Anaphoric possessive *-é*, multiplicative plural *-k*, associative plural *-ék*: An integrated approach

1 Descriptively, Hungarian has three nominal plural markers: multiplicative *-(V)k* (*a lány-ok* 'the girl-MPL'), possessive *-i* (*a lány-a-i* 'the girl-POSS-PPL'), and associative *-ék* (*a lány-ék* 'the girl-APL, the girl and (her) associates'). The central objective of this paper is to explicate the relationship between associative *-ék* and multiplicative *-(V)k*, as well as that between *-ék* and the anaphoric possession marker *-é* (*a lány-é* 'the one belonging to the girl'). The paper presents an integrated analysis in which *-(V)k* is systematically a multiplicative plural marker, and *-é* consistently plays the role of a predicational RELATOR formally licensing the silence of one of the two terms in the predication relationship that it mediates (the discourse-anaphoric proform ONE or a silent noun GROUP). The syntax underlying associative-plural *lányék* is argued to involve a specificational relation between a plural null pronoun (pro_{PL}) and a constituent containing the overt noun (*lány*) and silent GROUP (see (3)). The analysis places Hungarian associative plurals in their wider typological context, and has implications for the syntax of number, demonstratives, and the licensing of silent nouns and pronouns.

2 In the syntax of possessive noun phrases, a predication relationship is established between the possessum (the subject of predication) and a constituent containing the possessor, mediated by a RELATOR, realised in Hungarian as the so-called 'possession marker' *-(j)a*/*e* (Den Dikken 2015). Number for the possessum is marked with the specialised possessive plural marker *-i*; number for the possessor is marked with the standard multiplicative marker *-k*, either locally, on the possessor (for non-pronominal possessors: (1a)) or remotely, on the possessum (for third-person pronominal possessors: (1b)), and is never exponed on both terms in the possessive relationship — i.e., there is no number agreement in the Hungarian possessive noun phrase. When the number of the possessor is exponed on the possessum (1b), it has moved in syntax (Den Dikken 1999), *-k* docking on to the #-head of the possessive noun phrase and being spelt out after the possessive plural marker *-i*. Multiplicative *-k* thus exhibits relative syntactic autonomy *vis-à-vis* the element whose number it marks.

(1) a. a lány-ok öcs-e-i(*-k) 'the girls' younger brothers'
the girl-$PL_{POSS'OR}$ brother-POSS-$PL_{POSS'UM}$
b. az ő(*-k) öcs-e-i-k 'their younger brothers'
the (s)he brother-POSS-$PL_{POSS'UM}$-$PL_{POSS'OR}$

3 A discourse-anaphoric possessum can be left unexpressed. The marking of number in anaphoric possessives is the same as in non-anaphoric ones: *a lány-ok-é-i* 'the ones belonging to the girls', *az öv-é-i-k* 'the ones belonging to them'. This indicates that the syntax of anaphoric possessives is parallel to that of headed possessives. Unable to harmonise with its silent host, the RELATOR of anaphoric possessives invariably involves the front-vowel allomorph, surfacing as *-é* due to compensatory lengthening. Qua RELATOR of the possession relation, *-é* plays a key role in the licensing of the silent possessum: in the absence of *-é*, Hungarian forbids a silent possessum. The RELATOR *-é* also serves to license a silent term in the non-possessive syntax of Hungarian associative plurals.

4 Alongside anaphoric-possessive (2a) we find (2b), the associative plural, where *-ék* marks a plurality of individuals in the circle of the host noun. That the possessive plural marker *-i* does not show up in (2b) indicates that in associative plurals we are not dealing with a plural possessum; unlike in (2a), the *-é* in (2b) is not the exponent of the RELATOR of a possessive relationship. But it does share with the *-é* of (2a) the licensing of the silence of one of the terms of a RELATOR phrase: this paper argues that the *-é* of associative plurals licenses a (non-anaphoric) silent group-denoting noun GROUP, the head of the noun phrase predicated of the name *Kovács*, the nominal element hosting *-é*.

(2) a. a Kovács-é-i 'the ones belonging to Kovács'
b. a Kovács-ék 'Kovács and his associates (e.g., relatives or group members)'

5 The predication [$_{RP}$ *Kovács* [$_{R'}$ [GROUP] RELATOR=-*é*]] is enveloped in a DP which serves to specify the content of a silent plural pronoun (*pro*$_{PL}$), the source of plural reference and morphology for associative plurals: *pro*$_{PL}$ is locally associated with #$_{PL}$, exponed as *-k* and sequenced to the immediate right of *-é* in the linear string produced by (3). The asyndetic specification structure ('**:**P'; Koster 2000) has the constituent specifying *pro*'s content occupying the specifier position of **:**P. This is clear not only from Hungarian morpheme order but also from the syntax of associative plurals in Afrikaans (*ma-hulle* 'mum-they') and Yukaghir (*emej-taN-pe* 'mother-that-PL'), where instead of *pro* an overt 3PL pronoun occurs as the second term of the specification structure. #$_{PL}$ locally combines with the pronoun, and not with the entire asyndetic specification structure: this is shown by Tok Pisin, whose #P is head-initial (*ol pater* 'the priests') but whose associative-plural *pater ol* 'the priest and his flock' features the plural marker *ol* in final position, linked to *pro*: [$_{:P}$ [*pater*] [**:** [$_{\#P}$ *ol*$_{PL}$ *pro*$_{PL}$].

(3) [$_{DP}$ D [$_{:P}$ [$_{DP}$ D=*a* [$_{RP}$ [$_{Subject}$ *Kovács*] [$_{R'}$ [$_{Predicate}$ GROUP] REL=-*é*]]] [**:** [$_{\#P}$ *pro* #$_{PL}$=-*k*]]]]

6 The structure in the complement of outer D in (3) is pronominally headed. Spanish *los* 'the$_{PL}$' can combine with *pro*$_{PL}$ and spell out the outer D-head (*los Franco* 'the Franco family'); but in Hungarian, personal pronouns do not combine with articles (**az ő*, **az pro*$_{[HUMAN]}$), so *a* in (2b) is not the exponent of the outer D-head in (3): *a* in (2b) is inside the constituent specifying the content of *pro*, heading the DP on the left-hand branch of '**:**P' in (3). The subject of GROUP can also be a full DP: in *a doktor-ék késni fognak; most telefonált* 'the doctor$_i$ and his associates are going to be late; he$_i$ just phoned' (Dékány 2021:226), *a doktor* serves as the antecedent for an anaphoric relation in discourse. The fact that pronouns (which are smaller than DP) do not occur as hosts of *-ék* in associative plurals (**én-ék*, **mi-ék*, **öv-ék*; Dékány 2021:230) suggests that the subject of GROUP in fact must be a DP. But although this DP can contain a demonstrative (4a), concordial pre-D demonstratives are barred from associative plurals (4b), except in oblique-case contexts (4c) (Bartos 2001). The only plural element in the structure (3) is *pro*$_{PL}$, but pronouns cannot host demonstratives (**ez-ek az ő-k* 'this-PL the (s)he-PL'), so plural *ezek* in (4b) cannot be associated to *pro*$_{PL}$; neither can it form a constituent with the GROUP-DP or its subject (*lányom*) because neither of these is itself plural in (4). With singular *ez*, (4b) also fails: there is a restriction on the size of the subject of GROUP (independently supported for other cases of DP-internal predication) that makes it impossible for the subject of GROUP to be large enough to accommodate pre-D concordial demonstratives. Oblique (4c) is grammatical: P=*-nÁl*, merged outside the associative DP, accommodates the concordial demonstrative in a specifier position in its own (extended) projection, which also yields a simple account of case concord.

(4) a. e(zen) lány-om-ék 'this daughter of mine and her associates'
b. *ez(ek) a lány-om-ék
c. en-nél a lány-om-ék-nál 'at this daughter of mine and her associates'

7 Silent GROUP in (3) is formally licensed by *-é*; when the group-denoting predicate nominal is overt, no *-é* is needed: *a Kovács család*/*csoport* 'the Kovács family/group'. The *család*/*csoport*-DP, being explicitly singular, cannot serve to content-license *pro*$_{PL}$; content licensing is successful when the group-denoting noun phrase is headed by silent GROUP, which is not explicitly singular. So the specificational structure (3) is available only with silent GROUP, which explains why *a Kovács család*/*csoport* cannot control plural agreement, unlike *a Kovácsék*. In associative plurals, there is in fact a bidirectional licensing dependency between silent GROUP and *pro*$_{PL}$. This derives the fact that the inner DP in (3), [$_{DP}$ D=*a* [$_{RP}$ *Kovács* [$_{R'}$ [GROUP] REL=-*é*]]], cannot occur by itself with the associative meaning 'the Kovács family/group': while *a Kovács-é* is grammatical, it only supports an anaphoric possessive interpretation ('the one belonging to Kovács'), not an associative reading.