

The syntax of Hungarian¹
Éva Dékány
RIL HAS

Hungarian has about 12.6 million speakers (Lewis et al 2016). There are around 10 million speakers in Hungary, where Hungarian is the official language. There are further important Hungarian-speaking communities in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, the Ukraine, Slovenia, Croatia and Austria. Speakers outside of Hungary have frequent language contact with the official language of the country they live in and they are characteristically bilingual. Hungarian diaspora can be found in Western Europe, North and South America, Israel and Australia.

The aim of this paper is to briefly discuss selected aspects of basic Hungarian syntax and to direct the interested reader to further readings in the literature. The example sentences in the chapter are based on my own native speaker intuition. I have worked on and published about various aspects of Hungarian syntax and morphosyntax. My main research interests include the structure of the noun phrase and non-finite subordination.

Section 1. Word order and sentence types

1.1. Basic word order

The basic word order of Hungarian is SVO.²

1.1.1 Finite verb and its arguments

In the unmarked word order, both definite and indefinite objects follow the verb (1).

- (1) a. Mari készít-ett egy étel-t.
 Mari prepare-PST:3SG a meal-ACC
 ‘Mari prepared a meal.’
- b. Mari el-készít-ett-e az étel-t.
 Mari PTCL-prepare-PST:3SG-OBJ the meal-ACC
 ‘Mari prepared the meal.’

It is not possible to talk about basic word order without introducing the term ‘verbal modifier’ (VM). VM is an umbrella term for non-predicative verb complements that semantically incorporate into the verb. The class of VMs includes bare objects, verbal particles and resultatives, among others. Syntactically, VMs immediately precede the verb in a neutral sentence but follow it in clauses that contain negation or contrastive focus, or have progressive aspect or have imperative mood. As bare objects are VMs, these objects immediately precede the verb rather than follow it in the unmarked word order (2).

- (2) Mari étel-t készít-ett (*étel-t).
 Mari meal-ACC prepare-PST:3SG meal-ACC
 ‘Mari prepared a meal. / Mary was engaged in the activity of meal-preparing.’

¹ Acknowledgements: postdoctoral grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, OTKA NK 100804 “Comprehensive Grammar Resources: Hungarian” and ERC_HU OTKA 118079 “Languages under the influence”.

² Note, however, that like its close relatives today, Hungarian was an SOV language in the Proto-Hungarian period. See É. Kiss (2013) and the contributions in É. Kiss (2014a,b).

1.1.2 Non-finite verb and the object

Non-finite clauses exhibit the same order of verb and object as finite clauses. (3) illustrates with an infinitival clause.

- (3) a. Mari nem akar-t el-készít-eni egy étel-t.
Mari not want-PST:3SG PTCL-prepare-INF a meal-ACC
'Mary did not want to prepare a meal.'
- b. Mari nem akar-t étel-t készít-eni (??étel-t).
Mari not want-PST:3SG meal-ACC prepare-INF meal-ACC
'Mary did not want to prepare a meal. / Mary did not want to be engaged in meal-preparing.'

1.1.3 Word order in imperatives

In imperatives the verb precedes both the verbal modifier and the object, regardless of whether the object is bare or not (4b, 5b).³ Imperative verbs bear special morphological marking; the paradigm is fully identical to the subjunctive paradigm (Varga 2014). Clausal negation, if present, precedes the verb (5).

- (4) a. Készít-s el egy étel-t!
prepare-SUBJ:2SG PTCL a meal-ACC
'Prepare a meal!'
- b. Készít-s étel-t!
prepare-SUBJ:2SG meal-ACC
'Prepare a meal!'
- (5) a. Ne készít-s-d el az étel-t!
not prepare-SUBJ-2SG:OBJ PTCL a meal-ACC
'Don't prepare the meal!'
- b. Ne készít-s étel-t!
not prepare-SUBJ:2SG meal-ACC
'Don't prepare a meal!'

1.1.4 Pronominal objects

Pronominal objects occupy the same position as non-pronominal objects.

- (6) a. Lát-t-uk ő-t.
see-PST-1PL:OBJ he-ACC
'We saw him.'
- b. Nem akar-t-uk lát-ni ő-k-et.
not want-PST-1PL:OBJ meet-INF he-PL-ACC
'We did not want to meet them.'

³ An OV order with an imperative verb is not ungrammatical, but it can only be understood as having strong contrastive focus on the object.

1.1.5 Sentences without a copula

The copula is obligatorily absent in predicative sentences if all of the following conditions hold: 1) the predicate is adjectival or nominal, 2) the clause has present tense and indicative mood, and 3) the subject is third person (singular or plural, pronominal or non-pronominal). In these cases the copula would bear no overt marking, which allows it to be dropped (7a, see Hegedűs 2013 for discussion). In all other cases the copula must be overt in order to host the overt verbal suffixes (7b,c).

- (7) a. János/ő okos/orvos (*van).
János/he clever/doctor be:3SG
'János/he is clever/a doctor.'
- b. János/ő okos/orvos volt/lesz.
János/he clever/doctor was/will:be
'János/he was/will be clever/a doctor.'
- c. Te okos/orvos *(vagy).
you(sg) clever/doctor be:2SG
'You are clever/a doctor.'

If clauses with a dropped copula contain clausal negation, then the negative marker *nem* appears in the position preceding the predicate.

- (8) János nem okos/orvos.
János not clever/doctor
'János is not clever/a doctor.'

PP predicates, adverbial predicates and existential sentences do not allow the copula to be dropped (9).

- (9) a. Az iskola a posta mellett *(van).
the school the post:office next:to be:3SG
'The school is next to the post office.'
- b. A kastély-ban *(van-nak) szellem-ek.
the castle-INE be-3PL ghost-PL
'There are ghosts in the castle.'

1.1.6 Location of adverbs

The position of adverbs depends on the type of the adverb (e.g. speaker-oriented, subject-oriented, manner, quantificational, etc.). Below I illustrate the possible positions of the adverb *még* 'yet'. The position of adverbs is discussed in detail in Surányi (2008) and in the contributions in É. Kiss (2009a).

- (10) Mari (még) nem akar-t (még) készít-eni egy étel-t.
Mari yet not want-PST:3SG yet prepare-INF a meal-ACC
'Mary did not want to prepare a meal.'

1.1.7 Adpositions

Hungarian is a postpositional language (though it also has a good number of suffixal case markers). Postpositions come in two types. So-called case-like postpositions take a morphologically unmarked noun phrase as their complement (11a). So-called case-assigning postpositions (11b) require a specific oblique case on their noun phrase complement (Superessive, Allative or Instrumental). A variety of syntactic tests show that the two types do not have an identical distribution: case-like Ps must immediately follow their complement, while case-assigning Ps have a somewhat freer distribution (Marácz 1986, 1989; É. Kiss 1999; Asbury 2008; Trommer 2008; Rákosi 2010; Dékány 2011; Dér 2012; Hegedűs 2013; Spencer and Stump 2013). Some case-assigning Ps even allow a prepositional use (Dékány and Hegedűs 2015).

(11) a. a ház mellett
the house next:to
'next to the house'

b. a ház-hoz közel, a ház-on kívül, a ház-zal együtt
the house-ALL close:to the house-SUPES outside:of the house-INS together
'close to the house, outside of the house, (together) with the house'

1.2.8 Other

While it is true that the default word order in Hungarian is SVO, it must be emphasized that Hungarian is a discourse-configurational language: it links both topic and focus to particular syntactic positions. In Hungarian, topics precede the (contrastive, structural) focus; focus, in turn, immediately precedes the verb. Other, non-discourse-linked constituents follow the verb. Postverbal word order is free; constituents in this domain are ordered on the basis of Behagel's (1932) Law: phonologically shorter constituents are closer to the verb, while phonologically heavy constituents tend to occur towards the end of the clause (É. Kiss 2008a). For this reason, É. Kiss (2013) calls Hungarian a 'Topic Focus V X' language. For more detailed information on the positions of topic and focus in Hungarian, see Section 1.3.10 and the references cited therein.

Hungarian is a pro-drop language. Subject and possessor pronouns are routinely dropped; their semantic content is recoverable from the agreement on the finite verb/possessed noun. Among object pronouns, only singular pronouns can be dropped (Farkas 1987; Puskás 2000; É. Kiss 2012).⁴

The syntax of verbal modifiers, and especially verbal particles, mentioned in Section 1.1.1 is one of the most intensely researched topics in Hungarian linguistics. The relevant literature includes Horvath (1978, 1986), Kálmán (1985a,b), Pinon (1995), Olsvay (2000a), the contributions in É. Kiss and Van Riemsdijk (2004), Kiefer (1994, 2006), Csirmaz (2006), É. Kiss (2002a, 2006c,d), Broekhuis and Hegedűs (2009), Surányi (2009), Ladányi (2015) and Kardos (2016), among many others.

Hungarian has two distinct verbal agreement paradigms: the so-called subjective or indefinite conjugation and the so-called objective or definite conjugation. The former paradigm features agreement only for the subject's person and number, while the latter also features agreement for

⁴ See, however, Keresztes (2014). This study claims that in coordinate constructions first and second person "plural object pronouns may be phonologically zero, if the antecedent for the object is indicated in the first conjunct" (p. 164).

the object's definiteness (but not person or number⁵). The definite conjugation is elicited by the following objects: proper names, objects with a definite determiner (definite article, demonstrative pronoun, certain quantifiers), first person plural pronouns (iff the subject is a first person singular pronoun), second person plural pronouns (iff the subject is first person or second person singular), third person pronouns (regardless of the person and number of the subject), reflexives and reciprocals in all persons, possessed noun phrases and finite complement clauses. Other objects elicit the indefinite conjugation. This phenomenon has attracted significant attention in the literature. Relevant works include Bartos (1999), Den Dikken (2004), É. Kiss (2005), Coppock and Wechsler (2012), Coppock (2013) and Bárány (2015), among others. See also Bárány (this volume).

A good one-volume descriptive grammar covering Hungarian phonology, morphology and syntax is Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi (1998). A recent multivolume grammar (focusing exclusively on syntax) is the Hungarian installment of the Comprehensive Grammar Resources series. É. Kiss's (2002b) monograph is a generative analysis of Hungarian grammar that covers all the important areas of syntax.

1.2. Negation

Hungarian employs a negative particle in negative sentences, but in a special case (to be discussed in section 1.2.1) it employs a negative auxiliary.

1.2.1 A negative auxiliary (verb)

If a clause contains both the predicate negation particle *nem* 'not' and a present tense indicative copula marked for third person agreement, then these two elements are obligatorily expressed by the portmanteau auxiliary verb *nincs(en)* 'not:be:3' (12). In case the subject is third person singular, *nincs(en)* bears a phonologically zero agreement for 3SG. If the subject is third person plural, *nincs(en)* supports the 3PL subject agreement morpheme *-nak/nek*. Other types of suffixes are not permitted on *nincs(en)*.

- (12) A kastély-ban nincs szellem / nincs-enek szellemek.
 the castle-INE not:be:3SG ghost / not:be-3PL ghost-PL
 'There is no ghost / are no ghosts in the castle.'

The negative particle used for constituent negation is also *nem*, but in this use *nem* and the present tense indicative copula marked for third person agreement cannot be expressed by a portmanteau (arguably because in this case they are not adjacent in the clause). A portmanteau is also impossible if the copula is marked for past or future tense or first or second person agreement.

- (13) a. Nem a kastély-ban van a szellem.
 not the castle-INE be:3SG the ghost
 'The ghost is not in the castle.'

⁵ A possible exception is when the subject is first person and the object is second person. In this case, the morpheme *-lak* appears on the verb. The status of this morpheme is highly debated; according to some researchers it can be viewed as a form that agrees with a second person object. See the references cited in the main text.

- b. A kastély-ban nem volt szellem / nem volt-ak szellem-ek.
 the castle-INE not be:PST:3SG ghost / not be:PST-3PL ghost-PL
 ‘There was no ghost / were no ghosts in the castle.’
- c. Én nem vagy-ok / *nincs / *nincs-ek a kastély-ban.
 I not be-1SG / not:be / not:be-1SG the castle-INE
 ‘I am not in the castle.’

1.2.2 Additional auxiliary verbs with negation

This point is not applicable to Hungarian.

1.2.3. Word order in (finite) negative sentences

The predicate negation particle *nem* ‘not’ immediately precedes the predicate. In the basic word order, this yields S NEG V O clauses (14a). The reader will recall from Section 1.1.1 that in neutral sentences verbal modifiers (bare objects, verbal particles, etc.) are in the immediately preverbal position. Clauses containing predicate negation are non-neutral sentences; therefore the verbal modifier appears in the postverbal field (14b).⁶

- (14) a. Mari nem lát-t-a János-t.
 Mari not see-PST-3SG:OBJ János-ACC
 ‘Mari didn’t see János.’
- b. Mari nem készít-ett étel-t.
 Mari not prepare-PST:3SG meal-ACC
 ‘Mari didn’t prepare a meal. / Mari wasn’t engaged in meal-preparing.’

1.2.4. Negation of non-finite clauses

Like finite clauses, non-finite clauses are negated with the negative particle *nem* ‘not’. The position of the negative particle is different in finite and non-finite clauses, however. In negated infinitives, the verbal modifier is in the immediately preverbal position, with *nem* preceding it (15a). In negated adjectival and adverbial participles and in negated gerunds (aka *masdars*, verbal nouns) the preferred order is that the negative particle appears between the verbal modifier and the predicate, but it can also precede the verbal modifier and the verb. In (15b) I illustrate this with the adjectival past participle.

- (15) a. Mari szeret-t-e volna nem ki-nyit-ni az ablak-ot.
 Mari like-PST-3SG:OBJ be:PST:COND not out-open-INF the window-ACC
 ‘Mary would have liked to not open the window.’
- b. a ki nem nyit-ott ablak / (?)a nem ki-nyit-ott ablak
 the out not open-PTCP window / the not out-open-PTCP window
 ‘the unopened window’ ‘the unopened window’

1.2.5. Other

Hungarian is a negative concord (NC) language, though it is debated if it is the strict or the hybrid NC type (for the latter view, see Surányi 2006; Szabolcsi 2016). Universal and existential

⁶ Example (13b) would be grammatical on the S NEG O V order, with the bare object in the immediately preverbal position, but it could only be interpreted as a clause containing constituent negation (of the object).

pronouns are bimorphemic: they comprise the universal *minden-* ‘all, every’ or the existential *vala-* ‘some’ and the interrogative form of the pronoun (16a).⁷ In the presence of clausal negation, universal and existential pronouns have special negative forms (comprising the negative particle *se(n)-* ‘no’ and the interrogative form of the pronoun, see 16b), and these forms co-occur with the particle for clausal negation (16c). Hungarian negative concord has inspired a rich literature, including Puskás (1998, 2000, 2002), Tóth (1999), Bende-Farkas (2005), É. Kiss (2009b) and Gugán (2012).

- (16) a. minden-ki, vala-ki, vala-mi
 every-who some-who some-what
 ‘everybody, somebody, something’
- b. sen-ki, sem-mi
 no-who no-what
 ‘nobody, nothing’
- c. János nem lát-ott sen-ki-t (sem).
 János not see-PST:3SG NEG-who-ACC PTCL
 ‘John didn’t see anybody.’

Further influential works about Hungarian negation include Pinon (1992) and Olsvay (2000a,b). For a good summary of the issues surrounding negation in Hungarian, see É. Kiss (2015).

1.3 Questions and Information Structure

1.3.1 Regular yes/no questions

In regular yes/no questions the verb is fronted to the beginning of the clause and it is followed by the subject and the object. However, it also sounds equally natural to topicalize the subject to a position in front of the verb (17a). In the latter case the interrogative force is indicated only by prosody (compare 1b and 17b). Note that in main clause interrogatives there is no question particle, and the verbal modifier stays in the preverbal position (17b).

- (17) a. Készít-ett Mari ebéd-et? / Mari készített ebéd-et?
 prepare-PST:3SG Mari lunch-ACC / Mari prepare-PST:3SG lunch-ACC
 ‘Did Mary prepare lunch?’
- b. Mari el-készít-ett-e az ebéd-et?
 Mari PTCL-prepare-PST-3SG:OBJ the lunch-ACC
 ‘Mari prepared the lunch.’

1.3.2 The question particle

There is no question particle in main clause questions in standard Hungarian (but see Gyuris to appear on varieties that allow this). See Section 2.2.1 for discussion of the question particle in embedded clauses.

⁷ The only exception is the universal pronoun *minden* ‘everything’: here the interrogative pronoun is obligatorily dropped after the universal prefix.

1.3.3 Questioning an NP

Yes/no questions can also question an NP. In this case the questioned NP is placed in the immediately preverbal focus position, and the verbal modifier is postverbal. There is no question particle in these clauses either.

- (18) Mari az ebéd-et készít-ett-e el?
Mari the lunch-ACC prepare-PST-3SG:OBJ PTCL
'Is it the lunch that Mari has prepared.'

1.3.4 Content (WH-) questions

In content questions (the phrase containing) the interrogative pronoun is preposed into the preverbal focus position.

- (19) Mi-t készít-ett Mari?
what-ACC prepare-PST:3SG Mari
'What did Mari prepare?'

1.3.5 Word order in WH-questions

Since the wh-phrase occupies the immediately preverbal position, the verbal modifier appears postverbally. On the position of second, third, etc. wh-phrases in multiple questions, see Surányi (2002).

- (20) Mi-t készít-ett el Mari?
what-ACC prepare-PST:3SG PTCL Mari
'What did Mari prepare?'

*1.3.10 Other, on complex main clauses

Hungarian is a discourse-configurational language. The dedicated positions for topic and focus are at the beginning of the clause; their order is Topic(s) followed by Focus followed by the finite verb. Clauses containing a structural focus are non-neutral sentences; hence their verbal modifier (if any) appears postverbally. In a clause containing both structural focus and predicate negation, the negative particle appears between the focalized constituent and the verb. In (21) below *Jánost* and *Mari* are topics, while *tegnap* is the focused constituent.

- (21) János-t Mari tegnap (nem) hív-t-a meg.
János-ACC Mari yesterday not invite-PST-3SG:OBJ PTCL
'As for John, it was yesterday that Mari did (not) invite him.'

Interestingly, in infinitives the verbal modifier may optionally appear in between the focalized constituent and the infinitival verb (but it may also occur postverbally). The rich and inspiring literature on Hungarian topic and focus includes É. Kiss (1977, 1981, 1986b, 1995, 1998a,b, 2006a,b, 2008b, 2010), Szabolcsi (1980, 1981), Horvath (1986, 2000, 2007, 2013), Kenesei (1986, 2006), Brody (1990, 1995), Puskás (2000), Szendrői (2003), Brody and Szabolcsi (2003), Bende-Farkas (2009), among many others. On contrastive topics, see Gyuris (2002) and É. Kiss and Gyuris (2003).

Section 2: Advanced topics

2.1 The structure of the NP (or DP)

The order of the major constituents of the noun phrase is Dem followed by Q/Num followed by Adj followed by N. Unlike most Uralic languages, Hungarian has a definite article.

2.1.1 The possessive constructions

Possessors are marked either with Dative case or they are morphologically unmarked. Dative possessors precede the definite article. Pronominal unmarked possessors follow the definite article. Referential noun unmarked possessors do not co-occur with the definite article for many speakers. In most cases the choice between the two types of possessors is free. For some exceptions, see Szabolcsi (1992) and Den Dikken and Dékány (to appear).

- (22) a. János-nak a madar-a
János-DAT the bird-POSS
'John's bird'
- b. (a) János madar-a / az ő madar-a
the János bird-POSS / the he bird-POSS
'John's bird' 'his bird'

The possessed noun is marked with the possessedness suffix *-(j)a/(j)e*. If the possessor is expressed by a pronoun, then the possessed noun shows agreement for the number and person of the possessor. Under certain conditions the possessedness suffix and the possessive agreement are fused together.

- (23) az én madar-a-i-m
the I bird-POSS-PL-1SG
'my birds'

The literature on possessive constructions and noun phrase structure includes Szabolcsi (1983, 1994), Laczkó (1995), Den Dikken (1999, 2015), Bartos (2000), É. Kiss (2000), Dékány (2011), Egedi (2014) and the contributions in Alberti and Laczkó (in press).

2.1.2 Attributive adjectives

All attributive adjectives precede the noun.

- (24) A sárga madár egy hosszú asztal-on ül.
the yellow bird a long table-SUPES sit:3SG
'The yellow bird sits on a long table.'

2.1.3 Combining a possessor and an adjective

Adjectives appear between the possessor and the head noun.

- (25) János szép madar-a a(z) ő nagy asztal-á-n ül.
John pretty bird-POSS the he big table-POSS-SUPES sit:3SG
'John's pretty bird sits on his big table.'

2.1.4 Adjectival concord

Attributive adjectives do not agree in case or number with the head noun; see (24).

2.2 Finite complement clauses

2.2.1 Finite embedded yes/no questions

Finite embedded yes/no questions feature the question particle *-e*, a clitic element that attaches to the predicate. Note that *-e* cannot occur in main clause yes/no questions; cf. Sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2.

- (26) János kérdez-i, hogy Mari el-készít-ett-e-e az ebéd-et?
János ask-3SG:OBJ that Mari PTCL-prepare-PST-3SG:OBJ-Q:PTCLthe lunch-ACC
'János asks if Mari has prepared the lunch.'

Even if an NP is questioned in an embedded yes/no question, the question particle appears on the predicate. Note that the questioned NP is placed into the immediately preverbal focus position, and the verbal modifier appears in the postverbal field.

- (27) János kérdez-i, hogy Mari az ebéd-et készít-ett-e-e el.
János ask-3SG:OBJ that Mari the lunch-ACC prepare-PST-3SG:OBJ-Q:PTCLPTCL
'János asks if it is the lunch that Mari has prepared.'

2.2.2 Finite embedded WH-questions

It is also possible to embed finite wh-questions. Like in main clause questions, (the phrase containing) the interrogative pronoun is in the immediately preverbal structural focus position, but the clausal negation particle, if present, appears between the focus and the predicate.

- (28) János meg-kérdez-t-e, (hogy) Mari mikor nem készít-ett étel-t.
János PTCL-ask-PST-3SG:OBJthat Mari when not prepare-PST:3SG meal-ACC
'John asked when Mary had not prepared a meal.'

2.2.3 Finite embedded clauses

Hungarian allows finite subordinate clauses. The (clause-initial) complementizer of indicatives is *hogy* 'that', which can be dropped under certain circumstances. On *hogy*, *hogy*-drop and other finite complementizers, see É. Kiss (1987, 1991), Kenesei (1992, 1994), Lipták (1998) and Bacskai-Atkari (2014).

- (29) Mari az-t mond-t-a, (hogy) általában nem készít étel-t.
Mari that-ACC say-PST-3SG:OBJ that usually not prepare:3SG food-ACC
'Mary said that she does not usually prepare food.'

2.3 Non-finite complement clauses

2.3.1 Non-finite verb forms

Hungarian has the following non-finite verbs forms: infinitive (30a), three types of adjectival participles (the past participle is shown in ex. 30b; the present and a rarely used future participle

are exemplified in ex. 32), two types of adverbial participles (the productive one is illustrated in 30c; the other one is almost obsolete) and a gerund (aka *masdar* or verbal noun, shown in 30d).

- (30) a. Mari tud [halászlev-et főz-**ni**].
 Mari know:3SG fish:soup-ACC cook-INF
 ‘Mary can make fish soup.’
- b. a [tegnap a lány által ki-mos-**ott**] ruha
 the yesterday the girl by out-wash-PTCP garment
 ‘the garment that was washed yesterday’
- c. Mari [a táská-t a kez-é-ben tart-**va**] vár-t.
 Mari the bag-ACC the hand-POSS-INE hold-PTCP wait-PS.:3SG
 ‘Mari was waiting holding her bag in her hand.’
- d. [A macska folytonos simogat-**ás-a**] veszélyes.
 the cat continuous pet-GER-POSS dangerous
 ‘Continuous petting by the cat is dangerous. / It’s dangerous to continuously pet the cat.’

Adjectival participles are extensively discussed in Laczkó (1993, 1997, 1999, 2013), (Nádasdi 2013) and Szabó and Tóth (in press). Adverbial participles are described and analyzed in Komlósy (1992), Sárík (1998), Bartos (2009), Laczkó (2000) and Tóth (2000b). The literature on the gerund includes Szabolcsi and Lazckó (1992), Kenesei (2005), Lazckó (2009), Tóth (2011) and Alberti and Farkas (in press).

*2.3.2 Case on non-finite verb forms

Of the non-finite forms, only the gerund can carry case (or indeed any other nominal suffixes). It can take any nominal case, as required by the context.

2.3.3 Tense, agreement and negation with non-finite forms

The non-finite forms do not carry tense marking. Hungarian has three morphologically marked moods: indicative (zero marking), conditional (*-na/ne*) and the imperative/subjunctive (*-j*). The latter two do not combine with non-finite forms. Under certain circumstances, infinitival complements of impersonal predicates can carry subject-verb agreement (31). Unlike in the case of finite verbs, the paradigm on infinitives does not distinguish definite and indefinite conjugation; the paradigm is identical to the possessive agreement paradigm. On agreeing infinitives, see É. Kiss (1986a, 2001), Tóth (2000a, 2002) and Rákosi and Laczkó (2008). Other non-finites cannot support subject-verb agreement. All non-finites can feature the clausal negation particle *nem* ‘not’. See Section 1.2.4 for word order in non-finites with negation.

- (31) A gyerek-ek-nek nem kell ki-takarít-ani-uk a / egy szobá-t.
 the child-PL-DAT not must PTCL-clean-INF-3PL the / a room-ACC
 ‘The children don’t have to clean the / a room.’

2.4 Relative clauses

2.4.1. Non-finite relative clauses

The adjectival participles mentioned in Section 2.3.1 are used as non-finite prenominal relative clauses. (30b) shows the use of the past participle (which can relativize the verb's internal argument). (32) illustrates the use of the present participle (which can relativize the subject) and the rare future participle (which expresses obligation on the part of the subject and relativizes the object). Non-finite relatives are strictly head-final and feature no relative pronoun.

- (32) a. a [ruhá-t mos-ó] lány-ok
 the garment-ACC wash-PTCP girl-PL
 'the girls who are washing a garment / garments'
- b. a [holnap a lány-ok által ki-mos-andó] ruha
 the tomorrow the girl-PL by out-wash-PTCP garment
 'the garment that the girls should wash tomorrow'

2.4.2. The verb form in a participial relative clause

Non-finite relative clauses do not carry tense or mood affixes and do not agree with the noun they modify.

2.4.3. Finite relative clauses

Finite relative clauses follow the noun they modify and are obligatorily introduced by a relative pronoun. Compare (32a) with (33a) and (30b) with (33b). Relative pronouns agree with the relativized noun in number (33a) and get case from the predicate of the relative clause (33b). See Kenesei (1994), Den Dikken (2003), Bacskai-Atkari (2014) and Lipták (2008, 2015) for discussion of finite relatives.

- (33) a. az-ok a lány-ok, a-ki-k a ruhá-t mossák
 that-PL the girl-PL REL-who-PL the garment-ACC wash:3PL
 'the girls who are washing the garment'
- b. az a ruha, a-mi-t a lány tegnap ki-mos-ott
 that the garment REL-who-ACC the girl yesterday out-wash-PST:3SG
 'the garment that the girl washed yesterday'

*2.4.4 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are bimorphemic: they comprise the relative prefix *a-* and the interrogative form of the pronoun. Note that relative pronouns precede but interrogative pronouns follow topics. On relative pronouns, see Horvath (1986), Kántor (2008) and Bacskai-Atkari and Dékány (2014, 2015).

- (34) a-ki, a-mi, a-hol, a-mikor, a-hogy(an), a-miért
 REL-who REL-what REL-where REL-when REL-how REL-why

2.5 Reflexives and anaphoric binding

2.5.1 Reflexives

The reflexive pronoun, *mag-a* 'core-POSS', agrees with the person and number features of pronominal subjects.

- (35) a. Mari meg-vág-t-a mag-á-t.
 Mari PTCL-cut-PST-3SG:OBJ self-POSS-ACC
 ‘Mary cut herself.’
- b. Mi meg-vág-t-uk mag-unk-at.
 we PTCL-cut-PST-1PL self-POSS:1PL-ACC
 ‘We have cut ourselves.’

If the verb is marked with the reflexive suffix, then an overt reflexive pronoun leads to ungrammaticality.

- (36) Mos-akod-unk (*mag-unk-at).
 was-RFL-1PL self-POSS-ACC
 ‘We wash ourselves.’

2.5.2 The reflexive morpheme

The reflexive morpheme obligatorily bears (the *-a* allomorph of) the possessive suffix described in Section 2.1.1. In addition, if the subject is pronominal, it also agrees for the subject’s person and number features (35). The reflexive morpheme can be reinforced by the prefix *ön-* ‘self’ or the morpheme *saját* ‘own’. Reflexives (and anaphors) have been thoroughly analyzed in Rákosi (2008, 2009, 2013, 2015, in press).

2.5.3 Anaphoric binding

Two examples of anaphoric binding are provided in (37).

- (37) a. Mari az-t akar-t-a, hogy Anna mag-á-t rajzol-j-a le.
 Mari that-ACC want-PST-3SG:OBJ that Anna self-POSS-ACC draw-SUBJ-3SG:OBJ PTCL
 ‘Mary wanted Anne to draw herself.’
- b. Lát-t-uk mag-unk-at a tükör-ben.
 see-PST-1PL self-1PL-ACC the mirror-INE
 ‘We saw ourselves in the mirror.’

2.5.4 The anaphoric morpheme

The anaphoric morpheme has the same form as the reflexive; compare (35) and (37).

2.5.5 Binding the anaphor

In example (37a), Anna is drawing a picture of Anna rather than a picture of Mari.

2.5.6. The reciprocal construction

The reciprocal pronoun *egymás* comprises *egy* ‘one’ and *más* ‘other, another’. Note that in order to get the reciprocal reading, both components are necessary.

- (38) Lát-t-uk egy-más-t.
 see-PST-1PL:OBJ one-another-ACC
 ‘We saw each other.’

References

listed in a separate document