

Anaphoric possessive -*é*,
multiplicative plural -*k*,
associative plural -*ék*

An integrated approach
to three Hungarian suffixes

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1 The aim of this paper

- descriptively, Hungarian has three nominal plural markers:
 - multiplicative plural ('MPL') *-(V)k* (1)
 - possessive plural ('PPL') *-i* (2)
 - associative plural ('APL') *-ék* (3)
- this paper addresses the relationship between associative *-ék* and multiplicative *-(V)k*, and between *-ék* and anaphoric-possessive *-é* (4)

(1) a lány-ok
the girl-MPL
'the girls'

(2) a lány-a-i
the girl-POSS-PPL
'his/her daughters'

(3) a lány-ék
the girl-APL
'the girl and (her) associates'

(4) a lány-é
the girl-ANAPH.POSS
'the one belonging to the girl'

1 The aim of this paper

- $-(V)k$ is the exponent of the functional head $\#_{\text{PL}}$
- $-é$ is a predicational RELATOR formally licensing the silence of one of the two terms in the predication relationship that it mediates
- the syntax underlying associative-plural *lányék* (3) involves a specificational relation between a silent plural pronoun (pro_{PL}) and a constituent containing the overt noun *lány* and the abstract noun GROUP: (5)

(1) a lány-ok
the girl-MPL
'the girls'

(2) a lány-a-i
the girl-POSS-PPL
'his/her daughters'

(3) a lány-ék
the girl-APL
'the girl and (her) associates'

(4) a lány-é
the girl-ANAPH.POSS
'the one belonging to the girl'

(5) $[_{\text{DP}} \text{D } [_{\text{P}} [_{\text{DP}} \text{D } [_{\text{RP}} [_{\text{Subject}} \textit{lány} \text{ 'girl'}] [_{\text{R}'} [_{\text{Predicate}} \text{GROUP}] \text{REL}=-\acute{e}]]] [: [_{\text{\#P}} \textit{pro} \#_{\text{PL}}=-k]]]]]$

2 Number in possessive noun phrases

- in possessive DPs, there is a predication relation between the possessum (the subject of predication) and a constituent containing the possessor
- the RELATOR of the possession relation is spelled out in Hungarian as the ‘possession marker’ $-(j)a/e$: (6)
- in the Hungarian possessive noun phrase, number for the possessum is marked with the specialised possessive plural marker $-i$: (7)

(6) a. a lány-a
the girl-POSS
‘his/her daughter’

b. $[_{DP} D=a [_{RP} [_{POSSESSOR} pro] [_{R'} [_{POSSESSUM} lány] RELATOR=-a]]]$

(7) a. a lány-a-i
the girl-POSS-PPL
‘his/her daughter’

b. $[_{DP} D=a [_{\#P} [_{RP} [_{POSSESSOR} pro] [_{R'} [_{POSSESSUM} lány] RELATOR=-a]]] \#_{PPL}=-i]]]$

2 Number in possessive noun phrases

- in the Hungarian possessive noun phrase, number for the possessor is marked with the standard multiplicative plural marker *-k*, occurring either directly on the possessor (for non-pronominal possessors, (8a)) or on the possessum (for third-person pronominal possessors, (8b))
- there is no number *agreement* in the Hungarian possessive noun phrase
- in (8b), *-k* undergoes movement in syntax (Den Dikken 1999), docking on to the #-head of the possessive noun phrase and being spelled out after the possessive plural marker *-i*: (9)

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------------|-----------|---------------|----|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| (8) | a. | a | nő-k | lány-a-i(*-k) | b. | az | ő(*-k) | lány-a-i-k |
| | | the | woman-MPL | girl-POSS-PPL | | the | (s)he | girl-POSS-PPL-MPL |
| | | 'the women's daughters' | | | | 'their daughters' | | |

(9) [DP D=*a* [_{#P} [_{RP} [_{#P} [_{POSSESSOR} *ő*] #_{MPL}=~~*k*~~] [_{R'} [_{POSSESSUM} *lány*] REL=*-a*]] #_{PPL}=*-i*+_{MPL}=*-k*]]

3 Anaphoric-possessive -é

3.1 Preamble: English anaphoric possessives

- in English, a discourse-anaphoric possessum can be left unexpressed: (10)
- there are no indications that *ec* in (10) is a surface anaphor with internal syntactic structure (i.e., a case of ellipsis): thus, binding a variable inside *ec* fails (11)
- *ec* in (10) is a deep anaphor — a silent proform akin to *one*
- for Hungarian, I will make the same assumption

(10) at first I liked her analysis of these data, but later on I ended up preferring his *ec*

- (11) a. ?I know which data they liked her analysis of, but I don't know which they liked his analysis of *ec*
b. *I know which data they liked her analysis of, but I don't know which they liked his *ec*

3 Anaphoric-possessive -é

3.1 Preamble: English anaphoric possessives

- in English (10), the discourse-anaphoric possessum remains unexpressed and unaccompanied by any marker that would not occur in the presence of an overt possessum
- but in this respect, third person singular masculine *his* is the odd man out in the realm of English pronominal possessors: see (10') and (10'')
- the extra *-s* in *hers, theirs, ours* and *yours* is the realisation of the RELATOR

(10) at first I liked her analysis of these data, but later on I ended up preferring his *ec*

(10') ... but later on I ended up preferring {hers, theirs, ours, yours}

[_{DP} D [_{RP} [_{POSSESSOR} *her/their/our/your*] [_{R'} RELATOR=*-s*] [_{POSSESSUM} *ec*]]]]

(10'') ... but later on I ended up preferring mine

[_{DP} D [_{RP} [_{POSSESSOR} *my*] [_{R'} RELATOR= \emptyset] [_{POSSESSUM} *'ne*]]]]

3 Anaphoric-possessive -é

3.2 Hungarian anaphoric-possessive -é

- in Hungarian, a silent anaphoric possessum is always paired with an overt marker, -é, usually called the ‘anaphoric possession marker’ (see Bartos 2001, Dékány 2021, and references cited there)
- -é is an allomorph of the regular possession marker $-(j)a/e$, an exponent of the RELATOR of DP-internal possession relations
- that the anaphoric possession marker surfaces as -é (a long vowel) rather than short -e is an effect of compensatory lengthening

- (12) a. a lány-é
the girl-ANAPH.POSS
‘the one belonging to the girl’
- b. $[_{DP} D [_{RP} [_{POSSESSOR} a \textit{lány}] [_{R'} [_{POSSESSUM} ec] RELATOR=-é]]]$

3 Anaphoric-possessive -é

3.2 Hungarian anaphoric-possessive -é

- the marking of number in anaphoric possessives is the same as in non-anaphoric ones:
 - the plurality of the (silent) possessum is expressed with *-i*
 - the plurality of the possessor is expressed with *-k*
 - directly on the possessor w/ non-pronominal possessors
 - to the right of *-i* w/ pronominal possessors

(13) a. a lány-ok-é-i
the girl-MPL-ANAPH.POSS-PPL
'the ones belonging to the girls'
b. az őv-é-i-k
the (s)he-ANAPH.POSS-PPL-MPL
'the ones belonging to them'

(14) a. a lány-ok kép-e-i
the girl-MPL picture-POSS-PPL
'the pictures belonging to the girls'
b. az ő kép-é-i-k
the she picture-POSS-PPL-MPL
'the pictures belonging to them'

4 Associative plural *-ék*

- in the associative plural in (15b), *-ék* marks a plurality of individuals in the circle of the host noun
- a question debated since (at least) Simonyi (1895): is the associative plural marker *-ék* a single morpheme or a complex consisting of *-é* and *-k*?
- in the 21st century morphosyntax literature, the suffix *-ék* is standardly analysed as a monolith (see Bartos 2001, Moravcsik 2003, Dékány 2021)

- (15) a. a Kovács-é-i
the Kovács-ANAPH.POSS-PPL
'the ones belonging to Kovács' [*Kovács* is a family name, the equivalent of *Smith*]
- b. a Kovács-ék
the Kovács-APL
'Kovács and his associates (e.g., relatives or group members)'

4 Associative plural *-ék*

- the aim of this section is to argue that *-ék* is bimorphemic: the RELATOR *-é* + multiplicative plural *-k*
- the analysis proposed dodges all three of Moravcsik's (2003) arguments against a bimorphemic approach to *-ék*:
 - (i) *-é* is not strictly [+HUMAN] but *-ék* is
 - (ii) *-é* does not have inclusive semantics but *-ék* does
 - (iii) *-é* combines with the possessive *-i* plural instead of *-k*
- the analysis captures the inclusive semantics and the [+HUMAN] restriction on *-ék* with the help of a silent noun GROUP (section 4.1), and predicts the use of *-k* from the hypothesis that the GROUP-headed noun phrase serves as an appositive specifier of a silent plural pronoun (sections 4.2 and 4.3)

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.1 The *-é* of associative plurals as a RELATOR licensing silent GROUP

- the fact that the possessive plural marker *-i* does not show up in associative plurals indicates that we are not dealing with a plural possessum
- the *-é* of associative plural *-ék* is not the exponent of the RELATOR of a possessive relationship
- but it does share with anaphoric-possessive *-é* the function of licensing of the silence of one of the terms of a RELATOR phrase: the *-é* of associative plurals expones a RELATOR licensing not a silent possessum but a (non-anaphoric) silent group-denoting noun GROUP, predicated of the nominal which phonologically hosts *-é*

(16) $[_{RP} Kovács [_R' [GROUP] RELATOR=-é]]$

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.2 Asyndetic specification, with the pronoun as the second term

- the predication structure in (16) is enveloped in a DP which serves to specify the content of a silent plural pronoun (pro_{PL}) — an asyndetic specification structure (‘:P’; see Koster 2000) inside DP: (17)
- the asyndetic specification structure in (17) has the constituent specifying *pro*’s content occupying the specifier position of :P (see (18a,b))

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

- (18) a. *ma-hulle*
mum-they (Afrikaans)
‘mum and her entourage’
- b. *emej-taN-pe*
mother-that-PL (Yukaghir)
‘mother and her entourage’

4 Associative plural -ék

4.3 The locus of plural marking in associative plurals

- the silent plural pronoun (pro_{PL}) in (17) is the source of plural reference and morphology for associative plurals: pro_{PL} is locally associated with $\#_{PL}$
- that $\#_{PL}$ locally combines with the pronoun and not with the entire asyndetic specification structure is shown by (19) (Mühlhäussler 1981:43)

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

(19) a. *ol pater*
PL priest (Tok Pisin)
'the priests'

b. *pater ol* $[_{:P} [... pater ...] [: [_{\#P} ol_{PL} pro_{PL}]]]$
priest PL
'the priest and his flock'

4 Associative plural -ék

4.3 The locus of plural marking in associative plurals

- in Hungarian, the head $\#_{\text{PL}}$ is exponed as *-k*
- in the linear string produced by (17), this *-k* is correctly sequenced to the immediate right of *-é*
- but how can $\#_{\text{PL}}$, locally associated as it is with *pro*, be exponed at all, in light of the silence of $\#_{\text{PL}}$ in (21b)?

(17) $[_{\text{DP}} \text{D} [_{\text{P}} [_{\text{DP}} \text{D} [_{\text{RP}} [_{\text{Subject}} \text{Kovács}] [_{\text{R}'} [_{\text{Predicate}} \text{GROUP}] \text{REL}=-\acute{e}]]] [:\ [_{\text{\#P}} \text{pro} \#_{\text{PL}}=-\text{k}]]]]]$

(20) a. a kovács-ok dolgoz-nak
the smith-MPL work-3PL
'the smiths are working'
b. a Kovács-ék dolgoz-nak
the Kovács-APL work-3PL
'the Kovácses/Smiths are working'

(21) a. ő-k dolgoz-nak
(s)he-MPL work-3PL
'they are working'
b. *pro*(*-k) dolgoz-nak
pro-MPL work-3PL
'they are working'

4 Associative plural -ék

4.3 The locus of plural marking in associative plurals

- the problem with exponence of $\#_{\text{PL}}$ in (21b) is that $-k$ cannot find a host within its local syntactic domain, the maximal projection of the subject
- in possessive noun phrases, a $-k$ associated with a silent pronominal possessor *can* be expounded within the possessive DP: indeed, it must be expounded, on the possessum (see (22a), analysed as in (22b))

(17) $[_{\text{DP}} \text{D} [_{\text{P}} [_{\text{DP}} \text{D} [_{\text{RP}} [_{\text{Subject}} \text{Kovács}] [_{\text{R}'} [_{\text{Predicate}} \text{GROUP}] \text{REL}=-\acute{e}]]] [: [_{\text{\#P}} \text{pro} \#_{\text{PL}}=-k]]]]]$

(22) a. a *pro*(*-k) lány-a-i-k (21) a. ő-k dolgoz-nak
 the *pro*-MPL girl-POSS-PPL-MPL (s)he-MPL work-3PL
 ‘their daughters’ ‘they are working’

b. $[_{\text{DP}} \text{D}=a [_{\text{\#P}} [_{\text{RP}} [_{\text{\#P}} [_{\text{POSSESSOR}} \text{pro}] \#_{\text{MPL}}=-k] [_{\text{R}'} [_{\text{POSSESSUM}} \text{lány}] \text{REL}=-a]]] \#_{\text{PPL}}=-i+\#_{\text{MPL}}=-k]]]$ b. *pro*(*-k) dolgoz-nak
pro-MPL work-3PL
 ‘they are working’

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.3 The locus of plural marking in associative plurals

- a multiplicative plural marker associated to a silent pronoun is exponed as *-k* if it can find a host within the maximal nominal structure that contains it, and is otherwise left unrealised
- in (17), there is a host for *-k* within the maximal nominal domain containing it: *-é*, the exponent of the RELATOR of the structure in Spec:P

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

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>(22) a. a <i>pro</i>(*-k) lány-a-i-k the <i>pro</i>-MPL girl-POSS-PPL-MPL ‘their daughters’</p> <p>b. $[_{DP} D=a [_{#P} [_{RP} [_{#P} [_{POSSESSOR} pro] \#_{MPL}=-k] [_{R'} [_{POSSESSUM} lány] REL=-a]]] \#_{PPL}=-i+\#_{MPL}=-k]]]$</p> | <p>(21) a. ő-k dolgoz-nak (s)he-MPL work-3PL ‘they are working’</p> <p>b. <i>pro</i>(*-k) dolgoz-nak <i>pro</i>-MPL work-3PL ‘they are working’</p> |
|---|---|

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.4 The locus of the definite article in associative plurals

- the structure in the complement of outer D in (17) is pronominally headed
- the Spanish plural definite article *los* ‘the_{PL}’ can combine with *pro*_{PL} and spell out the outer D-head (*los Franco* ‘the Franco family’); but Hungarian personal pronouns do not combine with articles (**az ő*, **az pro*_[HUMAN]), so *a* in *a lány-ék* or *a Kovács-ék* is not the exponent of the outermost D in (17)

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

- *a* must be inside the constituent specifying the content of *pro*, heading either the DP serving as the subject of GROUP (23a) or the larger DP sitting on the left-hand branch of ‘:P’ (23b)

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

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.5 On the size of the subject of GROUP

- the subject of GROUP can be a large and complex DP: the plural possessed common noun phrase in (24) (Bartos 2001: 695, Dékány 2021:233)

(24) a baráta-i-d-ék
the friend-PPL-2SG-APL
'your friends and their associates'

- the subject of GROUP can contain invariant demonstratives *e* and *ezen* (27a) but not concordial demonstratives (27b), except in oblique-case contexts

(27) a. e(zen) lány-om-ék
this girl-1SG-APL
'this daughter of mine and her associates'

b. *ez(-ek) a lány-om-ék
this(-PL) the girl-1SG-APL
intended: 'this daughter of mine and her associates'

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.5 On the size of the subject of GROUP

- the only plural element in the structure of associatives is pro_{PL} , but pronouns cannot host demonstratives, so plural *ezen* in (27b) cannot be associated to pro_{PL}
- nor can plural *ezen* form a constituent with the GROUP-DP or its subject (*lányom*) because neither of these is itself plural in (27b)
- with singular *ez*, (27a) also fails: there is a size restriction on the subject of GROUP (cf. other cases of DP-internal predication)

- (27) a. e(zen) lány-om-ék
this girl-1SG-APL
'this daughter of mine and her associates'
- b. *e(z(-ek)) a lány-om-ék
this(-PL) the girl-1SG-APL
intended: 'this daughter of mine and her associates'

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.5 On the size of the subject of GROUP

- oblique (27c) is grammatical (Bartos 2001), probably thanks to the fact that the adessive postposition *-nál*, merged outside the associative DP, can accommodate the concordial demonstrative in a specifier position in its own (extended) projection: (31)

(27) c. *en-nél a lány-om-ék-nál*
this-ADESS the girl-1SG-APL-ADESS
'at this daughter of mine and her associates'

(31) $[_{PP} \textit{ez}+ \textit{-nél} [_{P'} [_{DP} \textit{ez} [_{D'} D [_{DemP} \textit{ez} [_{:,P} [_{DP} D [_{RP} [_{Subject=DP} D=\textit{a lányom}]] [_{R'} [_{Predicate} \textit{GROUP}] \textit{RELATOR}=\textit{-é}]]] [_{:,} [_{\#P} \textit{pro} \#_{PL}=\textit{-k}]]]]]]] P=\textit{-nál}]$

4 Associative plural -ék

4.6 On licensing silence

- silent GROUP is formally licensed by the RELATOR spelled out as -é
- when the group-denoting predicate nominal is overt, no -é is needed because there is no silent GROUP-noun requiring licensing

- (32) a. a Kovács család/csoport
the Kovács family/group
- b. *a Kovács család/csoport-é
the Kovács family/group-RELATOR
intended: 'the Kovács family/group'

4 Associative plural *-ék*

4.6 On licensing silence

- the *család/csoport*-DP, being explicitly singular, cannot serve to content-license pro_{PL} ; but content licensing is successful when the group-denoting noun phrase is headed by silent GROUP, which is not explicitly singular

- (32) a. a Kovács család/csoport
the Kovács family/group
b. *a Kovács család/csoport-é
the Kovács family/group-RELATOR
intended: ‘the Kovács family/group’

- (33) a. a Kovács család/csoport elment(*-ek)
the Kovács family/group away.went-3PL
b. a Kovács-ék elment*(-ek)
the Kovács-APL away.went-3PL
both: ‘the Kovács family/group went away’

5 Conclusion

- ① associative *-ék* is a composite of *-é* and *-k*
- ② *-é* is the silence-licensing spell-out of a RELATOR mediating a predication relation
 - a possessive predication in anaphoric possessive *a lány-é*
 - a nominal predication in associative plural *a lány-ék*
- ③ multiplicative *-k* is syntactically autonomous
- ④ the RELATOR of a predication structure can be spelled out
- ⑤ deep anaphors and Kaynean silent nouns need formal licensing
- ⑥ Koster-style asyndetic specification is active in associatives

<https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ék>

Hungarian [\[edit\]](#)

Etymology [\[edit\]](#)

Of uncertain origin. Perhaps from Proto-Ugric.^[1]

Pronunciation [\[edit\]](#)

- IPA^(key): [ˈeːk]

- Audio 

- Rhymes: -eːk

Noun [\[edit\]](#)

ék (*plural ékek*)

1. wedge
2. (*literary*) ornament

And finally...

And finally... another little linguistic limerick

And finally... another little linguistic limerick

“Bimorphemic approaches to *-ék*

And finally... another little linguistic limerick

“Bimorphemic approaches to *-ék*
Indisputably have to be fake”

And finally... another little linguistic limerick

“Bimorphemic approaches to *-ék*

Indisputably have to be fake”

— Thus quoth many a scholar

And finally... another little linguistic limerick

“Bimorphemic approaches to *-ék*

Indisputably have to be fake”

— Thus quoth many a scholar

But to them I now holler:

And finally... another little linguistic limerick

“Bimorphemic approaches to *-ék*

Indisputably have to be fake”

— Thus quoth many a scholar

But to them I now holler:

“Duh! Your reputation’s at stake!”

And finally... another little linguistic limerick

“Bimorphemic approaches to *-ék*

Indisputably have to be fake”

— Thus quoth many a scholar

But to them I now holler:

“Duh! Your reputation’s at stake!”



Just kidding...



Thank you very much! — Köszönöm szépen!

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