

## Inherited information structure of deverbal nominals in Hungarian<sup>1</sup>

[alberti.gabor@pte.hu](mailto:alberti.gabor@pte.hu); [juttasusi@gmail.com](mailto:juttasusi@gmail.com); [sz.veronika1983@gmail.com](mailto:sz.veronika1983@gmail.com)

<sup>1</sup>Hungarian Academy of Sciences, <sup>2</sup>University of Pécs

### 1. Introduction

Narrow- and wide-scope readings in different deverbal nominal constructions in Hungarian (presented in section 2) argue for the integration of the cartographic Split-DP Hypothesis (Giusti 1996, Ihsane and Puskás 2001) into the morphology-based Hungarian traditions (Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992, Bartos 2000, É. Kiss 2002).

The division of the noun phrase into a lexical domain (NP) and a functional domain (DP) with intermediate functional projections was first introduced in Abney (1987) and has since become widely accepted within generative grammar. It is on this approach that the seminal generative description of the Hungarian DP has been based, primarily due to Anna Szabolcsi (e.g., Szabolcsi 1981, 1983, 1992, 1994, Szabolcsi and Laczkó 1992).

The crucial element of Szabolcsi's theory is the determination of the positions of numerals and the two kinds of possessors, the NAK possessor (which is so flexible that it is even capable of "running away from home" (Szabolcsi 1983)) and the unmarked possessor (which can receive a structural case only in one certain position), relative to the position of the D head, which is the place of the definite article (but not that of the numeral *egy* 'one', which is held to serve as the indefinite article in traditional Hungarian grammars). In the last two decades, this model has been enriched due to the chiefly morphological observations of Bartos (2000a, b), based on Baker's Mirror Principle (Baker 1985). This approach underlies the seminal DP-model developed in É. Kiss (2000, 2002), too.

Our new data suggest that the Hungarian DP has an even finer structure than has been assumed so far. That is, the parallelism between clausal and nominal structure, partly conjectured by Abney (1987), who compared DP to IP, and Szabolcsi (1994), who compared DP to CP, is as complete in Hungarian as is generally hypothesized in the nowadays very popular "Split DP Hypothesis" (see, for instance, Giusti 1996, Ihsane and Puskás 2001, Giusti and Iovino 2014), according to which the left periphery in noun phrases can be split into operator and other functional shells essentially in the same way as the left periphery in clauses (in such cartographic descriptions as Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis).

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## 2. Narrow- and wide-scope readings in different deverbal nominal constructions in Hungarian

### (1) • The inheritance of information structure in the case of ÁS-nouns and SED-nouns

- a. Mindkét lányt meghívták a koncertre.  
 both girl.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl the concert.Sub  
 [BOTH\_GIRLS > INVITE]  
 ‘They invited both girls to the concert.’
- a’. Imit váratlanul érte  
 Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg  
 [mindkét lánynak]<sub>Theme</sub> a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.  
 both girl.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub  
 narrow-scope reading: [CATCH\_UNAWARES > BOTH\_GIRLS > INVITE]  
 ‘It caught Imi unawares that both girls had been invited to the concert.’  
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_GIRLS > CATCH\_UNAWARES > INVITE]  
 ‘In the case of both girls, it caught Imi unawares that they had been invited to the concert.’
- b. Mindkét lány meghívta Imit a koncertre.  
 both girl invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc the concert.Sub  
 [BOTH\_GIRLS > INVITE]  
 ‘Both girls invited Imi to the concert.’
- b’. Imit váratlanul érte  
 Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg  
 [mindkét lánynak]<sub>Agent</sub> a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.  
 both girl.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub  
 narrow-scope reading: \*[CATCH\_UNAWARES > BOTH\_GIRLS > INVITE]  
 Intended meaning: ‘It caught Imi unawares that both girls had invited him to the concert.’  
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_GIRLS > CATCH\_UNAWARES > INVITE]  
 ‘In the case of both girls, it caught Imi unawares that they had invited him to the concert.’

### (2) • The inheritance of information structure in the case of Ó-nouns and TPD-nouns:

- a. Letartóztatták [[mindkét hír] bemond-ó-i-t].  
 arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl both news announce-Ó-Poss.Pl-Acc  
 narrow-scope reading: [ARREST  $\supseteq$  [BOTH\_PIECES\_OF\_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]  
 ‘Those who announced *both pieces of news* were arrested.’  
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_PIECES\_OF\_NEWS > [ARREST  $\supseteq$  ANNOUNCE]]  
 ‘In the case of *both pieces of news*, those who announced either of them were arrested.’
- a’. <sup>2</sup>Csak [[mindkét hír] bemond-ó-i-t] tartóztatták le.  
 only both news announce-Ó-Poss.Pl-Acc arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl down  
 narrow-scope reading: [ARREST  $\equiv$  [BOTH\_PIECES\_OF\_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]  
 ‘Only those who announced *both pieces of news* were arrested.’  
 wide-scope reading: –
- b. Letartóztatták [[mindkét csatorna] bemond-ó-i-t].  
 arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl both channel announce-Ó-Poss.Pl-Acc  
 narrow-scope reading: \*[ARREST  $\supseteq$  [BOTH\_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCE]]  
 Intended meaning: ‘Those who work for *both channels* (at the same time) as announcers were arrested.’  
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_CHANNELS > ARREST > ANNOUNCE]  
 ‘In the case of *both channels*, those who work for either of them were arrested.’
- b’. \*Csak [[mindkét csatorna] bemond-ó-i-t] tartóztatták le.  
 only both channel announce-Ó-Poss.Pl-Acc arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl down  
 narrow-scope reading: \*[ARREST  $\equiv$  [BOTH\_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCE]]  
 Intended meaning: ‘Only those who work for *both channels* (at the same time) were arrested.’  
 wide-scope reading: –

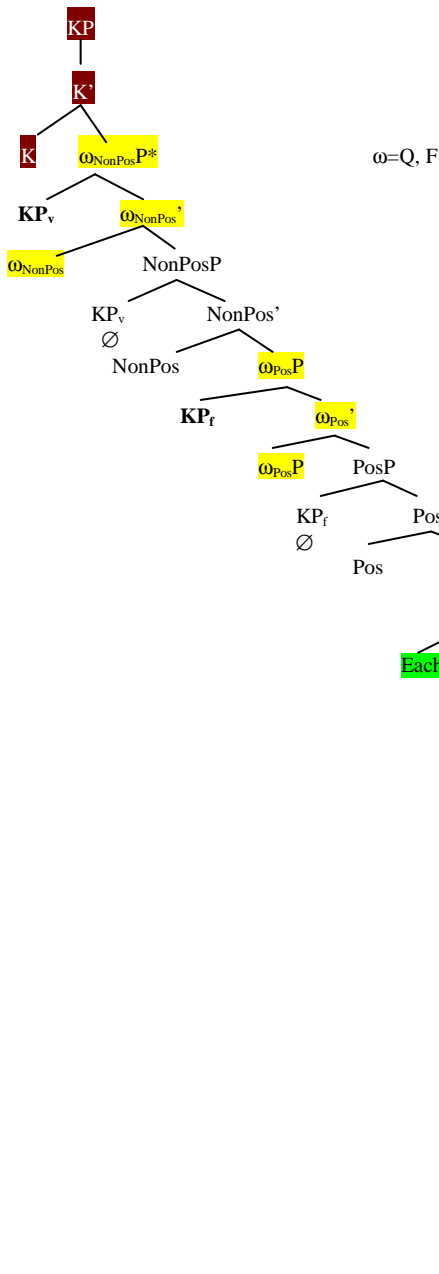
(3) • The inheritance of information structure in the case of T<sub>EV</sub>-nouns and T<sub>TH</sub>-nouns

- a. <sup>(2)</sup>Új korszak kezdődött [[*mindkét sziget*] felfedez-t-é-vel].  
new age begin.Past.3Sg both island discover-T-Poss.PI-Ins  
narrow-scope reading: <sup>?</sup>[NEW\_AGE\_BEGAN > BOTH\_ISLANDS > DISCOVER]  
'With *both islands* having been discovered, a new age began.'  
wide-scope reading: <sup>(2)</sup>[BOTH\_ISLANDS > NEW\_AGE\_BEGAN > DISCOVER]  
'In the case of *both islands*, a new age began when either of them had been discovered.'
- a'. <sup>(2)</sup>Csak [[*mindkét sziget*] felfedez-t-é-vel]  
only both island discover-T-Poss.PI-Ins  
kezdődött igazán új korszak a telepesek életében.  
begin.Past.3Sg really new age the settler.PI life.Poss.3Sg.Ine  
narrow-scope reading:  
<sup>(2)</sup>[ONLY\_[BOTH\_ISLANDS > DISCOVER] > NEW\_AGE\_BEGAN >]  
'A really new age began in the settlers' lives only when *both islands* had been discovered.'  
wide-scope reading: –
- b. Megnyerheti a versenyt [[*mindkét mentor*] protezsál-t-ja].  
win.Mod.DefObj.3Sg the competition.Acc both mentor favor-T-Poss.3Sg  
narrow-scope reading: <sup>??</sup>[MAY\_WIN  $\supseteq$  [BOTH\_MENTORS > FAVOR]]  
'One who is favored by *both mentors* at the same time has a chance to win the competition.'  
wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_MENTORS > [MAY\_WIN  $\supseteq$  FAVOR]]  
'In the case of *both mentors*, the person who has been favored by either of them has a chance to win the competition.'
- b'. <sup>(2)</sup>Csak [[*mindkét mentor*] protezsál-t-ja] nyerheti meg a versenyt.  
only both mentor favor-T-Poss.3Sg win.Mod.DefObj.3Sg perf the competition.Acc  
narrow-scope reading: <sup>(2)</sup>[MAY\_WIN  $\equiv$  [BOTH\_MENTORS > FAVOR]]  
Intended meaning: 'Only (the) one who is favored by *both mentors* at the same time has a chance to win the competition.'  
wide-scope reading: –
- c. Elítélték [[*mindkét ügy*] vádl-ott-já-t].  
convict.Past.DefObj.3Pl both case accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc  
~~narrow-scope reading: \*[CONVICT  $\supseteq$  [BOTH\_CASES > ACCUSE]]~~  
Intended meaning: 'The person who was an accused *in both cases* at the same time was convicted.'  
wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_CASES > [CONVICT  $\supseteq$  ACCUSE]]  
'In the case of *both cases*, the person who was an accused in either of them was convicted.'
- c'. \*Csak [[*mindkét ügy*] vádl-ott-já-t] ítélték el.  
only both case accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc convict.Past.DefObj.3Pl away  
~~narrow-scope reading: \*[CONVICT  $\equiv$  [BOTH\_CASES > ACCUSE]]~~  
Intended meaning: 'Only the person who was an accused *in both cases* at the same time was convicted.'  
wide-scope reading: –

(4) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK<sub>SED</sub>-nouns

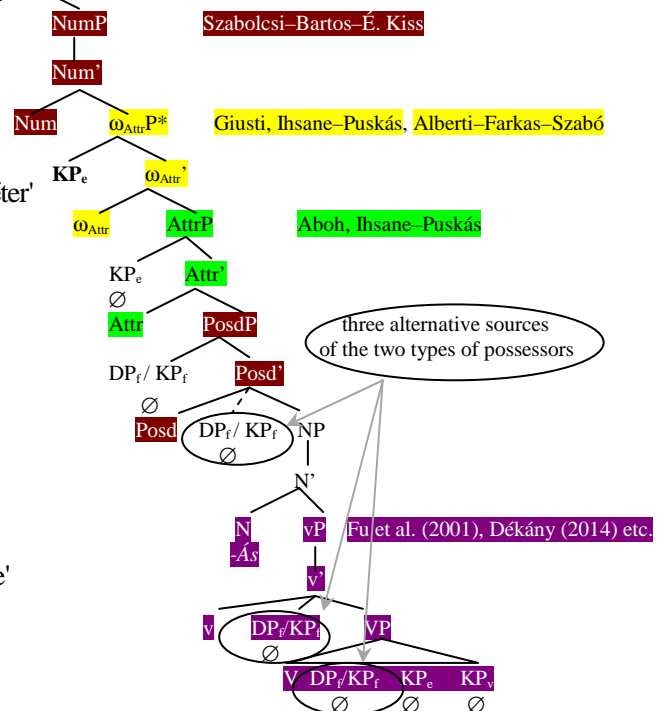
- a. A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel töltötte el  
the prime\_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away  
[[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja].  
*both coalition partner* constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg  
narrow-scope reading: <sup>?</sup>[FRIGHTEN > BOTH\_PARTNERS > MODIFY\_CONST.]  
'It frightened the prime minister that *both coalition partners* had the desire to modify the constitution.'  
wide-scope reading: <sup>✓</sup>[ BOTH\_PARTNERS > FRIGHTEN > MODIFY\_CONST.]  
'In the case of *both coalition partners*, it frightened the prime minister that they had the desire to modify the constitution.'
- a'. <sup>?</sup>Csak [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja]  
only *both coalition partner* constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg  
töltené el ijedséggel a miniszterelnököt.  
fill.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away fright.Ins the prime\_minister.Acc  
narrow-scope reading:  
<sup>?</sup>[ONLY\_[ BOTH\_PARTNERS > MODIFY\_CONST.] > FRIGHTEN]  
'Only the possibility that *both coalition partners* have the desire to modify the constitution would frighten the prime minister.'  
wide-scope reading: –
- b. A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel tölti el  
the prime\_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.DefObj.3Sg away  
[[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] örökös alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja].  
*both coalition partner* eternal constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg  
narrow-scope reading: <sup>?</sup>[FRIGHTEN > BOTH\_PARTNERS > MODIFY\_CONST.]  
'It frightens the prime minister that *both coalition partners* always have a desire to modify the constitution.'  
wide-scope reading: <sup>✓</sup>[ BOTH\_PARTNERS > FRIGHTEN > MODIFY\_CONST.]  
'In the case of *both coalition partners*, it frightens the prime minister that they always have a desire to modify the constitution.'
- b'. <sup>?</sup>Csak [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] örökös alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja]  
only *both coalition partner* eternal constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg  
töltené el ijedséggel a miniszterelnököt.  
fill.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away fright.Ins the prime\_minister.Acc  
narrow-scope reading:  
<sup>?</sup>[ONLY\_[ BOTH\_PARTNERS > MODIFY\_CONST.] > FRIGHTEN]  
'Only the possibility that *both coalition partners* always have a desire to modify the constitution would frighten the prime minister.'  
wide-scope reading: –

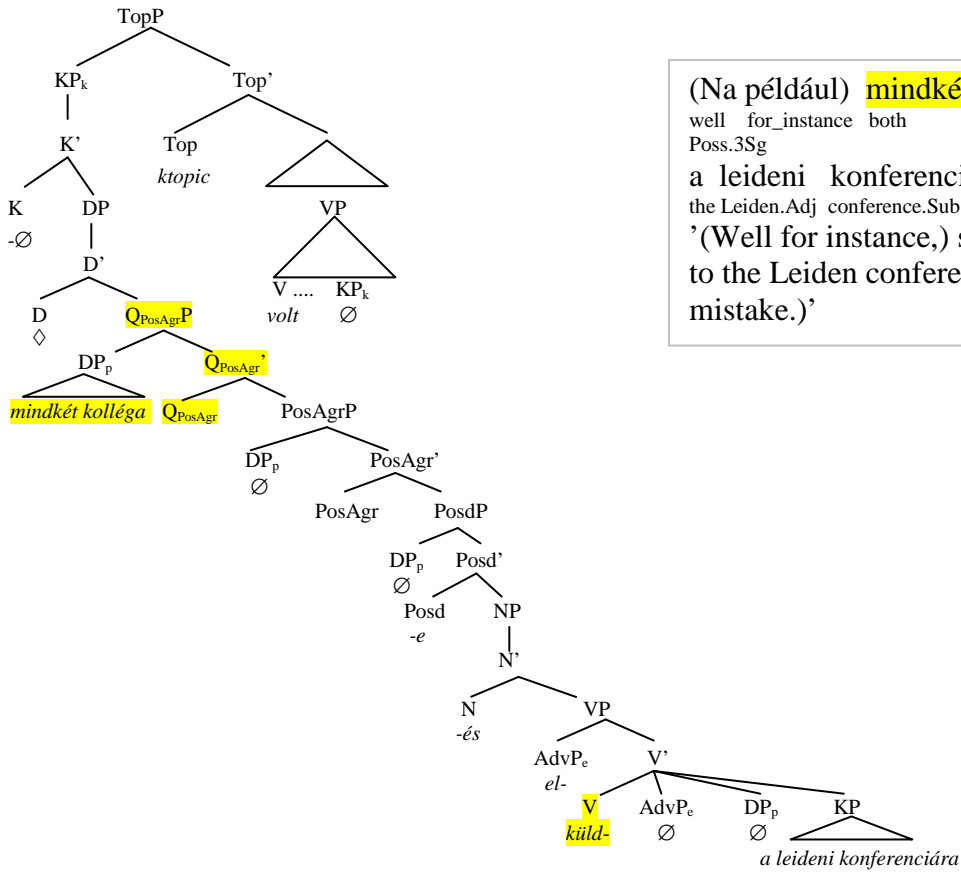
### 3. The integrated Hungarian DP structure



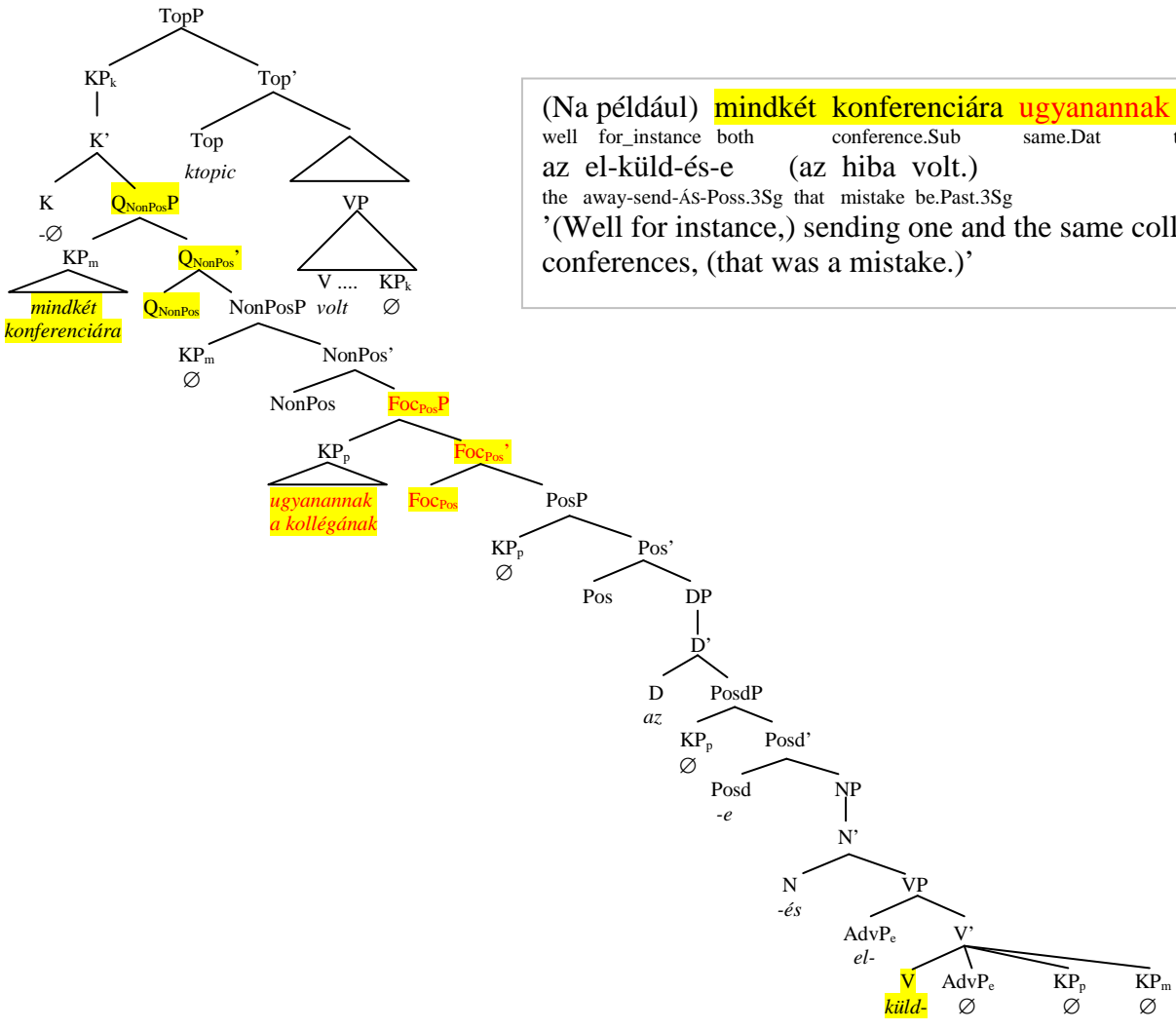
- a. *Péter felfedezi Dórit* 'Péter discovers Dóri'  
[<sub>VP</sub> v DP<sub>Ag</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]
- b. *Dóri felfedezése* 'discovering Dóri'  
[<sub>NP</sub> ÁS<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]
- b'. *A gyerekek montázscsinálásával* 'with the children making montages'  
[<sub>NP</sub> ÁS<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v DP<sub>Ag</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> DP<sub>Th</sub> V]]]
- b''. *a jelentős felfedezések* 'the seminal discoveries'  
[<sub>NP</sub> ÁS\*<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]
- b'''. *Turing felfedezése* 'Turing's discovery'  
[<sub>PosdP</sub> Posd DP [<sub>NP</sub> ÁS\*<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]]

- c. *Dóri felfedeztével* 'with Dóri discovered'  
[<sub>NP</sub> T<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]
- c'. *Péter tehetséges felfedezettje* 'the talented person discovered by Péter'  
[<sub>NP</sub> T<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v DP<sub>Ag</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]]
- c''. *az év felfedezettje* 'the discovered person of the year'  
[<sub>PosdP</sub> jA<sub>Posd</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> T\*<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]] DP]
- d. *a hír első bemondója* 'the first announcer of the piece of news'  
[<sub>NP</sub> Ó<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v DP<sub>Ag</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]]
- d'. *az M99 bemondója* 'the announcer of M99'  
[<sub>PosdP</sub> jA<sub>Posd</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> Ó\*<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v DP<sub>Ag</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>Th</sub>]]]] DP]
- e. *Ili leküzdhetetlen dolgozhatnékja* 'Ili's invincible urge to work'  
[<sub>NP</sub> HN<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v DP<sub>Ag</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V]]]
- e'. *Ili leküzdhetetlen tüsszöghetnékje* 'Ili's invincible urge to sneeze'  
[<sub>NP</sub> HN<sub>N</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> v DP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP<sub>i</sub>]]]



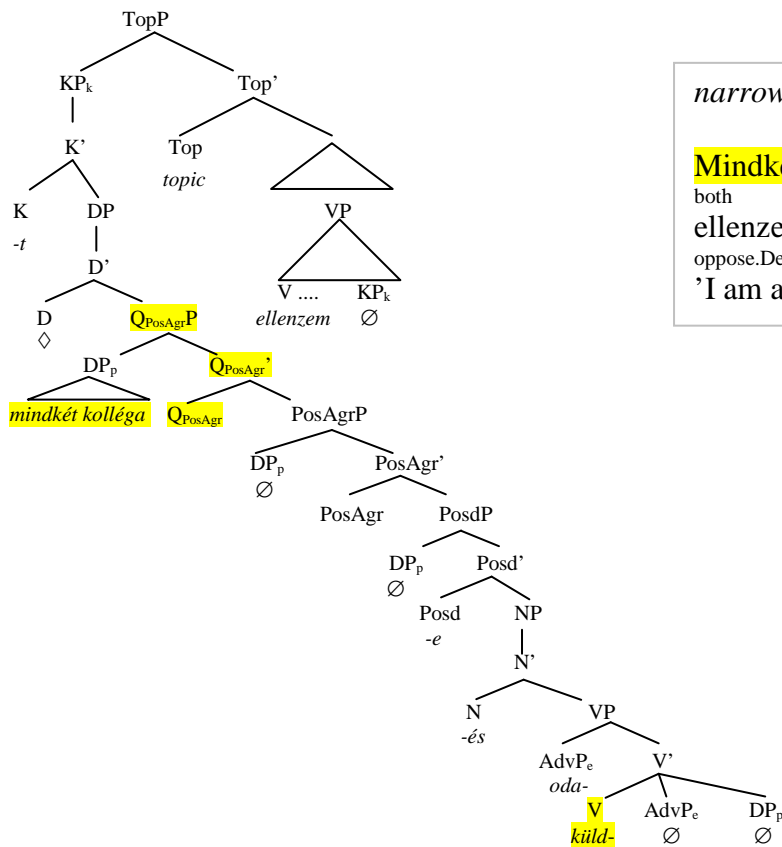


(Na például) **mindkét kolléga** el-küld-és-e  
 well for\_instance both colleague away-send-AS-Poss.3Sg  
 a leideni konferenciára (az hiba volt.)  
 the Leiden.Adj conference.Sub that mistake be.Past.3Sg  
 '(Well for instance,) sending both colleagues to the Leiden conference, (that was a mistake.)'



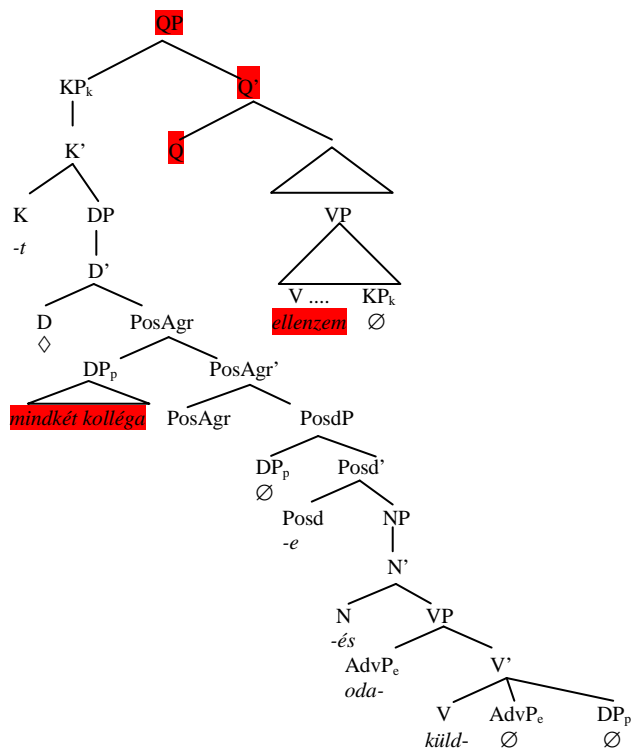
(Na például) **mindkét konferenciára ugyanannak a kollégának**  
 well for\_instance both conference.Sub same.Dat the colleague.Dat  
 az el-küld-és-e (az hiba volt.)  
 the away-send-AS-Poss.3Sg that mistake be.Past.3Sg  
 '(Well for instance,) sending one and the same colleague to both conferences, (that was a mistake.)'

#### 4. Ambiguous word orders and the Optional Definite Article (which functions as a barrier)



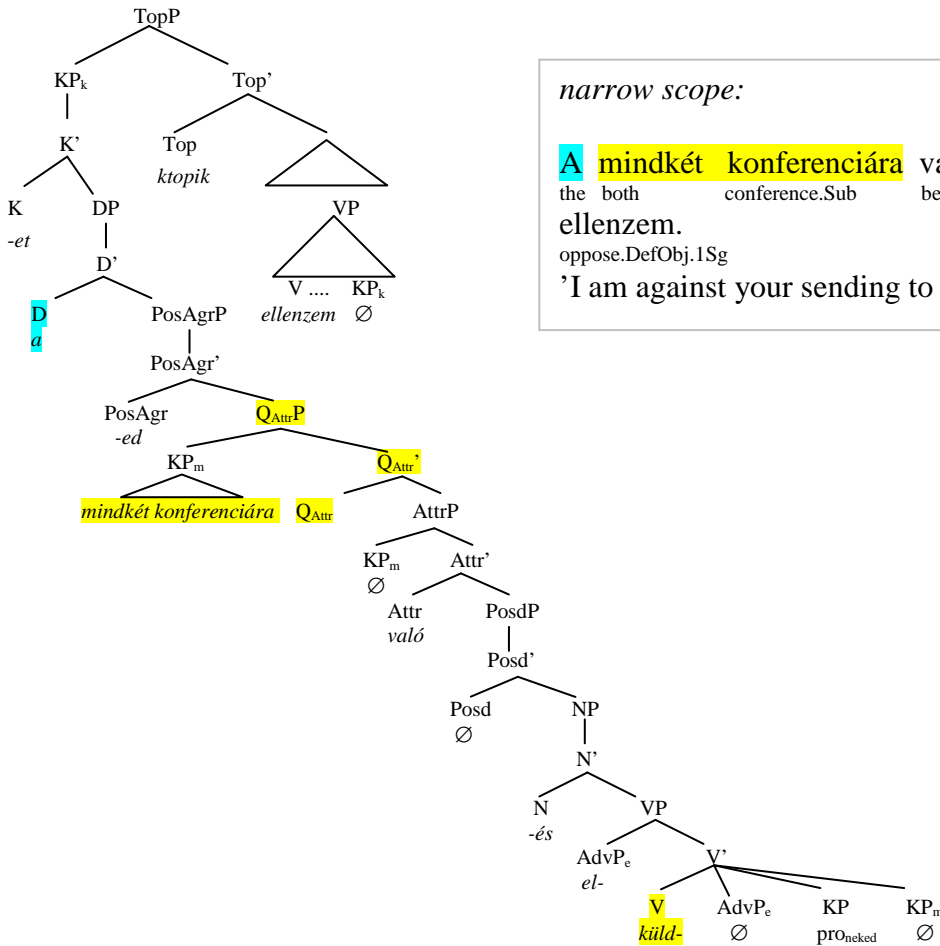
*narrow scope:*

**Mindkét kolléga** oda-küld-és-é-t  
 both colleague there-send-AS-Poss.3Sg-Acc  
 ellenzem.  
 oppose.DefObj.1Sg  
 'I am against both colleagues' sending there.'



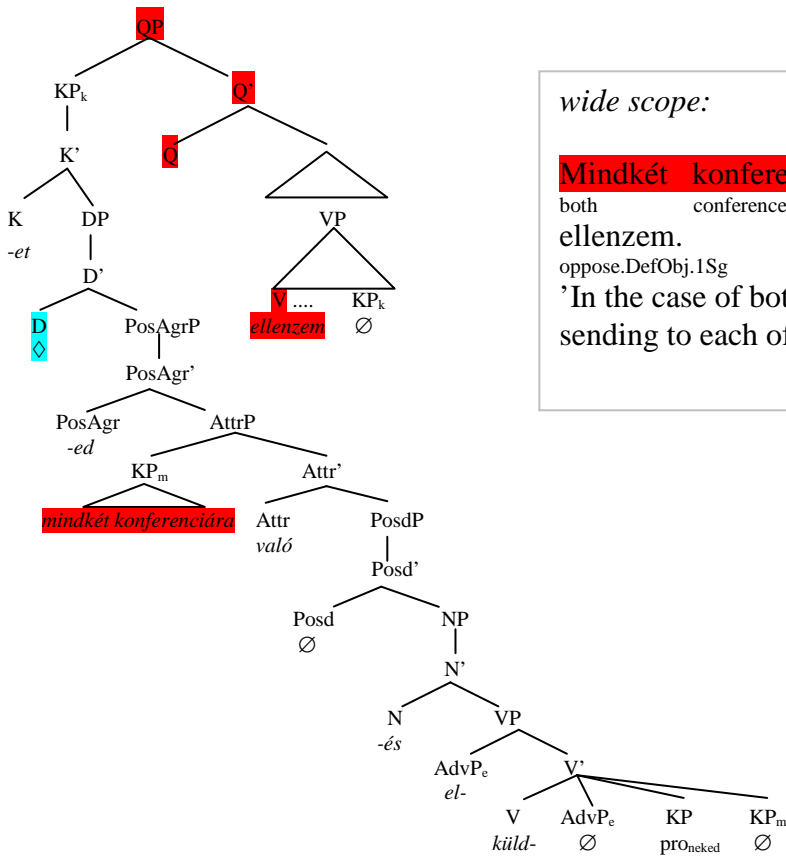
*wide scope:*

**Mindkét kolléga** oda-küld-és-é-t  
 both colleague there-send-AS-Poss.3Sg-Acc  
 ellenzem.  
 oppose.DefObj.1Sg  
 'In the case of both colleagues, I am against  
 the sending of each of them there.'



*narrow scope:*

**A mindkét konferenciára** való el-küld-és-ed-et  
 the both conference.Sub be.Part away-send-AS-Poss.2Sg-Acc  
 ellenzem.  
 oppose.DefObj.1Sg  
 'I am against your sending to both conferences.'

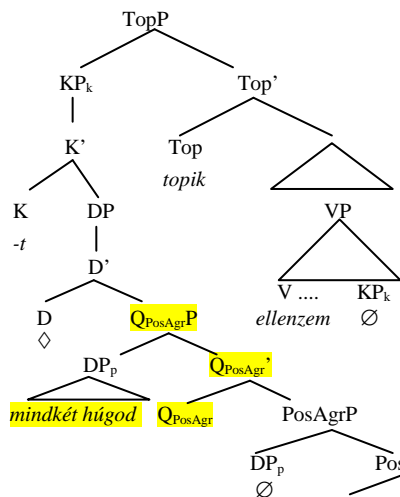


*wide scope:*

**Mindkét konferenciára** való el-küld-és-ed-et  
 both conference.Sub be.Part away-send-AS-Poss.2Sg-Acc  
 ellenzem.  
 oppose.DefObj.1Sg  
 'In the case of both conferences, I am against your  
 sending to each of them.'



## 5. Multiple ambiguity and mixed scopes



*narrow + narrow scope:*

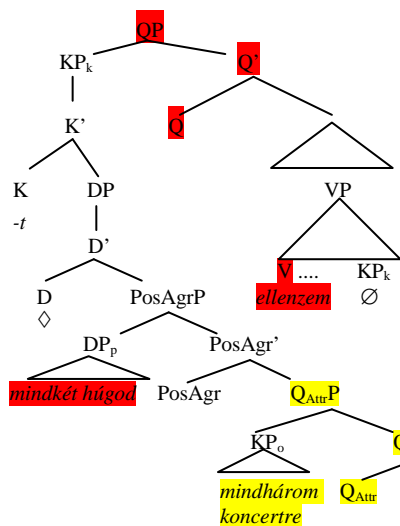
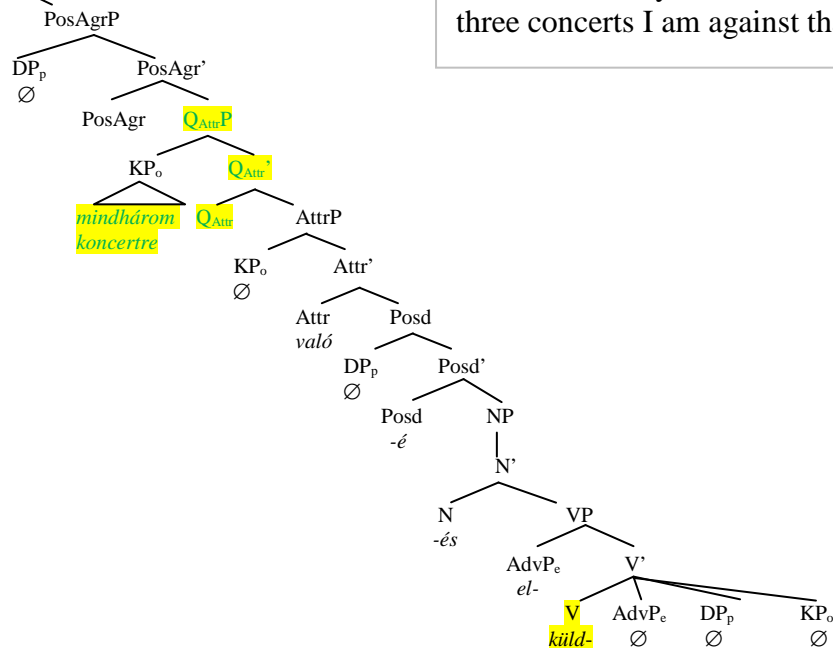
**Mindkét húgod** **mindhárom koncertre**

both sister.Poss.2Sg all\_the\_three concert.Sub

való el-küld-és-é-t ellenzem.

be.Part away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc oppose.DefObj.1Sg

‘As for both of your sisters’ sending to all the three concerts I am against that.’



*wide + narrow scope:*

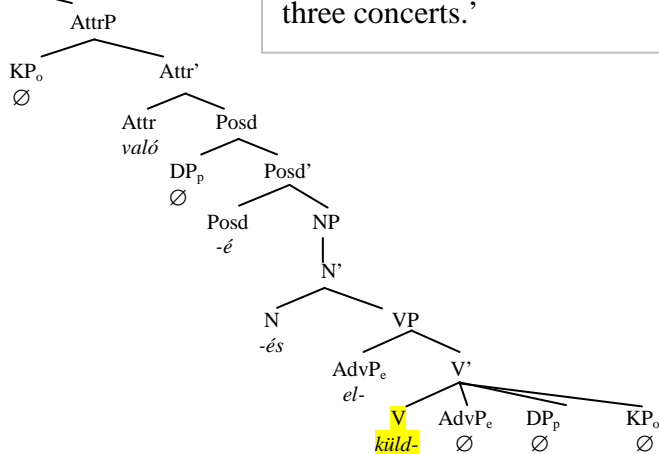
**Mindkét húgod** **mindhárom koncertre**

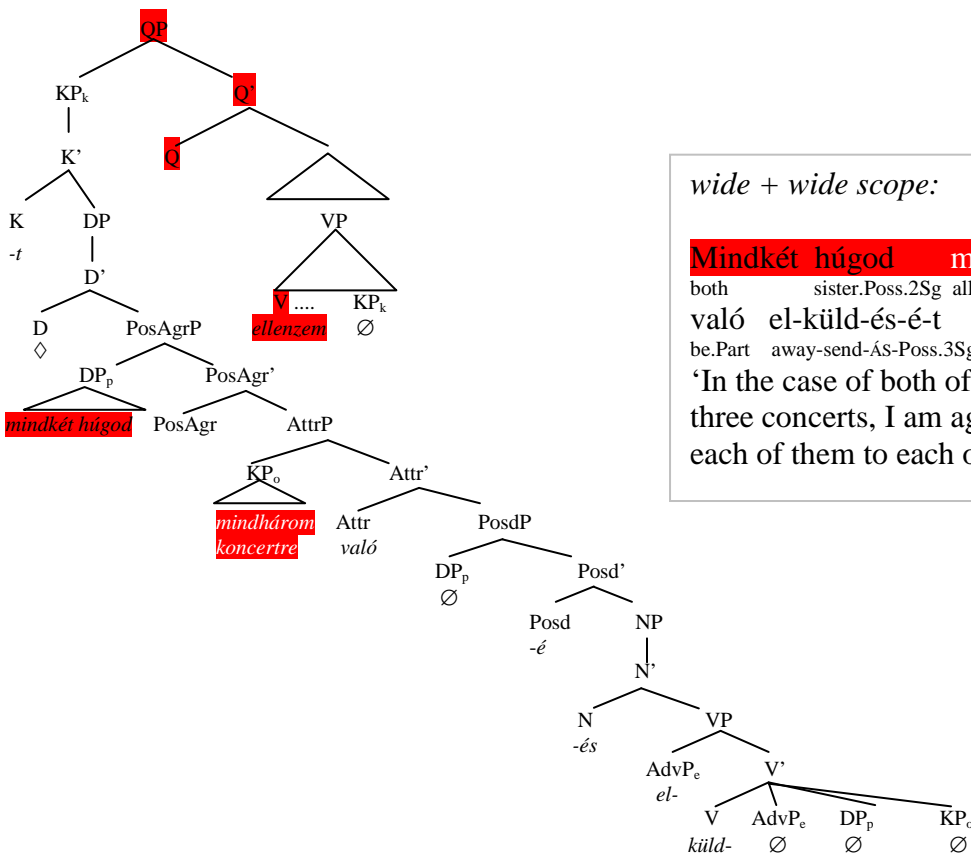
both sister.Poss.2Sg all\_the\_three concert.Sub

való el-küld-és-é-t ellenzem.

be.Part away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc oppose.DefObj.1Sg

‘In the case of both of your sisters, I am against the sending of each of them to all the three concerts.’





*wide + wide scope:*

**Mindkét húgod mindhárom koncertre**  
 both sister.Poss.2Sg all\_the\_three concert.Sub  
 való el-küld-és-é-t ellenzem.  
 be.Part away-send-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Acc oppose.DefObj.1Sg  
 ‘In the case of both of your sisters and all the three concerts, I am against the sending of each of them to each of the concerts.’

## 6. Conclusion

Giusti (1996) argues that “in Noun Phrases a FocP and/or a TopP are to be assumed at least for some languages.” See Cetnarowska 2014, Giusti and Iovino 2014, Ihsane and Puskás 2001, Mišmaš 2014, Caruso 2011.

Hungarian is such a language.

“Considering that in a very general sense, Noun Phrases are “defective” with respect to the functional properties found in clauses, we are not surprised to find out also the FocP and the TopP are not necessarily in present in Noun Phrases in all languages.”

The Hungarian NP is not defective at all due to the 2x2 operator zones (and especially due to the NonPosP), which makes it possible to realize all scope orders in spite of the fact that both possessor positions precede attributives.

“These two functional projections represent the “fine” structure of the DP, in the sense that Rizzi (1995) proposes for CPs. And, as a matter of fact, they are situated either immediately below or immediately above it.”

In Hungarian, both zones are present “in order to express all possible internal scope orders”, and all the 2x2 zones can be used to express not only internal but also external operators.

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