What triggers the Hungarian objective paradigm?

A structural and feature-based account

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I argue that neither purely structural (e.g. Bartos 1999) nor purely semantic approaches (e.g. Coppock 2013) to the distribution of Hungarian verb paradigms can account for the observed data. I propose, following Bartos (1999) that the structure of the direct object (DO) noun phrase is crucial, while certain semantic features of the DO also have to be taken into account. I claim that the role of [DEF] and the semantic effects observed by Coppock (2013) are mostly correct but that her analysis makes false predictions regarding possessive structures. Taking into account both structural and interpretative factors, I propose an approach covering a wider range of attested data.

1. Introduction

Hungarian transitive verbs have two distinct paradigms that are realised as distinct suffixes. These are often called *subjective* and *objective* paradigm or conjugation, respectively (cf. Bartos 1999, É. Kiss 2002, Coppock & Wechsler 2012, Coppock 2013).

The subjective paradigm appears when the verb is intransitive as well as with certain types of direct objects. The objective paradigm only appears when there is a direct object (DO) and is triggered by a mostly complementary set of DOs. Its triggers include pronouns (but see below for qualification), proper names, DOs including the definite determiner, demonstratives, certain quantifiers, as well as certain types of complement clauses. The following examples illustrate the distribution of each paradigm.[1]

(1) a. Mari újság-ot / egy / néhány / sok / minden / könyv-et olvas-∅.
M. newspaper-ACC / one / some / many / every / book-ACC read-3SG.SUBJ
'Mari is reading a newspaper / a / some / many / every book(s).'

[1] I use the following abbreviations: SUBJ, OBJ — subjective and objective paradigm; 3SG, 1PL — third person singular, etc.; NOM, DAT, ACC, SUP — nominative, dative, accusative, superessive case; 3SG.POSS — third person singular possessive suffix; NEG — negation; COP/NEG.COP — copula and negated copula; PRF — verbal prefix.

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b. Mari téged / titeket / engem / minket lát-∅.
M. you.SG.ACC / you.PL.ACC / me.ACC / us.ACC see-3SG.SUBJ
'Mari sees you / me / us.'

(1a) illustrates that bare nouns, as well as nouns with the numeral or indefinite determiner *egy* 'one, a', and weak determiners like *sok* 'many', *néhány* 'some' require the subjective paradigm. Somewhat surprisingly, the quantifier *minden* 'every' also requires the subjective paradigm, even though it is a *strong* quantifier (cf. below). Finally, as (1b) shows, first and second person pronouns also co-occur with the subjective paradigm.

The objective paradigm, on the other hand, is triggered by DO noun phrases that roughly correlate with *definiteness*. Third person pronouns, proper names, the definite determiner *a(z)* 'the', demonstratives like *e, ez a* 'this', *az a* 'that', as well as certain (strong) quantifiers like *valamennyi, mindegyik* 'each' require the objective paradigm, cf. (2a). In addition, some complement clauses introduced by *hogy* 'that' and most possessed DO noun phrases co-occur with the objective paradigm, as shown in (1b).

(2) a. Csaba a / ez-t a / mindegyik könyv-et olvas-sa.
Cs. the / this-ACC / each book-ACC read-3SG.OBJ
'Csaba is reading the newspaper / this / each book.'
b. Csaba ő-t / Péter barátj-á-t lát-ja.
Cs. him/her-ACC / P. friend-3SG.POSS-ACC see-3SG.OBJ
'Csaba sees him/her / Peter's friend.'

In the recent literature, different explanations have been given for why only certain types of noun phrases require the objective paradigm, while others do not. In this paper, I will provide a novel account based on existing analyses but extending them to account for a wider range of data. Specifically, I will focus on the structure of possessive structures, e.g. *Péter barátja* in (2b).

In Section 2, I illustrate the constructions in question in more detail, in particular focusing on possessed noun phrases in Hungarian. In Section 3, I review the relevant literature and I point out a few issues with these in Section 4. I propose a solution for these in Section 5. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Hungarian data: clause structure and possessive noun phrases

2.1. Hungarian clause structure

Hungarian word order is said to be free, but this is only true under specific interpretations. In particular, the order of *arguments* is basically free, i.e. the order of subject and object can vary. Post-verbally, there are few, if any, syntactic restrictions on the order of constituents (cf. É. Kiss 2002, É. Kiss 2008; Surányi 2006 for a different view). Pre-verbally, however, the Hungarian clause is restricted in various ways. While the order of arguments is still variable, Hungarian is usually analysed as a so called *discourse configurational* language, i.e. there are fixed positions for constituents interacting with information structure, among other things. Under standard assumptions, the order of topic and focus constituents is fixed, with (potentially several) topic

positions preceding a single focus position, which is closest to the verb (cf. É. Kiss 1994, 1998, 2002, 2008). The relevant parts of Hungarian clause structure are thus represented as follows:

(3) $[_{\text{TopP}}$ [XP] $[_{\text{DistP}}$ [XP] $[_{\text{FP}}$ [XP] $[_{\text{AspP}}$ [XP] $[_{\text{VP}}$ [V XP XP]]]]]]

(cf. É. Kiss 2003:23)

In (3), TopP and DistP can appear more than once with several topics and distributive quantifiers, respectively. The focus projection FP appears only once and is the locus for exhaustive focus (cf. (4); discussion in É. Kiss 1998; Horvath 2007). AspP houses the so-called verbal prefix (cf. É. Kiss 2002:55ff.). It is pre-verbal when there is no XP in the pre-verbal focus position but post-verbal if there is. See the following examples to illustrate these properties (abstracting away from the exact position of the verb, irrelevant here).

(4) a. $[_{\text{TopP}}$ Péter $[_{\text{AspP}}$ meg-ev-ett [egy egész csirké-t.]]]
P. PRF-eat-3SG.PAST.SUBJ a whole chicken-ACC
'Peter ate a whole chicken.'

b. $[_{\text{FP}}$ Péter ev-ett $[_{\text{AspP}}$ meg [egy egész csirké-t.]]
P. eat-3SG.PAST.SUBJ PRF a whole chicken-ACC
'It was Peter who ate a whole chicken.'

The topic and focus positions come with their own respective restrictions about what types of noun phrases can appear. É. Kiss (2002) takes the topic position to house only referential and specific noun phrases. This can be tested with so called *definiteness effect* verbs, which require their arguments to be non-specific (cf. Szabolcsi 1986, É. Kiss 1995, Kálmán 1995, Maleczki 2001, Kálmán & Varasdi 2005 for discussion). The following pair illustrates this:

(5) a. Van elég pénz.
is enough money
'There is enough money.' (É. Kiss 2002:14)

b. *Van minden pénz.
is every money
*'There is every money.' (É. Kiss 2002:15, my translation)

The copula, similar to the English *there is*-construction, requires a non-specific argument, i.e. an argument that does not meet the requirements to appear in the topic position, which for É. Kiss (2002) requires a referential, specific argument. Thus, constructions like (5a) 'do not have a topicalizable constituent.' (É. Kiss 2002:15). This should rule out sentences with unambiguously non-specific topics, such as bare noun phrases, cf. (6).

(6) a. #Pénz van.
money is
intended: 'There is money.'

For present purposes, it is not necessary to go into further detail. In the remainder of this paper, definiteness effect contexts as well as the focus position will play a role while other properties of the Hungarian clause will not be relevant.

2.2. The Hungarian noun phrase and possessive constructions

In this section, I will briefly sketch the structure of the Hungarian noun phrase, in particular with respect to possessed nouns, in section 2.2.2. First, I will illustrate the basic structure of the noun phrase with different kinds of determiners.

2.2.1. Determiners in the noun phrase

Hungarian has what I will assume to be a definite determiner (though cf. Szabolcsi 1994 for a different view), *a(z)* 'the'.[2] It can be shown to be in a relatively high position in the noun phrase as it precedes other determiners such as certain quantifiers like *néhány* 'some' or *sok* 'many' as well as numerals. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(7) a. az egyetem
the university
'the university'
b. a két egyetem
the two university
'the two universities'

The numeral *egy* 'one' can only be used as an indefinite determiner; as such, it follows the definite determiner just as in (7b) and can thus be argued to be hierarchically lower in the noun phrase. While most determiners can co-occur with the definite determiner *a(z)*, as in (8a), the universal quantifiers *minden* 'every', *valamennyi, mindegyik* 'each' can not, cf. (8b).

(8) a. a sok / kevés / négy / néhány / legtöbb level-ed
the many / few / four / some / most letter-2SG.POSS
'your many / few / four / most of your letters'
b. (*a) minden / valamennyi / mindegyik level-ed
the every / each / each letter-2SG.POSS
intended: 'your every letter / each of your letters'

Leaving the question of the exact position of the universal quantifiers aside for the moment, we arrive at the following rough structure of the Hungarian noun phrase and turn to the structures of possessive noun phrases.

(9) [*definite determiner* [*quantifiers* [*adjectives* [*head noun*]]]]

2.2.2. Possessive constructions

Hungarian has possessive suffixes which attach to nouns and agree with a possessor in person and number, cf. (10a). Possessors do not have to be spelled out, cf. (10a) again; in general, they can be nominative, (10b), or dative (10c).

[2]The presence or absence of the sibilant [z] is sensitive to whether the following word starts with a vowel or a consonant, cf. English *a(n)*.

(10) a. a bicikli-nk
the bicycle-1PL.POSS
'our bicycle'
b. Mari bicikli-je
M.NOM bicycle-3SG.POSS
'Mari's bicycle'
c. Mari-nak egy bicikli-je
M.-DAT a bicycle-3SG.POSS
'one of Mari's bicycles'

The most obvious difference between nominative and dative possessors is their syntactic distribution. Nominative possessors are usually argued to be lower than dative possessors (cf. Szabolcsi 1994; Bartos 1999; É. Kiss 2002). There are straightforward syntactic arguments for this, cf. (11) for illustration. While a nominative possessor cannot co-occur with the definite determiner *a(z)*, a dative possessor can.

(11) a. *Péter a cucc-a
P.NOM the stuff-3SG.POSS
intended: 'Peter's stuff'
b. Péter-nek a cucc-a
P.-DAT the stuff-3SG.POSS
'Peter's stuff'

Given (11) and the distribution of the definite determiner and other determiners reviewed above, we arrive at the following structure for the Hungarian noun phrase.

(12) DatPoss — D — NomPoss — Det — Num — Adj — N

Dat- and NomPoss refer to dative and nominative possessor respectively, D to the definite determiner *a(z)* and Det to other determiners and quantifiers. Note that dative and nominative possessors will not be present at the same time and that their overt presence is in general optional (obligatory possession marking is always present on the noun as suffixes).

In addition to these structural differences between nominative and dative possessors, there are interpretive differences. As the translations of the examples with nominative possessors show, these are always definite. This is shown with the following contrast, where there is a numeral between the possessor and the possessum. With a nominative possessor, the combination numeral+possessum is understood as a unique (plural) individual, while this uniqueness restriction does not hold for the noun phrase with the dative possessor.

(13) a. Mari két fi-a
M.NOM two son-3SG.POSS
'Mari's two sons'
b. Mari-nak két fi-a
M.-DAT two son-3SG.POSS
'two of Mari's sons'

The two types of possessive constructions (nominative vs. dative possessor) also differ in their external distribution, not just in interpretation, though there is possibly a correlation. Recall the brief discussion above of the Hungarian construction similar to the English existential *there is*-construction, with the copula *van*, shown in (5a) and (5b). As argued there, only certain types of noun phrases are allowed in such contexts, see (14) for more examples:

(14) a. Van ∅ / egy / sok alma.
COP / a / many apple
'There's apples / an apple / many apples.'
b. *Van az / minden / mindegyik alma.
COP the / every / each apple
intended: 'There is the / every / each apple.'

These structures are relevant for the present paper because possessive constructions are among the constructions restricted in these contexts. To express *x has y* in Hungarian, a construction with the copula is used, as shown in (15):

(15) Mari-nak van egy kocsi-ja.
M.-DAT COP a car-3SG.POSS
'Mari has a car.'

The possessed argument, *egy kocsi* 'a car' in (15), is subject to the same restrictions as the nominal arguments in (14). As Szabolcsi (1994) argues, this is again similar to English, where sentences like *I have the sister* are ungrammatical (on the possessive reading). She identifies the arguments that are licit in such contexts as non-specific indefinites, as in the definiteness effect contexts discussed above. There is a further restriction on possessed noun phrases in this construction, however. The possessor has to bear dative case and be *extracted* from the noun phrase. Extraction, in this case, means that the dative possessor cannot be in a relation with the possessed noun that is too local, i.e. in the same constituent. Witness the following contrasts:

(16) a. *Van Mari kocsi-ja.
COP M.-NOM car-3SG.POSS
intended: 'Mari has a car.'
b. Csak Mari-nak van kocsi-ja.
only M.-DAT COP car-3SG.POSS
'Only Mari has a car.'
c. *Csak Mari-nak kocsi-ja van.
only M.-DAT car-3SG.POSS COP
intended: 'Only Mari has a car.'
d. Csak Mari kocsi-já-t lát-t-am.
only M.-NOM car-3SG.POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
'I only saw Mari's car.'
e. Van Mari-nak kocsi-ja.
'Mari has a car.'

(16a) shows a nominative possessor in this type of possessive construction. This is strongly ungrammatical and contrasts with (15). That the dative possessor has to be *extracted*, i.e. non-local, can be shown using a test suggested in Szabolcsi (1994:225). The focus particle *csak* 'only' forces a single constituent into the pre-verbal focus position (cf. Section 2.1). The ungrammaticality of examples like (16c) shows, according to Szabolcsi (1994), that the dative possessor may not form a constituent with the possessum and thus must be extracted from that noun phrase. If the possessor is non-local, the structure is licit, cf. (16b). (16d) shows that a constituent with a local possessor is not generally ruled out with verbs that do not have definiteness restrictions on their arguments, while finally, (16e) shows that if the above reasoning is correct, string-adjacency between possessor and possessum need not determine constituency.

As mentioned above, both nominative and dative possessors can be covert. In those cases, it is not straightforwardly possible to tell whether the covert possessor is a nominative or dative possessor, but Szabolcsi (1994) argues that the coordinate structure constraint should hold even for phonologically null elements, i.e. it should be possible to test for extraction of dative possessors, covert or not. Szabolcsi (1994) shows that this is the case:

(17) *Van kalap-od és sál.
COP hat-2SG.POSS and scarf
intended: 'There's your hat and a scarf.'

The reasoning behind this argument is that for the possessum *kalapod* 'your hat' to be licit its *pro* possessor has to be dative and extracted, which would force movement from one of the conjuncts and not the other (because there is nothing to extract from non-possessed *sál* 'scarf'). This kind of movement is straightforwardly ruled out by the coordinate structure constraint. In section 2.3.3, I will resume the present discussion.

2.2.3. NP or DP?

Having established the basic distribution of possessed noun phrases in Hungarian, I will turn now to the question of the category and the internal structure of the noun phrase. Szabolcsi (1994) assumes that all argumental noun phrases are DPs and that one of the roles of the determiner is similar to that of a subordinator or complementiser marking a clause as an argument.

Bartos (1999) and É. Kiss (2002), on the other hand, argue that not all noun phrases are of the same syntactic category. The category of the noun phrase depends on the elements that are actually present. Thus bare nouns are argued to be mere NPs, while numerals project NumP, and the definite determiner projects a DP. É. Kiss (2002:Ch. 7) provides some evidence for these claims; this evidence will be taken up later.

Bartos (1999) argues for the hypothesis that the syntactic category of the direct object noun phrase triggers the paradigms. The basic idea is that all and only those direct objects that project a DP layer trigger the objective paradigm. In his analysis of the Hungarian noun phrase, only those layers that are actually lexically present are projected. This view differs from Szabolcsi's in that non-DPs can be arguments of verbs too, a fairly standard assumption in the recent literature. On this view, then, the examples above would have the following structures:

(18) a. [$_{DP}$ az [$_{NP}$ egyetem]]
the university
'the university'

b. [$_{DP}$ a [$_{NumP}$ két [$_{NP}$ egyetem]]]
the two university
'the two universities'

c. [$_{NumP}$ egy [$_{NP}$ egyetem]]
a/one university
'a university'

(18a,b) and (18c) differ with respect to paradigm choice, the first two triggering the objective paradigm, (18c) requiring the subjective paradigm, as illustrated in (19). This analysis, adopted in É. Kiss (2002), predicts the correct paradigm choice for a wide range of cases, but there are some problems, to be raised in section 4.2.

(19) a. Meglátogat-om az egyetem-et.
visit-1SG.OBJ the university-ACC
'I am visiting the university.'

b. Meglátogat-om a két egyetem-et.
visit-1SG.OBJ the two university-ACC
'I am visiting the two universities.'

c. Meglátogat-ok egy egyetem-et.
visit-1SG.SUBJ a university-ACC
'I am visiting a university.'

2.3. Possessive structures and the verb paradigms

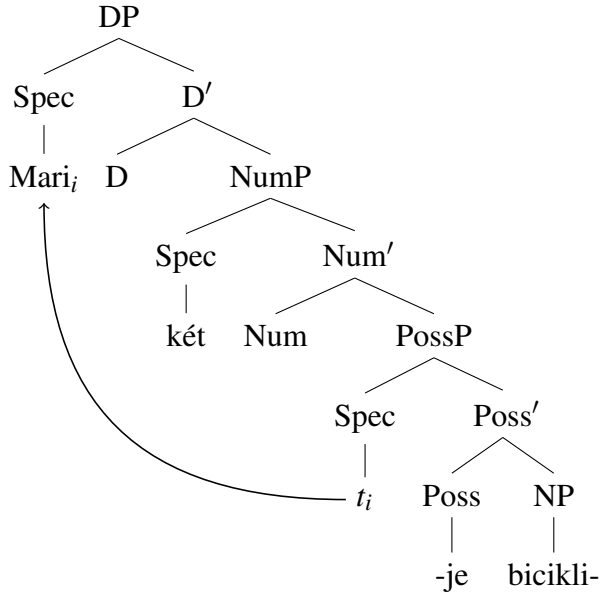
In this section, I will discuss why certain but not all possessed direct objects trigger the objective paradigm and what consequences the structure of these objects has for the analysis of paradigm choice in Hungarian.

2.3.1. The syntax of possessed noun phrases

Szabolcsi (1994), Bartos (1999) and É. Kiss (2002) all make slightly different assumptions about the structure of possessed noun phrases. What they have in common is that they assume a projection PossP whose head introduces the possessive suffix and whose specifier arguably introduced the possessor (cf. É. Kiss 2002 for discussion and slight differences). The structure of (20a) can be represented as (20b), then, ignoring the issue of linearisation for present purposes.

(20) a. Mari két bicikli-je
M.-NOM two bicycle-3SG.POSS
'Mari's two bicycles'

b.



With a structure like in (20b), one can account for certain facts about the noun phrase. What is most important for present purposes is that nominative possessors are usually definite. I will assume that this is because the nominative possessor is in complementary distribution with the definite determiner by being in the same DP projection. Assuming the possessor to be in SpecDP rather than D deviates from assumptions in the literature (cf. É. Kiss 2002:168 for example), but the possibility of having full NPs and not only heads as nominative possessors is an argument for the possessor being in SpecDP, similarly to dative possessors.

The latter, as shown above, are not in complementary distribution with the definite determiner, which I argue is the case because of the different syntactic combination of the parts of the large possessive noun phrase. The following example illustrates a definite noun phrase with a dative possessor, cf. (21), and its structure in (22) according to É. Kiss (2002) (the base generation position of the possessor shall not concern us here). As É. Kiss (2002:168f.) argues, the dative possessor is adjoined to the lower DP, possibly due to its bearing case and being a KP (these details are not relevant for the present discussion). Crucially, then, the dative possessor is higher and less local with respect to the possessed DP.

(21) Péter-nek a diák-ja-i
P.-DAT the student-3SG.POSS-PL
'Péter's students'

(22) [$_{DP}$ Péter-nek [$_{DP}$ a [$_{NumP}$ -i] [$_{PossP}$ -ja- [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ diák- t_i]]]]] (É. Kiss 2002:169)

Possessed NPs with dative possessors show a wider range of interpretations than those with nominative noun phrases. Given the argument above that the definiteness of possessed NPs with nominative possessors is induced by the locality of the nominative possessor, I will assume, following Szabolcsi (1994); Bartos (1999); É. Kiss (2002), that the syntactic freedom of the dative possessor is related to the fact that interpretations of such noun phrases vary.

That dative possessors are not in complementary distribution with the definite determiner provides good evidence that they are in a higher position than the nominative possessor. If D is filled, the possessed noun phrase is interpreted as definite; if it is not, possessed NPs with dative possessors can also be interpreted as indefinites, as shown in (16) above. The *mihi est*-construction provides a test for the indefiniteness of possessive noun phrases.

2.3.2. Possessive structures and the objective paradigm

The facts about the syntactic structure and interpretation of possessive structures in Hungarian just introduced allow us to now turn to their relation with the verb paradigms. Possessive structures with nominative possessors uncontroversially trigger the objective paradigm, just like definite determiners, demonstratives, determiners ending in *-ik* and the universal quantifiers *mindegyik*, *valamennyi* 'each'. The similarities between these types of noun phrases as direct objects will be addressed below.

The following examples illustrate a few possessed direct objects triggering the objective paradigm. They all have nominative possessors, but note that in each case the possessor could be covert as well, arguably nominative *pro*.

(23) a. Lát-ja Péter lány-á-t.
see-3SG.OBJ P.-NOM daughter-3SG.POSS-ACC
'S/he sees Péter's daughter.'

b. Olvas-t-a Mari valamennyi / minden / öt könyv-é-t.
read-PAST-3SG.OBJ M.-NOM each / every / five book-3SG.POSS-ACC
'S/he read each of Mari's books / every book of Mari's / Mari's five books.'

c. Ismer-i Péter egyik barát-já-t.
know-3SG.OBJ P.-NOM one.of friend-3SG.POSS-ACC
'S/he knows a certain friend of Péter's.'

d. ?Nem ismer-i Péter egyik barát-já-t.
NEG know-3SG.OBJ P.-NOM one.of friend-3SG.POSS-ACC
'S/he doesn't know a certain friend of Péter's.'

The direct object *Péter lánya* in (23a) gets a definite interpretation, the direct object being understood as unique and specific, also inducing an existential presupposition, as indicated by the translation.[3] With a nominative possessor, the (indefinite) numeral *öt* 'five' in (23b) also strongly favours a definite reading, viz. that Mari has authored five books, thus again having an interpretation as the unique set (or plural individual) of books such that Mari wrote them and implying that this is set is exhaustive, i.e. that she didn't write any others.

(23c,d) shows possessive structures including the phrase *egyik* 'a certain'. In these cases, the direct object again gets an interpretation as picking out a unique individual and the direct object scopes over the negation in (23d) (thus favouring a different word order where the direct object precedes the negation, arguably the reason for reduced acceptability).

[3] An anonymous reviewer argues that the oddness of *Látja* pro *lányát* 's/he sees his/her daughter' in contrast with *Látja a* pro *lányát* 'id.' might make it necessary that "in the lack of an overt possessor definiteness/specificity must be explicitly marked." This is a valid point; the issue might be related to the marking of definiteness more generally, however, falling outside of the scope of the present paper.

Note that the above examples all trigger the objective paradigm; as far as I can tell, there is no variation with respect to paradigm choice with nominative possessors. There are certain structures which seem exceptional, cf. (24a,b), but these behave more like compounds than proper possessive structures (cf. Rácz for this data).

(24) a. Csirke comb-já-t ev-ett / *et-t-e.
chicken leg-3SG.POSS-ACC eat-PAST.3SG.SUBJ / eat-PAST-3SG.OBJ
'S/he ate a chicken leg.'
b. Petrezselyem zöld-jé-t ve-tt / *vet-t-e.
parsley green-3SG.POSS-ACC buy-PAST.3SG.SUBJ / buy-PAST.3SG.OBJ
'S/he bought parsley.'

In both of these examples, the nominative possessor is a bare noun and not referential, giving rise to a different interpretation than in the examples in (23). I will not have anything further to say about structures as in (24).

2.3.3. Possessive structures and the subjective paradigm

In addition to the compound-like noun phrase just discussed, there are further cases of the subjective paradigm co-occurring with possessed direct objects. While overt dative possessors provide more direct evidence for the nature of these constructions, I will discuss both overt and covert possessors.

As noted by Rácz, Szabolcsi (1994), Bartos (1999), Kiefer (2003) and Coppock (2013), among others, the *subjective* paradigm appears in certain varieties of Hungarian with some types of possessed direct objects. It is claimed in the literature that "certain varieties of the Hungarian language" (Bartos 1999:99, my translation) have a semantic distinction correlating the choice of verb paradigm and possessive noun phrase direct objects. As Szabolcsi (1994:227) states "there is a minority dialect in which object agreement is more semantic." Kiefer (2003) and Coppock (2013) also provide similar examples without noting which varieties are concerned. In brief, judgements on such examples are controversial and seem to vary but there are several sources of naturally occurring examples of the relevant sort.

The following examples provide a brief overview of the data in the literature. As mentioned above, Szabolcsi (1994) argues for syntactic restrictions on the interpretation of noun phrases:

(25) For DP to be non-specific, it must have the possessor extracted (in addition to not containing any specific determiner, of course).
(Szabolcsi 1994:226, (120b))

To set the stage for the dialectal data, she gives the following example from Standard Hungarian (her "majority dialect") said to have both a specific and a non-specific reading of the direct object *Chomskynak versét* 'a poem of Chomsky's' (*t* indicates the traces of the extracted dative possessor in (26), one from the nominative position, one from the internal dative position):

(26) Chomsky-nak nem olvas-t-ad *t t* vers-é-t.
Ch.-DAT NEG read-PAST-2SG.OBJ poem-3SG.POSS-ACC

'You haven't read any poem of Chomsky's.'
?'You haven't read Chomsky's poem.' (archaic)
(Szabolcsi 1994:226, (123), glosses adapted, her judgements)

The crucial example from the minority dialect is the following, a minimal pair to (26), differing only in the choice of verb paradigm, subjective in (27):

(27) Chomsky-nak nem olvas-t-ál vers-é-t.
Ch.-DAT NEG read-PAST-2SG.SUBJ poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
'You haven't read any poem of Chomsky's.'
(Szabolcsi 1994:227, (124), glosses adapted)

(27), according to Szabolcsi (1994) (and the received view in the literature), should only be acceptable for a minority of speakers. For those who do accept it, (27) has a non-specific interpretation, while (26) has a specific interpretation. Though not explicitly mentioned, the translation in Szabolcsi (1994) hints at the fact that this is an instance of scopal specificity, giving rise to an interpretation like the following:

(28) $\exists x[poem(x) \wedge Rel(c,x) \wedge \neg read(y,x)]$

In (28), $Rel(c,x)$ is the relation between the possessed noun *poem* and Chomsky, a relation of writing in this case. The specific reading can thus be illustrated by the existential quantifier outscoping negation. The non-specific reading would get roughly the interpretation in (29):

(29) $\neg\exists x[poem(x) \wedge Rel(c,x) \wedge read(y,x)]$

One crucial difference between (28) and (29) is that the latter but not the former is compatible with a situation where Chomsky has not written any poems. Szabolcsi's data are particularly interesting because they include overt possessors.

Bartos (1999) provides a further controversial example from his local dialect (Tolna county, cf. Bartos 1999:100, fn. 63) with a possessive structure and the subjective paradigm, even including a universal quantifier:

(30) %Ismer-ek minden titk-od-at.
know-1SG.SUBJ every secret-2SG.POSS-ACC
'I know your every secret.'
(Bartos 1999:100, my glosses and translation)

In addition, further examples with covert possessors with and without determiners are cited in the literature, cf. (31).

(31) %Péter-nek olvas-t-unk (néhány) vers-é-t.
P.-DAT read-PAST-1PL.SUBJ some poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
'We read some poems by Peter.'
(Bartos 1999:105, my glosses and translation)

This concludes the overview of the relevant data of possessive structures and the subjective paradigm.

2.4. The quantifiers minden *'every' and* valamennyi *'each'*

As briefly shown in section 1, the universal quantifiers *minden* 'every' and *valamennyi* or *mindegyik* 'each' pattern differently with respect to the verb paradigms, with only the latter two triggering the objective paradigm. While not the main object of investigation, certain properties of the two types of determiners deserve mention.

First, these quantifiers have the same syntactic distribution. They precede numerals and adjectives (cf. Coppock & Wechsler 2012:726) in the noun phrase, i.e. they are possible located in a QP inside the DP. But interestingly, as discussed in detail by Szabolcsi (1994), they are incompatible with the definite determiner *a(z)* immediately preceding them. Szabolcsi (1994) argues that the determiner is deleted but actually present (cf. Coppock & Wechsler 2012:722 for discussion). Without further determiners, both strong quantifiers are in complementary distribution with *a(z)* 'the'. However, with additional material in the noun phrase both appear with non-adjacent *a(z)*, i.e. the sequence in (32a) is ruled out with *a* preceding the quantifiers, while (32b) is allowed, cf. Szabolcsi (1994:210f., (107)):

(32) a. (*a) minden veled való találkozás
the every with.you being meeting
'every meeting with you'
b. a veled való minden találkozás
the with.you being every meeting
'every meeting with you'

Second, neither quantifier is licit in definiteness effect contexts like the *van* construction, as shown in example (14) above. Here, the presence or absence of the definite determiner does not make any difference, patterning with the definite determiner and demonstratives, but not with indefinite quantifiers like *néhány* 'some' and possessives, as we have seen above. The presence of *a(z)* does, however, make a difference with respect to the objective paradigm. (32b) triggers the objective paradigm when used as a direct object, while (32a) does not, as shown in (33a,b).

(33) a. Élvez-ek minden veled való találkozás-t.
enjoy-1SG.SUBJ every with.you being meeting-ACC
'I enjoy every meeting with you.'
b. Élvez-em a veled való minden találkozás-t.
enjoy-1SG.OBJ the with.you being every meeting-ACC
'I enjoy every meeting with you.'

Given the morphosyntactic differences between the two quantifiers, É. Kiss (2002:156) assumes *minden* to be an 'inherently specific numeral', taking care of its ungrammaticality in definiteness effect contexts but allowing it to require the subjective paradigm. As far as I can tell, however, there is no syntactic evidence for this assumption.

Coppock & Wechsler (2012) take the alternation in (33) as an argument against the DP analysis for the objective paradigm. They argue that since *minden* is in principle compatible with the definite determiner as shown in (33b) (and given the idea proposed by Szabolcsi (1994) that in (33a) it is merely deleted, but present), the DP hypothesis proposed by Bartos (1999) cannot explain why *minden* does not trigger the objective paradigm. Instead, they propose an analysis based on the feature specification of *minden* 'every' and *valamennyi* 'each' also argued for by Coppock (2013), which I will illustrate in the following section.

2.5. Interim summary

I have introduced data regarding two types of noun phrases and their correlation with the verb paradigms, possessive structures and universal quantifiers. While possessive structures provide arguments for the idea that the trigger of the objective paradigm is based on noun phrase structure, because of the extraction facts and different types of possessors, a purely syntactic approach runs into problems with universal quantifiers. In the following section, I will present an analysis based on two types of existing suggestions which attempts to cover a wider range of data than either one does, based on both structural reasoning and the feature specification of the noun phrase.

3. Existing approaches to Hungarian verb paradigms

3.1. DP or not? A syntactic approach

As mentioned above, Bartos (1999) suggests that all and only noun phrases that project DP trigger the objective paradigm. I will not go into all details in this paper, but rather focus on possessive structures and the universal quantifiers.

I have introduced the structure of possessed noun phrases above, having argued that those with nominative possessors always project DP. Syntactic evidence for this included the fact that these possessors are always close to the possessed noun. By assumption, this property is taken to hold for covert nominative possessors too. Thus these arguments are not problematic for the syntactic analysis proposed by Bartos (1999).

The structures assumed above for dative possessors fit this hypothesis as well, triggering the objective paradigm when the dative possessor is in a DP adjoined to the possessed noun phrase. What about the cases where possessed noun phrases correlate with the subjective paradigm, however?

On this syntactic view, in the varieties which allow both the subjective and the objective paradigm with possessed noun phrases, these have different structures, in accordance with the DP hypothesis. Thus, Bartos (1999:106) argues that the subjective paradigm appears with a possessive structure when the possessor is extracted directly from a position below DP, making its projection unnecessary, cf. (34) for illustration.

(34) [$_{DP}$ Chomsky-nak]$_i$ nem olvas-t-ál [$_{PossP}$ t$_i$ [$_{NP}$ vers-é-t]]
Ch.-DAT NEG read-PAST-2SG.SUBJ poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
'You haven't read any poem by Chomsky.' (cf. (27) above)

By contrast, in the same varieties, the specific reading would be triggered by the following structure, according to Bartos (1999), with the possessor passing through SpecDP.

(35) [$_{DP}$ Chomsky-nak]$_i$ nem olvas-t-ad [$_{DP}$ t$_i$ [$_{PossP}$ t$_i$ [$_{NP}$
Ch.-DAT NEG read-PAST-2SG.OBJ
vers-é-t]]]
poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
'You haven't read Chomsky's poem.' (cf. (26) above)

Given the purely syntactic view endorsed by Bartos (1999), these assumptions are somewhat speculative. I will defend this view by proposing a connection between the syntactic structure and the difference in interpretation in section 5.

3.2. [DEF] *or not? A semantic approach*

Coppock & Wechsler (2012) and Coppock (2013) recently suggested a different approach to what triggers the objective paradigm in Hungarian. On their semantic view,[4] it is not the structure of the noun phrase that triggers the objective paradigm, but its formal feature specification. The idea is that certain determiners and lexical items are specified for a particular formal feature which triggers the objective paradigm.

In Coppock (2013), this feature is referred to as [+DEF]. She basically argues that lexical items triggering the objective paradigm are specified as [+DEF] and that this specification correlates with a certain interpretation, viz. familiarity. In her own words:

(36) *Lexical Familiarity Hypothesis*
If the referential argument of a phrase is *lexically specified* as familiar, then the phrase triggers the objective conjugation.
(Coppock 2013:7)

She defines *referential argument* as follows:

(37) *Referential argument*
The referential argument of a phrase is the discourse referent u such that: when the phrase combines with an expression denoting property P, P is predicated of u.
(Coppock 2013:8)

In addition to lexical items being [+DEF] there are lexical items specified as [−DEF]. An item counts as such if 'it lexically specifies its referential argument as new.' (Coppock 2013:9). Variation in paradigm choice, on this view, follows from the presence of both features on a noun phrase (the features percolate up in the structure).

On this approach, the difference between *minden* 'every' and *valamennyi* 'each' with respect to the paradigm is derived straightforwardly by the latter being [+DEF]. This correlates with the presuppositional nature of *each* (in both English and Hungarian; cf. Beghelli & Stowell 1997,

[4]As Georg Höhn points out (p.c.), this approach is obviously not only semantic, but is based on the morphosyntactic properties of the items in question. Their relation to specific semantic effects and the way the authors, especially Coppock, refer to their work makes me adopt the label 'semantic approach' as well.

Bárány 2012:Ch. 4, Coppock 2013:16f. for discussion; the difference might lie in anaphoricity as well). As for possessive structures, Coppock (2013) assumes that it is the possessive suffix which is specified for [+DEF]. Its lexical entry looks as follows:

(38) $\textit{-ja}_{\langle e,\langle e,t\rangle,\langle e,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle\rangle}$ 'POSS' $\rightsquigarrow$
$\lambda R_{\langle e,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle}.\lambda x.\lambda y.[:>> [y : R(x,y)]]$ (Coppock 2013:20)

In the system of DRT Coppock (2013) uses, the possessive suffix is basically a presupposition trigger, and the $>>$ notation in (38) means that the first individual argument applied to the meaning in (38) is presupposed, 'so there is a familiarity requirement on the possessum' (Coppock 2013:20). A common noun with a possessive suffix gets the following meaning in this system:

(39) macskája$_{\langle e,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle}$ 'cat of' $\rightsquigarrow$
$\lambda x.\lambda y.[:>> y :\textsc{cat}(y)\wedge\textsc{poss}(x,y)]]$ (Coppock 2013:21)

(The higher type of the common noun results from type-shifting to make semantic composition with (38) possible.) Possessive structures are thus predicted to trigger the objective paradigm by virtue of being [+DEF] because of the possessive suffix. In the following section, I raise issues with this explanation and point to a solution.

4. Issues with existing approaches

4.1. Possessives in Coppock (2013)

The semantic approach suggested by Coppock (2013) runs into certain problems with possessive structures by predicting presuppositions in certain constructions where they do not actually arise as well as ruling out configurations in which the subjective paradigm appears. I will illustrate these issues in turn.

Viewing the possessive suffix as a presupposition trigger as in (38) and (39) predicts that presuppositions should also arise in negative *mihi est*-constructions (given that presuppositions are constant under negation), cf. the following example:

(40) Mari-nak nincs macská-ja.
M.-DAT NEG.COP cat-3SG.POSS
'Mari doesn't have a cat.'

Given the lexical entry of *macskája* 'his/her cat' in (39), the presupposition in (41a) should arise, which is not the case. The meaning of (40) is rather as in (41b), *m* referring to *Mari*, expressing that *There is no x such that x is a cat and Mari owns x.*

(41) a. *y is a cat and Mari owns y.*
b. $\neg\exists x[\textsc{cat}(x)\wedge\textsc{poss}(m,x)]$

In addition, the assumption that variation arises through the presence of both [+DEF] and [−DEF] turns out not to be correct. There are examples of possessive structures triggering the

objective paradigm that do not include any determiner specified for [−DEF], cf. the following example ((31) repeated from above) and a similar example from Coppock (2013).

(31) %Péter-nek olvas-t-unk (néhány) vers-é-t.
P.-DAT read-PAST-1PL.SUBJ some poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
'We read some poems by Peter.'

(42) %Olvas-t-unk Péter-nek (öt) vers-é-t.
read-PAST-1PL.SUBJ P.-DAT five poem-3SG.POSS-ACC
'We read five poems by Peter.'

(Coppock 2013:6, my glosses)

In both (41) and (42), the determiners which are possibly specified as [−DEF] are marked as optional, and they indeed are. The subjective paradigm is still possible with both cases if *néhány* 'some' and *öt* 'five', respectively, are missing. The proper name *Péter*, however, cannot be specified as [−DEF] because it is a canonical trigger of the objective paradigm.

If (41) and (42) lack a source of [−DEF], however, there is no way for the subjective paradigm to arise on the view held by Coppock (2013).

In addition, Coppock (2013:6) also states that in (42), 'the object phrase must be at least the size of a DP.' This is not quite true: given the arguments for the extraction of dative possessors and the analyses proposed by Bartos (1999), there *is* a possible, if speculative way of deriving a smaller structure.

To summarise, the approach to possessive structures proposed by Coppock (2013) predicts presuppositions where there are none and is not successful in deriving the variation of paradigm choice for all cases.

4.2. Quantifiers on a purely syntactic approach

For approaches which see the trigger of the objective paradigm as purely structural, the syntactic distribution of the universal quantifiers *minden* 'every' and *valamennyi* 'each' is problematic. Syntactically, these quantifiers behave very similarly, only differing in their morphosyntactic behaviour with respect to the verb paradigms.

In section 2.4 I sketched the syntactic issues arising with these quantifiers. Coppock & Wechsler (2012) take the alternation in (32) to indicate that *minden* 'every' and *valamennyi* 'each' are both compatible with D, which is merely deleted.

In the following section, I will argue that taking into account the theory of features proposed by Coppock (2013) and syntactic structure, these examples can possibly be explained analogously to possessive structures.

5. A solution: features in D

In the previous section, I argued that claiming that the possessive suffix in Hungarian is a trigger of presuppositions (or familiarity) leads to wrong predictions and does not actually derive the distribution of the verb paradigms for those varieties which show an alternation.

While there is a semantic alternation correlating with paradigm choice, it cannot just be based on the presence of both [−DEF] and [+DEF]. The crucial factor that is lacking is the structure of the noun phrase, which I will argue below makes assuming both kinds of features unnecessary.

In this section, I will show that adopting a feature along the lines of what is proposed in Coppock (2013) accounts for the semantic properties of the noun phrases in question, but I will argue that its position is different from what Coppock (2013) assumes. To avoid confusion with Coppock's approach, I will refer to the relevant feature as [D], while retaining the semantics proposed in Coppock (2013).

The idea is that [D], i.e. familiarity, inducing a presupposition, is one of the features that make up *definiteness*. Other features would include uniqueness, for example. I will argue that it is possible to spell out only this feature, without spelling out other features leading to a fully definite noun phrase (cf. Szabolcsi 1994 for other assumptions of null D determiners in Hungarian).

Locating this feature [D] syntactically in the DP layer has several advantages: first, variation in paradigm choice can be accounted for without recourse to a negative version of that feature; second, possessive structures are (correctly) predicted to be non-specific in certain cases; third, noun phrase structure is taken into account and is linked to semantic interpretation, a conceptually preferable choice. I will now go through the data discussed above and demonstrate how an approach along these lines explains their morphosyntactic behaviour.

5.1. Universal quantifiers

Recall the alternations in (32), repeated here:

(32) a. (*a) minden veled való találkozás
the every with.you being meeting
'every meeting with you'

b. a veled való minden találkozás
the with.you being every meeting
'every meeting with you'

(32a) would not trigger the objective paradigm as a direct object, while (32b) would. Coppock & Wechsler (2012) illustrate this with the following examples (their (85) and (86)):

(43) a. a Mari { valamennyi, minden } kalap-ja
the M. each every hat-3SG.POSS
'each/every one of Marie's hats'

b. (*a) { valamennyi, minden } kalap-ja
the each every hat-3SG.POSS
'each/every one of her/his hats'

(Coppock & Wechsler 2012:723)

(43) is actually less problematic for a structural analysis, because the determiner *a* 'the' in (43a) could modify the proper name and not the whole noun phrase (but see Szabolcsi 1994:200f.

for discussion). In (43a), we would not expect any variation with respect to paradigm choice, because of the nature of the nominative possessor. [5]

A different way to account for these data is to abandon the idea that *a(z)* is deleted in contexts like (42) and look for a different explanation. The reason Szabolcsi (1994) assumes a deletion rule is that she cannot locate the quantifiers in question in D. Neither can Bartos (1999) or É. Kiss (2002), because then their DP hypothesis fails. Yet syntactically, these quantifiers seem to be in complementary distribution with the definite determiner, possibly originating from a lower position (accounting for the alternation in (42)). In fact, É. Kiss (2002:154) argues that certain quantifiers like *valamennyi* 'each' do move to D because of a [+definite] feature. What about *minden* 'every'?

Now, assuming that what triggers the objective paradigm is not the syntactic presence of D but the presence of the feature [D], the [+definite] in É. Kiss (2002) and [+DEF] in Coppock & Wechsler (2012); Coppock (2013) could be seen as the same feature. Even *minden* 'every' can be spelled out in D to account for the complementary distribution with *a(z)*, but due to its lack of [D] (which does not have to be stipulated, given semantic evidence), it does not trigger the objective paradigm.[6]

5.2. Possessive structures

Better arguments for the connection of [D] to the DP layer come from possessive structures. As shown in section 4.1, possessive suffixes should not introduce presuppositions by themselves. And given the structural restrictions on nominative and dative possessors, it seems plausible that the syntactic structure of the noun phrase influences the presence or absence of [D] on D.

Given that nominative possessors, as argued in Section 2.3.1, are in complementary distribution, it is usually assumed that they are located in D. I will assume that their presence in D triggers the presence of the feature [D], which in turn triggers the objective paradigm. This is in line with the fact that nominative possessors never have a non-specific interpretation (apart from the compound-like forms discussed above). Thus, a referential expression in SpecDP is able to mark it as having [D].

The case of dative possessors is slightly more complex, given the nature of extraction. Let me briefly repeat the relevant facts: dative possessors allow for a wider range of interpretations (including non-specific indefinite readings of possessive structures). Following Szabolcsi (1994) I will assume that extraction of possessors is necessary for such readings to arise. Extracted possessors have been shown not to form a constituent with the possessed noun, cf. (16). What about those dative possessors that do trigger the objective paradigm?

[5]The argument proposed by Coppock & Wechsler (2012) might be problematic for their own theory. They basically argue that since *a(z)* is deleted but projects DP, *minden* should trigger the objective paradigm. Accepting this theory, they have to assume that *a(z)* is deleted with all its features, i.e. not just phonologically; if it is not, its [+DEF] feature should trigger the objective paradigm as well, contrary to fact. But if, on their account, *a(z)* can be deleted completely, a syntactic explanation could be saved too. Haplology, as suggested by Szabolcsi (1994), might not be the right way to account for this.

[6]In fact, having both quantifiers in D could have other advantages. This could be an explanation for the fact that they do pattern together in definiteness effect contexts like the *van*-construction. Thus, their common syntactic distribution correlates with them being ruled out in such contexts, but the differences in semantics possibly lead to different morphosyntactic behaviour. This is possible, albeit speculative and counterintuitive.

In such cases, the possessor does form a constituent with the possessed noun, so is arguably more local. It is possible, then, to argue that [D] is spelled out only in those cases in which a dative possessor is in the specifier of a DP adjoined to the possessed noun phrase (taking D to be a null determiner). It is not spelled out, however, when the dative possessor is lacking, i.e. extracted from the noun phrase; in that case, the possessor is scrambled and adjoined to another node in the clause. A generalisation regarding the distribution of [D] can be stated as follows:

(44) A noun phrase has [D] when a determiner with matching semantics is spelled out in D or when DP has a sufficiently local possessor in its specifiers.

5.3. A hybrid approach: noun phrase structure and features

To summarise, I have argued for an approach that uses a feature like the one proposed by Coppock & Wechsler (2012) and Coppock (2013) to account for the interpretative correlates of the objective paradigm but I have argued that it is not introduced anywhere in the noun phrase, but related to the D position, spelling out part of the features that constitute the broader term definiteness. In the following section, I will argue that this analysis makes certain predictions which fit the data better than existing approaches.

5.4. Predictions and advantages

As I have argued above, the present approach does not need to assume that there are both [−DEF] and [+DEF] features, because variation is not random, but a consequence of structural factors. Note that this is based on the assumption that covert possessors can be both overt and covert. This has been argued for by Szabolcsi (1994:231), as shown in (17) above. I have also assumed that [D] can be spelled out by a null determiner in D. If both assumptions are true, it follows that possessed noun phrases can have the following structures:

(45) a. [$_{DP}$ *pro*$_i$ [$_{DP}$ D [$_{PossP}$ t$_i$ [$_{NumP}$ egy [$_{NP}$ bickli-d]]]]]
a bicycle-2SG.POSS
'a bicycle of yours'

b. [$_{DP}$ *pro*$_i$] … [$_{PossP}$ t$_i$ [$_{NumP}$ egy [$_{NP}$ bickli-d]]]
a bicycle-2SG.POSS
'a bicycle of yours'

(45a) would trigger the objective paradigm as a direct object, (45b) would not and is the structure that appears in the *mihi est*-construction *van egy biciklid* 'you have a bicycle'. While the structures in (45) seem stipulative, I have argued, first, that there is independent evidence for both silent elements and, second, that there are interpretive correlates. While covert possessors thus do not provide evidence as strong as overt possessors for extraction, their structures are not surprising.

Additional evidence for non-specific interpretations of certain possessive structures can be found in the literature and on the internet. Given the reasoning above, counterexamples to the current generalisation have to be non-specific possessive structures with nominative possessors.

I have not been able to find any clear example of such cases, while there are examples with dative possessors. (46) is from a Hungarian folk song, cited in Rácz, showing the subjective paradigm with a dative possessor. The possessed noun *két lányát* 'two daughters of his' is non-specific, not implying uniqueness.

(46) Az egri kávés-nak két lány-á-t ismér-ek.
the Eger-FROM coffee seller-DAT two girl-3SG.POSS-ACC know-1SG.SUBJ
'I know two of the coffee seller's daughters.'
(folk song, cited in Rácz:279)

H. Varga (2010) cites the Hungarian author János Arany discussing examples like the (47a) and (47b), the latter paraphrased in (47c).

(47) a. Petőfi-nek három arckép-é-t ismer-ek.
P.-DAT three portrait-3SG.POSS-ACC know-1SG.SUBJ
'I know three portraits of Petőfi.'
b. Fi-á-t ismer-ek, de lány-át nem ismer-ek.
son-3SG.POSS-ACC know-1SG.SUBJ but daughter-3SG.POSS-ACC NEG know-1SG.SUBJ
'I know sons of his/hers, but no daughters.'
c. 'I know one of his/her sons, s/he could have more than that, but I don't know them; I don't know whether s/he has daughters, I don't know any of them.'
(H. Varga 2010:49)[7]

I take the overt dative possessor in (47a) and (46) as evidence for the structural explanation above. The paraphrase of the meaning of (47b) in (47c) fits well with the absence of [D]. Note also that (47b) does not include any determiner that could possibly be specified for [−DEF], providing another example in which the presence of the subjective paradigm does not follow from the approach endorsed in Coppock (2013).

A final prediction of the current approach is that lacking the relevant structure, any combination of determiners not triggering the objective paradigm can co-occur with possessed noun phrases and the subjective paradigm, e.g. *minden* 'every'. Coppock (2013:22f.) argues that possessed noun phrases and *minden* trigger the objective paradigm obligatorily, given the [+DEF] feature on the possessive suffix and the lack of any feature on *minden* 'every'.

The present approach predicts that *minden* and possessives should be compatible with the subjective paradigm, as long as no local possessor introduces [D]. Such examples *are* available, although the following attested examples all lack an overt possessor.

[7]Citing *Arany János 1860 — 1882. Prózai művek*. Németh, G. Béla (ed.), Arany János: Összes Művei XI. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest. 1968. 59.

(48) a. Minden problémá-já-t megold-unk, ...
every problem-3SG.POSS-ACC solve-1PL.SUBJ
'We solve all your [polite] problems ...'[8]

b. Minden bánat-od-at elereszt-esz, ...
every problem-2SG.POSS-ACC let go-2SG.SUBJ
'You let go of all your problems.'[9]

c. Ezenkívül garantál-om, hogy ... elfeled-te-t minden
besides guarantee-1SG.OBJ that forget-CAUS-3SG.SUBJ every
bánat-od-at.
sorrow-2SG.POSS-ACC
'Besides I guarantee that ... it makes you forget all your sorrows.'[10]

In all cases above, the direct object consists of a possessed head noun with the determiner *minden* 'every' preceding it. On the approach endorsed here, if there is no local possessor, such constructions lack the feature [D] and thus do not require the objective paradigm.[11]

6. *Conclusions*

The topic of this paper has been the distribution of the Hungarian objective paradigm with certain possessive constructions. I argued that the semantic analysis suggested in Coppock (2013) provides a good explanation of the interpretational correlates of the objective paradigm but that the distribution of the paradigm cannot be captured without taking the syntactic structure of the noun phrases into account.

I proposed a hybrid approach, based on syntactic insights from Szabolcsi (1994); Bartos (1999); É. Kiss (2002) and the feature [D], adapted from [+DEF] in Coppock (2013). I showed that both the universal quantifiers *minden* 'every' and *valamennyi* 'each' and possessive constructions provide evidence for the semantic consequences of the presence of [D] and introduced

[8] http://www.magyaronline.net/forum/viewtopic.php?topic=1811&forum=4, accessed 28 May 2013.

[9] http://www.kerdesem.hu/valaszok/57432_mit_kialtasz_a_vegtelenbe_/2, accessed 28 May 2013.

[10] http://lovegood.blog.hu/2009/03/18/cosmopolitan_5, accessed 18 May 2013.

[11] An anonymous reviewer points out that "[t]he grammaticality of the examples under (48...) are rather dubious. It is quite unlikely that a native speaker of Hungarian would utter a sentence like this on purpose." I used examples off the internet for the relevant data exactly because of the unexpected nature of these examples. A similar example is cited in Bartos (1999:100):

(i) %Ismer-ek minden titk-od-at.
know-1SG.SUBJ every secret-2SG.POSS-ACC
'I know all your secrets.'

He mentions that this judgment is controversial, but claims that it is grammatical in his dialect (cf. Bartos 1999:100, fn. 63). Suffice it to say, such examples *are* controversial but they do appear in the wild. Sketching the geography or demography of these varieties is an important issue for future research.

additional attested data which are compatible with the present account but do not follow from other recent research on Hungarian verb paradigms.

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