Agreement with possessed direct objects in Hungarian

An experimental approach

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Overview

Intro: Object agreement and possessed NPs

The data

Surveys

Intro: Object agreement and possessed NPs

(1) a. Mari lát egy kutyá-t.
M. see.3sG a dog-ACC
'Mari sees a dog.'

- (1) a. *Mari lát egy kutyá-t*.

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 - b. Mari lát-ja a kutyá-t.
 M. see-3SG.OBJ the dog-ACC
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 - Roughly sensitive to definiteness of the DO

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 - Possessed direct objects are an exception
 - They can be indefinite yet require agreement
 - Standard Hungarian: all possessed DOs agree
 - But: dialectal variation?

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Methods and results

Series of online surveys

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- Series of online surveys
- Acceptability judgments with and without contexts
- Forced choice tests with and without contexts
- Speakers treat all possessed DOs alike: syntactic trigger?

The data

Definiteness often a good predictor; not with possessed DOs

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- Indefinite possessed DOs require agreement
- (2) a. Mari lát/ *lát-ja egy kutyá-t. M. see.3SG see-3SG.OBJ a dog-ACC 'Mari sees a dog.'
 - b. Mari lát-ja / %lát egy kutyá-m-at.
 M. see-3SG.OBJ see.3SG the dog-1SG.POSS-ACC
 'Mari sees a dog of mine.'

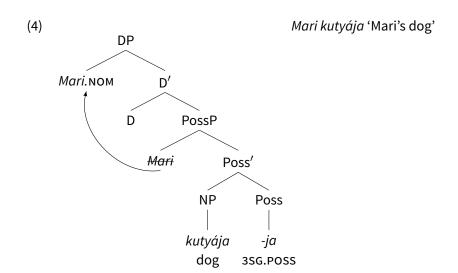
Types of possessed NPs

- (3) a. *Mari* (*a) kutyá-ja Nominative possessor Mari.nom (the) dog-3sg.poss 'Mari's dog'
 - b. *Mari-nak a kutyá-ja*Mari-DAT the dog-3SG.POSS

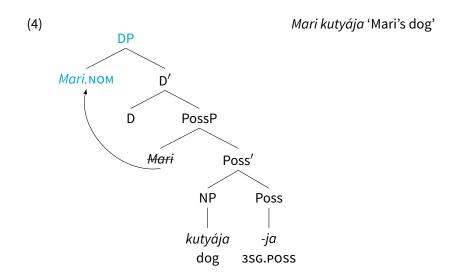
 'Mari's dog'

 Dative possessor
 - c. az ő kutyá-ja Pronominal possessor the s/he.nom dog-3sg.poss 'her/his dog'
 - Distribution suggests different heights in the NP (Bartos 1999; den Dikken 1999; Dékány 2015)

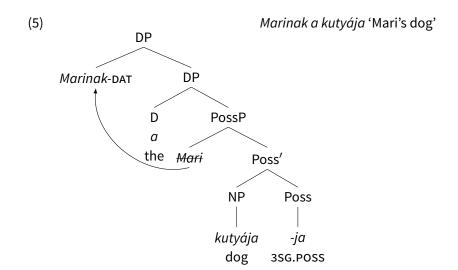
Structures: NOM possessor



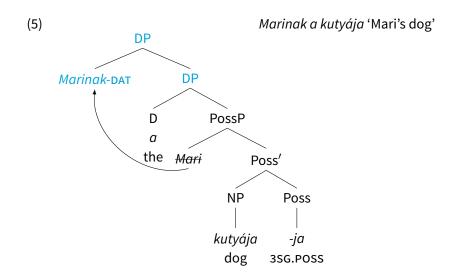
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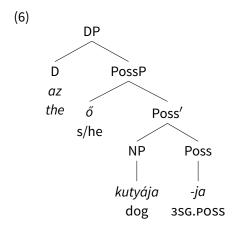
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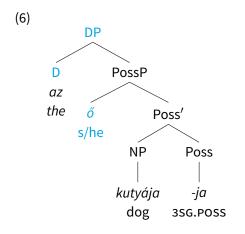


Structures: pronominal possessor



aző kutyája 'her/his dog'

Structures: pronominal possessor



az ő kutyája 'her/his dog'

Extraction

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▶ Dative possessors can be extracted (Szabolcsi 1994)

- (7) a. Mari-nak van kutyá-ja. Mari-DAT is dog-3sG.POSS 'Mari has a dog/dogs.'
 - b.* *Mari* van kutyá-ja.

 Mari.NOM is dog-3SG.POSS

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- ▶ Dative possessors can be extracted (Szabolcsi 1994)
- Only extracted possessors in definiteness effect-contexts (7a)

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- Only extracted possessors in definiteness effect-contexts (7a)
- Non-specific reading in (7a)

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Possessed DOs have DP but they can be non-specific?

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DP structure

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Semantics?

► A feature [DEF] introduces presupposition

(Coppock 2013)

Both? Neither?

- Possessed DOs have DP but they can be non-specific?
- How does this influence agreement?

Surveys

Acknowledgements

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