

Agreement with possessed direct objects in Hungarian

An experimental approach

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Overview

Object agreement and possessed NPs

The data

Surveys

Conclusions

Object agreement and possessed NPs

Object agreement in Hungarian

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

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- Roughly sensitive to definiteness of the DO

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- ▶ Possessed direct objects are an exception
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- ▶ But: *dialectal variation?*

This presentation

Questions

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- ▶ What kind of variation do we find?
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- ▶ Series of online surveys
- ▶ Acceptability judgments with and without contexts
- ▶ Forced choice tests with and without contexts

The data

Object agreement

- ▶ Definiteness often a good predictor; not with possessed DOs

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(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*) / *egy kutyá-ja* Nominative possessor
Mari.NOM (the) a dog-3SG.POSS
‘Mari’s dog’, ‘Mari’s one dog’

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- b. *Mari-nak a / egy kutyá-ja* Dative possessor
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 ‘Mari’s dog’, ‘a dog of Mari’s’

Types of possessed NPs

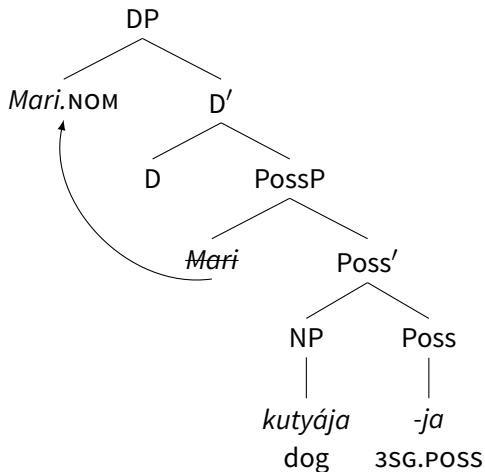
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- c. *az ő kutyá-ja* Pronominal possessor
 the s/he.NOM dog-3SG.POSS
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 the s/he.NOM dog-3SG.POSS
 ‘her/his dog’
- Distribution suggests different heights in the NP (Szabolcsi 1994; Bartos 1999; den Dikken 1999; É. Kiss 2000; Dékány 2015)

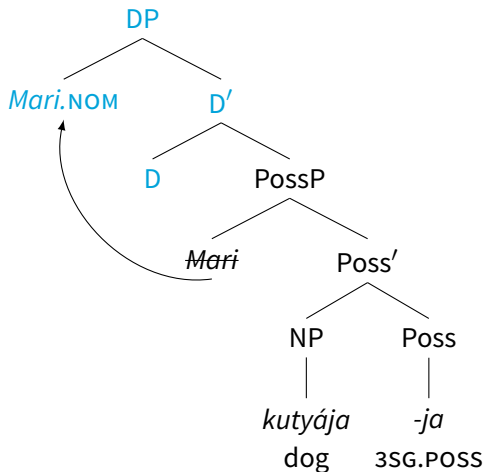
Structures: NOM possessor

(4)

Mari kutyája 'Mari's dog'

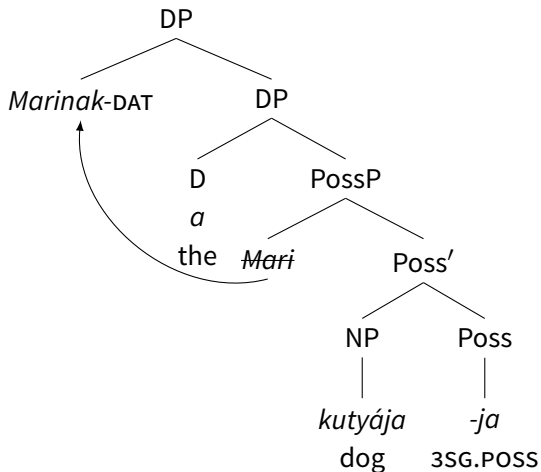
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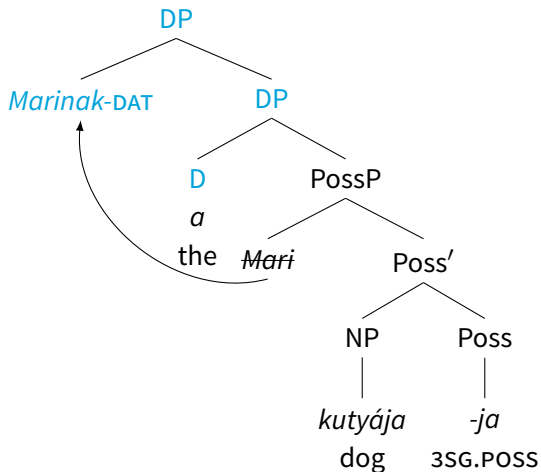
Structures: DAT possessor

(5)

Marinak a kutyája 'Mari's dog'

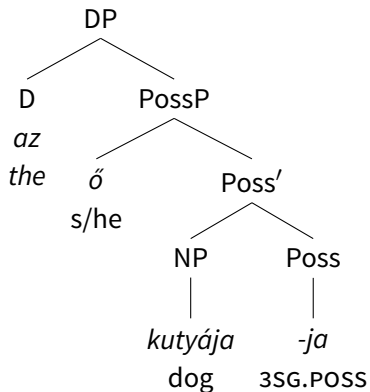
Structures: DAT possessor

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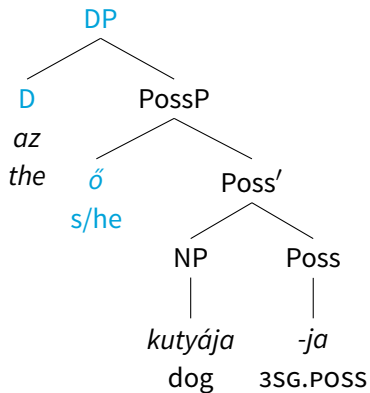
Structures: pronominal possessor

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Syntactic and semantic properties

Extraction

Syntactic and semantic properties

Extraction

- ▶ 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

Syntactic and semantic properties

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

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Syntactic and semantic properties

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

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Variation

- ▶ Szabolcsi (1994): DOs with extracted possessors show variation

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- ▶ **Semantic agreement?** Only specific DOs agree

- (8) a. %*Chomsky-nak nem olvas-t-ál vers-é-t.*
 Chomsky-DAT NEG read-PST-2SG poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
 ‘You haven’t read a poem of Chomsky’s.’
- b. *Chomsky-nak nem olvas-t-ad vers-é-t.*
 Chomsky-DAT NEG read-PST-2SG.OBJ poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
 ‘You haven’t read a poem of Chomsky’s / Chomsky’s poem.’

What triggers object agreement?

- ▶ Syntax? DP structure

(Bartos 1999)

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Data: Acceptability judgments with possessors

(9) In literature class, the children were reading Petőfi and Arany.

a. *Mari olvas-ott Petőfi vers-ét.*

Mari read-3SG.PAST Petőfi.NOM poem-3SG.POSS

b. *Mari olvas-t-a Petőfi vers-ét.*

Mari read-PAST-3SG.OBJ Petőfi.NOM poem-3SG.POSS

c. *Mari olvas-ott Petőfi-nek vers-ét.*

Mari read-3SG.PAST Petőfi-DAT poem-3SG.POSS

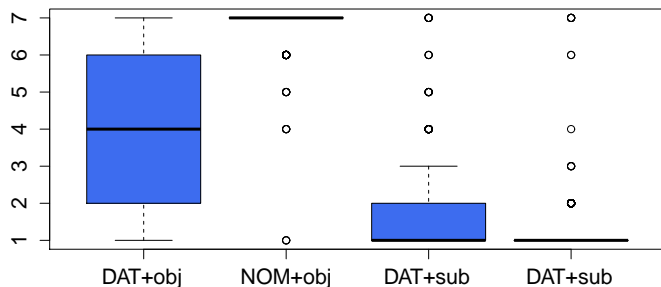
d. *Mari olvas-t-a Petőfi-nek vers-ét.*

Mari read-PAST-3SG.OBJ Petőfi-DAT poem-3SG.POSS

intended: 'Mari read Petőfi's poem / a poem by Petőfi.'

Results: Acceptability judgments with possessors

Object agreement is always significantly better than SUB



→ We do not find judgments reported in the literature

Data: Acceptability judgments without possessors

(10) Petőfi was a famous writer.

a. *Mari olvas-ott vers-ét.*

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b. *Mari olvas-t-a vers-ét.*

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c. *Mari olvas-ott néhány vers-ét.*

Mari read-3SG.PAST some poem-3SG.POSS

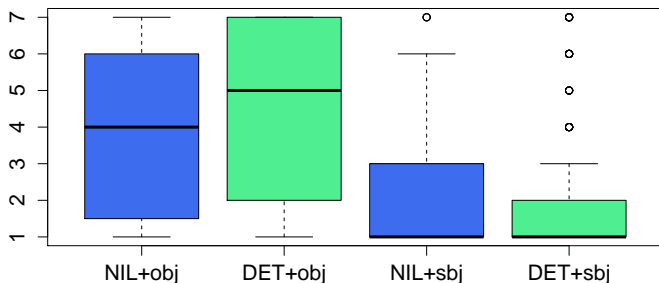
d. *Mari olvas-t-a néhány vers-ét.*

Mari read-PAST-3SG.OBJ some poem-3SG.POSS

intended: 'Mari read his poem(s) / some poem(s) of his.'

Results: Acceptability judgments without possessors

No possessors with and without determiners: *néhány* 'some', *minden* 'every', \emptyset



→ presence of determiner significantly better

Data: Forced choice, no context

Ismerte a szomszéd nővérét.

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Ismerte a szomszéd **egy** nővérét.

⋮

Ismerte a szomszédnak nővérét.

Ismerte a szomszédnak **a** nővérét.

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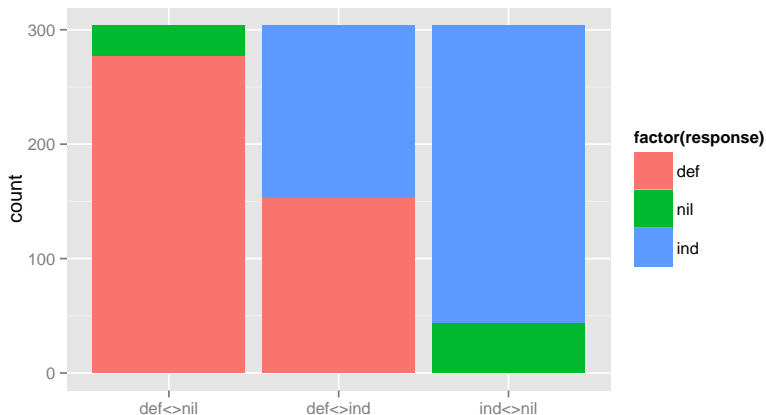
Ismerte a szomszédnak nővérét.

⋮

- ▶ *S/he knew the neighbour's daughter / **the** daughter of the neighbour / **a** daughter of the neighbour / ...*

Results: Forced choice, no context

DAT possessors with and without determiners: $a(z)$ 'the', egy 'a', \emptyset



→ presence of determiners significantly better

Data: Forced choice, def. context

- ▶ *... is a famous writer, but she also painted a landscape.*

Péter látta a költő **egy** tájképét.

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Péter látta a költőnek tájképét.

⋮

- *Péter saw the painter's **one** landscape / the painter's landscape / **the** landscape of the painter / ...*

Data: Forced choice, indef. context

- ... is a famous writer, but she also painted *several* landscapes.

Péter látta a költő **egy** tájképét.

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⋮

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Péter látta a költőnek tájképét.

Péter látta a költőnek **egy** tájképét.

Péter látta a költőnek **a** tájképét.

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Data: Forced choice, indef. context

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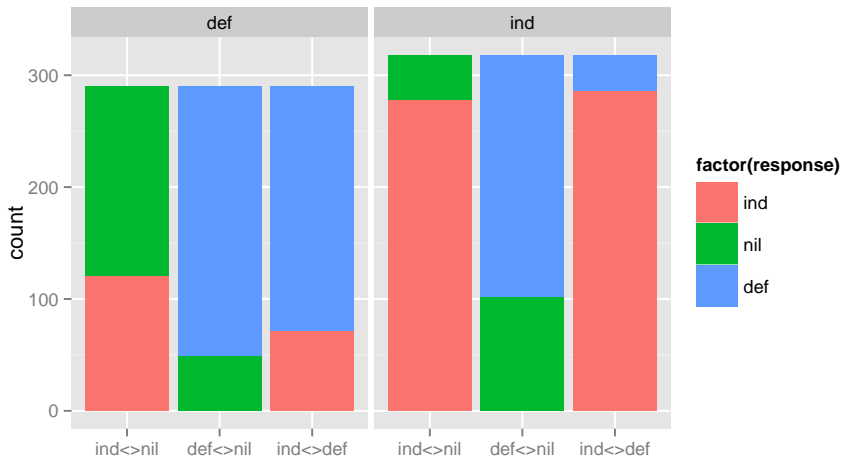
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- Péter saw the painter's *one* landscape / the painter's landscape / *the* landscape of the painter / ...

Results: Forced choice with context

DAT possessors with and without determiners: $a(z)$ 'the', egy 'a', \emptyset



Summary of results

- ▶ Object agreement is always significantly better than subject agreement

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- ▶ Subject agreement was always marked as unnatural

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- ▶ Object agreement is always significantly better than subject agreement
- ▶ Subject agreement was always marked as unnatural
- ▶ We find significant effects between items with and without determiners

Conclusions

Conclusions and future

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- ▶ Why D?

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 - ▶ Arguably explains extraction facts: no place for possessor?
- ▶ Future: Non-specific possessed DOs? Other determiners?

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Thanks to our participants!

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