Hungarian Object Agreement with Personal Pronouns

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1. Introduction

Hungarian has subject agreement in person and number in finite clauses with all subjects and *object* agreement with a proper subset of direct objects. Agreement and accusative case marking are dissociated, as direct objects generally have overt accusative marking while agreement is triggered only by direct objects with a certain property. Recently, Coppock & Wechsler (2012); Coppock (2013) have argued that some lexical items are specified for a feature [DEF] that triggers agreement, while other researchers argue that the syntactic structure of the direct object determines agreement: when it projects a DP, there is object agreement (Bartos, 1999, 2001). (1) illustrates the basic contrast between an indefinite direct object and a definite one. The definite determiner is taken to be specified for the feature [DEF] (Coppock & Wechsler, 2012; Coppock, 2013) or to turn the noun phrase into a DP (Bartos, 1999, 2001); these properties trigger agreement according to the respective authors (object agreement is glossed as OBJ).

(1) a. Lát-ok egy sajtburger-t.
see-1SG.SUBJ a cheeseburger-ACC
'I see a cheeseburger.'

b. Lát-om a sajtburger-t.
see-1SG.OBJ the cheeseburger-ACC
'I see the cheeseburger.'

The topic of this paper is the distribution of agreement with personal pronoun direct objects. While third person personal pronouns always trigger agreement, first and second person pronouns do so only partially, as shown in (2), where there is object agreement in (2a), but only subject agreement in (2b).

(2) a. Lát-om ő-t.
see-1SG.OBJ s/he-ACC
'I see him/her.'

b. Lát-∅ engem.
see.3SG.SUBJ I.ACC
'S/he sees me.'

While there is no object agreement in (2b), I will argue that all personal pronouns trigger agreement in principle, but that it is not spelled out in all cases. The distribution of agreement resembles an inverse agreement system (É. Kiss, 2013). I implement an agreement system using Béjar & Rezac's (2009) cyclic Agree, in which the relation between the person features of the direct object and the subject determine whether object agreement surfaces or not. In Section 2, I introduce the relevant data. I flesh out the analysis in Section 3. Section 4 briefly discusses the question of whether Hungarian has agreement or clitic doubling and open questions, Section 5 concludes.

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2. Object agreement with personal pronouns

2.1. The data

Not all Hungarian personal pronoun direct objects seem to trigger object agreement. While the singular and plural pronouns *ő-t* 's/he-ACC' and *ők-et* 'they-ACC' always require object agreement, first and second person pronouns appear with forms showing only subject agreement in most cases. The following examples illustrate third person pronoun objects. The (a)-examples in (3)-(5) indicate that the verb agrees with the singular or plural object as well as the subject in these cases; the (b)-examples show that only agreeing with the subject leads to ungrammaticality. This is shown for third, second and first person singular subjects, respectively.

(3) **3SG → 3SG/PL: OBJ**

a. Lát-ja ő-t / ők-et.
see-3SG.OBJ s/he-ACC they-ACC
'S/he sees him/her / them.'

3SG → 3SG/PL: *SUBJ

b. *Lát-∅ ő-t / ők-et.
see-3SG.SUBJ s/he-ACC they-ACC
intended: 'S/he sees him/her / them.'

(4) **2SG → 3SG/PL: OBJ**

a. Lát-od ő-t / ők-et.
see-3SG.OBJ s/he-ACC they-ACC
'You (sg.) see him/her / them.'

2SG → 3SG/PL: *SUBJ

b. *Lát-sz ő-t / ők-et.
see-3SG.SUBJ s/he-ACC they-ACC
int.: 'You see him/her / them.'

(5) **1SG → 3SG/PL: OBJ**

a. Lát-om ő-t / ők-et.
see-1SG.OBJ s/he-ACC they-ACC
'I see him/her / them.'

1SG → 3SG/PL: *SUBJ

b. *Lát-ok ő-t / ők-et.
see-1SG.SUBJ s/he-ACC they-ACC
int.: 'You see him/her / them.'

With first person direct objects, the picture is equally clear, but the verb only references the person and number of the subject. The agreeing forms seen in (3)-(5) above are ungrammatical.

(6) **3SG → 3SG/PL: SUBJ**

a. Lát-∅ engem / minket.
see-3SG.SUBJ I.ACC we.ACC
'S/he sees me / us.'

3SG → 3SG/PL: *OBJ

b. *Lát-ja engem / minket.
see-3SG.OBJ I.ACC we.ACC
int.: 'S/he sees me / us.'

(7) **2SG → 3SG/PL: SUBJ**

a. Lát-sz engem / minket.
see-2SG.SUBJ I.ACC we.ACC
'You.SG see me / us.'

2SG → 3SG/PL: *OBJ

b. *Lát-od engem / minket.
see-2SG.SUBJ I.ACC we.ACC
int.: 'You.SG see me / us.'

The verb forms in (6a) and (7a) are the ones that appear on intransitives and with indefinite direct objects. While the verb does not (overtly) agree with the object in these cases, the personal pronoun objects can be dropped, i.e. (6a) is ambiguous between an intransitive and a transitive reading, with a dropped first or second person object. With third person pronoun objects, object drop is only possible when there is object agreement.

With second person direct objects, the person of the subject influences the form of the verb. First, if the subject is third person, second person objects behave like first person objects. (8a) shows that agreeing with the subject only is grammatical, (8b) shows that the agreeing form in (3) above, i.e. object agreement, is ungrammatical.

(8) **3SG → 2SG/PL: SUBJ**

a. Lát-∅ téged / titeket.
see-3SG.SUBJ you.SG.ACC you.PL.ACC
'S/he sees you.SG/PL.'

3SG → 2SG/PL: *OBJ

b. *Lát-ja téged / titeket.
see-3SG.OBJ you.SG.ACC you.PL.ACC
int.: 'S/he sees you.SG/PL.'

Second, if the subject is first person, neither the intransitive form nor the agreeing form in (5) are grammatical, as shown in (9b,c). In the configuration involving a first person singular subject and a second person object, and only here, the verb bears a suffix *-lak/-lek* (the variants are due to vowel harmony):

(9) **1SG → 2SG/PL: *-lak/-lek***

a. Lát-lak téged / titeket.
see-1SG>2 you.SG.ACC you.PL.ACC
'I see you.SG/PL.'

1SG → 2SG/PL: *SUBJ

b. *Lát-ok téged / titeket.
see-1SG.SUBJ you.SG.ACC you.PL.ACC
int.: 'I see you.SG/PL.'

1SG → 2SG/PL: *OBJ

c. *Lát-om téged / titeket.
see-1SG.OBJ you.SG.ACC you.PL.ACC
int.: 'I see you.SG/PL.'

2.2. Reflexive pronouns, inclusive reference, and plurals

In the examples above, the person of subject and object differed. But there are ways of expressing subjects and objects with the same person. One of these is by using reflexive pronouns, as in (10):

(10) Lát-om mag-am-at.
see-1SG.OBJ self-1SG-ACC
'I see myself.'

The first person reflexive in (10) triggers object agreement (cf. the verb form *-om* in (5)). Indeed, reflexive pronouns show some properties of third person pronouns in other contexts as well, such as controlling third person agreement on possessed nouns. In (11), the suffix *-é-* on the direct object indicates a third person possessor, the pronoun *magam*.

(11) El-mond-aná-m a magam eset-é-t.
PRT-say-COND-1SG the myself.NOM case-3SG.POSS-ACC
'I would tell you about my own case.' (Rákosi, 2014:550)

As *magam* in (11) controls a third person possessive suffix, it might not come as a surprise that the reflexive behaves like a third person argument in (10), either. Moreover, the morphological structure of reflexives resembles that of possessed noun phrases, which are generally third person (see Bartos 1999:104, den Dikken 2006:14, fn. 24, Coppock & Wechsler 2012:704, Rocquet 2013:76f.).

The same person on the subject and object can also be expressed by first and second person pronoun subjects and objects differing in number (third person pronouns obviously occur together as well, with disjoint reference). In (12a), both arguments are first person, but the subject is singular and the object is plural. In (12b), the subject is plural and the object is singular. The generalisation for these cases is that xSG → xPL triggers object agreement (where x ∈ {1, 2}), but not when the subject is plural and the object is singular (see den Dikken et al. 2001:141; I will come back to their analysis in Section 4.1 below).

(12) a. én minket választ-om / *választ-ok meg
I we.ACC elect-1SG.OBJ elect-1SG.SUBJ PRT
'I elect us.'

b. %mi engem választ-unk / *választ-juk meg
we I.ACC elect-1PL.SUBJ elect-1PL.OBJ PRT
'We elect me.' (den Dikken et al., 2001:140f.)

To round up the agreement data with personal pronouns, one more configuration has to be mentioned. While first person singular subjects and second person objects of any number give rise to the *-lak/-lek* suffix, first person *plural* subjects show subject agreement only with second person objects, as in (13).

(13) Lát-unk téged / titeket.
see-1SG.SUBJ you.SG.ACC you.PL.ACC
'We see you.SG/PL.'

2.3. Goals of the present paper

The question I want to tackle in this paper is the following: what rules out object agreement with first person objects in general and second person objects with third person subjects? What determines the distribution of object agreement with personal pronouns in Hungarian?

3. Cyclic agree and inverse agreement

3.1. Why syntax?

Could the different behaviour with respect to object agreement be explained by differences in the syntactic or semantic properties of the personal pronouns? Bartos (1999) and Coppock (2013) mention that first and second person pronouns are indexical, whereas third person pronouns are not. Bartos (1999) suggests that only third person pronouns project DP, while first and second person are NumPs. Coppock (2013) argues that third person pronouns have [DEF] because they are anaphoric. Both authors suggest that the respective differences give rise to object agreement only when the object is third person. This has the consequence that the suffix *-lak/-lek*, which appears with second person objects and first person subjects, is not triggered by the same property that triggers agreement with third person objects, as second person objects are said to lack [DEF]/DP. In contrast, I want to show that *-lak/-lek* can be analysed as part of the object agreement system: indexicality does not rule out agreement and there is evidence that pronouns project the same structure.

To see this, consider the polite personal pronoun *ön* which is used to refer to the addressee in a formal context (cf. Spanish *usted*, French *vous*, German *Sie*, etc.). Its reference is clearly indexical, as it refers to the addressee, just like 'regular' second person pronouns. But syntactically, it behaves like third person, both with respect to subject agreement, (14), and with respect to object agreement, (15).

(14) Ő / ön is vol-t már Los Angeles-ben.
h/she you too be-PAST.3SG already Los Angeles-INESS
'S/he has already been to Los Angeles.' / 'You have already been to Los Angeles.'

(15) Lát-om ő-t / ön-t az újság-ban.
see-1SG.OBJ s/he-ACC you-ACC the newspaper-INESS
'I see him/her / you in the newspaper.'

(14) and (15) suggest that agreement is determined by syntactic properties and not by the way the pronoun gets its reference. These properties can be the pronoun's person features, for example. That the syntactic structure of pronouns of different persons does not differ from each other can arguably be shown by the following reasoning. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) argue for syntactic distinctions between pronouns, including pro-DPs and pro-ϕPs. The former project DP, are definite and cannot be bound. The latter project a ϕP (less than DP), and can be bound. All Hungarian personal pronouns can be bound variables, without any changes in their agreement properties. (16a) shows that bound *téged* 'you.ACC' behaves just like its free counterpart: it does not trigger object agreement when the subject is third person, but it does when the subject is first person. (16b,c) show that the formal pronoun *ön* 'you' and third person pronouns also behave as shown above (see also Kratzer 2009 on the features of such 'fake indexicals').

(16) a. Csak te hisz-ed, hogy téged fog-nak / fog-lak megválaszt-ani.
only you believe-2SG.OBJ that you.ACC will-3PL.SUBJ will-1SG>2 vote.for-INF
'Only you believe that they / I will vote for you.'

b. Csak ön hiszi, hogy ön-t fog-ják megválaszt-ani.
only you believe-3SG.OBJ that you-ACC will-3SG.OBJ vote.for-INF
'Only you believe that they will vote for you.'

c. Csak ő hiszi, hogy ő-t fog-ják megválaszt-ani.
only s/he believe-3SG.OBJ that s/he-ACC will-3SG.OBJ vote.for-INF
'Only s/he believe that they will vote for her/him.'

(16) suggests that a potential difference in the syntactic structures of the pronouns does not determine whether object agreement appears or not: free and bound pronouns behave identically. As Hungarian

personal pronouns are definite (at least in their free uses) and cannot take a definite determiner (in either use), I suggest that they all share the same structure, arguably DP (I am thus not following Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002; see Elbourne 2013 on bound third person pronouns as DPs).

3.2. Inverse agreement

As third person personal pronouns always trigger object agreement, first person pronouns never do, and second person pronouns do depending on the person of the subject, É. Kiss (2005, 2013) argues that Hungarian employs an *inverse agreement constraint*, which rules out agreement when the object is higher than the subject on the scale in (17); the constraint is given in (18).

(17) 1SG > 1PL/2 > 3 (É. Kiss, 2013:8)

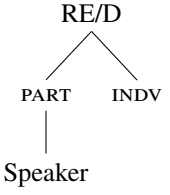
(18) Inverse Agreement Constraint (for Hungarian):
An object agreeing with a verb must be lower in the animacy hierarchy than the subject agreeing with the same verb, unless both the subject and the object represent the lowest level of the animacy hierarchy [=(17), AB]. (É. Kiss, 2013:8)

I adopt the general idea of É. Kiss' proposal but I suggest that the ϕ-features of Hungarian personal pronouns determine when we see agreement. I claim that object agreement appears when the subject has a proper superset of the person features of the direct object. This interaction is modeled using feature geometries following Harley & Ritter (2002) and Béjar & Rezac's (2009) cyclic Agree.

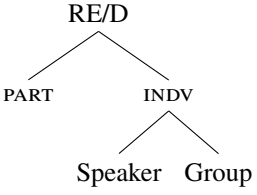
3.3. Feature geometries for Hungarian personal pronouns

Following Harley & Ritter (2002) and McGinnis (2005), personal pronouns can be represented using feature geometries like the following. In addition to Harley & Ritter's (2002) 'RE' (= referring expression), I add a 'D' to the root nodes to indicate their syntactic status, as argued for above. Their being DP encodes their potential to trigger object agreement (following Bartos 1999, 2001; É. Kiss 2002; again, see Coppock & Wechsler 2012; Coppock 2013 for arguments against this view).

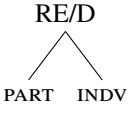
(19) **1SG**: *én*

a.


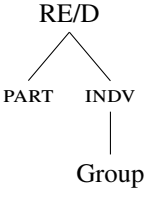
1PL: *mi*

b.


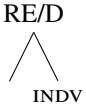
(20) **2SG**: *te*

a.


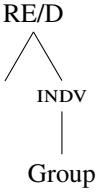
2PL: *ti*

b.


(21) **3SG**: *ő*

a.


3PL: *ők*

b.


These structures involve a PART(icipant) node that indicates second person, unless it has a 'Speaker' daughter, which indicates first person. As in Harley & Ritter (2002), these specifications split into distinct

branches: person on the left and number on the right. As the number of the object does not influence object agreement in Hungarian, agreement is relativised to the left branch. The specification of 1PL differs from 1SG in that the 'Speaker' feature is moved to the individuation node; while this accounts for the data in (12) and (13), it begs for further explanation. I will take this up in Section 4.1.

3.4. Cyclic Agree

If the feature structures in (19)-(21) provide the input for the mechanism of *cyclic Agree* as illustrated in Béjar & Rezac (2009), the distribution of object agreement as shown in Section 2 follows nearly completely. Béjar & Rezac (2009) argue that Agree proceeds in cycles, as illustrated in Figure 1. A verbal probe, $v_{I[uF, uG]}$, agrees with its internal argument (IA) first (Cycle I). In Figure 1, the IA values the feature G on the probe. On the second cycle, this feature is no longer available for valuation. The external argument only values the remaining feature F.

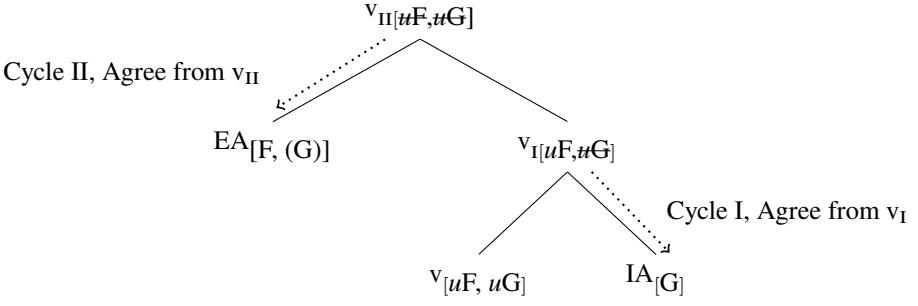


Figure 1: Cyclic Agree, cf. Béjar & Rezac (2009:49)

Béjar & Rezac (2009) argue that languages employ special strategies when the relation between the (relevant) feature sets of the internal and the external argument are in a superset relation, i.e. FF(IA) $\supseteq$ FF(EA). When this is the case, there are no features on the probe left to value for the external argument. Béjar & Rezac (2009:46) suggest that their person licensing constraint (PLC) rules out derivations in which the external argument does not enter into an Agree relation. More generally, the PLC states that a feature F in a feature structure like the ones used for EA and IA in (22) below must be licensed by an Agree relation of some feature in that feature structure. If it is not, the derivation crashes.

Béjar & Rezac (2009) suggest that in order to avoid such crashes, languages make use of *repair strategies* to make sure that there is an Agree relation between the external argument and the verb. One of these is to add a second probe that agrees only with the subject. I argue that adopting this strategy for Hungarian provides a way of deriving the pattern of object agreement. The derivation of agreement can be illustrated as follows (the notation resembles the one in Béjar & Rezac 2009):

(22) $1 \rightarrow 2$: OBJ

EA	***v***	**IA**
(D)	[uD]—D	
P	[uP]—P	
S—[**us**]		

(23) Lát-lak téged.
see-1SG>2 you.SG.ACC
'I see you.SG.'

In (22), the internal argument has the features D (by virtue of being a personal pronoun) and P (due to its PART(icipant) node). On the first cycle of Agree, the IA values these two features on the probe. [**us**] is still available (as indicated by boldface), and the subject, which has S ('Speaker') can value it. This configuration is the one seen in (23). The EA in (22) has a greyed out (D) feature because whether the subject has D or not never influences agreement; that property is only relevant for the direct object.

This asymmetry allows for the following account of agreement between third person subjects and third person objects, which have, or rather lack, the same person features. In (21) above, third person pronouns were represented as lacking the PART node altogether; this can be represented as [-S, -P]. Third

person subject agreement in Hungarian is a null suffix ∅, spelling out a bare root in present tense. I leave open whether this minimal feature specification and minimal expression are related; but I assume that [-s, -P] suffices to enter an Agree relation if there are no other features. On a third person pronoun object, then, the probe agrees with D but no person features. On the second cycle, a third person subject's [-s, -P] is spelled out as default agreement, indicated by (—) below.

(24) 3 → 3.D: OBJ

EA	***v***	**IA**
(D)	[uD]—D	
	(—)[**uP**]	
	(—)[**us**]	

(25) Lát-ja ő-t.
see-3SG.OBJ s/he-ACC
'S/he$_i$ sees him/her$_j$.'

These examples thus allow us to state the following generalisation:

(26) Object agreement in Hungarian arises when the external and the internal argument value a single probe together.

What about inverse agreement? As mentioned above, when the features of the internal argument are a superset of the features of the external argument, an Agree relation with the subject cannot be established by the probe. In (27), this is seen by IA valuing D and P; the subject does not have P, and whether or not it has D is irrelevant. In order to save such derivations, Béjar & Rezac (2009) suggest that a second probe can be added in exactly those contexts in which the internal argument has valued a superset of the features that the subject could value. (27) is such a case. I assume that Hungarian adds a second probe, arguably T, that only agrees with the subject (see Béjar 2000 for a system in which *v*+T probe together). If only this second probe, T, is spelled out, we get subject agreement only, giving rise to the form in (28).

(27) 3 → 2: SUBJ

EA	***T***	***v***	**IA**
(D)	[uD]	[uD]—D	
	(—)[uP]	[uP]—P	
	(—)[us]	[**us**]	

(28) Lát-∅ téged.
see-3SG.SUBJ you.SG.ACC
'S/he sees you.'

(27) raises a question, however: if the subject has to enter an Agree relation (cf. the PLC), why does this not hold for the object? Béjar & Rezac (2009) (among others) relate their person licensing constraint to the case filter. This seems plausible for Hungarian as well: in finite clauses, the subject has nominative case and agrees with the verb. Case valuation and Agree go together. Not all objects show (overt) agreement, however, while they do have overt accusative case.

If Case licensing and Agree do not always go hand in hand, as suggested in Baker (2013), for example, there is a solution to this problem (cf. also Marantz 1991). Accusative C/case licensing in Hungarian can happen via a dependent case rule, i.e. assigned to a specific structural position, for example the complement of V (see Baker 2012 and Kramer 2014 on Amharic where clitic doubling/agreement is independent of Case licensing).

The situation seems similar in Hungarian; agreement with the object can in fact be 'optional'. It only happens when the object has the relevant property, D. Failure to agree with objects does not lead to ungrammaticality, however, as shown by cases of indefinite direct objects in Hungarian. Object agreement in Hungarian, then, can be modelled as a fallible operation in the sense of Preminger (2011).

3.5. Spelling out agreement

The analysis so far only determines the appearance of agreement, but not its form. For present tense forms, the feature combinations determined by cyclic Agree spell out the following forms of the verb *lát* 'to see'. The segmentation in (29c-f) is one possibility; the status of *-j-* is a matter of debate. It only appears in the present tense, with *-t-* taking its place in the past tense (see Rocquet 2013:68f. for discussion).

(29)
a.	1SG → 3:	[EA: S, P/SG, IA: D]	→	*-om*, e.g. *lát-om*	
b.	2SG → 3:	[EA: P/SG, IA: D]	→	*-od*, e.g. *lát-od*	
c.	3SG → 3:	[EA: -S, -P/SG, IA: D]	→	*-a*, e.g. *lát-j-a*	(cf. *lát-t-a* 's/he saw (it)')
d.	1PL → 3:	[EA: S, P/PL, IA: D]	→	*-uk*, e.g. *lát-j-uk*	(cf. *lát-t-uk*)
e.	2PL → 3:	[EA: P/PL, IA: D]	→	*-átok*, e.g. *lát-j-átok*	(cf. *lát-t-átok*)
f.	3PL → 3:	[EA: -S, -P/PL, IA: D]	→	*-ák*, e.g. *lát-j-ák*	(cf. *lát-t-ák*)

For the *-lak/-lek* suffix, the spell-out rule is as follows:

(30)
a.	1SG → 2:	[EA: S/SG, IA: P, D]	→	*-lak*, e.g. *lát-lak*

These rules reflect that agreement with the object is in person but not number, and agreement with the subject is in both person and number. These rules, in combination with the Agree mechanism above lead to one problem, however: for the configuration of 1SG→1PL, while agreement is predicted, (30) should apply and spell out *-lak/-lek*, contrary to fact (see Section 4.1 for discussion).

The spell-out rules in (29) and (30) show the cases in which the subject and the object valued the verbal probe together. When this is not the case, i.e. when the internal argument fully values the probe and a second probe is added, there are two separate sets of ϕ-features. Arguably the morphological structure of Hungarian verbs can only spell out one of these (this is speculative; see den Dikken 2004, 2006; Rocquet 2013 for decompositions of Hungarian inflection).

3.6. Interim summary

Cyclic Agree, in combination with the feature specifications in (19)-(21), derives the distribution of object agreement with personal pronouns in (3)-(9), as well as in (12) and potentially (13). Basically, the presence of object agreement in all configurations of subject and object apart from 2SG → 2PL follows (on this case, see Section 4.1 below). The spell-out of agreement can be handled by vocabulary insertion rules that are sensitive to which features have been valued by which argument.

4. Agreement, clitics, and open questions

I have assumed that the mechanism determining verb suffixes is a matter of agreement, and not an alternative mechanism like clitic doubling, for example. Whether this is the case is an open question. Nevins (2011) argues that the languages that Béjar & Rezac (2009) discuss involve clitic doubling and he proposes an alternative mechanism to cyclic Agree. Coppock & Wechsler (2012:706f.) argue that Hungarian involves agreement rather than incorporated pronouns or clitics, whereas den Dikken (2004, 2006) assumes that object 'agreement' is in fact clitic doubling, i.e. movement of a clitic from the direct object onto the verb. É. Kiss (2012) discusses agreement with coordinated subjects and objects in Hungarian and raises the possibility that agreement is a post-syntactic mechanism because of the possibility of closest-conjunct agreement. Here I can only mention one criterion that could help distinguishing these phenomena. The movement of a clitic onto the verb should be ruled out in coordinated structures that give rise to a violation the coordinate structure constraint (CSC); similarly, extracting from both conjuncts via across-the-board (ATB) movement is subject to an identity requirement (see e.g. Munn 1999). The latter scenario is illustrated in (31).

(31) … hogy egyedül csak a halál választ-∅ el engem és téged!
that alone only the death separate-3SG.SUBJ PRT I.ACC and you.SG.ACC
'… also if anything but death parts me from you.'
(Ruth 1:17, `http://szentiras.hu/KNB/Rút 1,17` and English Standard Version)

Here, the object is a conjoined noun phrase consisting of a first and second person pronoun. The semantics of the predicate make an elliptical reading impossible. If clitics are involved, both *distinct* clitics (first and second person, respectively) should move out of the coordinate noun phrase, violating the identity requirement on ATB extraction. (31) is perfectly acceptable, however.

4.1. Inclusive reference

As mentioned above, the proposed system fails to predict the appearance of object agreement when the subject is second person singular and the object is second person plural and the spell-out of 1SG→1PL. On den Dikken et al.'s (2001) view, these facts follows from two things: first, they assume a complex comitative structure for first person plural pronouns, cf. (32) (and analogously for second person pronouns).

(32) $[_{NP}$ 'we'/'us' $[_{SC}$ *pro*$_{1SG}$ $[_{PP}$ COMIT [x (& y (& z …))]]]]

(den Dikken et al., 2001:145)

Second, they assume one of the alternative structures in (33) which appear only when the structure in (32) would lead to a violation of Principle B (the alternative structure is chosen by an economy constraint). In effect, (33a) "can essentially be paraphrased as 'those who are us'" (den Dikken et al., 2001:146). Since that is a third person noun phrase, it correctly predicts object agreement.

(33) a. *v*/AgrO … $[_{VP}$ V $[_{DP}$ D$_{[def]}$ $[_{SC}$ $\emptyset_i$ $[_{NP}$ 'us' (=[(32)])$]_i$]]]

b. *v*/AgrO … $[_{VP}$ V $[_{DP}$ D$_{[def]}$ $[_{NP}$ $\emptyset$ $]_i$] (…)] $[_{NP}$ 'us' (=[(32)])$]_i$

(den Dikken et al., 2001:146)

The feature geometry I proposed for first person plural in (19) above might be related to a structure like (32), if *pro* in the specifier of the small clause does not refer to a first person singular pronoun, but to a participant. The first person referent could be introduced as part of the comitative structure, with the 'Speaker' feature as part of the INDV node corresponding to the comitative in (32). While the feature geometries in interaction with cyclic Agree derive the facts involving first person plural, they fail to derive second person plural. As inclusive reference is known to lead to reduced acceptability or ungrammaticality in other languages (see e.g. Rooryck 2006), it is possible that such cases make an analysis like den Dikken et al.'s (2001) necessary. The present approach does not solve this issue.

4.2. Open questions: inverse systems, added probes

Coppock & Wechsler (2010:177f.) are "skeptical" of É. Kiss's (2005) inverse agreement constraint as they argue that "the rank of the subject [on a hierarchy like (17), AB] does not affect the possibility of object agreement whenever the object is third person, that is, whenever the objective conjugation is used." They argue that only *-lak/-lek* is sensitive to properties of both the subject and the objects. If I understand their objection correctly, the present system, in which the appearance of object agreement is always determined by taking into account both arguments might overcome this particular issue.

Coppock & Wechsler (2010) further argue that usually inverse configurations trigger morphological marking, whereas in Hungarian it is the non-inverse cases that do. If Béjar & Rezac (2009) are right about the diverse repair strategies that languages involve to mark inverse contexts, then additional morphology is not the only way to indicate such contexts (cf. also Bobaljik & Branigan 2006 on Chukchi).

5. Conclusions

I have argued that the Hungarian verb *agrees* with personal pronoun direct objects in person but not number and that this agreement is not spelled out in all cases. The ϕ-features of the subject and the object determine when agreement appears and when it does not. Adopting Béjar & Rezac's (2009) cyclic Agree, I have proposed that whenever the internal argument values a superset of the features that the subject could value, object agreement does not appear, but an added probe spells out subject agreement only. When the internal argument values a proper subset of the features of the subject and both arguments value the probe together, object agreement appears. One consequence of this is that *-lak/-lek*, agreement with second person objects and first person subjects, follows straightforwardly. If true, this suggests that Hungarian has object agreement with direct objects in person, but not number.

The reason I have argued that a *syntactic* mechanism determines the distribution of agreement with personal pronouns is that semantic and structural differences between first/second person pronouns and third person pronouns do not seem to make the right cut. I showed that there are agreeing as well as

non-agreeing indexical pronouns and that all personal pronouns can appear as bound variables. The ϕ-features of the personal pronouns remain constant under these changing conditions, as does their agreement behaviour, indicating that these syntactic properties, rather than the way the pronouns refer, determine agreement.

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