
      'I am just translating the last sentence.'

In addition, Hungarian preverbs are often part and parcel of a morphologically complex verbal predicate, which straightforwardly calls for a lexical approach in LFG. And as far as CENs are concerned, they typically "incorporate" preverbs.[99] All these facts and considerations suggest that aspect in general and preverbs in particular do not (necessarily) call for a syntactic treatment (at least) in LFG in terms of a special functional projection (at least) in the DP domain.[100]

4.4. Negation

In section **3.4** first I pointed out that Kenesei (2005) only superficially uses a salient property of CEN negation as an argument for his clausal analysis of CEN constructions, because he does not present any aspects of a possible treatment of negation in his clausal framework. Then I discussed some potential problems that I envisage for an approach along those lines. Finally, I mentioned that in my opinion a lexicalist analysis postulating a morphological negative particle can avoid these kinds of problems. In the present section I briefly explain this claim.

---

modifiers, which include preverbs. For a recent overview, see É. Kiss (2005). Thus, the perfective (that is, non-progressive) reading can simply be attributed to a verbal modifier filling a particular preverbal position, without invoking the fully-fledged AspP functional projection.

[99] With the sole exception of negation in CEN constructions, see section **3.4.**

[100] I make some remarks on certain details of Kenesei's analysis related to AspP in section **3.5.**

The idea that CEN negation should be lexically treated is due to Chris Piñón (p. c., 1992), although as far as I know such an analysis has not been developed yet. In this vein we can assume that the negative particle *nem* 'not' comes in two varieties: there is a "syntactic" *nem*, which is well-known, and there is also a "morphological" *nem*, and it is the latter that is involved in CEN negation. Consider the general pattern in (82a), the schema for CEN negation in (82b), and one of Kenesei's examples from section **3.4** in (82c).[101]

(82) (a)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
X^0 \\
\diagdown \\
Y^0 \quad Neg^0 \quad X^0
\end{array}
$$

(b)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
N^0 \\
PV^0 \quad Neg^0 \quad N^0
\end{array}
$$

(c) a   fiúk-nak a   le nem rajzol-ás-a   cf. (35)
     the boys-dat the pv not draw-dev-poss
     '(the) not drawing (of) the boys'

(d)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
N^0 \\
PV^0 \quad Neg^0 \quad N^0 \\
| \qquad | \qquad | \\
le \quad nem \quad rajzolása
\end{array}
$$

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to work out the details of a lexical CEN negation analyis.[102] I intend to carry this out elsewhere. Here I confine myself to sketching those traits of such an account that are directly relevant for the purposes of this paper and to pointing out

---

[101] The representation in (82b) is intended to show that I assume that preverbs (pv) are involved in this process; however, I do not attribute any theoretical significance to the pv label. Categorially, the relevant elements can also be treated as a subclass of adverbs (Adv).

[102] For instance, I do not investigate the otherwise central question of whether the internal structure of a lexically negated CEN should be (82b), i.e., the following sequence: preverb + negative particle + noun head (derived from the preverb-less verbal stem), or (i) below, in which the derivational suffix nominalizes the preverb + negative particle + verb complex. The choice between these two alternatives will have to be carefully explored.

(i) [[pv Neg V]$_N$ dev]$_N$

what I consider to be its favourable aspects as compared to the problems for the clausal negation analysis I discussed in section **3.4.**

(A) It has to be constrained that of all noun heads this lexical Neg is only compatible with CENs. As I showed in section **4.2**, and as I further demonstrate in section **4.5**, the specification of the noun type is needed for several other independent reasons (e.g., the treatment of extraction and agreement phenomena, *való* constructions, etc.). Technically this can be easily carried out, because Neg is the co-head of the sublexical structure in (82b) or (82d), for instance, so the simple $(\uparrow$N-TYPE$)=_C$ cen constraining equation will do the job for us. By being a co-head, the negative particle imposes this contstraint on the whole of the higher N^0 unit, and naturally it can only be satisfied if the lower N^0 element is of the right type.

(B) The assumption that a verb and its preverb are available together in the lexicon for word formation processes is plausible in general, and it is necessary in a lexicalist model like LFG. At the same time, this also captures the fact that no other types of "verbal modifiers" can be involved in CEN negation, which appears to be a non-trivial problem for Kenesei's clausal CEN approach, as discussed in section **3.4.** Consider the examples in (42) from that section repeated as (83) below.

(83) (a) A   kapu-t   nem fest-ett-em   piros-ra.
       the gate-acc not   paint-past-1sg red-sub
       'I didn't paint the gate red.'

   (b) *a   kapu   piros-ra nem fest-és-e
       the gate.nom red-sub not   paint-dev-poss.3sg
       'not painting the gate red'

   (c) *a   kapu   piros-ra való nem fest-és-e
       the gate.nom red-sub *való* not   paint-dev-poss.3sg
       'not painting the gate red'

   (d) *a   kapu   nem fest-és-e   piros-ra
       the gate.nom not   paint-dev-poss.3sg red-sub
       'not painting the gate red'

(C) Employing the notion of morphological *nem* also solves the other apparently vexing problem for the clausal analysis, namely, the question of why other particles, available in the (verbal) clausal domain are strictly prohibited in CEN constructions, cf. (39) and (40) from section **3.4**, repeated as (84) and (85).

(84) (a) A   fiú-t   le is   rajzol-t-am.
          the boy-acc pv also draw-past-1sg
          'I even drew the boy.'

    (b) *a   fiú   le is   rajzol-ás-a
        the boy.nom pv also draw-dev-poss.3sg
        'even drawing the boy'

(85) (a) A   fiú-t   le sem   rajzol-t-am.
          the boy-acc pv also.not draw-past-1sg
          'I didn't even draw the boy.'

    (b) *a   fiú   le   sem rajzol-ás-a
        the boy. nom pv   also.not draw-dev-poss.3sg
        'not even drawing the boy'

The answer is that these particles have no morphological versions. Naturally, this is not an explanation, but it appropriately captures the facts at least.[103]

(D) It seems to be the case that morphological *nem* is needed independently of CENs. Consider the following examples.

(86) (a) az elnök   le nem vált-ható-ság-a
          the president.nom pv not dismiss-*ható*-ity-3sg
          'the non-dismissibility of the president'

    (b) a   feladat   meg nem old-ható-ság-a
        the exercise.nom pv   not solve-*ható*-ity-3sg
        'the undoability of the exercise'

    (c) a   jegy   át nem ruház-ható-ság-a
        the ticket.nom pv not transfer-*ható*-ity-3sg
        'the non-transferability of the ticket'

The derivational affix *-hAtÓ* '-able' is considered a deverbal adjectival suffix, cf. Kiefer (1998). The interesting point is that it can follow exactly the same pattern, including preverbs and the negative particle, as *-Ás*, the CEN suffix. What is of primary significance here is that this sequence can undergo Adj → N derivation by *-sÁg* '-ity/-hood/-ness'. I suppose that Kenesei would also regard *-sÁg* suffixation as a lexical process, and

---

[103] It may well be the case that there is no deeper explanation available here, especially in the light of points (D) and (E) below. This issue requires further investigation.

from this it would also follow that the pv + negative particle + adjective sequence must be taken to be formed in the lexicon, otherwise it could not serve as input to -*sÁg* suffixation. Thus, we can conclude that we have independent evidence (or motivation) for postulating a lexical (morphological) negative particle.[104] Let me add to this that in section **3.4** I pointed out that (82b) appears to be a much more productive pattern than Kenesei's "lexicalized exception" categorization would suggest, cf. (36) repeated as (87), containing a new verb and a nonsense verb, respectively.[105]

(87) (a) az el nem szével-és-i probléma
           the pv not save-dev-*i* problem
           'the problem of not saving (something on a computer)'

     (b) a   ki nem csaskol-ás-os jelenség-ek
           the pv not *csaskol*-dev-*os* phenomenon-pl
           'the phenomena of not *kicsaskol*ing'

(E) Notice that the previous point also undermines Kenesei's negation argument for the CEN constructions—verbal clauses parallel, because not only CENs but deverbal adjectives (derived by -*i* or -*(V)s*) can also be involved in the relevant processes. Thus, on the one hand, it seems inevitable to postulate a lexical (morphological) *nem*, and, on the other hand, its use is not limited to CENs.

4.5. Additional remarks from a lexicalist perspective

In section **3.5** I made miscellaneous observations and critical comments on some additional aspects of Kenesei's clausal CEN proposal. In this section I discuss three of those aspects at greater length. The first two are general lexicalist issues, and the third one is considered from an LFG viewpoint.

---

[104] My main point holds even if someone proposes to analyze -*hAtÓ* as a participial (that is, basically a verbal) derivational suffix. In this case, too, we need the notion of morphological *nem* to treat lexical -*sÁg* suffixation properly. It will be the task of future research to explore the exact conditions on the use of morphological *nem*, including questions like what lexical categories (or particular morphemes) it is compatible with, and whether it is possible to establish that the relevant morphemes belong to a particular natural class.

[105] Notice that in these examples, too, just like in (86), the special negated CEN is input to a lexical (derivational) process: adjectivization.

(A) As I mentioned in section **3.5**, Kenesei assumes that the oblig-
atory oblique arguments of verbs become either optional arguments or
adjuncts in CEN constructions. I find this aspect of his analysis in this
form rather ad hoc and unprincipled. It is entirely unclear what can
trigger a change like this in a syntactic derivational approach, and how
this can be adequately implemented in such a framework. Let me also
point out in this connection that a change in the status of any one of the
arguments of a predicate is intuitively most naturally treated as part of a
lexical process. Therefore, Szabolcsi's (1994) GB framework or Laczkó's
(2003) model, both lexical in nature, would be much more appropriate
for this purpose. However, neither analysis postulates such a change, on
empirical grounds. As I briefly pointed out in section **3.5**, in the case
of genuine CENs there is no empirical indication that the status of an
oblique argument of the input verb gets changed. To sum this up, on
the one hand, there is no empirical reason for assuming this change, and,
on the other hand, even if there were, it seems that Kenesei's framework
would not really be appropriately equipped to capture it in a principled
manner.

(B) As I pointed out in section **3.5**, although Kenesei mentions the
construction type illustrated in (44b), repeated here as (88), he does not
offer any details of its possible analysis in his clausal approach.

(88) a   csomag [PP Péter után] (*el)-küld-és-e
      the package   Peter after   pv-send-dev-poss
      'the sending of the package on to Peter'

By contrast, there is a GB solution proposed in Szabolcsi's (1994) lexical-
ist framework, and an LFG solution in Laczkó's (2003) LFG framework.
The former assumes a special reanalysis at the level of Logical Form,
while the latter draws an LFG style phrase structure parallel between
the relevant portions of Hungarian VPs and NPs, supplemented with the
necessary lexical specifications of the verbal and derived nominal predi-
cates involved in this special construction type. These accounts are well
developed and they appear to be consistent and principled in their re-
spective frameworks. At this point, and on the basis of the information
available on Kenesei's model, it appears to me that his framework will face
additional difficulties in the treatment of this construction type because
of its clausal nature. The reason for this is that the designated oblique
argument preceding the noun phrase head corresponds to a designated
oblique argument of the input verb. Thus, Kenesei needs to establish two

designated oblique argument positions in the clausal and in the nominal domains, and account for the movement of the relevant argument from the former position to the latter in a principled manner.

(C) As regards the type exemplified by Kenesei with (44a) in section **3.5**, repeated here in a slightly modified form as (89), he says that his approach, just like the previous ones, offers no account of how these *való* constructions arise.

(89) a   csomag Péter-nek való el-küld-és-e
       the package Peter-dat *való* pv-send-dev-poss
       'the sending of the package to Peter'

I think his remark fully holds for approaches in the Chomskyan tradition only. For a discussion of the nature of the main problem even for a lexicalist GB analysis and a partial, admittedly unsatisfactory solution, see Szabolcsi (1994), and for a critical overview of various GB attempts, see Laczkó (2003). As far as I can see, for Kenesei's syntactic MP account even additional problems will emerge when he sets out to tackle *való* constructions. The reason for this is that not only will he need to develop a coherent characterization of this construction type, which, to the best of my knowledge (and also according to Kenesei's remark) is still lacking in the GB/MP paradigm, but he will also be forced to offer a principled reason why a constituent moves from the embedded clause into a *való* construction. There is an additional fact that complicates the problem for any Chomskyan (transformational) approach to a considerable extent: *való* is capable of combining with more than one constituent simultaneously, and one of them may be an oblique argument, while the other may be an adjunct. For an example, see below.

By contrast, in Laczkó (2003), modifying my previous accounts, I develop a detailed and consistent analysis of *való* constructions in my LFG framework. Its essence is as follows. Just like in several other Finno-Ugric languages, in Hungarian oblique arguments and adjuncts of a noun head must precede it in a verbal (participial) or adjectival form in the default case.[106] Consider the following example, its c-structure and f-structure representations.
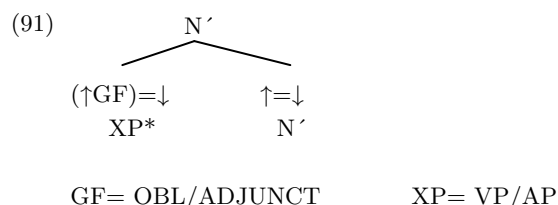
---

[106] For a predictable and systematic exception, see the previous point.

(90) (a) János-nak az Edit-tel   Budapest-re   való meg-érkez-és-e
          John-dat   the Edith-inst Budapest-sub *való* pv-arrive-dev-poss.3sg
          'John's arrival in Budapest with Edith'

(b)

(c)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{POSS} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED Jánosnak, N 'John'} \\ \text{PERS 3} \\ \text{NUM sg} \\ \text{CASE dat} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{PRED} & \text{megérkezése, N 'arrival } \langle(\uparrow\text{POSS}) , (\uparrow\text{OBL})\rangle\text{'} \\
\text{OBL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED -rA, } [\text{N}\underline{\quad}]_N \text{ 'in } \langle(\uparrow\text{OBJ}_\Theta)\rangle\text{'} \\ \text{OBJ}_\Theta \text{ [PRED Budapest, N 'Budapest']} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{ADJUNCT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED -vAl 'with } \langle(\uparrow\text{OBJ}_\Theta)\rangle\text{'} \\ \text{OBJ}_\Theta \text{ [PRED Edit, N 'Edith']} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

As regards the c-structure representation in (90b), it is important to point out that although LFG accepts some basic principles of the X-bar syntax of the Chomskyan GB/MP tradition, its phrase-structure rules are more liberal, allowing several kinds of systematic and parametric variation.[107] For instance, it admits exocentric constructions as well (as opposed to strict endocentricity in the Chomskyan mainstream).[108] Another major difference between the two frameworks, directly relevant to (90b), is

---

[107] For a detailed discussion of the similarities and differences, see Bresnan (2001).

[108] A phrase is exocentric if there is a categorial mismatch between the head and the phrasal expansion. Among other things, this means that in LFG certain sentence

that complements and adjuncts do not necessarily have to have distinct phrase-structure positions. Thus, the following portion of the generalized Hungarian DP phrase-structure rule is not at all extraordinary.

(91)

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
 & \text{N}' & \\
 & \diagup\quad\diagdown & \\
(\uparrow\text{GF})=\downarrow & & \uparrow=\downarrow \\
\text{XP*} & & \text{N}'
\end{array}
$$

GF= OBL/ADJUNCT   XP= VP/AP

This representation encodes that there can be several VP (that is, participial) and/or AP constituents combined with N′,[109] and they can have either (OBL) or (ADJUNCT) functions. The reason why it is not necessary to relate functions to positions[110] is that in this framework grammatical functions are primitive and not derived notions, and they are not necessarily "read off" the structural representations of constituents.[111,112] From this it also follows that in this framework premodifying VP/AP complements and adjuncts of the noun head can be base-generated in those positions, obviously with their appropriate grammatical functional annotations.

In Laczkó (2003), the two crucial aspects of the analysis of "*való*-adjectivization" are as follows.

(i) *Való* is semantically empty participial form, that is, it has no PRED feature, which heads a VP that hosts those modifiers of the head

---

types in certain languages can have the exocentric [NP VP]$_\text{S}$ structure, besides the IP/CP representation of other sentence types.

[109] The two categories, VP and AP, can be claimed to belong to a natural class in terms of the [±N], [±V] feature decomposition approach. V is [+V,−N], A is [+V,+N], so both are [+V]. Consequently, we can make the following descriptive generalization: in the Hungarian N′ domain the N′ can only be modified by [+V] categories.

[110] Although this can also be the case, cf. postmodifying PP complements and adjuncts in the English noun phrase: (i) *a student of chemistry with brown hair*, (ii) **a student with brown hair of chemistry*.

[111] LFG assumes that certain functions in certain languages are encoded structurally (configurationally), for instance (SUBJ) and (OBJ) in English, while the same functions in other languages are encoded differently (morphologically), for instance (SUBJ) and (OBJ) in Hungarian.

[112] (90b) also shows that LFG readily allows non-binary branching as well.

that need to satisfy the verbal/adjectival requirement. Accordingly, its lexical form is rather impoverished:

(92) *való*, V
         ($\uparrow$N-TYPE)=$_\text{C}$ cen

In this representation, this *való* element has no meaning of its own, let alone an argument structure. Its category is V, and the constraining equation associated with it encodes that it must occur in a construction which, because of its head, belongs to the cen noun type.[113]

(ii) In addition to the ($\uparrow$GF)=$\downarrow$ equation associated with the XP within the N', the $\uparrow$=$\downarrow$ alternative annotation must also be admitted. The rationale behind this is that the *való* phrase may contain more than one constituent and they can bear various grammatical functions; therefore, the annotation attributed to the VP should be transparent, that is, it should simply allow the functional annotations of those constituents to "percolate up". This can be achieved by the help of the $\uparrow$=$\downarrow$ head annotation.

In the paper I show that these two ingredients of the analysis (an alternative lexical entry for a participial form, on the one hand, and an alternative functional annotation associated with a phrase structure node, on the other hand), which are entirely simple and unmarked devices in LFG, yield a principled account in this theoretical framework. By applying them, we can generate all the relevant grammatical constructions, and the general principles of LFG consistently rule out all the undesirable, that is, ungrammatical, constructions. In other words, these principles simply filter out constructions resulting from the potential overgeneration brought about by the alternative functional annotation. No stipulation of any sort is necessary.

Finally, note that the f-structure in (90c) is absolutely ordinary, and it does not contain any f-structure information contributed by *való*. The reason for this is that this *való* has no meaning (no PRED feature to be indicated in f-structure), cf. (92). The only functional annotation appearing in its lexical form is a constraining equation. This is simply a well-formedness condition on f-structure representation. If it is satisfied, the f-structure is licensed, if it is not satisfied, the f-structure is ill-formed.

---

[113] For further details and a classification of various adjectivizing elements (*való, történő* 'happening', *történt* 'happened', and *-i*, the adjectivizing suffix attaching to certain types of postpositions), see Laczkó (2003).

I hope that even this brief overview suffices to show that there is a coherent analysis of *való* constructions available in an LFG framework. For further details, see Laczkó (2003).[114]

5. On the evaluation of competing analyses

In this section I compare Kenesei's (2005) syntactic derivational MP model and various versions of my lexical derivational LFG approach, cf. Laczkó 1995; 2000c; 2003; 2004. When it is appropriate, I also consider Szabolcsi's (1994) lexical derivational GB analysis. I apply criteria that are often used in comparisons like this in the generative linguistic paradigm.

5.1. Coherence and explanatory value

If two or more analyses can capture the very same set of facts, then one possible distinguishing criterion can be to check how coherent and unmarked they are in their own frameworks, and how explanatory they are in the context of their own assumptions and principles.

(A) As far as binding and control relations are concerned, Kenesei's (2005) proposal is absolutely principled, as opposed to the marked aspects of Szabolcsi (1994) and Laczkó (1995), cf. section **3.1.** By contrast, Laczkó (2004), for instance, based on Komlósy (1998), is equally unmarked and explanatory in its own framework, cf. section **4.1.**

(B) Kenesei's (2005) proposal about extraction and (anti-)agreement facts appears to be somewhat problematic. On the one hand, it does not seem to be fully consistent for the following reason. As I pointed out in section **3.2**, the crucial aspect of Kenesei's explanation is that the possessors in CEN constructions (whether extracted or not) are clauses that contain the relevant argument corresponding to ordinary possessors in other analyses. That is why, according to this explanation, extracted "possessors" cannot be involved in a configuration with resumptive pronouns, at least in the version of present-day Hungarian reported by Kenesei. However, they can be "pro-dropped", which means that they should

---

[114] Let me add that in Laczkó (2003) I also offer an LFG analysis of DPs in which the oblique argument or adjunct follows the noun head. This construction type poses the fewest problems for any account, but see my small remark on Kenesei's solution in point (E) in section **3.5.**

be allowed to have pronominal relations. On the other hand, there is a variety of present-day Hungarian in which there is no contrast in agreement between extraction from CEN DPs and extraction from ordinary DPs. It seems that even if Kenesei eliminates the above-mentioned inconsistency, given his assumptions, it is practically hardly possible to account for the regular (anti-)agreement facts of possessor extraction from CENs in an appropriate manner in this other variety of Hungarian. By contrast, as I demonstrated in section **4.2**, in my LFG framework I can capture the relevant facts of both varieties of Hungarian in a formally plausible fashion and in a satisfactory degree. In that section I also pointed out that it is highly unlikely that any analysis can have further truly explanatory aspects to it because of the nature of these phenomena.

(C) As regards Kenesei's two additional observations meant to lend further support to a clausal approach to CENs, they are not detailed and well-developed arguments at all.

His proposal to treat some crucial aspectual properties of CENs in a clause-based format is quite natural in his MP framework. However, in sections **3.3** and **4.3** I point out that Kenesei's empirical generalization about the diagnostic value (and the consequential treatment) of preverbs needs some modification. In this light (but even in the original context) I can see no real motivation or justification for handling the aspectual traits of CEN by clausal means in an LFG framework. As far as I can tell at this point (without being aware of the details of any analysis in either framework), both views can, in theory, be implemented in their respective frameworks in a coherent fashion. It seems to me though that Kenesei's clausal aspectual approach will need a designated position in the NomP domain as well as an auxiliary principle triggering and licensing the movement of certain elements from the [Spec,AspP] in the clausal domain, which may mean some additional complication.

As I pointed out in sections **3.4** and **4.4**, again without being aware of the details of any analysis along the clausal and the lexical lines, it appears to me that a clausal analysis of CEN negation would create considerably more problems than it was designed to solve. Most probably it would require some stipulative devices. Employing the notion of lexical (morphological) *nem* 'not' could help to avoid most of such complications.

5.2. Simplicity

If two or more analyses are taken to be at the same level with respect to the criterion in section **5.1**, that is, if they are equally adequate and principled, then it can also be examined which of them is simpler (or the simplest). An account is usually regarded as simpler than another if it uses fewer devices, rules or principles. Other things being equal, the simpler (simplest) account is to be preferred under normal circumstances.

(A) Although it is not always easy to compare GB/MP and LFG in this respect, because of their rather different architectures and principles, on the basis of some of my remarks on Kenesei's proposal and mine it seems that, when they are fully developed, overall the former will need more additional restrictions and auxiliary principles. It is also worth pointing out that in the case of CEN nominalization we can compare Kenesei's (2005) syntactic approach with Szabolcsi's (1994) lexicalist analysis within the Chomskyan tradition. In this way a more authentic comparison can be made between the two basically different views. Within the confines of this paper, I do not set out to explore these details, but at first and superficial glance it appears to me that the facts not covered by Szabolcsi (1994), for instance, (anti-)agreement, CEN negation, could be easily captured by "translating" the crucial aspects my lexicalist LFG account into Szabolcsi's lexicalist GB framework. On the basis of the discussion in section **3.1**, it seems to me that the only problematic, more precisely: marked, aspect of Szabolcsi's solution as augmented in this way would be her treatment of control (and binding) phenomena. However, this marked nature of her approach may also be eliminated by extending the inventory of functional projections available within DPs,[115] because in this way an appropriate and principled syntactic position could also be established for the PRO of a CEN derived from a transitive verb.[116] My impression is that if we compared Kenesei's fully developed clausal proposal and Szabolcsi's analysis as modified along the lines depicted above, we would find the latter simpler and, therefore, preferable. Naturally, it would employ a much simpler syntactic structure, much fewer constituents, and it would apply much fewer transformations and principles triggering and licensing them, as well as principles blocking the generation of undesirable (ungrammatical) constructions.

[115] For several additional functional projections in the Hungarian DP, as compared to Szabolcsi's assumptions, see Bartos (2000), for instance.

[116] I leave exploring this possibility to future research.

(B) As I pointed out in section **3.5**, the following construction type poses a special problem for Kenesei's (2005) clausal CEN analysis. Consider his example in (44c), repeated here as (93) for convenience.

(93) Anna (Péter-nek való) csomag-(*el)-küld-és-e
   Anna Peter-dat *való* package-pv-send-dev-poss
   'Anna's sending of packages to Peter'

Kenesei assumes a lexical incorporation of the internal argument in these cases. In (93) the internal argument is *csomag* 'package'. The problem, as I see it, is that in Kenesei's system it is only the verb that can lexically incorporate this argument, since -*Ás* CEN derivation is a syntactic process for him. Given this scenario, it appears to be rather surprising that a verb with an incorporated internal argument cannot be used as a verb: it obligatorily must be involved in syntactic CEN derivation. It seems to me that this can only be stipulated on Kenesei's account. The other logical possibility for Kenesei would be to allow a homophonous -*Ás* derivational CEN suffix in the lexicon. However, this would run absolutely against the spirit of the clausal approach, weakening it entirely. If, despite this fact, the account was modified along these lines, then it would definitely be more complex than a uniformly lexicalist account like Szabolcsi (1994) or Laczkó (2000b), for instance.

As I pointed out in section **3.3**, Kenesei does have to multiply the -*Ás* morpheme in a different manner and for a different reason. He distinguishes between "the standard deverbative nominalizer affix, which derives nouns from (all) verbs" and "the one producing CENs" (Kenesei 2005, 173). Although he does not state this explicitly, the former is most probably a lexical element in his view as well, while the latter is involved in the clausal syntactic derivational process he postulates. Whether the former is lexical or syntactic, the bottom line is that there are at least two radically different -*Ás* suffixes on Kenesei's account. By contrast, in Laczkó (2000a) I argue that there is only one (lexical) -*Ás* CEN suffix, which forms complex event nominals, and there is also an at least semi-productive and/or analogical conversion process that brings about "simple event" or "institutionalized event" nouns. Consider the following examples from Laczkó (2000b).

(94) (a) Péter   át-repül-t   a híd   alatt.
       Peter.nom pv-fly-past.3sg the bridge under
       'Peter flew across under the bridge.'

(b) Péter-nek a   híd   alatt való át-repül-és-e(*-i)
     Peter-dat the bridge under *való* pv-fly-dev-3sg(*-pl)
             mindenki-t   meg-ijeszt-ett(*-ek).
             everybody-acc pv-frighten-past.sg(*-3pl)
     'Peter's flying(*s) across under the bridge frightened everybody.'

(c) Péter   fel-készül-t   a   híd   alatt való át-repül-és-re.
     Peter.nom pv-get.ready-past.3sg the bridge under *való* pv-fly-dev-sub
     'Peter got ready for flying across under the bridge.'

(d) *A zsűri   34 híd   alatt való át-repül-és-t   értékel-t.
     the jury.nom 34 bridge under *való* pv-fly-dev-acc assess-past.3sg
     'The jury has assessed 34 flights across under the bridge.'

(e) A zsűri   34 híd   alatt-i át-repül-és-t   értékel-t.
     the jury.nom 34 bridge under-aff pv-fly-dev-acc assess-past.3sg
     'The jury has assessed 34 flights across under the bridge.'

(f) Most várható-k   a   leg-érdekes-ebb   át-repül-és-ek.
     now   expectable-pl the sup-interesting-somp pv-fly-dev-pl
     'The most interesting cross-flights are to be expected now.'

(g) *Ez   volt a   nap   leg-jo-bb
     this.nom was the day.nom sup-good-comp
             híd   alatt való át-repül-és-e.
             bridge under *való* pv-fly-dev-3sg
     'This has been the day's best cross-flight under the bridge.'

(h) Ez   volt a   nap   leg-jo-bb
     this.nom was the day.nom sup-good-comp
             híd   alatt-i át-repül-és-e.
             bridge under-aff pv-fly-dev-3sg
     'This has been the day's best cross-flight under the bridge.'

The assumption that the derived noun *át-repül-és* (pv-fly-dev) is a CEN
in (94b) and (94c) is based on the following considerations. According to
Szabolcsi's (1994) widely accepted *való*-test, when a Hungarian prenom-
inal PP can be adjectivized by either the *-i* adjectival suffix or *való*, as
in the case of PPs headed by *alatt* 'under', the *való* version strongly trig-
gers the CEN reading of even a noun that is otherwise ambiguous between
the complex event and the simple event interpretations. In (94b) the im-
possibility of pluralizing the derived noun can be taken to be a further
indication of its being a CEN, cf. Grimshaw (1990) and Szabolcsi (1994).
In (94c) the obligatorily controlled interpretation of the covert agent of
the derived noun suggests that the argument structure of the input verb

has been inherited; therefore, the noun is a CEN. From the presence of a numeral in (94d,e) and that of the plural marker in (94f) it follows that the derived nominal is used as a countable noun, which is a strong indication of its simple event status. This status is further supported by the contrast between the ungrammaticality of *való* adjectivization in (94d) and the grammaticality of *-i* adjectivization.[117] In Laczkó (2000b) I argue that the simple event reading is potentially available through conversion from CENs if there is a need for it. In this particular example, it is an imaginary flying contest for pilots situation that calls for this special simple (or institutionalized) event interpretation. I go on to claim that, contrary to Grimshaw's (1990) and Szabolcsi's (1994) approach, the true nature of the contrast between CENs and simple event nouns is not that between inheriting full argument structure and inheriting no argument structure at all: rather it is that between inheriting full argument structure and inheriting an argument structure without the direct (core) arguments. For instance, in my view *híd alatt-i* (bridge under-aff) is an oblique complement of the simple event noun in (94h). The assumption that (94h) does not contain a CEN is borne out by two facts. On the one hand, the possessor is clearly not an argument of the derived noun, and, on the other hand, the *való* adjectivization of the PP complement yields ungrammaticality, compare (94b), (94g) and (94h).

The CEN → simple event noun conversion analysis is further supported by the following consideration. If the *-Ás* suffix is multiplied (whether we assume that one version is syntactic and the other is lexical, as Kenesei (2005) does, or both versions belong to the same domain), it needs to be stipulated that the two versions always attach to the same variant of the verbal stem even in cases when the verb has two or more allomorphs. Consider the following examples.

(95) (a) össze-esküsz-ünk
          pv-vow-pres.1pl
          'we conspire'

    (b) össze-esküd-ni
          pv-vow-inf
          'to conspire'

---

[117] It is to be noted that the grammaticality contrasts predicted by the two abovementioned tests are not equally sharp for some speakers of Hungarian. For them the picture is not that black and white, instead, they feel that these relationships should be expressed in terms of more or less strong tendencies, rather than absolute contrasts.

(c) össze-esküv-ő
     pv-vow-part
     'conspiring'

(d) A király ellen   való össze-esküv-és(*-ek) lehetetlen(*-ek).
     the king against *való* pv-vow-dev   impossible
     'Conspiring(*s) against the king is (*are) impossible.'

(e) az elmúlt néhány év   össze-esküv-és-e-i
     the past some year.nom pv-vow-dev-3sg-pl
     'the past few years' conspirations'

As (95a–c) show, the Hungarian counterpart of the English verb *conspire*
has three different stem allomorphs ending in *-sz*, *-d*, and *-v*, respectively.
In (95d) the *-Ás* noun is a CEN, cf. the *való*-test and the impossibility of
pluralizing this noun. However, in (95e) the *-Ás* noun expresses a simple
event, cf. its pluralizability and its non-thematic possessor. In both cases,
the *-és* morph attaches to the same stem variant, the one ending in *-v*. If
two *-Ás* morphemes are postulated, as in Kenesei's analysis, then this fact
of stem allomorphy has to be separately stated. By contrast, it simply
falls out of my "one *-Ás* morpheme and conversion" proposal.[118]

5.3. The internal syntax of CEN constructions

As Szabolcsi (1994), among others, emphasizes, the internal syntax
of Hungarian CEN constructions does not exhibit any verbal (that is,
clausal) properties. It is identical in all relevant respects to the internal
syntax of DPs/NPs containing non-derived nouns both in Hungarian and
in English, for instance, and it is in sharp contrast to the internal syntax
of English verbal gerundive constructions. The two most salient dissim-
ilarities are as follows. Verbal gerunds in English (i) can have object
complements (ii) take adverbial modifiers, whereas nominal gerunds in
English and CENs in both English and Hungarian (i) cannot have object
complements (ii) take adjectival modifiers, cf.:[119]

---

[118] This argument for a conversion approach has been motivated by Bresnan's
(1982c) argument for her *-ed* participle → adjective conversion rule for English,
capitalizing on identical irregular forms of participles and adjectives.

[119] For further details, see Grimshaw (1990), Szabolcsi (1994) and Laczkó (1995).

(96) (a) the enemy's cruelly destroying the city   *(verbal gerund)*

    (b) the enemy's cruel destroying of the city   *(nominal gerund)*

    (c) the enemy's cruel destruction of the city   *(CEN)*

    (d) *the enemy's cruelly destruction the city

    (e) a   város-nak az ellenség által való kegyetlen el-pusztít-ás-a   *(CEN)*
       the city-dat   the enemy by   *való* cruel   pv-destroy-dev-3sg
       'the cruel destruction of the city by the enemy'

    (f) *az ellenség-nek az el-pusztít-ás-a   a   város-t kegyetlen-ül
       the enemy-dat   the pv-destroy-dev-3sg the city-acc cruel-adv
       '*the enemy's destruction the city cruelly'

On the basis of these facts we can safely conclude that Hungarian CENs have no syntactic properties in the strict sense of the term that call for a clausal analysis,[120] on the contrary: they strongly support a lexicalist approach.

In this context the following fact is highly relevant. Adger and Rhys (2000) propose a uniform MP analysis of *-ing* verbal gerundive and nominal gerundive nominalization in English. They claim that there is only one *-ing* suffix and they capture the well-known differences between the two construction types, partially illustrated in (96a) and (96b), by assuming that the same suffix combines with the verb stem in the syntax in the case of verbal gerunds and it attaches to the verb stem in the lexical component in the case of nominal gerunds. Given that English nominal gerunds share the most crucial properties with CENs in both English and Hungarian, Adger and Rhys's (2000) view, an example of a lexicalist approach to nominal gerunds in an MP framework, can also be taken to lend at least some indirect conceptual support to a lexicalist account of Hungarian CENs even in this current Chomskyan model.

5.4. Derivational morphology and lexicalism

In section **2**, I pointed out that a theory that regards derivational morphological phenomena as lexical in nature is taken to subscribe to the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis (WLH). An approach that treats even derivation

---

[120] On properties of Hungarian CENs that Kenesei (2005) considers clausal and on my remarks on them, see section **3.**

syntactically can be called absolutely syntactic. A theory that also handles inflectional processes lexically is assumed to adopt the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (SLH). In this respect, LFG has been an advocate of SLH since the very beginning of its development. The majority of modern linguistic approaches opt for WLH, at least.[121] In the Chomskyan mainstream there has always been vacillation between the extreme syntactic view and WLH. Now, CEN-formation is clearly a derivational process, as is also admitted by Kenesei (2005). From this it follows that my SLH LFG approach to Hungarian CENs, Chomsky's (1970) view on English CEN and nominal gerundive nominalization, Szabolcsi's (1994) GB account of Hungarian CEN nominalization, and Bartos's (2000) MP treatment of Hungarian CEN nominals are much closer in spirit to the more standard morphological stance on CEN nominalization across modern theories.

Naturally, this consideration can only have any significant weight if it can be proved that there are no genuinely syntactic arguments in the case of Hungarian CEN formation that outweigh the classical claims of a lexicalist approach, at least in the WLH domain. In this paper, I hope to have shown that the situation is just the opposite: the relevant phenomena, even when complemented with Kenesei's (2005) partially new perspective, still very strongly call for a lexicalist alternative.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed Kenesei's (2005) clausal, syntactic derivational approach to -*Ás* CENs in Hungarian, and I have compared it with previous lexicalist analyses: Szabolcsi (1994), Laczkó (1995), Komlósy (1998) and Laczkó (2004), among others. I hope to have demonstrated that the facts that, according to Kenesei, call for a syntactic analysis can be captured in an appropriately developed lexicalist framework with at least the same degree of efficiency, consistency and in a sufficiently principled manner. Moreover, there are additional considerations which support a lexical treatment. My main observations and claims are as follows.

---

[121] For an overview, see Spencer (1991).

1. Binding and control phenomena in CEN constructions can be treated in an LFG model along the lines of Komlósy (1998) and Laczkó (2004) in as unmarked and principled a fashion as in Kenesei's (2005) syntactic proposal.

2. The empirical facts about (anti-)agreement and extraction from CEN constructions are much more complex than what Kenesei (2005) presents: it seems to be the case that there is a split in present-day Hungarian in this area. Describing the "other" version of Hungarian appears to pose a serious problem for Kenesei's approach, while both variants can be adequately handled in an LFG framework.

3. As far as aspect in CEN constructions is concerned, Kenesei (2005) does not offer a fully developed analysis covering the whole range of the relevant facts in his syntactic model. LFG, a lexicalist model, has been designed to handle in the lexicon the overwhelming majority of the phenomena treated syntactically in (at least) certain models of the Chomskyan mainstream. It seems that a comprehensive lexicalist account of aspect in CEN constructions can be worked out in LFG, which will be at least as coherent and principled as Kenesei's syntactic approach, which is also yet to be developed.

4. Kenesei (2005) claims that CEN constructions exhibit negation phenomena comparable to clausal negation, which calls for a syntactic analysis of CENs. However, he does not present any aspect of this analysis. Probably a syntactic perspective will create more problems and more serious problems than the original problem it was intended to solve. By contrast, the introduction of the lexical version of the negative particle *nem* 'not' makes it possible to develop a lexicalist account of CEN negation, on the one hand, and it immediately helps to avoid most of the problems the syntactic alternative is bound to face, on the other hand.

5. It is a crucial feature of Kenesei's analysis that what appears to be an ordinary possessor constituent is in actual fact a whole embedded clause that has been radically vacated: it can only contain an overt argument of the verbal predicate and, at most, a (covert) PRO subject argument. On the one hand, I find this solution rather counter-intuitive (an argument in an entire empty clausal shell), and, on the other hand, when all the details of this analysis are being developed, it may prove difficult to motivate by dint of appropriate MP principles the evacuation of all kinds of constituents, including

oblique aruguments and adjuncts, base-generated in the clausal domain. Kenesei himself points out that this may not be an easy task.

6. Some further aspects of Kenesei's (2005) proposal that he only sketches are also not without problems.This especially holds for the treatment of various ways of realizing the internal arguments of a CEN, including (i) the change from argument status to adjunct status in the course of a syntactic process (ii) the lexical (!) incorporation of an argument into a verbal predicate that ends up as a nominal predicate (CEN) in the process of Kenesei's syntactic derivation.

7. Kenesei (2005) admits that at this stage there is no principled solution in his proposal to the treatment of *való* constructions. He appears to assume that none of the previous accounts has been able to develop such a solution. This can be taken to hold for attempts in the Chomskyan paradigm, but I did develop a coherent LFG analysis of these constructions, cf. Laczkó (2003).

8. There are also general, theory-neutral considerations that seem to support the lexicalist, as opposed to the syntactic, analysis of Hungarian CEN constructions: overall explanatory value, simplicity, the internal syntax of these constructions, and the "general" linguistic view on the nature and status of derivational morphology.

9. It is to be emphasized that Kenesei (2005) is programmatic to a considerable extent: it outlines an interesting and novel avenue for treating these Hungarian phenomena in an MP framework, and it admittedly leaves several crucial issues unexplored. It may well be the case that a great deal of my criticism expressed in this paper will be overcome by a detailed analysis developed along these syntactic derivational lines. However, up to that point, one can only discuss and respond to what is manifested by, and what logically follows from, the assumptions and claims of Kenesei (2005). In addition, the present paper may offer some comments and observations that can be helpful in the development of a fuller syntactic derivational analysis.

References

Adger, David – Catrin Sian Rhys 2000. Eliminating disjunction in lexical specification. In: Peter Coopmans – Martin Everaert – Jane Grimshaw (eds): Lexical specification and insertion, 1–26. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.

Asudeh, Ash 2005. Relational nouns, pronouns, and resumption. In: Linguistics and Philosophy 28 : 375–446.

Baker, Mark 1988. Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Bartos, Huba 2000. Az inflexiós jelenségek szintaktikai háttere [The syntactic background of inflectional phenomena]. In: Kiefer (2000, 653–762).

Bresnan, Joan 1982a. Control and complementation. In: Bresnan (1982b, 282–390).

Bresnan, Joan (ed.) 1982b. The mental representation of grammatical relations. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.

Bresnan, Joan 1982c. The passive in lexical theory. In: Bresnan (1982b, 3–86).

Bresnan, Joan 2001. Lexical-functional syntax. Blackwell, Malden MA & Oxford.

Butt, Miriam – Tracy Holloway King (eds) 2003. Nominals: Inside and out. CSLI Publications, Stanford, CA.

Butt, Miriam – Tracy Holloway King – Marma-Eugenia Niño – Fridirique Segond 1999. A grammar-writer's cookbook. CSLI Publications, Stanford CA.

Chisarik, Erika – John Payne 2003. Modelling possessor constructions in LFG: English and Hungarian. In: Butt – King (2003, 181–99).

Chomsky, Noam 1970. Remarks on nominalization. In: Roderick A. Jacobs – Peter S. Rosenbaum (eds): Readings in English transformational grammar, 184–221. Ginn, Waltham.

Chomsky, Noam 1981. Lectures on government and binding. Foris, Dordrecht.

Culicover, Paul W. – Ray Jackendoff 2001. Control is not movement. In: Linguistic Inquiry 32 : 493–512.

Dalrymple, Mary 2001. Lexical functional grammar (Syntax and semantics 34). Academic Press, New York.

Dikken, Marcel den 1995. Particles: On the syntax of verb-particle, triadic and causative constructions. Oxford University Press, New York.

Dikken, Marcel den 1999. On the structural representation of possession and agreement: The case of (anti-)agreement in Hungarian possessed nominal phrases. In: István Kenesei (ed.): Crossing boundaries: Advances in the theory of Central and Eastern European languages, 137–78. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia.

É. Kiss, Katalin 1992. Az egyszerű mondat szerkezete [The structure of clauses]. In: Kiefer (1992, 79–176).

É. Kiss, Katalin 2005. First steps towards a theory of the verbal particle. In: Piñón – Siptár (2005, 57–88).

Grimshaw, Jane 1990. Argument structure (Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 18). MIT Press, Cambridge MA.

Hornstein, Norbert 1999. Movement and control. In: Linguistic Inquiry 30 : 69–96.

Hout, Angeliek van – Thomas Roeper 1998. Events and aspectual structure in derivational morphology. In: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 32 : 175–200.

Jackendoff, Ray – Peter W. Culicover 2003. The semantic basis of control. In: Language 79 : 517–556.

Kenesei, István 1992. Az alárendelt mondatok szerkezete [The structure of subordinate clauses]. In: Kiefer (1992, 531–713).

Kenesei, István 2000. Szavak, szófajok, toldalékok [Words, parts of speech, affixes]. In: Kiefer (2000, 75–136).

Kenesei, István 2005. Nonfinite clauses in derived nominals. In: Piñón – Siptár (2005, 159–86).

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

Kiefer, Ferenc 1998. Alaktan. In: Katalin É. Kiss – Ferenc Kiefer – Péter Siptár: Új magyar nyelvtan [A new Hungarian grammar], 187–290. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest.

Kiefer, Ferenc (ed.) 2000. Strukturális magyar nyelvtan 3. Morfológia [A structural grammar of Hungarian, Vol. 3: Morphology]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

Kiefer, Ferenc – Mária Ladányi 2000. Az igekötők [Preverbs]. In: Kiefer (2000, 453–518).

Komlósy, András 1985. Predicate complementation. In: István Kenesei (ed.): Approaches to Hungarian 1 (Data and descriptions), 53–78. JATE, Szeged.

Komlósy, András 1998. A nomen actionis argumentumainak szintaktikai funkcióiról [On the syntactic functions of nomen actionis]. Manuscript. MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, Budapest.

Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria 1993. Nominalizations. Routledge, New York.

Laczkó, Tibor 1995. The syntax of Hungarian noun phrases: A lexical-functional approach. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main.

Laczkó, Tibor 2000a. A melléknévi és határozói igenévképzők [Forming adjectival and adverbial participles]. In: Kiefer (2000, 409–52).

Laczkó, Tibor 2000b. Az ige argumentumszerkezetét megőrző főnévképzés [Nominal derivation retaining the argument structure of the base verb]. In: Kiefer (2000, 293–407).

Laczkó, Tibor 2000c. Derived nominals, possessors and lexical mapping theory in Hungarian DPs. In: Miriam Butt – Tracy Holloway King (eds): Argument realization, 189–227. CSLI Publications, Stanford CA.

Laczkó, Tibor 2002. Control and complex event nominals in Hungarian. In: Miriam Butt – Tracy Holloway King (eds): Proceedings of the LFG02 Conference, National Technical University of Athens, Athens, 17. CSLI Publications, Stanford, CA. (http://csli.stanford.edu/publications/LFG2/lfg02.html)

Laczkó, Tibor 2003. On oblique arguments and adjuncts of Hungarian event nominals. In: Butt – King (2003, 201–34).

Laczkó, Tibor 2004. Grammatical functions, LMT, and control in the Hungarian DP revisited. In: Miriam Butt – Tracy Holloway King (eds): Proceedings of the LFG04 Conference, 313–33. CSLI Publications, Stanford CA. (http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/LFG/9/lfg04.html)

Laczkó, Tibor 2005. Nominalization, participle-formation, typology and lexical mapping. In: Piñón – Siptár (2005, 205–30).

Laczkó, Tibor 2007. Revisiting possessors in Hungarian DPs: A new perspective. In: Miriam Butt – Tracy Holloway King (eds): Proceedings of the LFG '07 Confer-

ence, 343–62. Stanford University/Center for the Study of Language and Information (CSLI) Publications, Stanford, CA.
(http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/LFG/12/lfg07.html)

Laczkó, Tibor 2008. On binding, empty categories, and morphosyntactic processes in "passive" participial constructions. In: Christopher Piñón – Szilárd Szentgyörgyi (eds): Approaches to Hungarian 10. Papers from the Veszprém conference, 103–26. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

Lees, Robert B. 1960. The grammar of English nominalizations. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Markantonatou, Stella 1995. Modern Greek deverbal nominals: An LMT approach. In: Journal of Linguistics 31 : 267–299.

Piñón, Christopher – Péter Siptár (eds) 2005. Approaches to Hungarian 9 (Papers from the Düsseldorf conference). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

Rappaport, Malka 1983. On the nature of derived nominals. In: Lori Levin – Malka Rappaport – Annie Zaenen (eds): Papers in LFG, 113–42. Indiana University Linguistic Club, Bloomington, Ind.

Spencer, Andrew 1991. Morphological theory. Blackwell, Cambridge MA & Oxford.

Szabolcsi, Anna 1992. Subject suppression or lexical PRO?—The case of derived nominals in Hungarian. In: Lingua 86 : 149–76.

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