

Hungarian

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Abstract

This chapter reviews ellipsis in Hungarian, providing examples of the majority of ellipsis types that are discussed in this book. The presentation will start with nominal ellipsis, followed by predicate ellipsis (VP ellipsis, V-stranding ellipsis and pseudogapping) and clausal ellipsis of two types (single remnant ellipsis and multiple remnant ellipsis, including gapping). Separate sections are dedicated to right node raising, null complement anaphora and ellipsis in comparative clauses. Analytical and theory-specific details about the structure of Hungarian are introduced along the way.

Keywords: Hungarian, left periphery, movement, A-bar extraction, ellipsis licensing

1. Nominal ellipsis

As in many other languages, the head noun or the head noun together with one or more modifiers can be unpronounced to the exclusion of a modifier, numeral or (quantificational) determiner in Hungarian. Ellipsis is strictly only found in non-possessive noun phrases, while in possessed noun phrases, a non-elliptical anaphoric strategy is used. The next two subsections give details of both strategies.

1.1. Nominal ellipsis in non-possessed nominals

In non-possessed nominals, the missing nominals can be understood with reference to an entity in the linguistic or the extra-linguistic context. In the following examples, the part of the noun phrase that is understood to be missing is indicated by __.ⁱ

- (1) a. Ezt a házat régen építették. Azzal a kettő __-vel
this.ACC the house.ACC long.ago built.3PL that.INST the two-INST
viszont most készült el a kivitelező.
on.the.other.hand now got.ready.3SG PV the contractor
'This house was built a long time ago. Those two on the other hand were now made ready by the contractor.'
- b. Az új kis házak el takarták a régi __-ek-et.
the new small house.PL PV concealed.3SG the old-PL-ACC
'The new small houses concealed the old small ones.'
- c. [context: Standing in front of a heap of melons at the market]
Kérek két nagy __-ot!
ask.1SG two big -ACC
'I'd like to have two big ones.'

As can be observed, when the noun is missing, the overt number morphemes and case morphemes that normally get spelled out on the noun only appear on the linearly *last remnant* preceding the missing noun (in case they contain a harmonic vowel, they harmonize with the last remnant, too), as was noted in Bánréti (1992, 2007), Kenesei et al (1998), Laczkó (2007) and Saab and Lipták (2016). The linearly last remnant can also be a clausal modifier, for example, an adjectival participial clause, as shown in the following example, (2b):

- (2) a. Csak közjegyző által hitelesített iratokat fogadnak el.
 only notary by certify.PART document.PL.ACC accept.3PL PV
 ‘They accept only documents certified by a notary.’
 b. Csak közjegyző által hitelesített ___-eket fogadnak el.
 only notary by certify.PART -PL.ACC accept.3PL PV
 ‘They accept only ones certified by a notary.’

Missing nouns or nominal constituents have been analyzed as involving a silent pronominal *pro* in Bánréti (1992, 2007, see also Laczkó 2007) and as ellipsis in Dékány (2015) and Saab & Lipták (2016).ⁱⁱ Here I follow the latter kind of proposals and assume that the missing nominal is the result of ellipsis.

Adopting a structure like (3) for (unpossessed) nominal constituents (see e.g. Cinque 2005), in which adjectives are adjoined to the noun phrase, and the plural marker originates in the NumP projection, the deleted category in Hungarian nominal ellipsis corresponds to an NP. The missing NP be unmodified or modified (see examples for both types in 4 and 5).

- (3) [DP (demonstratives) D [NumP (numerals) Num_[pl] [NP (AP) [NP N]]]]

Evidence that the elided category cannot be as big as a numeral phrase (NumP) comes from the observation that numerals and number morphology must always survive the ellipsis (cf. 4 and 5).

- (4) a. Az új ház el takarta a régi- ___-ek-et.
 the new house PV concealed.3SG the old -PL-ACC
 ‘The new house concealed the old ones.’
 b. A két új ház el takarta a három régi- ___-t.
 the two new house PV concealed.3SG the three old -ACC
 ‘The two new houses concealed the three old ones.’
 (5) Ez a két új ház el takarta azt a hárm- ___-at.
 this the two new house PV concealed.3SG that the three -ACC
 ‘These two new houses concealed those three (new ones).’

There are some information-structural criteria that NP ellipsis usually complies with. Preferentially, NP ellipsis contains adjectival remnants that are new and not given in the discourse — in the sense of not having been mentioned yet. Pronouncing given adjectival modifiers gives a slightly awkward, redundant utterance, but they do not count as ungrammatical. In the case of numerals as remnants, givenness is fully tolerated and gives rise to no sense of redundancy.

- (6) a. János vett egy kék autót. Mari is vett egy (? kék) ___-et.
 János bought.3SG a blue car.ACC Mari also bought.3SG a blue -ACC

- 'János bought a blue car. Mari also bought a blue one.'
- b. Levi kivett két almát a kosárból. Én is kivettem kettő __-t.
 Levi took.3SG two apple.ACC the basket.ELA I also took.1SG two -ACC
 'Levi took two apples from the basket. I also took two.'

It is also important to mention that non-identity between remnants of NP ellipsis and their correlates does not trigger any syntactic marking of contrast via contrastive focusing. Consider the following examples where the adjectival remnant is non-identical to another adjective in the antecedent clause:

- (7) János vett egy kék autót. Mari pedig vett egy piros __-at.
 János bought.3SG a blue car.ACC Mari PRT bought.3SG a red -ACC
 'János bought a blue car. Mari bought a red one.'

In (7), the elliptical noun phrase is in postverbal position and is intonationally unmarked — there is no contrastive stress on the remnant. Both properties are earmarks of constituents that do not distribute as contrastive focus or contrastive topic expressions (with contrast on their adjective/numeral). That being said, elliptical noun phrases can contain contrastively focused remnants, and — in line with the rules of Hungarian — appear in the preverbal focus position as contrastively focused phrases (cf. 8).

- (8) János vett egy kék autót. Én FEHÉR __ -et vettem volna
 János bought.3SG a blue car.ACC I white ACC bought.1SG COND
 a helyében.
 the place.POSS3SG.INE
 'János bought a blue car. I would have bought a WHITE one in his place.'

This shows that contrastive focus on the remnant is optional, and not a necessary property of elliptical nouns, and thus cannot be considered the licensing factor for noun phrase ellipsis in general (contra Corver & van Koppen 2009, Eguren 2010).

1.2. Anaphoric possessed nominals

In contrast to non-posessed noun phrases, possessed noun phrases do not allow for nominal ellipsis. This equally holds for possessives with dative (9a) and with nominative possessors (9b) (see Szabolcsi 1994 for basic differences between the two). The lack of elliptical possessives stems from the fact that anaphoric possessives make exclusive use of a pronominal strategy that is earmarked by the use of the *-é* suffix (Bartos 2000b, Laczkó 2007, Dékány 2011, 2015), illustrated in (9c).

- (9) Nádasdynak a könyv-e már meg jelent.
 Nádasdy.DAT the book-POSS3SG already PV appeared.3SG
 'Nádasdy's book has already appeared.'
- a. * Esterháznak __ csak jövőre kerül kiadásra.
 Esterházy.DAT only next.year get.3SG publication.SUB
- b. * Esterházy __ csak jövőre kerül kiadásra.
 Esterházy.NOM only next.year get.3SG publication.SUB
- c. Esterházy-é csak jövőre kerül kiadásra.

Esterházy-É only next.year get.3SG publication.SUB
'Esterházy's will only appear next year.'

The precise analysis of the *-é* suffix is a point of contention in the literature (Bartos 2000b equates it with a functional head that selects the noun, Laczkó 2007 with the *pro*-form and Bartos 2001b, Dékány 2015 with genitive case). What all analyses agree on is that anaphoric noun phrases involve a *pro*-from.

As can be seen in (10a), the anaphoric noun phrase is obligatorily adorned with the possessor agreement morpheme (such agreement morphemes are present with pronominal possessors in Hungarian) and the number morpheme indicating plurality of possession: *-tek* spells out agreement with a 2PL possessor and *-i* indicates plural possession. Importantly, as (10b) shows, *-é* can never co-occur with the possessedness morpheme *-(j)a/(j)e*, neither can it co-occur with the possessed noun (10c).

- (10) a. a ti-é-i-tek b. * a ti-je-é-i-tek
the you-É-PL- POSS2PL the you.PL-POSS3SG-É-PL- POSS2PL
'your(PL) ones'
c. * a ti-é-i-tek könyv
the you.PL-É-PL- POSS2PL book
'your(PL) book'

Anaphoric possessed noun phrases furthermore cannot contain any overt numeral or adjectival modifier, see the next example as illustration. In Dékány (2015), the latter property is explained with reference to the fact that anaphoric possessed noun phrases contain a pro-form and pronominals cannot be modified in Hungarian. The ungrammaticality of numeral and adjectival remnants in possessed nominals sharply contrasts with non-possessed nominals, where such remnants are allowed (see 4 and 5 again). This difference provides a strong argument to the effect that the missing elements in anaphoric possessed noun phrases is a pro-form, while in non-possessed noun phrases it corresponds to ellipsis of a nominal projection (see Dékány 2015).

- (11) Nádasdy(nak az) új könyv-e már meg jelent.
 Nádasdy.DAT the new book-POSS3SG already PV appeared.3SG
 'Nádasdy's new book is already in print.'
- * Esterházy új-é csak jövőre kerül kiadásra.
 Esterházy new-É only next.year get.3SG publication.SUB
 'Esterházy's new one will only appear next year.'

Concerning the “size” of the anaphoric pronoun in possessives, Dékány argues that the anaphoric *pro*-form replaces a piece of structure that is bigger than an NP. To understand why, consider the structure of possessives as in (12) (Dékány 2015, also É. Kiss 2002) where there are two functional projections dedicated to marking the possessive relation: the possessor agreement projection (Poss2P) and possessedness projection (PossP). These two projections flank the NumP that hosts the plural possession marker *-i*. Standardly, the possessor is taken to be generated in Spec,PossP and the possessed noun as head of the NP:

- (12) [_{DP} [_{POSS2P} [_{NumP} [_{POSSP} (possessor) -(j)a/(j)e [_{NP} N]]]]]

From the fact that in anaphoric possessives, the noun and the possessedness morphemes are never overt (cf. 10b,c above), Dékány concludes that the *pro*-form must minimally correspond to the Poss' node, which subsumes the NP projection and the Poss⁰ head.

To finish off the discussion of anaphoric possessives, consider the following example, which at first sight seems to contradict the claim that ellipsis is impossible in possessed noun phrases. The interpretation of the missing noun is preferred to be that of a possessed nominal.

- (13) Mari régi kabát-a-i mindig tiszták voltak, de az új ___-akat
 Mari old coat-POSS3SG-PL always clean.PL were but the new -PL.ACC
 nem mossa ki soha.
 not wash.3SG PV never
 'Mari's old coats were always clean, but she does not ever wash the new ones.'

There are, however, two strong indications that the possessed interpretation is only pragmatically controlled for in cases like this and that we are dealing with an unpossessed nominal undergoing ellipsis here.

One indication is provided by the nominal morphology found in the elliptical nominal: the endings are characteristic of non-possessed noun phrases. In possessed noun phrases, the plurality of the possession is spelled out by the invariable *-i* morpheme, cf. *kabát-a-i* (coat-POSS-PL), while in the elliptical *új-ak* (new-PL.ACC) the plural marker is the ordinary *-k* morpheme (together with an epenthetic vowel) that is found on non-possessed nouns. As the ungrammatical forms furthermore illustrate in (14), there is no other variant that is acceptable (as noted in Kenesei et al 1998).

- (14) Mari régi kabát-a-i mindig tiszták voltak, de az {új ___-ak /
 Mari old coat-POSS3SG-PL always clean.PL were but the new -PL
 *új ___-a-i / *új ___-i } teljesen koszosak.
 new -POSS-PL new -PL completely dirty.PL
 'Mari's old coats were always clean, but the new ones are completely dirty.'

The other argument against a possessed NP analysis of these data comes from the observation that the possessor can never be overtly present in the elliptical nominal, either in dative or nominative case (15).

- (15) Mari régi kabát-a-i mindig tiszták voltak, de (*neki) az (*ő)
 Mari old coat-POSS3SG-PL always clean.PL were but 3SG.DAT the 3SG
 új ___-ak teljesen koszosak.
 new -PL completely dirty.PL

These two observations jointly confirm that the elliptical noun phrase in (13) is not a possessed NP, but an unpossessed one, and the possessed reading of the missing nominal must be derived pragmatically.

2. Predicate ellipsis

The main predicate of the clause can be missing in Hungarian in two configurations: what can be referred to as *auxiliary(AUX)-stranding* VP-ellipsis and *V-stranding* VP-ellipsis, following a

distinction made by Goldberg (2005). This section reviews these two types, together with a further reduced variant of V-stranding, the so-called *preverb-stranding* pattern. This section closes with a short discussion of pseudogapping.

Before turning to the specifics of predicate ellipsis, it is important to introduce key assumptions about the clause structure of Hungarian that are going to be made use of in the discussion.

In most syntactic accounts, Hungarian clauses are taken to contain an inflectional layer, termed TP in the following (comprising tense, agreement and mood specifications/projections not distinguished here any further), and a predicate layer, termed *vP* below. The predicate layer also comprises various subprojections, most notably an aspectual projection (AspP/PredP) and the core lexical predicate, the VP. Lexical verbs in Hungarian often combine with so-called verbal modifiers with aspectual/predicative meaning, which are phrasal constituents (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Den Dikken 2004, Surányi 2009a) and comprise preverbal particles (or preverbs, PVs for short), incorporated nominals and PPs of distinct types.

- (16) Bea fel hívta a szüleit.
 Bea PV called.3SG the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC
 'Bea called her parents.'

Verbal modifiers are syntactically independent of the verbal head (for this reason they will be spelled as separate words in this chapter, contrary to rules of Hungarian orthography). Following Piñón (1995), Olsvay (2000, 2002) and Surányi (2009a), I take verbal modifiers to originate from an AspP/PredP-internal position and to move to Spec,TP in overt syntax (in order to satisfy an EPP property, note that subjects do not raise to Spec,TP). Finite verbs raise to the tense head (Brody 1990, Kenesei 1998, Surányi 2009a), and this results in the obligatory adjacency between verbal modifiers and the verbal head that characterizes all clauses without focal material. The structure in (17), indicating the position of the verb and the most frequent verbal modifier, the preverbal particle, will be adopted in the discussion below.

- (17) [TP PV verb [_{VP} ... [_{Pred/AspP} ... [_{VP} ...]]]]

2.1. AUX-stranding predicate ellipsis

AUX-stranding predicate ellipsis data have been described in Bánréti (1992) and Bartos (2000a) (see also Gyuris 2001). This is a type of ellipsis that removes a predicate and strands a finite auxiliary or a so-called semi-lexical verb. Hungarian has two frequently used auxiliaries, the habitual auxiliary *szokott* HABIT and the future auxiliary *fog* FUT (Kenesei 2001). Semi-lexical verbs are verbs like *akar* 'want', *szeretne* 'would like' or modals like *kell* 'need' or *lehet* 'may'. AUX-stranding VP-ellipsis can occur with all these items, in matrix or embedded contexts (including ACD contexts and comparative clauses as well):

- (18) a. Péter alszik, és én is fogok ~~aludni~~.
 Péter sleep.3SG and I also FUT.1SG sleep.INF
 'Péter is sleeping and I will, too.'
- b. Péter alszik, de nekem nem kell ~~aludni~~.
 Péter sleep.3SG but 1SG.DAT not need sleep.INF
 'Péter is sleeping but I don't need to.'
- c. Többet aludtam ma, mint amennyit máskor szoktam ~~aludni~~.

more slept.1SG today than how.much.ACC otherwise HABIT.1SG sleep.INF
 'I have slept more today than I usually do on other days.'

In (18a) the tenses of the two clauses are not identical, which provides evidence that the elided category is smaller than a tense phrase. This conclusion dovetails with accounts that place finite auxiliaries in T⁰, such as Kenesei (1998) and Surányi (2009a). In line with these accounts, AUX-stranding predicate ellipsis is ellipsis of a vP constituent.

While the examples in (18) contain overt subjects (nominal and dative), other types of phrases can also appear A-bar extracted out of the site of AUX-stranding predicate ellipsis and occupy positions such as that of topic, contrastive topic or focus/question word phrase before the auxiliary (19a,b,c).

- (19) a. Nem tudom, kivel beszéljek a problémámól.
 not know.1SG who.WITH talk.SUBJ.1SG the problem.POSS1SG.DEL
 Te kivel szoktál?
 you who.WITH HABIT.2SG
 'I don't know who to talk to about my problem. Who do you usually talk to (about yours)?'
- b. *Péterrel* beszéltem, de *Marival* nem fogok.
 Péter.INST talked.1SG but Mari.INST not FUT.1SG
 'I talked to Péter, but I won't with Mary.'
- c. János EGY BICIKLIT vett. Mari is EGY BICIKLIT fog.
 János a bike.ACC bought.3SG Mari also a bike.ACC FUT.3SG
 'János bought a BIKE. Mari will also buy a BIKE.'

The constituents that line up before the auxiliaries in these examples move to specific positions in the left periphery of Hungarian. *Te* in (19a) is a topic, *kivel* is a question word, *Marival* in (19b) is a contrastive topic and EGY BICIKLIT in (19c) is a contrastive focus constituent. The order of these items reflects the usual order of left peripheral elements in the language. Hungarian places focus, topic and quantificational material to various ordered positions in the left periphery (giving rise to the often-quoted discourse-configurationality of the language, É. Kiss 1995). The articulated left periphery, illustrated in (20), houses topics (contrastive and non-contrastive, in TopPs), quantifiers (in DistPs as in Szabolcsi 1997 or adjoined to FocP and TP as in Surányi 2002, É. Kiss 2010) and contrastive focus and *wh*-phrases, the latter in a unique FocP (cf. É. Kiss 1978, Brody 1995 and Szabolcsi 1997).ⁱⁱⁱ

- (20) [_{TopP} topics / contrastive topic [_{DistP} quantifiers [_{FocP} focus/*wh*-phrase [_{TP}]]]]

That we are dealing with A-bar extraction out of predicate ellipsis in (19), and not (English-type) pseudogapping is evidenced by at least three observations. First, as (19c) shows, the second remnant need not be contrastive with respect to a correlate in the antecedent (it is the same item *egy biciklit* 'a bike'), unlike in English-type pseudogapping. Second, long distance extraction is possible in examples of this type, see (21), where the missing predicate corresponds to *akar, hogy fölvegyünk*, meaning 'want that we hire'. Such long distance dependencies cannot be established in English pseudogapping (Johnson 2001).

- (21) Azt tudom, hogy JÁNOS kit akar, hogy föl
 that.ACC know.1SG COMP János who.ACC want.3SG COMP PV
 vegyünk. De azt nem tudom, hogy ANNA kit fog.
 hire.SUBJ.1PL but that.ACC not know.1SG COMP Anna who.ACC FUT.3SG
 lit. 'I know who János wants us to hire. But I don't know who ANNA will (want us to hire).'

Last but not least, examples like (19) can support a sloppy reading (cf. the interpretation of 19a), while pseudogapping does not support such a reading (see Johnson 2001 and section 2.4. for illustration below).

2.2. V-stranding predicate ellipsis

Predicate ellipsis in Hungarian can also exhibit a pattern of V-stranding (Bánréti 1992) similar to the one found in Finnish (Holmberg 2001, 2016), Irish (McCloskey 1991) or Hebrew (Doron 1999, among other languages).

There are two syntactic contexts in which V-stranding can rear its head in Hungarian: one is polarity contexts, such as yes/no questions and answers or confirmations to declaratives (cf. 22), the other is a context with non-emphatic polarity, typically involving an *is*-phrase (*also/too*) before the stranded verb (cf. 23, Surányi 2009a,b). Interestingly, there is extensive microvariation concerning these two types of V-stranding: one dialect of Hungarian only allows for V-stranding in polarity contexts (call it variant A), another for both types (call it variant B).^{iv}

- (22) A: Fel hívta Bea a szüleit tegnap?
 PV called.3SG Bea the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC yesterday
 'Did Bea call her parents yesterday?'
 B: Fel hívta.
 PV called.3SG
 'She did.'
- (23) Bea fel hívta a szüleit tegnap. Ibi is fel hívta.
 Bea PV called.3SG the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC yesterday Ibi also PV called.3SG
 'Bea called her parents yesterday. Ibi also did.'

A quick comparison with patterns of pro-drop shows that the missing material in these examples can only be due to ellipsis of an entire verb phrase, and not to individual argument ellipsis. As the following example shows, 3PL objects (animate and non-animate alike) cannot be dropped in Hungarian.

- (24) Bea meg látta a szüleit az utcában. Üdvözölte *(őket).
 Bea PV saw.3SG the parents.POSS3SG.PL.ACC the street.INE greeted.3SG 3PL.ACC
 'Bea saw her parents in the street. She greeted them.'

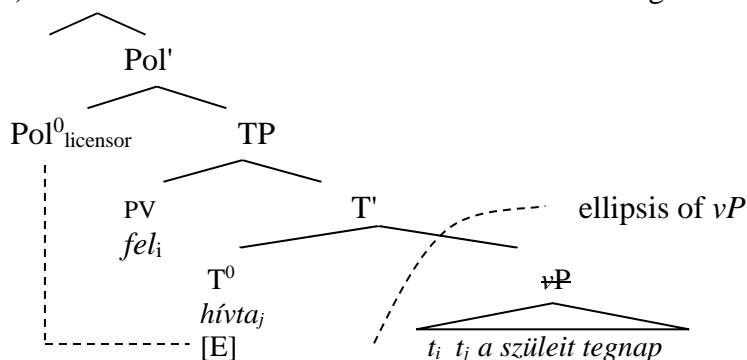
Based on this consideration as well as others, Lipták (2013) argues that facts like (22B/23) involve predicate ellipsis: V-stranding VP ellipsis strands the finite verb in T and elides the vP, including all arguments contained in there.

Lipták (2013) furthermore suggests that the microvariation concerning the availability of the two patterns identified above is due to variation in the *licensing* of V-stranding ellipsis in the two variants of Hungarian. While in variant B, V-stranding ellipsis can be licensed by finite tense,

just like in AUX-stranding predicate ellipsis that strands an auxiliary, in variant A V-stranding ellipsis is licensed by emphatic polarity only.

The precise mechanism of licensing by emphatic polarity can be successfully modelled in the theory of ellipsis licensing in Aelbrecht (2010), where the licenser corresponds to a syntactic head that must c-command and establish an *Agree* relation with the head whose complement is elided. In polarity contexts, the licenser is a polarity head, Pol^0 (similar to Laka 1990's Σ) that selects the TP, and whose lexical content amounts to stress on the (preverb+)verb combination. In elliptical configurations, the T head hosts an ellipsis-specific feature [E] that brings about the non-pronunciation of the complement category. Via an agreement process between Pol and T, ellipsis is licensed. In variant B, V-stranding ellipsis is licensed in a local relation by T.

(25) PolP the Agree-based licensing of ellipsis in (22B)



Further evidence for the long-distance *Agree* mechanism between an ellipsis licenser and the head that triggers ellipsis, can be provided from V-stranding phenomena in sentences containing verbal complexes. When a finite verb is followed by a series of infinitival complements, V-stranding ellipsis can strand any finite or non-finite verbal projection and yield exactly the same meaning. The following example illustrates the various acceptable patterns in B1, B2 and B3.^v

- (26) A: Bea nem fogja akarni fel hívni a szüleit.
 Bea not FUT.3SG want.INF PV call.INF the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC
 ‘Bea will not want to call her parents.’
- B1: De, fel fogja akarni hívni a szüleit.
 DE PV FUT.3SG want.INF call.INF the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC
 ‘That’s not right, she will want to call them.’
- B2: De, fel fogja akarni hívni a szüleit.
 DE PV FUT.3SG want.INF call.INF the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC
 ‘That’s not right, she will want to.’
- B3: De, fel fogja akarni hívni a szüleit.
 DE PV FUT.3SG want.INF call.INF the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC
 ‘That’s not right, she will.’

In examples like (B1) or (B2), the licensing category (Pol^0) is non-adjacent to the ellipsis site, as a number of overt verbal projections (*akarni hívni* in B1 and *akarni* in B2) intervene (and note that these verbal projections appear in the base generated order). Such non-adjacency provides a strong argument for a long-distance approach to ellipsis licensing such as that of Aelbrecht (2010).

2.3. Preverb-stranding ellipsis

Hungarian also exhibits a stranding-type ellipsis that does not strand the entire verb, but rather only the preverbal particle that combines with the verb. With reference to the frequently occurring instance of stranded preverbal particles, this type of ellipsis can be referred to as *preverb-stranding* ellipsis. Preverb-stranding is allowed in both variant A and variant B of Hungarian and is strictly confined to polarity contexts. This type of ellipsis can occur in positive answers to polar questions and in affirmations to declaratives. It cannot occur in non-polarity contexts like (23) above, cf. (28).

- (27) A: Fel hívta Bea a szüleit tegnap?
 PV called.3SG Bea the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC yesterday
 'Did Bea call her parents yesterday?'
 B: Fel.
 PV
 'She did.'
- (28) Bea fel hívta a szüleit tegnap. * Ibi is fel.
 Bea PV called.3SG the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC yesterday Ibi also PV
 'Bea called her parents yesterday. Ibi also did.'

The most straightforward account of preverb-stranding would have it that it is structurally identical to V-stranding, except that the verbal head fails to raise out of the ellipsis site, cf. (29) (as *v* to T movement is bled by ellipsis, as proposed in Lipták 2012, see also van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2008 for other bleeding effects of ellipsis on verb movement).

- (29) [PolP [TP fel T⁰ [_{VP} hívta a szüleit — tegnap]]]

There are, however, indications that (29) and the account offered in terms of bleeding are unlikely to be on the right track. A closer look at the data reveals that the syntactic distribution of V-stranding and that of preverb-stranding is not fully identical. One crucial difference between the two is that while verb-stranding can be used as a positive response to a negative yes/no question, preverb-stranding cannot:^{vi}

- (30) A: Nem hívta fel Bea a szüleit?
 not called.3SG PV Bea the the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC
 'Did Bea not call her parents?'
 B1: De, fel hívta. B2: * De, fel.
 DE PV called.3SG DE PV
 'That's not right, she did.' 'That's not right, she did.'

One way of explaining this contrast is to say that preverb-stranding deletes more structure than just the *vP* projection, and in fact even more than the entire TP: it deletes the entire PolP that is standardly generated in answers and affirmations to polar questions. With the assumption that preverb-stranding elides a full clause including the polarity specification, the ungrammaticality of (30B2) follows as a failure of identity between the elided constituent and its antecedent.

To give a sketch of how this could potentially work, consider the following preliminary analysis. First, assume that PolP is the locus of both negative and positive polarity specifications

in the clause and contains interpretable [Neg] and [Aff] features in negative and positive clauses respectively (see independent evidence for these features in Lipták 2013). Assume furthermore that preverbs move to a position outside PolP in preverb-stranding, a position that will be referred to as FP below.^{vii} The complement of FP is affected by deletion in preverb-stranding, as shown in (31). Importantly, this contrasts with ellipsis in V-stranding which affects a lower category, *vP* only.

- (31) a. [FP PV {PolP—{TP————{vP—}}}] *ellipsis in preverb stranding*
 b. [PolP [TP PV V {vP—}]] *ellipsis in verb-stranding*

Using (31), we can explain the pattern in (30). V-stranding with a negative antecedent (cf. 30B1) is grammatical, because V-stranding involves *vP*-deletion and the elided *vP* in (32B) (marked by < >) is strictly identical to the *vP* in the antecedent (32A).

- (32) A. [PolP [Neg] nem hívta_j [TP fel_i t_i [vP Bea t_i t_j a szüleit]]]?
 B. De, [PolP [Aff] [TP fel_i hívta_j <[vP Bea t_i t_j a szüleit]>]].

The preverb-stranding answer in (30B2 / 33B), however, is ill-formed since in this case a larger category is elided. Most importantly, the elided category *contains* the PolP which is featurally non-identical to its antecedent: it contains an affirmative feature while the antecedent has a negative one.

- (33) A. [PolP [Neg] nem hívta_j [TP fel_i t_i [vP Bea t_i t_j a szüleit]]]?
 B. De, [FP fel_i < [PolP [Aff] hívta_j [TP t_i t_j [vP Bea t_i t_j a szüleit]]]>].

If this account is on the right track, the Hungarian facts in this section demonstrate that stranding-type ellipsis does not always elide *vP* predicates, but also higher projections in the clause. If this is correct, preverb-stranding should be classified as a case of clausal ellipsis.

2.4. Pseudogapping

As was mentioned in section 2.1, AUX-stranding predicate ellipsis can occur together with A-bar extraction, resulting in sentences that resemble but in fact do not instantiate English-type pseudogapping (see examples 19a-c above). There are, however, examples that closely match the syntactic profile of English-type pseudogapping. These feature an auxiliary followed by a focal remnant that is contrastive with respect to a preverbal constituent. The postverbal and the preverbal constituents form an ordered pair whose thematic relation is the reverse of that in the antecedent (small caps stand for emphatic stress):

- (34) Balázs szokott nekem küldeni képeslapot. ÉN is szoktam NEKI.
 Balázs HABIT.3SG 1SG.DAT send.INF postcard.ACC I also HABIT.1SG 3SG.DAT
 'Balázs usually sends postcards to me. I also send him postcards usually.'

Note that the post-auxiliary remnant necessarily corresponds to a given constituent that 'switches' its argument position with respect to the antecedent. The pre-auxiliary constituent is normally a topic or an *also*-phrase. This shows that the ordered pair of constituents in the elliptical clause do not form a multiple focus construction (as such constructions always involve the preverbal constituent in focus position, see sections 3.2 and 3.3 below). At the same time, examples like (34)

express pair-wise focus in the sense that the elliptical clause and its antecedent necessarily differ only in the order of the pairing relation between participants. This kind of focus will be referred to as *reversing* focus below.^{viii}

A clear indication that we are dealing with pseudogapping in (34) comes from (i) the fact that the final remnant is contrastive in the way defined above (see also footnote 8), (ii) the fact that long distance extraction akin to (21) is impossible in these cases. Last but not least, the unavailability of sloppy identity readings in these constructions further supports the suspicion that we are dealing with an instance of English-type pseudogapping here. As Johnson (2001) points out (attributing the observation to Chris Kennedy), pseudogapping does not license sloppy identity, while VP ellipsis does:

- (35) a. Fred gave flowers to his sweetie because Frank had. (sloppy/strict)
 b. Fred gave flowers to his sweetie because Frank had chocolates. (strict only)

Exactly the same difference is observable in Hungarian. Consider first the case of VP ellipsis in (36), which allows for both sloppy and strict readings:

- (36) Frici be mutatta Marit a barátnőjének. Tomi is be fogja.
 Frici PV introduced Mari.ACC the girlfriend.POSS3SG.DAT Tomi also PV FUT.3SG
 ✓ sloppy: 'Frici introduced Mari to his girlfriend. Tomi will introduce Mari to Tomi's girlfriend, too.'
 ✓ strict: 'Frici introduced Mari to his girlfriend. Tomi will introduce Mari to her, too.'

Pseudogapping on the hand is incompatible with a sloppy reading, as the following example shows — note that the sloppy reading is unavailable even though this is the reading favored by the context, the strict reading being unlikely:

- (37) Ha Frici nem mutatja be a barátnőjének Tomit,
 if Frici not introduce.3SG PV the girlfriend.POSS3SG.DAT Tomi.ACC
 Tomi sem fogja őt!
 Tomi also.not FUT.3SG 3SG.ACC
 * sloppy: 'If Frici does not introduce Tomi to his girlfriend, Tomi will not introduce Frici to Tomi's girlfriend, either.'
 ✓ strict: 'If Frici does not introduce Tomi to his girlfriend, Tomi will not introduce Frici to her, either.'

Concerning the derivation of Hungarian pseudogapping, only speculations can be given at this point. Clearly, reversing focus never moves to the preverbal focus position (it is not an instance of exhaustive focus), and its position in the postverbal domain is rather free: it can occur in various positions, showing a slight preference for the clause final one, as the following non-elliptical versions of (34) show.

- (38) Balázs szokott nekem küldeni képeslapot. Én is szoktam
 Balázs HABIT.3SG 1SG.DAT send.INF postcard.ACC I also HABIT.1SG
 {NEKI} küldeni {NEKI} képeslapot {NEKI}.
 3SG.DAT send.INF 3SG.DAT postcard.ACC 3SG.DAT
 'Balázs usually sends postcards to me. I also send him postcards usually.'

The elliptical variant in (34) can be derived assuming that the focal remnant undergoes short A-bar movement to end up right before the infinitive. In that position, the infinitival VP undergoes ellipsis as in (39). This account is compatible with analyses of pseudogapping in the literature that postulate a (short) A-bar movement process to the left (Jayaseelan 2001, Gengel 2013 among others).

- (39) Én is szoktam NEKI_i [~~küldeni~~ — ~~képeslapot~~ — ~~t_i~~]
 I also HABIT.1SG 3SG.DAT send.INF postcard.ACC

Finally, it can be noted that the some type of reversing focus can also survive ellipsis of a predicative constituent out of which V-movement has taken place, i.e. pseudogapping can also take place when accompanied by V-stranding:

- (40) Balázs mindig küld nekem képeslapokat. Én is küldök_j
 Balázs always send.3SG 1SG.DAT postcard.PL.ACC I also send.1SG
 NEKI_i [t_j ~~képeslapokat~~ t_i].
 3SG.DAT postcard.PL.ACC
 lit. 'Balázs always sends postcards to me. I also send him (postcards).'

3. Clausal ellipsis

Hungarian, like many other languages, exhibits various instances of clausal ellipsis, such as sluicing, stripping and fragments. All these types involve TP ellipsis and as such are characterized (and can be identified) by strong tense-identity effects. The tense of the elliptical clause is always identical to that of the antecedent clause in clausal ellipsis. Observe this in the following instance of stripping.

- (41) Péter táncolt, és Mari is ~~táncolt~~ / *~~táncol~~. *stripping*
 Péter danced.3SG and Mari also dance.PST.3SG dance.PRS.3SG
 'Péter danced and Mari, too.'

The following three subsections review single-remnant and multi-remnant clausal ellipsis (including gapping) in Hungarian.

3.1. Single-remnant clausal ellipsis and the theory of ellipsis licensing

Remnants of clausal ellipsis move to the structurally rich left periphery (see 20). As a direct result of Hungarian's rich left periphery, clausal ellipsis exists with various remnant constituents (Bánréti 1992, 2007), such as *is*-phrases in stripping (cf. 41), *wh*- and focus constituents in sluicing and fragments (cf. 42) and focus constituents in fragments (cf. 43).

- (42) A: Péter táncolt tegnap egy lánnyal.
 Péter danced.3SG yesterday a girl.WITH
 'Péter danced with a girl yesterday.'
 B1: Kivel? *sluicing*
 who.INST
 'With who?'

- B2: Igen, BEÁVAL. (non-contrastive) fragment
 yes Bea.INST
 'Yes, with Bea.'
- (43) A: Péter TEGNAP táncolt Beával.
 Péter yesterday danced.3SG Bea.INST
 'It was yesterday that Péter danced with Bea.'
- B: Nem, TEGNAPELŐTT. (contrastive) fragment
 no yesterday.before
 'No, the day before yesterday.'

Sluicing and fragments with single remnants share identical derivations, including the position targeted by the remnants in them (Lipták 2011, Griffiths and Lipták 2014) — which is not surprising given that *wh*-constituents and preverbal focus occupy the same structural position, FocP, in non-elliptical sentences as well. The structural similarity extends to embedded contexts as well. In sluicing contexts (where an ellipsis remnant corresponds to an indefinite in the antecedent clause), TP ellipsis can have a *wh*- as well as a focus remnant, as example (44) shows (Horvath 2005, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006) — this example can also be treated as a case of a genuine embedded fragment.^{ix}

- (44) János meghívott egy lányt, de nem tudtam, hogy {kit / ANNÁT}.
 János invited.3SG a girl.ACC but not knew.1SG COMP who.ACC Anna.ACC
 'János invited a girl, but I didn't know {who / that it was Anna}.'

This is in line with the fact that *wh*-questions and focus constructions make use of the same syntax and occupy the same position in the left periphery. They are in complementary distribution in main clauses and trigger the separation of the preverbal particle from the verb in exactly the same way:

- (45) A: Kit hívott fel Bea?
 who.ACC called.3SG PV Bea
 'Who did Bea call?'
- B: A SZÜLEIT hívta fel Bea.
 the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC called.3SG PV Bea
 'Bea called her PARENTS.'

In fact, TP ellipsis is perfectly well-formed in the latter context (just as it is in fragments) with fronted emphatic operator constituents such as universal quantifiers (whose position is just above FocP):

- (46) Tudtam, hogy Péter táncolt tegnap egy pár lánnyal, de nem
 knew.1SG that Péter danced.3SG yesterday a couple girl.INST but not
 tudtam, hogy minddel.
 knew.1SG COMP all.INST
 'I knew that Péter danced with some girls yesterday, but I didn't know he danced with all.'

(45) and (46) have important repercussions for the theory of ellipsis as they show that *wh*-movement is not a distinctive trait of sluicing. Rather, ellipsis licensing is sensitive to the type of

feature the *wh*-phrase checks in overt syntax, which in Hungarian happens to be an operator feature. Based on data like (45) and (46) in Hungarian and other languages, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2006) suggest that sluicing tracks *wh*-syntax in this sense across languages: the feature content of *wh*-elements in non-elliptical questions determines what kind of remnants can escape TP-ellipsis in sluicing, referred to as the *wh*/sluicing-correlation:^x

(47) **THE WH/SLUICING-CORRELATION** (van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006)

The syntactic features that the [E]-feature checks in a certain language are identical to the strong features a *wh*-phrase checks in a non-elliptical constituent question in that language.

The reach of (47) interestingly extends to the domain of relative clauses as well in Hungarian: relative pronouns, which arguably have operator features just like question words, allow for ellipsis of their complement in free relatives and pronominally headed relatives (Lipták 2015) — contradicting the received opinion that TP ellipsis stranding a relative operator should be impossible (van Riemsdijk 1987, Lobeck 1995 and Merchant 2001).

- (48) A rovaroknak mindig 3 pár lábuk van, a százlábúaknak meg
the insects.DAT always 3 pair foot.POSS.3PL is the millipedes.DAT PRT
annyi, [RC amennyi ~~van-nekik~~].
that.many REL.how.many is 3PL.DAT
'Insects always have 3 pairs of feet. Millipedes on the other hand have however many they have.'

Evidence for clausal ellipsis in (48) is culled from various domains in Lipták (2015), among others the observation that the *annyi-amennyi* pronominal+relative pronoun complex occurs only in syntactic positions where one would expect a relative clause, and the fact that (48) exhibits characteristic properties of *antecedent-contained sluicing* (Yoshida 2010), such as tense and modality mismatches between the elliptical and the antecedent clause.

- (49) Pénzügyi válság nélkül nem tartanánk ott, [RC ahol ~~tartunk~~]
financial crisis without not be.PRES.COND.3PL there REL.where be.PRES.3PL
a. 'Without the financial crisis we would not be where we are.'
b. * 'Without the financial crisis we would not be where we are not (unavailable meaning).'

Sluicing in this type of relative clauses furthermore has a characteristic (cross-linguistically rare) prosodic profile that is unlike the prosodic profile of non-elliptical relatives.^{xi}

3.2. Multiple-remnant clausal ellipsis and ellipsis repair

Just like many languages, Hungarian can also form clausal ellipsis stranding multiple remnants. This is not surprising in the domain of *wh*-syntax, since it has been known since É. Kiss (1987, 1993) that Hungarian allows for multiple *wh*-movement to the left periphery. In fact, there is evidence from interpretation that multiple sluicing can only be formed via the derivational route of ordinary multiple *wh*-movement and no other. As Grebenyova (2007, 2012), and following her, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2013) observe, multiple *wh*-sluicing only allows for interpretations that are also available for multiple *wh*-movement as well.

Hungarian multiple *wh*-movement only supports a pair-list reading (É. Kiss 1993), cf. (50), and multiple *wh*-sluices are only possible in contexts that support such a reading, too. Thus they

are ruled out in single-pair contexts such as (50), but are well-formed in contexts such as (52) where a distributive reading is established.

- (50) Ki mit vett Balázsnak?
 who what.ACC bought Balázs.DAT
 ‘Who bought what for Balázs?’
 a. ✓ Everyone bought something for Balázs. I wonder what each person bought for him.
 b. * A single person bought something for Balázs. I wonder who the person was and what he bought for him.
- (51) Valaki vett valamit Balázsnak. # Nem tudom, hogy
 someone bought.3SG something.ACC Balázs.DAT not know.1SG COMP
 ki mit.
 who what.ACC
 ‘Someone bought something for Balázs. I don’t know who what.’
- (52) Mindenki vett valamit Balázsnak. Nem tudom, hogy ki
 everyone bought.3SG something.ACC Balázs.DAT not know.1SG COMP who
 mit.
 what.ACC
 ‘Each person bought something for Balázs. I don’t know what each person bought.’

In the domain of focus, however, the derivational options of multiple focus under ellipsis do not run parallel to the choices of overt focus movement in Hungarian: multiple focus remnants are allowed notwithstanding the fact that multiple focus fronting in non-elliptical contexts does not exist. In other words, two adjacent foci are only possible when followed by ellipsis:

- (53) Mari azt akarja, hogy adjak valamit valakinek.
 Mari that.ACC want.3sg COMP give.SUBJ.1SG something.ACC someone.DAT
 Úgy emlékszem, hogy EGY KÖNYVET BEÁNAK (* adjak)
 so remember.1SG COMP a book.ACC Bea.DAT give.SUBJ.1SG
 ‘Mari want me to give something to someone. What I remember is that (she wants me to give) a book to Bea.’

One possible way of thinking about this apparent breakdown between ellipsis and non-elliptical syntax is to consider it to be a PF-repair effect of ellipsis, as proposed in van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2013). The proposal is based on the assumption that multiple focus movement in Hungarian triggers a PF-violation, namely that non-final focus constituents are not adjacent to the verb (recall from footnote 3 that there is obligatory adjacency between the lexical verb and the fronted focused constituent).

- (54) a. * EGY KÖNYVET BEÁNAK adott János. *no focus-V adjacency for the*
 a book. ACC Bea.DAT gave János *initial focus*
 b. EGY KÖNYVET adott János BEÁNAK. *focus-V adjacency observed*
 a book. ACC gave János Bea.DAT *for the initial focus*
 INTENDED: ‘JÁNOS gave a book to BEA.’

If the observed focus-verb adjacency is a phonological requirement, it is possible to attribute the repair effect of ellipsis to the fact that it removes the verb in clausal ellipsis and thus eliminates

the confounding factor altogether: if there is no verb, it does not have to be adjacent to anything and multiple focus movement is allowed as in (55):^{xii}

(55) ... [_{FocP} EGY KÖNYVET [_{FocP} BEÁNAK [_{TP} ~~adott János~~ EGY KÖNYVET ~~BEÁNAK~~]]]

Finally it must be mentioned that multi-remnant TP ellipsis can also strand constituents with distinct discourse functions. It can exhibit a combination of topics, quantifiers and focus constituents, in the order allowed in non-elliptical sentences, i.e. *topic* < *quantifiers* < *focus*. For illustration, consider the following contrastive fragments in B1 and B2. B1 involves a quantifier followed by a focus, B2 has a contrastive topic followed by a focus.

- (56) A: Mindenkinek KÉTSZER telefonáltál?
 everyone.DAT twice called.2SG
 'Did you call everyone twice?'
 B1: Nem, mindenkinek HÁROMSZOR.
 no everyone.DAT three.times
 lit. 'No, everyone three times.' (No, I called everyone three times.)
 B2: Nem, *a lányoknak* HÁROMSZOR.
 no the girls.DAT three.times
 lit. 'No, the girls three times.' (No, I called the girls three times.)

3.3. Multiple remnants in gapping

As Bánréti (1992, 2007) has pointed out, gapping-type elliptical constructions have two basic types in Hungarian: cases in which the final remnant is a contrastively focused constituent and cases in which the final remnant is not focal, but instead the elliptical clause (and its antecedent) corresponds to an information-structurally unmarked sentence.

Starting with the former type, consider (56), which illustrates gapping with two remnants, a contrastive topic (*én*) and a preverbal focus (*ma*).

- (57) Péter TEGNAP táncolt, *én* pedig MA.
 Péter yesterday danced I PRT today
 'Péter danced yesterday and I today.'

As the reader can ascertain, this kind of example resembles the cases in (56) above in the sense that it features left peripheral constituents arranged in the expected order. Accordingly, the ellipsis here corresponds to ordinary TP ellipsis, and thus does not in fact instantiate English-type gapping. One strong reason to think so is that unlike English gapping, the elliptical clause here can be embedded with respect to its antecedent — cf. the following example, adapted from Bánréti (2007) (see Farudi 2013 for similar facts in Farsi.)

- (58) Az elsőök MONDATTANBÓL akarnak vizsgázni, a
 the 1st.year.student.PL syntax.ELA want.3PL write.exam.INF the
 másodikosok meg azt mondják, hogy ők inkább ALAKTANBÓL.
 2nd.year.student.PL PRT that.ACC say.3PL COMP they rather morphology.ELA
 'The first year students want an exam in syntax, and the 2nd year students say that they
 rather (want an exam) in morphology.'

A distinct subtype of gapping with focal remnants is illustrated in (59). This contains two focus remnants, corresponding to the two members of a complex multiple focus construction (as defined in Krifka 1991, corresponding to focus on an ordered pair). As reflected by word order in the antecedent clause (and the preference for parallelism in structure), both members correspond to focused entities: the first has a preverbal correlate and the second a postverbal one. Note that this kind of gapping cannot contain the elliptical clause embedded with respect to its antecedent, thus more closely resembling gapping in other languages (59b):

- (59) a. Az ELSŐSÖK választották a MONDATTANT, a MÁSODIKOSOK
 the 1st.year.student.PL chose.3PL the syntax.ACC the 2nd.year.student.PL
 pedig az ALAKTANT.
 PRT the morphology.ACC
 'It was the FIRST year students who chose SYNTAX, and it was the SECOND year students who chose MORPHOLOGY.'
- b. *Az ELSŐSÖK választották a MONDATTANT, a másodikosok
 the 1st.year.student.PL chose.3PL the syntax.ACC the 2nd.year.student.PL
 pedig azt mondták, hogy ŐK az ALAKTANT.
 PRT that.acc said.3PL COMP they the morphology.ACC
 'It was the FIRST year students who chose SYNTAX, and the SECOND year students said that it was THEM who chose MORPHOLOGY.'

The derivation of these constructions is arguably the same as that presented for multiple focus remnants in section 3.2. above. Multiple focus remnants are allowed in the left periphery in these contexts due to elliptical repair: two focal remnants normally cannot both front as they would violate the focus-verb adjacency rule. Under ellipsis, this rule is vacuously satisfied and both constituents can undergo fronting:

- (60) ... [_{FocP} A MÁSODIKOSOK [_{FocP} AZ ALAKTANT [_{TP} ~~A MÁSODIKOSOK választották ALAKTANT~~]]

The least understood pattern of gapping is gapping with remnants that are non-focal in nature, which are anteceded by an information-structurally unmarked clause. The following examples, adapted from Bánréti (2007) illustrate this pattern. As Bánréti notes, the remnants normally correspond to arguments rather than adjuncts, and the number of remnants can be higher than two.

- (61) a. Misi megvitatott egy forgatókönyvet, Robi pedig egy novellát.
 Misi discussed.3SG a script.ACC Robi PRT a short.story.ACC
 'Misi discussed a script and Robi a short story.'
- b. Misi megvitatott egy forgatókönyvet Erzsivel, Robi pedig egy
 Misi discussed.3SG a script.ACC Erzsi.INST Robi PRT a
 novellát Valival.
 short.story.ACC Vali.INST
 'Misi discussed a script with Erzsi and Robi (discussed) a short story with Vali.'

Since in this construction type the antecedent is an information-structurally unmarked clause, and the remnants do not have any specific discourse functions, one would be inclined to think that the missing finite verb is elided in situ as a result of non-constituent deletion.

- (62) Robi pedig ~~megvitatott~~ egy novellát Valival.
 Robi PRT discussed.3SG a short.story.ACC Vali.INST

Given, however, that Hungarian does not show evidence for such in-situ deletion in other contexts, the account in (62) is unlikely.

4. Right node raising

Right node raising (RNR) in Hungarian is an attested phenomenon (Bánréti 1992, 2001, 2007), as the following examples (adapted from Bánréti 2001 and Surányi 2009b respectively) show. The shared pivot is enclosed in brackets in these examples.

- (63) Péter a tíz– Mari pedig a húsz–[betűs szavakat kereste meg].
 Péter the ten Mari PRT the twenty-letter word.PL.ACC searched.3SG PV
 'Péter looked up the words with 10 letters, and Mari looked up the those with 20 letters.'
- (64) Neked el küldi, nekem fel hozza [valaki a leveleket
 you.DAT PV send.3SG 1SG.DAT PV bring.3SG someone the letter. PL.ACC
 a portáról].
 the reception.DEL
 'Someone sends the letters to you from the reception desk, whereas someone brings them up to me.'

As (63) shows, RNR need not observe syntactic constituency, which supports the conclusion that this example of RNR is not derived by movement.

Importantly, Hungarian only allows for RNR in which the pivot corresponds to non-focal material. Focal pivots that represent contrastive focus or the answer to a *wh*-question cannot be formed, consider (65) and (66):

- (65) *Context*: Apparently, Viktor read and Zsuzsa translated *Crime and punishment*.
 * Nem, Viktor el olvasta, Bea pedig le fordította [A HÁBORÚ ÉS BÉKÉT].
 no Viktor PV read.3SG Bea PRT PV translated.3SG *War and peace*.ACC
 'No, Viktor read and Bea translated War and Peace.'
- (66) *Context*: Which book did Tomi read and Bea translate?
 * Tomi el olvasta, Bea pedig le fordította [A HÁBORÚ ÉS BÉKÉT].
 Tomi PV read.3SG Bea PRT PV translated.3SG *War and peace*.ACC
 'Tomi read and Bea translated War and Peace.'

The fact that focal pivots are disallowed in Hungarian supports the generalization by Valmala (2013) according to which RNR with focal and RNR with non-focal pivots have distinct information-structural, prosodic, and syntactic properties (see also Hirsch and Wagner 2015). If, as Valmala claims, focal-pivot RNR is derived via rightward movement of the focal chunk in languages like English, where (65) and (66) are grammatical, the impossibility of this kind of RNR in Hungarian can be understood with reference to the fact that Hungarian lacks rightward movement processes for the expression of focus.

5. Ellipsis in comparative clauses

Hungarian comparative clauses may contain unpronounced elements. The most important distinction between comparative clauses in Hungarian and those in English in this domain is that a degree phrase does not have to be eliminated in comparative clauses via comparative deletion in Hungarian: such a phrase may be covert (67a), or overt (67b) (Kenesei 1992). When it is overt, the nominal or adjectival degree expression always contains an overt operator (a relative *wh*-operator), as shown in (67b).

- (67) a. Mari több macskát vett, mint Péter.
 Mari more cat.ACC bought.3SG than Péter
 b. Mari több macskát vett, mint *(ahány) macskát Péter
 Mari more cat.ACC bought.3SG than REL.how.many cat.ACC Péter
 vett.
 bought.3SG
 'Mari bought more cats than Péter.'

When overt, the degree expression must appear in the left periphery of the comparative clause, it cannot be left in situ (cf. 68). This follows straightforwardly as Hungarian does not allow in-situ relative pronouns, either.

- (68) * Mari több macskát vett, mint Péter vett ahány macskát.
 Mari more cat.ACC bought.3SG than Péter bought.3SG REL.how.many cat.ACC
 'Mari bought more cats than Péter.'

Bacskai-Atkari (2010, 2014) claims that the non-existence of covert degree operators on the left periphery in Hungarian and the lack of an obligatory process of comparative deletion are interrelated. She argues that comparative deletion only affects degree expressions in the left periphery, featuring covert operators, and thus it never applies to Hungarian as in this language the degree operator is overt.

She also argues that cases where the entire degree constituent is missing (cf. 67a) are derived by ordinary ellipsis processes that are operative in Hungarian clauses in general, such as predicate ellipsis, sluicing or gapping (cf. 69 for the latter two cases). In these examples the degree phrase stays in-situ in Bacskai-Atkari's analysis, and gets eliminated due to it being inside an ellipsis site. The obligatoriness of ellipsis is supported by the observation that in cases when the degree phrase is covert, a given verb cannot be pronounced, as can be observed in (69a).^{xiii}

- (69) a. Mari több könyvet vett, mint Péter (*vett).
 Mari more book.ACC bought than Péter bought.3SG
 'Mari bought more books than Péter did.'
 b. Mari több könyvet vett a fiának, mint Péter
 Mari more book.ACC bought.3SG the son.POSS3SG.DAT than Péter
 a lányának.
 the daughter.POSS3SG.DAT
 'Mari bought more books for her son than Péter did for her daughter.'

6. Null Complement Anaphora

Hungarian null complement anaphora (NCA) are difficult to detect for the reason that many verbs that are known to allow NCA complements in other languages take complements in Hungarian that can be missing as a result of pro-drop. Verbs with nominative or accusative nominal complements or finite clausal complements associated with nominative and accusative sentential pronouns are such: their complements, which are headed or spelled out by definite pronouns can undergo the regular process of subject and object pro-drop (see Kenesei 1994).

Null complement anaphora can be evidenced among verbs that normally select prepositional complements, however. These are verbs that take nominal complements marked with oblique case, or finite clause complements associated with oblique sentential pronouns. These types of complements cannot undergo pro-drop in the language, so the lack of an otherwise obligatory complement is telling in these cases. Verbs where such complements can be missing, and which therefore allow for NCA are e.g. *vállalkozik* 'volunteer' (with a sublative PP/finite clause complement), *ajánlkozik* 'offer' (with a sublative PP/finite clause complement), *jelentkezik* 'sign up' (with a sublative PP/finite clause complement), *csodálkozik* 'wonder' (with a superessive PP/finite clause complement), *emlékezik* 'remember' (with a sublative PP/finite clause complement) or *egyetért* 'agree' (with an instrumental PP complement). The following two examples illustrate the use of these verbs without overt complements.

- (70) Kérdeztük, ki viszi el a virágot Beának. Balázs vállalkozott.
 asked.1PL who bring.3SG PV the flower.ACC Bea.DAT Balázs volunteered. 3SG
 'We asked who might bring the flower to Bea. Balázs volunteered.'
- (71) Javasoltuk, hogy az igazgató nyissa meg a konferenciát.
 suggested.1PL COMP the director open.SUBJ.3SG PV the conference.ACC
 Mindenki egyetértett.
 everyone agreed.3SG
 'We suggested that the director should open the conference. Everyone agreed.'

Note that extraction cannot be used as a test for the null complement analysis in these cases, as extraction from the complements of these verbs is disallowed anyway. Extraction can be used as a test for predicates selecting infinitival complements, verbs such as *akar* 'want', *mer* 'dare', *szeretne* 'like', *hajlandó* 'be willing', etc on the other hand. Interestingly this test reveals that the complements of this class of verbs do allow for extraction, which in turn shows that these predicates do not take null anaphors as complements.

- (72) Mondd el, melyik filmet akarod meg nézni, és melyiket
 tell.IMP.2SG PV which film.ACC want.2SG PV watch.INF and which.ACC
 nem akarod.
 not want.2SG
 lit. 'Tell me which film you want to watch and which you don't want (to watch).'

7. Conclusions

This paper has illustrated the major types of elliptical constructions in Hungarian that have been identified and analyzed in some detail in previous works. It was shown that Hungarian has a wealth of elliptical constructions. Many of these constructions derive by the leftward movement of a syntactic constituent and ellipsis of (a subpart of) the domain out of which movement has

taken place. The existence of sluicing inside relative clauses and preverb-stranding furthermore points to the important role prosody plays in the formation of elliptical clauses.

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¹ Non-standard abbreviations in this paper are the following: AFF: affirmative particle; COMP: complementizer; COND: conditional; DE: reversing response particle; FUT: future auxiliary; HABIT: habitual auxiliary; NOM: nominalizer; PART:

participial form; POT: potential modality; PRT: discourse particle; PV: preverbal particle; REL: morpheme marking relative pronouns; VALO: copulative element linking arguments/adjuncts to derived nouns. Past tense and object definiteness agreement on the verb are not glossed throughout. Preverbal particles and verbs are spelled in two words, contrary to the Hungarian orthographic tradition.

ⁱⁱ Under either type of analysis, these facts have to be differentiated from nominalized adjectives (see Giannakidou and Stavrou 1999, Panagiotidis 2003) such as *gazdag-ok* 'rich-PL' 'the rich', *beteg-ek* 'sick-PL' 'the sick', *fiatal-ok* 'young-PL' 'the young' for at least two reasons: (i) nominalized adjectives, unlike missing nouns like in (1) or (2), can be used without any (linguistic or non-linguistic) antecedent; (ii) nominalized adjectives have a generic [+human] interpretation, while the missing nouns in (1) and (2) are not restricted in this way.

ⁱⁱⁱ In one theory of focus placement (Brody 1990), Spec,FocP harbors a single focused or *wh*-moved constituent of the clause. The verbal head raises up to the Foc⁰ head stranding its verbal modifier and creating obligatory adjacency between the raising head and the focused item. The verb does not raise any further than Foc⁰. In other words, there is no head movement to Dist⁰ or Top⁰ in Hungarian.

^{iv} The precise geographical spread of this interspeaker variation is unknown. In a small-scale survey involving 13 informants (dating back to 2012), the B speakers appeared to be from the Budapest area (see Lipták 2013 for further details). Note that dialectal variation along the same lines is also reported to exist between Capeverdean and Portuguese as described in Costa et al (2012): Capeverdean can only resort to V-stranding in polarity contexts, while Portuguese can do so both in polarity and non-polarity contexts. See Costa et al (2012) for the facts and an account of the variation.

^v The described optionality in the size of V-stranding ellipsis in verbal complexes is only available under the so-called 'straight order' of verbal complexes (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, É. Kiss 2002). See an explanation of why it is missing in the 'inverted' orders in Lipták (2013).

Note also that the preverb appears left-adjacent to the finite auxiliary in these examples due to an ellipsis-independent process of what is referred to as *preverb-climbing* in the literature: when a preverb belonging to an infinitive obligatorily appears before the finite auxiliary or semi-lexical verb that selects the infinitive.

(i) Bea fel fogja hívni a szüleit.
Bea PV FUT.3SG call.INF the parent.POSS3SG.PL.ACC
'Bea will call her parents.'

^{vi} *De* is a sentential answer particle encoding the reverse function that indicates a relative switch of polarity (from negative to positive) with respect to an antecedent. See Farkas (2009) for this element in Hungarian.

^{vii} What motivates the placement of the preverb to the clause-initial FP projection is far from clear. Since the preverb is not a morphosyntactic category that is related to either polarity or affirmation/answerhood, it is unlikely that this movement is driven by a morphosyntactic feature. Note that the movement is sensitive to prosodic structure, specifically to accenting, as preverb-verb combinations have pitch accent on the preverb. See Dvořák (2007) for the role that accenting plays in a similar ellipsis process in Slovenian.

FP should be thought of as a position that hosts the sentential answer particles *igen* 'yes' and *nem* 'no' as well (possibly a polarity focus position of some sort). Independent justification for this comes from the similar distribution of *igen* and preverb-stranding in some contexts: e.g. neither a stranded preverb nor a single *igen* 'yes' can be used as positive answer to an alternative question. As (iB1) shows, V-stranding can be used in this context.

(i) A: Fel hívta Bea a szüleit tegnap vagy nem hívta fel őket?
PV called.3SG Bea the parent.POSS.3SG.PL.ACC yesterday or not called.3SG PV 3SG.ACC
'Did Bea call her parents yesterday or did she not call them?'
B1: Fel hívta. verb stranding B2: * Fel. preverb stranding B3: * Igen.
PV called.3SG PV yes
'She did.' 'She did.' 'Yes.'

^{viii} The necessity of the inverse pairing relation is further indicated by the fact that examples like (i), where the post-auxiliary remnant does not repeat an already mentioned participant are judged as degraded by speakers. Some speakers report that they only accept such non-inverse examples if they understand the relation between the participants in the elliptical clause (i.e. *me* and *Tamás*), to be similar to the relation between the participants in the antecedent (i.e. *me* and *Balázs*).

(i) Balázs szokott nekem küldeni képeslapot. (?)Én is szoktam Tamásnak.
Balázs HABIT.3SG 1SG.DAT send.INF postcard.ACC I also HABIT.1SG Tamás.DAT
'Balázs usually sends postcards to me. I also usually send Tamás postcards.'

^{ix} Note that the embedding verb *tud* 'know' used in (44) cannot introduce embedded fragments in other languages such as English, where only parenthetical embedded fragments are allowed. These can only feature verbs like *think*, *expect* or *hope* (Morgan 1973, Temmerman 2013):

(i) A: Peter danced with someone. B: I { ✓ think / ✓ expect / ✓ hope / * know } with Bea.

^x The [E] feature in (47) should be understood as the specific notation introduced by Merchant (2001:55-61, 2004:670-673). Merchant argues that ellipsis in sluicing should be implemented by means of a syntactic [E] feature, which resides on C⁰ and has all the relevant properties that distinguish elliptical structures from their non-elliptical counterparts, summarized in (i):

- (i) a. the syntax of [E]: $E_{[uwh^*, uQ^*]}$
 b. the phonology of [E]: $\phi_{IP} \rightarrow \emptyset / E \text{ ___}$
 c. the semantics of [E]: $[[E]] = \lambda p : e\text{-GIVEN } (p) [p]$

Van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2006) argue that the syntax of [E] (cf.ia) can vary across languages.

^{xi} The relative pronouns in examples like (48) and (49) must carry stress (in line with Sprouse 2006, Sáez 2011). The latter is not possible for relative pronouns in non-elliptical clauses, compare the non-elliptical (i) and the elliptical (ii), where [◌] indicates lexical accent and [◌] lack thereof.

- (i) [◌]Mindenki [◌]megcsókolta [◌]azt, [◌]akit [◌]megcsókolt.
 everyone kissed.3SG that.ACC REL.who.ACC kissed.3SG
 (ii) [◌]Mindenki [◌]megcsókolta [◌]azt, [◌]akit.
 everyone kissed.3SG that.ACC REL.who.ACC
 'Everyone kissed whoever he/she kissed.'

The stress pattern in (ii) is independently attested in Hungarian in environments not featuring clausal ellipsis, too: it is also found in relative clauses that contain no other overt material but the relative pronoun due to pro-drop and copula drop. This is possible in sentences that relativize an AP or NP predicate and where both the subject and the 3SG present tense copula is zero, such as (iii).

- (iii) [◌]fogadjuk el [◌]olyannak, [◌]amilyen \emptyset_{pro} \emptyset_{cop} .
 accept.IMP.1PL PV such.DAT REL.what.kind he is
 'Let's accept him/her the way he is.'

^{xii} See van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2013) for the specific technical implementation: multiple focus movement does take place in narrow syntax but it has to spell out the lower copy of *Beának* in (53b). Note also that the movement of the verb from T⁰ to Foc⁰ (see footnote 3) is bled by clausal ellipsis taking place in (54), similarly to (42), (43), (44) above. See Horvath (2005), van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2008) for details on bleeding.

^{xiii} Non-given verbs and verbs expressing a tense distinction with respect to the antecedent can survive the ellipsis.

- (i) Mari több könyvet vesz holnap, mint Péter vett tavaly.
 Mari more book.ACC buy.3SG tomorrow than Péter bought.3SG last.year
 'Mari will buy more books tomorrow than Péter did last year.'