

## THE POSSESSOR THAT RAN AWAY FROM HOME\*

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I will argue that NP in Hungarian is S-like in that it has an INFL and a peripheral position. It is a matter of debate these days whether Hungarian is configurational at the S-level, see É. Kiss (1981, 1982) and Horvath (1981). My analysis of the possessive NP does not crucially hinge on that question since this category is undoubtedly configurational; nevertheless, at least one technical and one intuitive aspect of it will be seen to score a point for the non-configurational hypothesis.

### 1. INFL IN NP

Although the possessor is traditionally assumed to function as a subject of NP, e.g. in Jackendoff (1977), in English the parallelism between S-subjects and NP-subjects breaks down with the governor/Case-assigner. Kayne (1983a) even proposes to assimilate *whose book* to *which book* in the context of g-projections. The Hungarian facts seem to fit nicely with the old assumption, however. Consider the following paradigm:<sup>2</sup>

- (1)    az    én-Ø    vendég-e-m  
      the    I-nom    guest-poss-1sg  
      'my guest'
- (2)    a    te-Ø    vendég-e-d  
      the    thou-nom    guest-poss-2sg  
      'thy guest'
- (3)    (a)    Mari-Ø    vendég-e-Ø  
      the    Mary-nom    guest-poss-3sg  
      'Mary's guest'

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The role of *a/z* 'the', which I will treat as a mere formative,<sup>3</sup> need not concern us here. Apart from that, the morphology of these NPs mirrors exactly the morphology of Ss, the only difference being that the place of the tense/mood morpheme on V is taken by the possessive morpheme on N. Compare (3) and (4):

- (4) Mari- $\emptyset$  alud-t- $\emptyset$   
 Mary-nom sleep-past-3sg  
 'Mary slept'

Given that (3) without the *poss-3sg* morphemes is as ungrammatical as (4) is without the *past-3sg* morphemes, it is reasonable to suppose that NP in Hungarian has its own INFL, which, under similar conditions as INFL of a configurational S, governs the subject and assigns it nominative Case. The switch from [ $\pm$  tense] to [ $\pm$  poss] seems logical. If you like, Stowell's (1981) [ $\pm$  Tense] category feature may be taken to be more abstract than he assumes, with his [ $\pm$  past] and with my [ $\pm$  poss] as its alternative lexical contents for S and NP, respectively.

Given that (1)–(2)–(3) are grammatical only with the order indicated, the assumption of a base rule like (5) is straightforward (I do not mean to take sides with INFL as an actual node in syntax, I am just using the usual formulation):

- (5) NP  $\rightarrow$  NP INFL N' where INFL = [ $\pm$  poss, (AGR)]

The fact that the nominative possessor cannot be removed from the NP is consistent with this analysis if INFL of NP, just as INFL of S, is not a proper governor:

- (6) \* Who<sub>i</sub> do you believe that [<sub>S</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* left]?  
 (7) \* Ki- $\emptyset$ <sub>i</sub> ismer-té-tek [<sub>NP</sub> a *t<sub>i</sub>* vendég-é- $\emptyset$ -t]?  
 who-nom know-past-2pl the guest-poss-3sg-acc  
 'Whose did you know guest?'

Note, however, that S in English has a COMP position which the subject can use as an escape hatch, and given that NP in Hungarian has this [ $\pm$  poss] feature, in Stowell's terms it is at least eligible for having a COMP, too. So does it have one?

## 2. KOMP IN NP

Possessive NPs in Hungarian come in two varieties. Compare (1)–(3) with (8)–(10), where the possessor is in the dative:

- (8)    *én-nek-em a vendég-e-m*  
         I-dat-1sg    the guest-poss-1sg  
         ‘my guest’
- (9)    *te-nek-ed a vendég-e-d*  
         thou-dat-2sg    the guest-poss-2sg  
         ‘thy guest’
- (10)   *Mari-nak a vendég-e-Ø*  
         Mary-dat the guest-poss-3sg  
         ‘Mary’s guest’

The first thing to note about (8)–(10) is that they are not mere strings but (may) constitute a single  $X^{\max}$  in S-structure. This can be verified by using the test position of Focus which, under any analysis, can only accomodate one  $X^{\max}$ :

- (11)    $[_F$  *Mari-nak a vendég-e-Ø-Ø]* *alsz-ik*  
         ‘It is Mary’s guest who sleeps’

The second notable point concerns the position of the dative possessor. If we were to assume that INFL assigns two different Cases (or, one Case with two different morphological realizations) to the very same structural position, we would also need an ad hoc rule to account for the behaviour of *a(z)* ‘the’ since it invariably precedes the nominative possessor and invariably follows the dative possessor. Thus it seems more natural to assume that the two case markers correspond to two different structural positions.

There arises the question whether the two constructions are derivationally related or base generated independently of each other. Consider the following data:

- (12)   \* (a) *ki-Ø vendég-e-Ø*  
             the who-nom guest-poss-3sg  
             ‘whose guest’
- (13)    *ki-nek a vendég-e-Ø*  
             who-dat the guest-poss-3sg  
             ‘whose guest’

- (14) Ki-nek<sub>i</sub> ismer-té-tek a t<sub>i</sub> vendég-é-Ø-t?  
 who-dat know-past-2pl the guest-poss-3sg-acc  
 'Whose guest did you know?'

As the contrast between (12) and (13) shows, a WH-operator can only occur as a dative possessor, and, as the contrast between (7) and (14) shows, the dative possessor can be removed. Both these facts are easily explained if we assume that the dative possessor occupies a peripheral (non-A) position within  $X^{\max}$ . Therefore the parallelism between NP of Hungarian and S of a configurational language can be extended as follows:

- (15)  $\overline{NP} \rightarrow KOMP\ NP$

- (16)  $NP \rightarrow \overline{NP}\ INFL\ N'$  where  $INFL = [\pm\text{ poss}, (AGR)]$

The designation KOMP (which actually means 'ferry' in Hungarian) is used to emphasize the inevitable differences between this peripheral position and COMP of S. (16) is updated to conform to the principles of X-bar theory; the use of  $\overline{NP}$  instead of NP for the subject position is otherwise also justified by embedded possessives. Also, move-NP now naturally reads as move- $\overline{NP}$  (just as you have move- $\overline{S}$  rather than move-S), and  $\overline{NP}$  is a boundary to government just like  $\overline{S}$  (i.e. only its KOMP position can be governed from the outside for ECP purposes).

The structure of (13) will thus be as follows:

- (13') [ $\overline{NP}$  ki-nek<sub>i</sub> [ $NP$  a t<sub>i</sub> vendég-e-Ø]]  
           who-dat       the       guest-poss-3sg

where coindexing with *ki-nek* in KOMP makes sure that the empty category in subject position is properly governed. As for how *ki-nek* moves further away, I will assume that every verb acts as a bridge for it. What is remarkable in this respect is that you find no subject-object (or whatever) asymmetries with movement out of KOMP. (17) is as good as (14):

- (17) Ki-nek<sub>i</sub> alsz-ik [ $\overline{NP}$  t<sub>i</sub> [ $NP$  a t<sub>i</sub> vendég-e-Ø-Ø]]?  
       who-dat sleep-3sg               the       guest-poss-3sg-nom  
       'Whose guest sleeps?'

This is as is expected under the non-configurational hypothesis in É. Kiss (1981): in [ $S\ V\ X^{\max}\ *$ ] the subject is as properly governed by V as the object (and depends on INFL only for Case), and hence movement out of the KOMP of the subject should be no problem. On the other hand, (17) is a nuisance to the theory according to which the subject in Hungarian has a distinguished INFL-governed position as in English.

## 3. KOMP AS AN INFERIOR OPERATOR POSITION

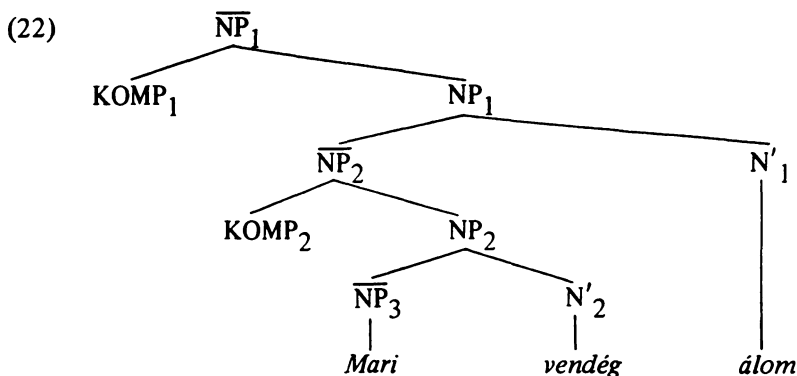
One major difference between COMP and KOMP is that while the former is only available for WH-phrases, the latter optionally accomodates lexical NPs as well, as is clear from the comparison of (1)-(3) and (8)-(10). This is not surprising in Hungarian, however, given that at the S-level the same Focus position accomodates WH-phrases (obligatorily) and lexical NPs (optionally).<sup>4</sup> It may be worth while to take a look at the behaviour of lexical possessors as it will also clarify what route the possessor takes after leaving KOMP - it is not as the preliminary representation (17) may seem to suggest. (From now on I will use É. Kiss's structuring of the S-level in my examples.)

As soon as the possessor leaves KOMP, it and its source  $\overline{\text{NP}}$  behave as two independent arguments of the verb. Here are some examples:<sup>5</sup>

- (18) [<sub>S</sub> Alszik Marinak<sub>i</sub> [ $\overline{\text{NP}}$   $t'_i$  [<sub>NP</sub> a  $t_i$  vendége]]]  
           sleeps Mary-dat                                   the           guest...  
           'Mary's guest sleeps'
- (19) [<sub>S</sub>Alszik [ $\overline{\text{NP}}$   $t'_i$  [<sub>NP</sub> a  $t_i$  vendége]] Marinak<sub>i</sub>]  
           sleeps                                   the           guest...   Mary-dat  
           'Mary's guest sleeps'
- (20) [<sub>F</sub> Marinak<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>S</sub> alszik  $t''_i$  [ $\overline{\text{NP}}$   $t'_i$  [<sub>NP</sub> a  $t_i$  vendége]]]  
           Mary-dat   sleeps                                   the           guest...  
           'It is Mary whose guest sleeps'
- (21) [<sub>T</sub> [ $\overline{\text{NP}}$   $t'_i$  [<sub>NP</sub> a  $t_i$  vendége]]]<sub>j</sub>] [<sub>F</sub> Marinak<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>S</sub> alszik  $t''_i$   $t_j$ ]  
   the           guest...                                   Mary-dat   sleeps  
           'As for his/her guest, it is Mary whose sleeps'

I will assume that KOMP is something like an inferior operator position. I call it inferior because, as (18) and (19) show, this operatorhood does not really count for the S-level; unless the possessor is a WH-word (as was the case in (17)) it does not need to move further to the peripheral positions T(opic) or F(ocus) but may stay within S. This can be explained either by saying that the non-configurational category S contains a number of 'inferior' non-A positions in addition to its A-positions or by saying that the possessor that leaves KOMP gets adjoined to S (with further adjunctions to S to account for its apparently free position among the arguments of V).<sup>6</sup> The phenomenon in (21), namely, that the source  $\overline{\text{NP}}$  c-commands the refugee possessor in S-structure can be taken care of by Koster's (1982) Chain Transfer Principle or by Cinque's (1982) like-minded proposal for what he calls 'Connectedness' phenomena.

The inferior operator feature of KOMP seems to come into play in embedded possessives as well. (22) is the simplified D-structure of a doubly possessive NP, (23)–(26) being the S-structures derivable from (22) by varying what movement options are to be taken:



Without any movement we get:

- (23) ? (a Mari- $\emptyset$  vendég-e- $\emptyset$ )- $\emptyset$  ál-m-a- $\emptyset$   
 the Mary-nom guest-poss-3sg-nom dream-poss-3sg  
 'Mary's guest's dream'

By moving  $\overline{\text{NP}}_3$  to  $\text{KOMP}_2$  we get:

- (24) \* a (Mari-nak a vendég-e- $\emptyset$ )- $\emptyset$  . ál-m-a- $\emptyset$   
 the Mary-dat the guest-poss-3sg-nom dream-poss-3sg

By moving the  $\overline{\text{NP}}_2$  so obtained into  $\text{KOMP}_1$  we get:

- (25) ? (Mari-nak a vendég-é- $\emptyset$ )-nek az ál-m-a- $\emptyset$   
 Mary-dat the guest-poss-3sg-dat the dream-poss-3sg

By moving the original  $\overline{\text{NP}}_2$  to  $\text{KOMP}_1$  we get:

- (26) (a Mari- $\emptyset$  vendég-é- $\emptyset$ )-nek az ál-m-a- $\emptyset$   
 the Mary-nom guest-poss-3sg-dat the dream-poss-3sg

The questionmark in (23) and (25) indicates clumsiness and not ungrammaticality. This judgment can be supported by noting that (23), for instance, normally occurs as the subject of a triply possessive construction, which cannot be worded very elegantly anyway, and (25) is the only possibility if  $\overline{\text{NP}}_3$  is a WH-phrase - in which case it is also stylistically

perfect. It appears therefore that only (24) is to be excluded in principle.

Notice that (24) is the case in which  $\overline{NP}_3$  is moved to  $KOMP_2$  but the  $\overline{NP}_2$  so obtained is not moved to  $KOMP_1$ . In such a two-step case one may experiment with essentially two sorts of explanation. One explanation (suggested to me by D. Lebeaux) would be to say that all elements in  $KOMP$ , whether empty or lexical, need to be properly governed and, further, that in a  $[KOMP_1 [\overline{NP}_2 [KOMP_2 \dots$  configuration  $KOMP_2$  may be properly governed. This requirement would correctly distinguish (25) and (26) from (24), where *Mari-nak* in  $KOMP_2$  is only governed by  $INFL$ , and may also be related to the presence of the dative morpheme in  $KOMP$ , to be discussed in the next section. Another explanation would capitalize on the assumption that  $KOMP$  is not only an  $\overline{A}$  but also an inferior operator position. Namely, I would say that when  $\overline{NP}_3$  is moved into  $KOMP_2$ ,  $\overline{NP}_3$  acquires an inferior operator feature even if it is not a lexically defined operator like *ki* 'who'. This feature would then percolate up from  $KOMP_2$  to  $\overline{NP}_2$ , thus forcing  $\overline{NP}_2$  to move to  $KOMP_1$  as well. (This story is a mixture of pied piping on the one hand and feature percolation from  $COMP$  to  $\overline{S}$  on the other, cf. Stowell (1981).) On this account (24) is out because  $\overline{NP}_2$  has this operator feature but remains in A-position within  $\overline{NP}_1$ .

#### 4. PRO AND CASE RESISTANCE, OR WHAT IS THE HEAD OF $\overline{NP}$

So far I have been working on the assumption that NP in Hungarian is very much like S in, say, English. There are a couple of embarrassing questions this assumption leads to.

One of those questions is related to the possibility of having a PRO subject in NP. If  $INFL$  of NP affects the subject position in the same way as  $INFL$  of a configurational S does, how come we do not get a PRO subject when  $INFL$  is [- poss]? Or do we want to say we get one?

I believe that, at least in general, we do not want to say that. So let us see how this can be avoided. First consider (27):

- (27)  $[_{NP}$  az    pro asztal-a- $\emptyset$ ]  
          the        table-poss-3sg

Hungarian is a Pro Drop language, so an empty category in NP-subject position can be justified in any of the ways that have been proposed to handle Pro Drop for S-subjects.<sup>7</sup> What we want to exclude is (28):

- (28) \*  $[_{NP}$  az    PRO asztal]  
          the        table

The first step is to assume that the subject position is not obligatory in NP, an assumption that is generally made. The second step is to exclude an optional PRO. Now, regardless of whether N' is to be a maximal projection i.e. whether N governs the subject position, this can be achieved with reference to  $\Theta$ -theory. Notice that even if VP assigns a  $\Theta$ -role to S-subject compositionally, that  $\Theta$ -role cannot be listed anywhere else than in the entry of V in the lexicon. On the other hand, it would be difficult to imagine that the entry of, say, *asztal* 'table' mentions the  $\Theta$ -role Possessor (or, in fact, an arbitrary  $\Theta$ -role as is suggested in Williams (1982)) given that while the concept of *walk* does involve an Agent, the concept of *table* is hardly dependent on some arbitrarily related individual. Hence the NP-subject can in no way receive its  $\Theta$ -role from N. It can, however, receive its  $\Theta$ -role from the [+ poss] feature, i.e., intuitively, by virtue of being markedly in construction with an N'. The invariability of [+ poss] as a  $\Theta$ -role assigner, as opposed to the variability of Vs, may even account for the non-specialized character of this  $\Theta$ -role.

If this is correct, the ungrammaticality of (28) is understood since in want of [+ poss], PRO cannot receive any  $\Theta$ -role. The converse holds of (29), where the subject is not dropped but is entirely missing, whence [+ poss] cannot assign its  $\Theta$ -role to any  $\bar{NP}$ :

- (29) \* [<sub>NP</sub> az asztal-a- $\emptyset$ ]  
           the table-poss-3sg

There are two kinds of N, though, that might be suspected to assign a subject  $\Theta$ -role: deverbal nouns on the one hand and relational nouns on the other. In the first case we even encounter Control-like phenomena:

- (30) Mari- $\emptyset$  kerüli a találkozás-t Péter-rel  
       Mary-nom avoids the meeting-acc Peter-with  
       'Mary avoids meeting Peter'

Nevertheless, this sort of interpretation appears to be far from systematic and thus I tend to attribute it to pragmatic factors (i.e. to the fact that you can resent, hate etc. but not avoid somebody else's meeting Peter) rather than to the presence of a controlled PRO. This may be corroborated by the fact that [- poss] relational nouns have absolutely no preference for a Control-like interpretation:

- (31) Mari- $\emptyset$  kerüli a vendég-et  
       Mary-nom avoids the guest-acc

Thus it appears that the relational character of nouns like *vendég* 'guest', *anya* 'mother' etc. is not a matter of  $\Theta$ -role assignment.<sup>8</sup>



The assumption that the NP-subject can only receive a  $\Theta$ -role from [+ poss] may bear on another issue as well. So far nothing has been said about how dative morphology in KOMP comes about. Bearing in mind that the movement of the nominative subject into KOMP does not give rise to a Case-conflict one can think of two alternatives. First, the dative morpheme may be assumed to be just another surface realization of the same abstract Case that INFL can assign to the subject. If so, movement into KOMP in [- poss]  $\overline{\text{NP}}$ s is ruled out by the Case Filter - cf. (32), and movement of anything else than the subject is ruled out with reference to Case-conflict - cf. (33):

- (32) \* [ $\overline{\text{NP}}$  Mari(-nak)<sub>i</sub> [ $\text{NP}$  a  $t_i$  vendég]]  
           Mary(-dat)           the     guest

- (33) \* [ $\overline{\text{NP}}$  Péter-rel/-nek<sub>i</sub> [ $\text{NP}$  a Mari- $\emptyset$  találkozás-a- $\emptyset$   $t_i$ ]]  
           Peter-with/-dat       the   Mary-nom meeting-poss-3sg

Note however that (regardless of the (un)naturalness of the two surface realizations hypothesis) both these examples can be ruled out on independent grounds. Namely, *Mari* in (32) has no  $\Theta$ -role assigner, and the trace of *Péter* in (33) has no proper governor. Therefore one may as well experiment with another solution.

Recall that one important argument for COMP being head of  $\overline{\text{S}}$  is that a trace in COMP can be properly governed from outside in virtue of government percolating down from  $\overline{\text{S}}$  to its head. Given the above discussed parallelisms between  $\overline{\text{S}}$  and  $\overline{\text{NP}}$  in general, and that the trace in KOMP can apparently be properly governed in particular, it does not seem unreasonable to take KOMP to be head of  $\overline{\text{NP}}$ , with INFL sitting in KOMP rather than in NP now. This move immediately leads to the second problem I hinted at at the outset of this section, however. Stowell's (1981) Case Resistance Principle is intended to distinguish  $\overline{\text{S}}$  and PP, which cannot receive Case, from NP, which can and in fact must:

- (34) CRP: Case may not be assigned to a category bearing a Case-assigning feature

The CRP, in conjunction with the proposal that KOMP is head of  $\overline{\text{NP}}$  obviously entails that  $\overline{\text{NP}}$  cannot receive Case. Admitting that this is absurd one must part with at least one of the conjuncts. Luckily enough, there has been made at least one independently motivated counterproposal to the CRP that makes no reference to Case-assigning: namely, Hoekstra's (1983) Unlike Category Condition:

- (35) UCC: At S-structure, no element of the category  $[\alpha V, \beta N]$  may govern  $[\alpha V, \beta N]$

Whatever the exact features of INFL of  $\overline{NP}$  should be, they are presumably not identical to those of INFL of  $\overline{S}$ ; and if  $\overline{NP}$  may be governed by V, the UCC places no restriction on its being assigned Case by V, either.

Returning to dative morphology in KOMP, I will now risk the assumption that its source is not INFL of  $\overline{NP}$  but the governor of  $\overline{NP}$ . That is, when  $\overline{NP}$  gets its Case, that does not only percolate down to N to get realized in normal nominative, accusative etc. morphology but also percolates down to KOMP in a non-Case-conflict creating fashion to get realized in invariable dative morphology.<sup>9</sup>

## 5. MATTERS OF TELEOLOGY

Even though the basic questions concerning the behaviour of possessors in Hungarian can be answered without particular reference to problems of S-level (non-)configurationality, a kind of teleological question cannot. Namely, one has every reason to ask why the NP in Hungarian provides both lexical and WH possessors with this KOMP escape hatch. Rather than offering a rigorous answer, I will now try to give some intuitive indication.

Notice first that in English the scopes of quantifiers relative to one another and/or to other scope bearing elements are determined partly in S-structure – by base generation and move-NP, and partly in LF – by QR. Similarly, the scopes of WH operators are determined partly in S-structure – by move-WH, and partly in LF – by raise-WH. It seems to me that such a division of labour can hardly be a necessary property of language. Consider the following points:

- (36) a. The job done by raising rules (QR and raise-WH) in LF is indispensable: the scopes of all quantifiers and WH operators must be specified somehow, or else the sentence has no interpretation.
- b. Movement rules in (English) syntax are more or less structure preserving (move-NP more and move-WH less), whereas raising rules in LF are by no means structure preserving: they create as many new nodes by adjunction as there are quantifiers and WH operators to be taken care of. (They are presumably also unbounded.)

In this way, raising rules of LF can be regarded as the default case and movement rules in (English) syntax as the special case. Also, a rule like

move-NP will now be provided with a different 'motivation' than usual: we will say that NP moves, not 'in order' to get Case but 'in order' to acquire the intended scope.

Are there to be any constraints on raising rules of LF? My answer will be similar in spirit to that in May (1977) but will differ from it with respect to what is to be the paradigmatic case:

- (37) Reversed Effability Principle: No LF-rule can perform a job which cannot be effectively performed in syntax in some human language.

Intuitively, (37) says, for instance, that you cannot postulate systematic ambiguities created in LF in language L if no other language L' finds a non-circumscriptive way for disambiguating the corresponding expression. (The rationale of (37) is somewhat similar to that underlying the choice between ambiguity and vagueness in semantic theories.) A case in point can be (38), which is (often) assumed to be ambiguous with respect to the scope of *which book*:

- (38) Who remembers where we bought which book?

I claim that no raise-WH rule might be assumed to adjoin *which book* to the embedded or the matrix COMP if no human language could achieve the same effects in syntax. To be sure, Hungarian is capable of that:

- (39)  $Ki_i$  emlékszik  $t_i$ , hogy melyik könyvet<sub>j</sub> hol<sub>k</sub> vettük  $t_j$   $t_k$ ?  
 who remembers that which book where bought-we  
 'For which x, x a person, x remembers where we bought which book'
- (40)  $Ki_i$  melyik könyvet<sub>j</sub> emlékszik  $t_i$ , hogy hol<sub>k</sub> vettük  $t_j$   $t_k$ ?  
 who which book remembers that where bought-we  
 'For which x, x a person, and for which y, y a book, x remembers where we bought y'

Exactly the same holds for Focus movement, and at least similar arguments can be made for quantifier scopes (though I do not claim that Hungarian sentences look like prenex forms in logic; intonation lends a hand too).<sup>10</sup> In Hungarian, a WH or Focus phrase always takes the scope that is indicated by its S-structure position: if you want it to take scope over a clause higher than its D-structure source, you have to move it right up there in syntax. This is clearly compatible with É. Kiss's claim that the preverbal Focus slot is peripheral (which follows from the kind of flat

V-initial structure she assigns to S), and it is incompatible with Horvath's claim that the preverbal Focus slot is an S-internal A-position, the content of which must undergo subsequent - unbounded - LF-movement (which follows from the kind of NP VP structure she assigns to S).

It will have become clear toward what conclusion my argument is developing. I assume that the default case of movement rules is exhibited by the syntax of non-configurational (sub-)systems, which ideally do not need to rely on any further support from LF. This is the paradigmatic case I have in mind in the Reversed Effability Principle. On the other hand, the configurational character of languages like English only allows for highly restricted kinds of syntactic movement, whence part of the burden falls on LF.

To return to the teleology of the KOMP position, I am inclined to believe that it is related to the fact that this configurational NP belongs to an otherwise largely non-configurational language. Given that it is 'natural' for Hungarian to indicate scope relations in S-structure, the NP will 'acquire' a peripheral position to facilitate the making of its contribution. One of the many LF rule applications it can thus dispense with is the one that converts (41) into (42):<sup>11</sup>

(41) Whose book did you read?

(42) For which x, x a person, you read x's book.

#### NOTES

1. The NP in general is not necessarily configurational. For a discussion of Walbiri-like effects, see Szabolcsi (1982a).
2. The segmentation follows Mel'čuk (1973).
3. The intricacies of the behaviour of articles in possessive NPs are discussed in detail in Szabolcsi (1981b).
4. To be more precise, interrogative WHs go to Focus and relative WHs go to Topic or COMP. This distinction does not carry over to the NP: *aki* 'who, rel.' behaves exactly like *ki* 'who, interrog.' in (12)–(13).
5. If the V has other arguments/modifiers, they can scramble freely with e.g. *Mari-nak<sub>i</sub>* and [ $\overline{\text{NP}}\ t'_i$  [ $\text{NP a } t_i \text{ vendége}$ ]] in S.
6. Similar problems arise when material coming from an infinitival clause scrambles with matrix material.
7. Notably, by any proposal that allows Pro Drop to be separated from subject inversion and that is able to account for the fact that personal pronouns only surface when contrastively stressed.
8. The following contrasts between relational vs non-relational nouns in predicative sentences require some other explanation:

- (i)  $\emptyset$  nek-cm<sub>i</sub> nem [ $\overline{\text{NP}}\ t_i$  [ $\text{NP } t_i \text{ vendég-e-m}$ ]]  
 he-nom dat-lsg not guest-poss-lsg  
 'He is no guest-of-mine'

- (ii) \*Ez- $\emptyset$  nek-em<sub>i</sub> nem [ $\overline{NP}$   $t_i$  [ $NP$   $t_i$  asztal- $\emptyset$ -om]]  
 this-nom dat-1sg not table-poss-1sg  
 'This is no table-of-mine'
- (iii) \*Minden vendég- $\emptyset$  [ $\overline{NP}$  [ $NP$  az eny- $\emptyset$ -é-m]]  
 every guest-nom the I-PRO-poss-1sg  
 'Every guest is mine'
- (iv) Minden asztal- $\emptyset$  [ $\overline{NP}$  [ $NP$  az eny- $\emptyset$ -é-m]]  
 every table-nom the I-PRO-poss-1sg  
 'Every table is mine'

That is, the pattern in (i)–(ii) only has a relational interpretation, wherefore it is ungrammatical with *asztal* 'table', whereas the pattern in (iii)–(iv) has no relational interpretation, wherefore it is ungrammatical with *vendég* 'guest' in the relevant sense.

9. Suggestions concerning 'possessive datives' are made in Van Riemsdijk (1983) and Kayne (1983b). Neither would automatically carry over to the dative in KOMP, however.

10. See Hunyadi (1981), Szabolcsi (1981a, 1982b).

11. I believe this story remains interpretable with respect to modified concepts of LF as well, e.g. in Aoun (1981).

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