

Ways of licensing external possessors

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Since Szabolcsi's (1983) seminal paper, Hungarian external possessors are assumed to be generated and theta-marked in the maximal projection of the possessor, and to be externalized by A-bar movement. This talk will argue that, in fact, they do not form a homogeneous class. Some seemingly external possessors are experiencer or locative binders of an internal pronominal possessor, cf.

- (1) Jánosnak_i fáj a pro_i feje /Jánosnak_i fáj a pro_{i/j} kudarca.
John-DAT hurts the pro head-POSS /John-DAT hurts the pro_{i/j} failure
- (2) Jánosnak_i megvan az pro_i állása /Jánosnak_i megvan a pro_{i/j} könyve.
John-DAT is the pro job-POSS /John-DAT is the pro book-POSS
John has got his job./John has got his book.'

Possessors generated internal to the projection of the possessor can be externalized via movement or reanalysis. In the former case, the remnant noun phrase is a DP; in the latter case, it is a non-specific indefinite NP. For the theme arguments of indefiniteness effect verbs analyzed by Szabolcsi (1983), only the latter option is available. A remnant NP possessum is sometimes semantically incorporated into the verb (e.g., *vége van* 'end-POSS is [has got an end]'

The different agreement properties of external possessors observed by den Dikken (1999) will be shown to correlate with whether they are generated outside or inside the projection of the possessor, and whether are externalized by movement or reanalysis.

The possibility of possessor movement has been related to the argumenthood of the possessum, or the affectedness of the possessor. This talk will argue that the primary criterion is whether or not a predication relation can be constituted between the possessor and the rest of the sentence. Cf.

- (3)a. *A bicskának_i megszereltem a zárat [t_i a hegyével].
the pocket-knife-DAT fixed-I the lock-ACC the point-POSS-with
'The pocket knife, I fixed the lock with the point of.'
- b. A bicskának_i akár zárat is lehet szerelni [t_i a hegyével].
the pocket-knife-DAT even lock-ACC possible fix-INF the point-POSS-with
'The pocket knife, one can even fix a lock with the point of.'
- c. Csak a SVÁJCI BICSKÁNAK_i lehet [t_i a hegyével] zárat szerelni.
only the Swiss pocket-knife-DAT possible the point-POSS-with lock-ACC fix-INF
'It is only the Swiss pocket knife that one can fix a lock with the point of.'

References

- Dikken, M. den 1999. "On the structural representation of possession and agreement. The case of (anti-)agreement in Hungarian possessed nominal phrases". In *Crossing Boundaries: Theoretical Advances in Central and Eastern European Languages*, I. Kenesei (ed.), 137-178. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1983. "The possessor that ran away from home". *The Linguistic Review* 3: 89-102.