

# On copula-drop in Hungarian

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## 1 Introduction

There is a contrast between Hungarian predicational and specificational pseudoclefts (PPCs and SPCs, respectively) (see Higgins 1979, den Dikken 2006 for the distinction and differences between the two in English) with respect to the presence of the left-peripheral demonstrative pronoun *az* ‘that’.<sup>1</sup>

- In PPCs *az* is optional independently of the presence/absence of the copula, cf. (1) (for most speakers participating in our rating study).
- In SPCs, however, *az* is obligatory when the copula is absent, cf. (2). When the copula is overt, *az* is optional (for those speakers who allow *az* to drop in PPCs), cf. (44-b).

- (1) a. Tudom, hogy [(azok) akik segítenek nekünk], (azok) nagyon kedvesek.  
know.1SG that that.PL who.PL help.PL to.us those very kind.PL.  
‘I know that (those) who help us are very kind.’
- b. Tudom, hogy [(azok) akik segítettek nekünk], (azok) nagyon kedvesek voltak.  
know.1SG that that.PL who.pl helped.pl to.us those very kind.pl be.past.pl  
‘I know that (those) who helped us were very kind.’ [PPC]
- (2) a. Tudom, hogy [(az) aki mindenkinek segít], ?\*(az) MARI.  
know.1SG that that.SG who everyone.to helps that Mary  
‘I know that (the person) who helps everyone is Mary.’
- b. Tudom, hogy [(az) aki mindenkinek segített], (az) MARI volt.  
know.1SG that that.SG who everyone.to helped that Mary was  
‘I know that (the person) who helped everyone was Mary.’ [SPC]

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<sup>1</sup>Note: Specificational sentences of the type in (2) can be considered to be the Hungarian counterpart of either English SPCs or it-clefts. We will refer to them here as SPCs.

**Proposal:**

- The interaction in (1) vs. (2) falls out from a general account of copula drop.
- The main ingredients of our account:
  - Stray Affix Filter (Lasnik, 1981, 1995)
  - $\phi$  of T can be morphologically hosted only by an element
    - \* that is phonologically overt, and
    - \* that syntactically shares T's  $\phi$ .
- Roadmap:

Section 2: Copula-drop in Hungarian: The data to be accounted for

Section 3: Our proposal

Section 4: Applying our proposal to the puzzle in (1) and (2)

Section 5: Extension of the account to other specificational copular clauses with NP/AP predicates

Section 6: Conclusion

## 2 Copula-drop in Hungarian

### 2.1 Copula drop

- In Hungarian copular clauses with nominal and adjectival predicates, the copula is null in 3rd Person Indicative Present Tense (=3IndPres), see (3)-(4) vs. the past tense examples in (5)-(6) vs. the 2nd person in (7).

- |     |   |     |   |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| (3) | Mari nagyon okos.<br>Mary very smart<br>'Mary is very smart.'           | (4) | Mari jó orvos.<br>Mary good doctor.<br>'Mary is a good doctor.'           |
| (5) | Mari nagyon okos volt.<br>Mary very smart was<br>'Mary was very smart.' | (6) | Mari jó orvos volt.<br>Mary good doctor was.<br>'Mary was a good doctor.' |
| (7) | Ti okosak *(vagytok)<br>you.PL smart.PL be.2PL<br>'You are very smart'  |     |   |

- Other languages show similar patterns of copula drop.
  - Chichewa: opposition between COP with NP/AdjP and a verb with PP. In contrast to NP and AdjP predicates, a verb is required for PP predicates (cf. Baker 2003).

- (8) a. M-kango \*(ndi) w-a u-kali.  
 3-lion PRED 3-Assoc 3-fierce  
 ‘The lion is fierce.’  
 b. M-kango \*(ndi) m-lenje.  
 3-lion PRED 1-hunter  
 ‘The lion is a hunter.’

– Russian: copula drop in present tense (all persons); examples from Stassen (2003)

- (9) a. Ta stena vysokaja  
 that.FEM.SG wall high.FEM.SG.NOM  
 ‘That wall is high’ (Raptschinsky 1946:15)  
 b. Ona vrač  
 3SG.FEM.NOM doctor.sg.nom  
 ‘She’s a doctor’ (Fennell 1961:288)  
 c. On tut  
 3SG.MASC.NOM here  
 ‘He is here’ (Fennell 1961:6)

- Further languages: Maltese, Mordvin (Finno-Ugric), Yakut (Altaic), Hebrew (Semitic), Igbo (South African) Quechua (South-American), cf. Stassen 2003, 2008

## 2.2 Copula-drop as zero copula

- Zero has often been analyzed as a morpheme participating in oppositions (cf. Jakobson 1984)
- Sebeok (1943, 320) on Hungarian ‘nominal’ sentences: “This sort of sentence or phrase contains a zero sign, which exists by virtue of its contrasting multidimensionally with signs expressing certain tense, mode, person, aspect distinctions”
- Especially comparative analyses assume a zero copula verb in these cases (cf. Stassen 2008; Dalmi 2010 and references therein)

## 2.3 Copula-drop as copula support

- Proposals by Dik (1980, 1983, 1997); Hengeveld (1990); Ouhalla (1991): The copula is required to support verbal inflection.
- Transformational accounts (where an affix may be generated separately from the stem):<sup>2</sup>
  - A general Stray Affix Filter:  
 Affixes need to be morphologically hosted by a stem.
  - Copula is *inserted* (only) in order to morphologically host a verbal inflection.

<sup>2</sup>‘Copula support’ accounts typically do not make the assumption that copula-drop sentences contain a zero copula verb. For them, copula-drop sentences contain no copula at all. This is because then the marked status of the presence of the copula, compared to its absence, is derived naturally.

- É. Kiss (2002) and Kádár (2006) adopt this treatment of copula-drop in Hungarian.
- É. Kiss (2002):
  - Present.3SG is phonologically zero, hence it doesn't need a morphological host.  
→ No copula-support is triggered.
  - Present.3PL is not phonologically zero, but it is expressed on the nominal/adjectival predicate (= *-k*, in (10))  
→ No copula-support is triggered.

(10) A lányok fáradtak.  
the girl.PL tired.PL  
'The girls are tired'

## 2.4 Some further contrasts to account for

- (3)-(6): the copula is null in 3rd Person Indicative Present Tense
- Furthermore, the copula is present when combining with a range of other types of elements:

(11) János a ház mögött \*(van).  
John the house behind is  
'John is behind the house.'

(12) A fiúk a ház mögött  
the boys the house behind  
\*(vannak).  
are  
'The boys are behind the house.'

(13) Van egy légy a levesben.  
is a fly the soup.in  
'There is a fly in the soup.'

(14) Van igazság.  
is truth  
'There is truth.'

(15) Köd \*(van).  
fog is  
'There is fog.'

(16) Jó napom van.  
good day.POSS.1SG is  
'I am having a good day.'

(17) Péter rosszul \*(van).  
Peter badly is  
'Peter is sick'

(18) A táska bőr-ből \*(van).  
the bag leather-out.of is  
'The bag is made of leather.'

- Examples (11) - (18) do not find a straightforward explanation in É. Kiss's proposal.
- Categorical distinctions cannot be explained: PP-s and AdvP-s above cannot support the verbal inflection in T.
- The phonological overtiness of the number morpheme is not decisive, cf. (11), (15)
- An account of copula drop in Hungarian needs to account for
  - Person contrasts
  - Tense contrasts
  - Categorical contrasts

### 3 Proposal

#### 3.1 Assumptions on copula structures

- We adopt a Small Clause analysis of predicational ‘be’ sentences (see originally Stowell (1981)); for concreteness we adopt a PredP analysis (in the sense of Bowers 1993)
- For concreteness, we take the view that the copula is a T element, cf. É. Kiss (2002); Kádár (2006) for Hungarian;
- Verbal Modifiers are raised to Spec,TP, cf. Horvath (1995); É. Kiss (2008); Surányi (2009); Surányi (2012)

(19)  $[_{TP} VM [_{T} BE ] [_{PredP} DP_{Subject} Pred t_{VM} ] ]$

#### 3.2 The core idea

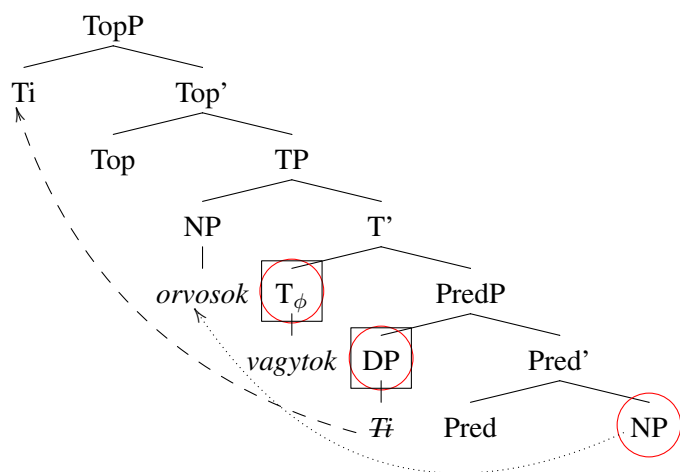
- Copula-drop has complex licensing requirements involving morphological, phonological and syntactic conditions:

(20) Licensing conditions of copula drop in Hungarian

- As a reflection of the core conception of SAF,  $\phi$  features in T require a morphological host.
- The host of T’s  $\phi$  must:
  - be phonologically non-null
  - syntactically share T’s  $\phi$  (this may happen either by virtue of entering Agree(ment) with T or by virtue of lexicalizing T)

(21)  $[_{TopP} Ti [_{TP} [_{NP} orvosok] [_{T+\phi} vagytok ] [_{PredP} \bar{T}i Pred ([_{NP} orvosok]) ] ] ]$

(22)



- Movements:

- The SC predicate is raised to the ‘Verbal Modifier’ position (here: Spec,TP).

- The SC subject may be raised to a Topic position.
- Agree relations:
  - T Agrees with the SC subject in  $\phi$ , and licenses Nominative Case on it *in situ*.
  - T Agrees with the SC predicate in [Num].

### 3.3 Accounting for the contrasts

#### 3.3.1 Person contrasts

- 1st/2nd person subjects require a copula even in Pres.Ind:

(23) Ti okosak \*(vagytok)  
you.PL smart.PL be.2PL

→ 2nd person features do not enter Agree with the SC predicate, and would remain stranded without copula-support:

(24) [<sub>TopP</sub> Ti [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> okos-ak(=PL)] T+vagy-tok(=be-2PL) [<sub>PredP</sub> (Ti) Pred (<sub>AdjP</sub> okos-ak(=PL))] ] ] ]

- 3rd person T-s do not require copula support:

(25) Ő okos.  
(s)he smart  
'(S)he is smart.'

- 3rd person in T is apparently exempted from the SAF.

Two options:

1. “3rd person” is not a person, but the lack of person.  
See Benveniste (1966); Harley and Ritter (2002); Anagnostopoulou (2005); Adger and Harbour (2007); Bejar and Rezac (2003); Baker (2008), among others (see Benincà and Poletto 2005; Nevins 2007, for criticism of this view).
2. Syntactic 3rd person is not expressed as a morpheme, but only as a syntactic feature.

(26) [<sub>TopP</sub> Ő [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> okos-0(=SG)] T-0(=SG) [<sub>PredP</sub> (Ti) Pred (<sub>AdjP</sub> okos-0(=SG))] ] ] ]

#### 3.3.2 Tense contrasts

- Past vs Present tense (as well as Subjunctive vs. Indicative):

(27) a. Mari okos.  
Mary smart  
b. Mari okos \*(volt).  
Mary smart was

(28) [<sub>TopP</sub> Mari [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> okos-0(=SG)] T+volt(=COP.PAST.SG) [<sub>PredP</sub> (Ti) Pred (<sub>AdjP</sub> okos-0(=SG))] ] ] ]

- PAST would be stranded without copula-support.

### 3.3.3 Categorical contrasts

- If the SC subject is third person (whether SG or PL) indicative, there is a contrast between NP/AdjP SC predicates vs. PP SC predicates:

(29) A szomszédok [kedves emberek] / [nagyon csendesek].  
 the neighbors nice person.PL / very quiet.PL  
 ‘The neighbors are nice people / very quiet.’

(30) A szomszédok [<sub>PP</sub> a ház mögött] \*(vannak).  
 the neighbors the house behind are  
 ‘The neighbors are behind the house.’

→ Here T’s  $\phi$  is just [Num], since 3rd person is the lack of person features (or is not morphemic).<sup>3</sup>

– NP/AdjP, cf. (29):

The NP/AdjP SC predicate Agrees with the subject in its [Num], by virtue of which, T Agrees with the SC predicate in its  $\phi$  feature set, satisfying the syntactic feature-sharing condition on the host of the affix in T.

→ no copula-support is required

– PP, cf. (30):

The PP SC predicate does not Agree with T in its [Num] (either P has no [Num], or if it does have [Num] features (i.e., if it is an inflected P), those are checked internally to the PP).

→ copula-insertion is triggered in T

The copula syntactically shares T’s  $\phi$  trivially: it comes to bear T’s  $\phi$  by getting inserted into T.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.3.4 Existential, environmental, possessive constructions

Existential, environmental, possessive constructions also require the presence of the copula.

- Existentials, cf. Freeze 1992;

(31) [<sub>FocP</sub> is [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> is ] [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> truth ] Pred LOC ]]

- Environmental Constructions, cf. (15); cf. Kádár (2006)

(32) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> Fog ] [<sub>T</sub> is ] [<sub>PredP</sub> ~~fog~~ Pred LOC ]]

- Possessive Constructions, cf. (16): Kayne 1984 (and references therein);

(33) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> Good day.POSS.1SG ] [<sub>T</sub> is ] [<sub>PredP</sub> ~~good day.POSS.1SG~~ Pred LOC ]]

→ All of these constructions in fact contain a silent PP;

Thus, T does not agree with the predicate in [Num], the predicate cannot host that feature and copula support is required.

<sup>3</sup>[NUM] in Hungarian then is genuine number, cf. Dayal (2011), contra Farkas and de Swart (2003).

<sup>4</sup>Analyzing the copula as T is not central to our account. If we take the copula to be V, it will share T’s  $\phi$  under Agree with T. (Hegedűs in prep. takes the copula to be generated in V in order to unify it with the existential use of *van*, and to derive the movement of the predicate in a low position.)

### 3.3.5 Copula insertion as last resort

- Why is there no copula-insertion with ‘nominal’ NP/AdjP SC predicates?

(34) \*Mari okos van.  
Mary smart is

→ Because copula-insertion is a costly last resort operation.

- But then why is there no copula-insertion in specificational pseudoclefts like (2) or (35)?

(35) a. \*?Tudom, hogy akit legjobban szeretsz hallgatni, Mozart.  
know.1SG that who.ACC most like.2SG listen.INF Mozart  
‘I know (the person) who like to listen to most is Mozart.’  
b. \*\*Tudom, hogy akit legjobban szeretsz hallgatni, Mozart van.  
know.1SG that who.ACC most like.2SG listen.INF Mozart is

→ Because they can be salvaged by cheaper means:

(36) Tudom, hogy akit legjobban szeretsz hallgatni, az Mozart.  
know.1SG that who.ACC most like.2SG listen.INF that Mozart  
‘I know that (the person) who you like to listen to most is Mozart.’

- As we will argue in the section 4, having the demonstrative pronoun in (36) does not incur a cost in terms of syntactic economy because, unlike the copula, it is not inserted as a last resort. Instead, it is a pro-predicate base-generated in the predicate position of the Small Clause of the copular sentence, which may or may not be phonologically overt.

### 3.4 Apparent lack of copula support

- Further examples with copula drop:

(37) Itt (van) a vonat. (38) A kulcs a helyén (van).  
here is the train the key the place.its.on is  
‘The trains is here.’ ‘The key is in its place.’

- Within this set of examples, in contrast to the ones above, the sentence forms with no overt copula are in (free) alternation with forms containing the overt copula.

- These sentence types share the common property that their predicate is a locative PP.

→ Therefore, we tentatively suggest that in these cases the copula is syntactically present, but gets elided.

- This is supported by the fact that the form that is used to negate this sentence type: they are negated with the negative copula NINCS, rather than the sentential negation particle NEM.



- (39) János nem / \*nincs orvos.  
John not / NEG.BE doctor  
'John is not a doctor.'
- (40) A kulcs nincs / \*nem a helyén.  
the key NEG.BE / not the place.its.on  
'The key is not in its place.'

- Furthermore: The conditions of this deletion, which we won't discuss or try to account for here, are apparently rather complex:

- (41) Itt \*(vannak) a fiúk.  
here are the boys  
'The boys are here.'
- (42) A kulcs a legjobb helyen \*(van).  
the key the best place.on is  
'The key is at the best place.'

## 4 The Interaction of DEM and COP in Pseudoclefts

We started out from the observations that:

- in PPCs the demonstrative pronoun is optional (though a preferred option for some speakers) independently of the presence of the verbal copula,

while

- in SPCs the demonstrative is obligatory when the verbal copula is absent, but continues to be optional when the copula is present.

- (43) a. Tudom, hogy [(azok) akik segítenek nekünk], (azok) nagyon kedvesek.  
know.1SG that that.PL who.PL help.PL to.us those very kind.PL.  
'I know that (those) who help us are very kind.'
- b. Tudom, hogy [(azok) akik segítettek nekünk], (azok) nagyon kedvesek voltak.  
know.1SG that that.PL who.pl helped.pl to.us those very kind.pl be.past.pl  
'I know that (those) who helped us were very kind.'
- (44) a. Tudom, hogy [(az) aki mindenkinek segít], ?\*(az) MARI.  
know.1SG that that.SG who everyone.to helps that Mary  
'I know that (the person) who helps everyone is Mary.'
- b. Tudom, hogy [(az) aki mindenkinek segített], (az) MARI volt.  
know.1SG that that.SG who everyone.to helped that Mary was  
'I know that (the person) who helped everyone was Mary.'

The structure of PPCs like (43) is identical to that of ordinary predicational copular clauses, whence our account extends to them:

- (45) a. Tudom, hogy [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (azok) akik segítettek nekünk]  
 know.1SG that that.PL.NOM who.PL.NOM helped to.us  
 [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek] [<sub>T</sub> voltak ] [<sub>PredP</sub> (~~[<sub>FR</sub> ...]~~)] Pred  
 very kind.PL be.PAST.PL  
 (~~[<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek]~~)] ] ] ]
- b. Tudom, hogy [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (azok) akik segítettek nekünk]  
 know.1SG that that.PL.NOM who.PL.NOM helped to.us  
 [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek] [<sub>T</sub> ] [<sub>PredP</sub> (~~[<sub>FR</sub> ...]~~)] Pred  
 very kind.PL  
 (~~[<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek]~~)] ] ] ]

- When left-peripheral ‘az’ appears in PPC, it
  - occupies a Topic position (É. Kiss 2002, 1987, Lipták 2011)
  - is not morphosyntactically invariant, it has alternants like *azok* ‘those’, *ez* ‘this’, *ezek* ‘these’, (46)

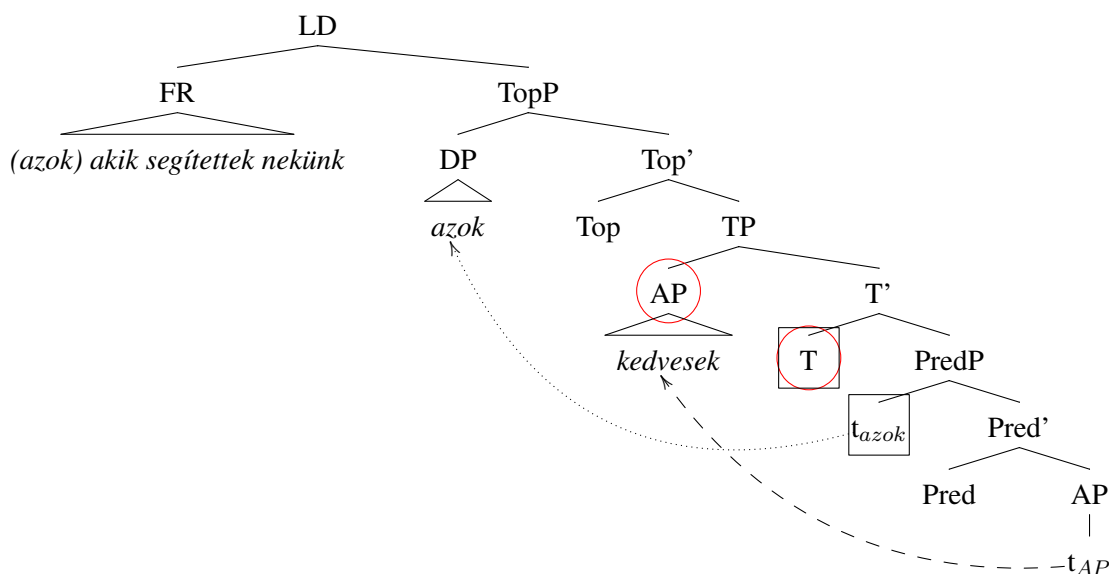
(46) Ez a hipotézis ez megkérdőjelezhetetlen.  
 this the hypothesis this unquestionable  
 ‘This hypothesis is unquestionable.’

- (47) a. Tudom, hogy [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (azok) akik segítettek nekünk]  
 know.1SG that that.PL.NOM who.PL.NOM helped to.us  
 [<sub>TopP</sub> azok ] [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek] [<sub>T</sub> voltak ] [<sub>PredP</sub> (azok)] Pred  
 that.PL very kind.PL be.PAST.PL  
 (~~[<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek]~~)] ] ] ] ]
- b. Tudom, hogy [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (azok) akik segítettek nekünk]  
 know.1SG that that.PL.NOM who.PL.NOM helped to.us  
 [<sub>TopP</sub> azok ] [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek] [<sub>T</sub> ] [<sub>PredP</sub> (azok)] Pred  
 that.PL very kind.PL  
 (~~[<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek]~~)] ] ] ] ]

- Given this analysis of PPC with *az* in topic, we can hypothesize an alternative analysis of PPCs without left-peripheral *az*: the same as (47) but with zero DEM (see É. Kiss 1987):

- (49) a. Tudom, hogy [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (azok) akik segítettek nekünk]  
 know.1SG that that.PL.NOM who.PL.NOM helped to.us  
 [<sub>TopP</sub> DEM ] [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek] [<sub>T</sub> voltak ]  
 DEM.PL.NOM very kind.PL be.PAST.PL  
 [<sub>PredP</sub> (DEM)] Pred (~~[<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek]~~)] ] ] ] ]

(48)



- b. Tudom, hogy [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (azok) akik segítettek nekünk] [<sub>TopP</sub> DEM [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek ] [<sub>T</sub> ] [<sub>PredP</sub> DEM.PL.NOM very kind.PL (DEM) Pred (<sub>AdjP</sub> nagyon kedvesek) ] ] ] ]

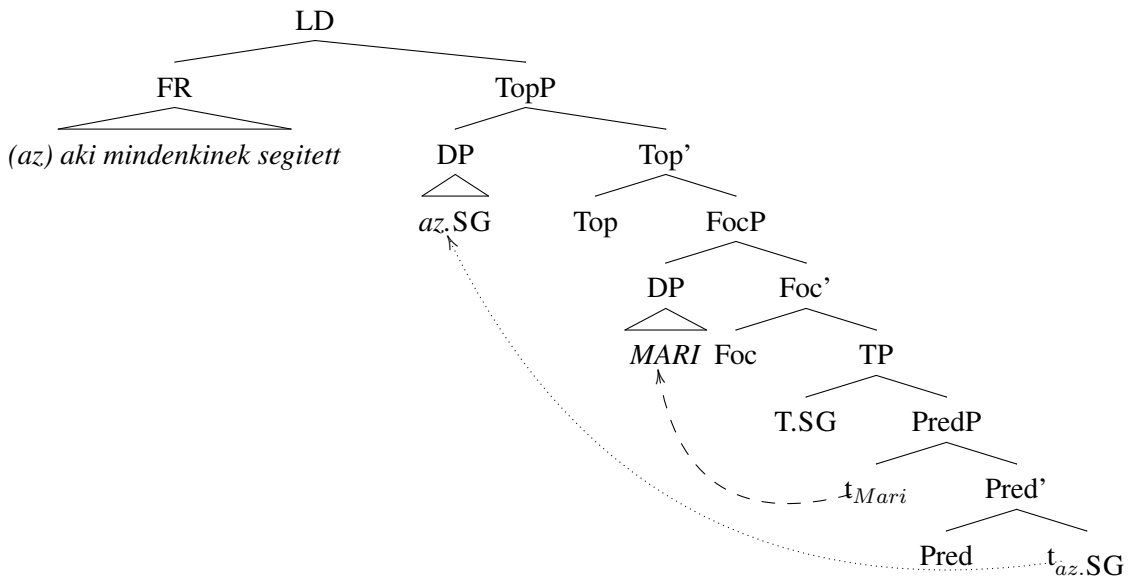
- We adopt this analysis for sentences without an overt *az*.
- The structure of SPCs like (44):  
Our assumptions:
  - Like PPCs, SPCs also involve a Small Clause predication.
  - In difference to PPCs, in SPCs:
    - > the Free Relative is the SC predicate, while the pivot (counterweight) is the SC subject
    - > the pivot raises to focus position
    - > the Free Relative is left dislocated.

- (50) a. Tudom, hogy [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (az) aki mindenkinek segített] know.1sg that that.SG who.SG everyone.to helped [<sub>TopP</sub> az/DEM Top [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Mari] Foc [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> volt ] [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Mary.SG.NOM be.PAST.SG (Mari)] Pred (az/DEM) ] ] ] ]

- b. Tudom, hogy [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>FR</sub> (az) aki mindenkinek segített] know.1sg that that.SG who.SG everyone.to helped segített] [<sub>TopP</sub> \*(az) Top [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Mari] Foc [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> ] [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Mary.SG.NOM

(Mari)] Pred (az ) ] ] ] ]

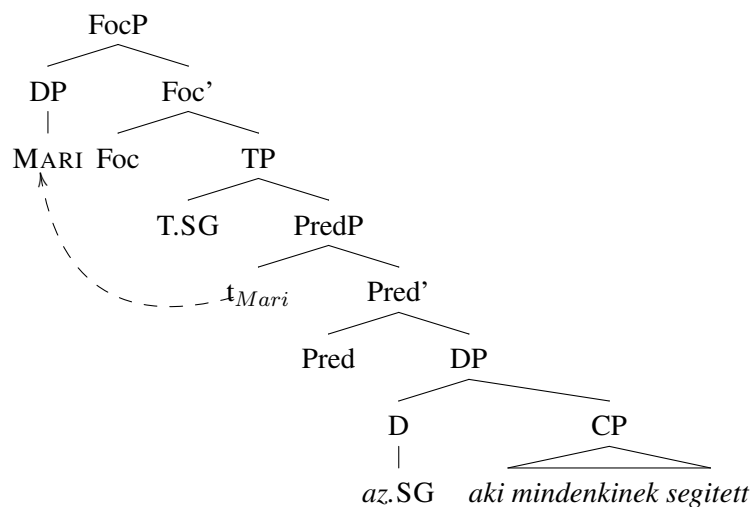
(51) (az) aki mindenkinek segített az MARI



- The appearance of ‘az’ shows a similar pattern after the verb:

(52) a. Tudom, hogy MARI volt (az), aki mindenkinek segített.  
 know.1SG that Mary be.PAST.SG that who everyone.to helped  
 ‘I know (the person) who helped everyone was Mary.’  
 b. Tudom, hogy MARI \*(az) aki mindenkinek segít.  
 know.1SG that Mary that who everyone.to helps  
 ‘I know (the person) who helps everyone is Mary.’

(53) MARI \*(az) aki mindenkinek segít.



- Post-verbal *az* heads a complex DP (Kenesei 1994), also containing a CP:

(54) [<sub>DP</sub> *az* [<sub>CP</sub> *aki* *mindenkinek* *segít* ] ]  
 that who everyone.to helps

- This DP functions as the predicate of the SC.

→ The demonstrative must be overt in order to support [Num] of T. Phonological overt-ness is required of the morphological host of affixal T.

## 5 More on specificational copular clauses with NP/AdjP predicates

- (55) a. *Okos (az) JÁNOS volt, ügyes (az) PÉTER volt.*  
 smart that John was skillful that Peter was  
 ‘It was John who was smart, and Peter who was clever.’  
 b. *Orvos (az) JÁNOS volt, ügyvéd (az) PÉTER volt.*  
 doctor that John was lawyer that Peter was  
 ‘It was John who was a doctor and Peter who was a lawyer.’
- (56) a. *Okos \*(az) János, ügyes \*(az) Péter.*  
 smart that John skillful that Peter  
 ‘It is John who is smart and Peter who is Peter.’  
 b. *Orvos \*(az) János, ügyvéd \*(az) Péter.*  
 doctor that John lawyer that Peter  
 ‘It is John who is a doctor and Peter who is a lawyer.’

Analysis of (55):

- bare NPs and AdjPs cannot occupy a Topic position
- nevertheless, they can be LD-ed
- assuming LD to be base-generation, the SC predicate can only be an overt or null demonstrative:

(57) [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *Orvos*] / [<sub>AdjP</sub> *Okos*] [<sub>TopP</sub> *az(Num)/DEM(Num)* Top [<sub>FocP</sub> *János* Foc [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> *volt(Num)*] [<sub>PredP</sub> (*János(Num)*) Pred [*az(Num)/DEM(Num)*] ]]] ] ]

- When the demonstrative is null, [Num] on T remains a stray affix  
 ⇒ the demonstrative must be phonologically overt:

(58) a. \* [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *Orvos*] / [<sub>AdjP</sub> *Okos*] [<sub>TopP</sub> *DEM(Num)* Top [<sub>FocP</sub> *János* Foc [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> *Num*] [<sub>PredP</sub> (*János(Num)*) Pred [*DEM(Num)*] ]]] ] ]  
 b. <sup>OK</sup> [<sub>LD</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *Orvos*] / [<sub>AdjP</sub> *Okos*] [<sub>TopP</sub> *az(Num)* Top [<sub>FocP</sub> *János* Foc [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> *Num*] [<sub>PredP</sub> (*János(Num)*) Pred [*az(Num)*] ]]] ] ]

1. Focusing the predicate is possible.

- (59) a. ORVOS János, nem ÜGYVÉD.  
 doctor John not lawyer  
 ‘John is DOCTOR and not a LAWYER.’  
 b. OKOS János, nem ÜGYES.  
 smart John not lawyer  
 ‘John is SMART and not SKILLFUL.’

- As a pre-verbal focus, the AdjP/bare NP is part of the clause, base-generated as the SC predicate and entering Agree with T, whose [Num] it thereby comes to share.<sup>5</sup>

- (60) Az igazgató János  
 the director John  
 ‘The director is John.’

- Intensional definite DPs are apparently licensed in the sentence-internal topic position.  
 ⇒ they can be generated directly as the SC predicate, and act as the host of T’s [Num]

- (61) [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the director (Num)] Top [<sub>FocP</sub> John Foc [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> Num ] [<sub>PredP</sub> (John(Num))  
 Pred [<sub>DP</sub> ~~the director~~(Num)] ]]]]

## 6 Conclusion

In this study (of what may/may not be considered a ‘pronominal copula’ in Hungarian), we have argued that the Stray Affix Filter, combined with a requirement of phonological overtiness of the morphological host:

- can account not only for garden-variety cases of copula drop with NP/AdjP vs. PP/AdvP predicates, but also for a range of other copular sentence types which, we argued, also involve a PP Small Clause predicate, and
- can also account for the distribution (in particular, the presence/absence) of the demonstrative pronoun ‘az’. We treated a significant subset of these demonstrative pronouns as pro-predicates, which must be overtly realized if T’s  $\phi$  features are thereby appropriately hosted morphologically.

We applied this account:

- to derive an interesting difference between specificational and predicational pseudo-clefts in terms of the appearance of the demonstrative,
- to understand some quirks of ineffability among specificational copular clauses with a preposed predicative AdjP/NP, and among specificational copular clauses with a plural subject and a non-agreeing collective predicate.

<sup>5</sup>We can derive (i) by assuming that it involves post-focal slicing, as in (ii).

- (i) \*<sub>[LD</sub> Orvos ] JÁNOS.  
 doctor John

- (ii) A: Közületek ki orvos? B: <sub>[LD</sub> Orvos ] (csak) János [<sub>TP</sub> — ]  
 among.you who doctor doctor (only) John  
 ‘A: Who is a doctor among you? B: Only John is a doctor.’

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