

Dissecting adpositional particle constructions: remarks from ellipsis

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This paper contributes to the study of inflected reduplicating adpositional particle constructions by investigating their behavior under ellipsis. It will be shown that just like any separable particle, inflected reduplicating adpositional particles can be severed from the rest of the clause via the phenomenon of particle stranding and this phenomenon has properties that bear on the analysis of these constructions. The novel observations in the domain of ellipsis are predicted by some but not all approaches to inflected adpositional particle constructions, particularly they motivate rethinking some aspects of the syntactic approaches currently available.

Keywords: *adpositional particles, ellipsis, Chain Reduction, morphological reanalysis, ellipsis identity, (syntax-)PF interface*

1 Introduction: Inflected Reduplicated Adpositional Particle Constructions

Inflected reduplicating adpositional particles, also called the "H-class" of particles (the term originates from Surányi 2009b), are inflected case suffixes that function as preverbal particles. Such particles express directional or stative locative relations or form a fully idiomatic combination with the verb. The full list of particles that appear in this way are: *bele* 'into', *benne* 'in', *érte* 'for', *hozzá* 'to', *neki* 'to/against', *rá* 'onto', *rajta* 'on' (Laczkó and Rákosi 2011). Constructions with inflected reduplicating particles constitute a relatively well-researched area of Hungarian syntax, having been studied in (at least) Ackerman and Webelhuth (1993), É. Kiss (1998, 2002), Surányi (2009a,b), Rákosi and Laczkó (2011), Laczkó and Rákosi (2013), Rákosi (2014) and Hegedűs (2016).

1.1 Core Data and Empirical Generalizations

As the above works have shown, inflected reduplicated adpositional particle constructions alternate between two different syntactic expressions for the same thematic relation: the particle (showing up in 3SG form) can be followed by a lexical adpositional associate, in what will be referred to as the *complex strategy* in this paper (cf. 1). In the *simplex strategy*, on the other hand, the same case-marked argument appears as a verbal modifier before the verb (cf. 2a). In case the argument is pronominal in nature, only the simplex strategy is available in neutral clauses — the particle appears before the verb fully inflected for the person and number specifications of the pronominal complement, cf. (2b).¹

- (1) Peti **rá** nézett { Zsuzsi-**ra** / a lányok-**ra** }.
P. ONTO.3SG looked.3SG Zsuzsi-ONTO the girl.PL-ONTO
'Peti looked at Zsuzsi / the girls.'

¹ Note also that it is not the case that all particle–verb combinations are fully convertible between the complex and the simplex strategy, e.g. nominal complements with a definite determiner sometimes fare poorly in the preverbal position (ib):

- (i) a. Peti hozzá szólt a vitához. b. * Peti a vitához szólt.
 Peti to.3SG said.3SG the argument.TO Peti the argument.TO said.3SG
 'Peti contributed to the argument by commenting.'

As Surányi (2009b) shows, the choice between the two strategies has to do with factors that regulate the formation of complex predicates.

- (2) a. Peti { Zsuzsi-**ra** / a lányok-**ra** } nézett.
 P. Zsuzsi-ONTO / the girl.PL-ONTO looked.3SG
 ‘Peti looked at Zsuzsi / at the girls.’
 b. Peti **rám** nézett (*rám).
 P. ONTO.1SG looked.3SG ONTO.1SG
 ‘Peti looked at me.’

In the complex strategy, the verb has a lexical noun argument marked with the same case as the particle, i.e. the case marker appears twice in the clause: once in the particle and once inside the PP associate, giving rise to the impression that the case marker is reduplicated, in the descriptive sense of the word.

Inflected adpositional particles assume the form they take when complemented by a pronominal (treating case markers as adpositional heads), while the same case suffixes show up in the non-inflected, bare, form if they take a lexical noun phrase complement (cf. Table 1). Since Marác (1986) it is known that these forms exhibit possessive agreement morphology, due to the fact that case suffixes in the history of Hungarian developed from possessed nouns and postpositions, possessed by and agreeing with their pronominal complement (see also Hegedűs 2014).

Table 1 Possessive agreement with agreeing case suffixes

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
1 person	(én)-rám I-onto.POSS.1SG	(mi)-ránk we-onto.POSS.1PL
2 person	(te)-rád you-onto.POSS.2SG	(ti)-rátok you-onto.POSS.2PL
3 person	(ő)-rá 3sg-onto.POSS.3SG	(ő)-rájuk 3sg-onto.POSS.3PL

There is one difference, however, between case marked pronouns and H-class particles: H-class particles in the complex strategy cannot contain overt pronouns (Surányi 2009a,b):

- (3) Peti (*ő)-rá nézett Zsuzsi-ra.
 Peti 3sg-ONTO.3SG looked.3SG Zsuzsi-ONTO
 ‘Peti looked at Zsuzsi.’

As another speciality of these constructions, all speakers accept H-class particles agreeing only in person but not in number with the associate in the complex strategy (i.e. not inflecting for plurality). Fully inflecting particles, however, are only accepted by some but not all speakers. See Rákosi (2014) for a detailed overview concerning this variation.

- (4) Peti { rá / % rájuk } nézett a lány-ok-ra.
 P. ONTO.3SG ONTO.3PL looked.3SG the girl-PL-ONTO
 ‘Peti looked at the girls.’

1.2 Approaches to Inflected Adpositional Particle Constructions

All research on these constructions agree that H-class particles occupy the immediately preverbal position in neutral clauses (see more on this in section 2) and that they have an aspectual role (they mostly telicize the verb). There are two types of approaches that can be distinguished on the basis of where they place particle-verb combinations in the grammar:

(a) *lexicalist* approaches (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1993, É. Kiss 1998) treat particle–verb combinations as lexical units in some sense (see also the LFG approaches in Rákosi and Laczkó 2011, Laczkó and Rákosi 2013)

(b) *syntactic* approaches (É. Kiss 2002, Surányi 2009a,b) assume that particle and verb form a complex unit only in the syntax

These two strands of approaches have distinct views on the following two questions (among others):

Q1 What is the relation between the particle and the predicate-internal associate in the complex strategy?

Q2 Are the complex and the simplex strategy different in their syntax? Is there a structural difference between the inflected particle in the complex strategy (*rá nézett Zsuzsira*) and the inflected particle in the simplex strategy (*rám/rád/rá/ránk/rátok/rájuk*)?

In lexicalist approaches, Q1 receives the answer that there is no direct syntactic relation between the preverbal particle and the postverbal associate. Instead, the particle is a derivational element (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1993) or an adverbial particle with an obsolete agreement form (É. Kiss 1998), not syntactically related to the associated lexical phrase.

Syntactic approaches come in two types when considering this issue. According to É. Kiss (2002), the particle is the argument proper of the verb (with a full pronoun in it) and the associate is an adjunct in 'specifying' appositive relation with the particle (thus only present when it has lexical content), as in (5), with category labels given as in É. Kiss (2002).

(5) Peti [ArgP *pro-rá*]_i nézett [*t_i* [KP Mari-ra]]
 P. pro-ONTO.3SG look.3SG Mari.ONTO

Surányi (2009a,b) on the other hand argues that there is a direct syntactic relation, namely the particle and the associate form two links of a single syntactic movement dependency. The two links are realized in PF differently due to the operation of partial deletion, followed by morphosyntactic reanalysis by which the higher member of the chain is fused together with the verb, in turn rendering the higher copy invisible for the Linear Correspondence Axiom and thus allowing the pronunciation of both high and low copies (see section 2 for details). The main motivation for a direct dependency account comes from the associate's transparent behavior when it comes to extraction. Extraction out of argumental associates is well-formed (Surányi 2009a,b):

(6) Melyik politikussal_i akarsz bele kezdeni egy hosszabb interjúba *t_i*?
 which politician.WITH want.2SG INTO.3SG start.INF a longer interview.IN
 'Which politician do you want to start a long interview with?'

The possibility of extraction argues against an adjunction-based approach, like É. Kiss (2002), in which the predicate-internal associate is an adjunct (see 5 above). If the associate were a true adjunct, we expect that it should constitute an island for extraction, contrary to the observation in (6). Note in passing that lexical approaches also make this prediction as they treat the postverbal associate as full argument of the verb.

Concerning Q2, lexicalist approaches postulate that the simplex and complex strategies are not uniform in structure. Both Ackerman and Webelhuth (1993) and É. Kiss (1998) treat the preverb in the complex strategy uninflected, while the one in the simplex strategy is inflected and complemented by a pronoun. This insight has been further supported by Rákosi (2014), who claims that the inflected particle in the complex strategy cannot contain a full pronoun (unlike the one in the simplex strategy) as it does not show pronominal behavior

according to binding theory. Note that (7) does not show a binding theory violation, which is strange if the particle contains a pronoun (as indicated here).

- (7) A gyerekek pro-rá néztek egymásra.
 the children onto.3SG looked.3PL each.other.ONTO
 'The children looked at each other.'

Syntactic approaches (both the indirect (adjunction-based) and the direct dependency approach) share the same answer to Q2: they assume that the simple and the complex strategy both contain the same type of particle: one with a silent *pro* in it. In the direct dependency account, the simplex strategy is also derived via the formation of a single chain in much the same way as the complex strategy, with the exception that in the simplex strategy it is only the highest link that is spelled out in PF.

The responses of the various approaches to issues Q1 and Q2, as well as the possibility of extraction out of the postverbal associate are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 Aspects of approaches to reduplicated adpositional particle strategies

	<i>syntactic relation PRT & associate</i>	<i>PRT in simplex vs. complex strategy</i>	<i>extraction from associate</i>
lexical approaches (e.g. Ackerman and Webelhuth 1993, É. Kiss 1998)	no syntactic dependency	different	predicted
syntactic indirect dependency approach (É. Kiss 2002)	associate modifies PRT	identical	not predicted
syntactic direct dependency approach (Surányi 2009a,b)	two links of a chain	identical	predicted

As this overview reveals, the syntactic direct dependency (Surányi 2009a,b) is the most successful account in that it captures the lexical reduplication effect (that PRT and adposition on associate are identical) in a straightforward manner and it also predicts extraction possibilities.

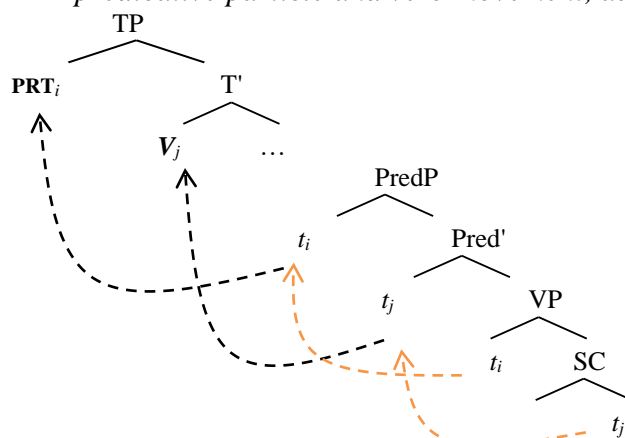
The modest goal of this paper is to comment on some aspects of the analyses in Table 2 in the light of data involving clausal ellipsis in inflected reduplicating particle constructions. There will be two (unrelated) claims made on the basis of elliptical data. The first of these will be specific to the syntactic direct dependency approach: it will be shown that ellipsis questions the role of morphosyntactic reanalysis in the proposed mechanism of chain realization in the complex strategy. The second claim will reflect on Question 2, whether the particle in the simplex and the complex strategy are the same or not. The conclusion here will be that the complex and the simplex strategy are arguably non-identical in nature.

The paper is structured as follows. After an exposition of the direct dependency account to the core data in section 2, section 3 will introduce the elliptical phenomenon necessary for the argument to be made in section 4 about the timing of ellipsis and morphosyntactic reanalysis. Section 5 will introduce elliptical data pertaining to particle (mis)matches and their relevance for the analyses of particle constructions. Section 6 sums up the results.

2 The Direct Dependency Analysis of Adpositional Particle Constructions (Surányi 2009a,b)

The analysis in Surányi (2009a,b) for particle and associate in terms of direct syntactic dependency forms integral part of Surányi's pioneering works on particle constructions (Surányi 2009a,b,c), arguing for a non-lexicalist approach to these. These works subscribe to the view that particles are syntactically independent phrasal units (in line with Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Olsvay 2004, É. Kiss 1994, 2002, 2006 among others), which originate inside the VP, as predicates of small clauses, complements or adjuncts. In Surányi's approach, particles of all types undergo a (minimally) 2-step movement from the VP across PredP to the specifier position of the phrase whose head contains the overt verb, identified as TP in Kenesei (1998), É. Kiss (2008), Surányi (2009a), PredP in Surányi (2009b) or AspP in É.Kiss (1998) among others. For the purposes of this paper, we follow the first of these accounts in assuming the final position of particles to be Sp,TP, see (8). The derivation contains movement to the intermediate Sp,PredP position, necessitated by the need for the particle and the verb to undergo semantic incorporation in this position (see Surányi 2009a for further discussion).

(8) *predicative particle and verb movement, adopted from Surányi (2009a)*



For complex inflected adpositional particle constructions (cf. 1a,b), Surányi's masterful analysis is built on the observation that in the complex strategy, it is the associate that represents the real adjunct or argument of the predicate, and occupies a predicate-internal position accordingly (see the discussion of 6 above).² The particle represents the exact same element, by forming a movement dependency with the associate: they form a single chain, in which the particle corresponds to the spell-out of the highest copy of the moving PP, and the associate corresponds to the lowest one.

(9) Peti [TP<sub>[PP pro-rá]_i nézett [... [PP a lányok-ra]_i]].
P. ONTO.3SG looked.3SG the girl.PL-ONTO
'Peti looked at the girls.'</sub>

In the simplex strategy, we also find a single chain, in which the higher PP copy is spelled out and the lower copy is silent.

(10) Peti [PP pro-rám]_i nézett [PP ~~pro-rám~~].

² Next to the H-class of inflecting particles, Surányi also designs a very similar analysis for inflecting U-class particles, in which the associate shows up in dative case, shown in (i). In this paper we put the U-class aside for reasons of space, yet many many points to be made also carry over to U-particles as well.

(i) Peti utána futott Zsuzsinak.
P. after.3SG ran.3SG Zsuzsi.DAT
'Peti ran after Zsuzsi.'

P. ONTO.1SG looked.3SG ONTO.1SG
 'Peti looked at me.'

To start with the derivation of the simplex strategy in (9), elimination of the lower copy is completely standard and is in line with the proposal of Nunes (2004) according to which *Chain Reduction* (a PF operation that deletes certain copies or parts of them) is required to make chains linearizable for the LCA (Linear Correspondence Axiom), the latter taken to be a PF constraint.³ Deletion of the higher copy, and retention of the lower one, would not be allowed for the independent reason that the Sp,TP position must be filled in Hungarian neutral clauses (T has an EPP property).

The formation of the chain in (10) needs more comments. Surányi, following and building on Nunes (2004), proposes that there are two operations applying to the single chain in PF: a step of Chain Reduction deleting certain copies in the chain, followed by the step of *morphosyntactic reanalysis*. Chain Reduction in the case of the complex strategy involves the mechanism of partial (or scattered) deletion, deleting different subparts of the various copies: deletion targets the nominal complement in the higher copy and the case suffix in the lower one.

In the higher copy, Chain Reduction deletes parts of the lexical complement of the preposition, namely the lexical and phonological content of the noun and its plural feature, leaving behind a subset of its phi-features, namely the 3person feature only. Representing the deleted and undeleted parts/features in (11) (illustration mine), the higher copy is left with a 3person feature which spells out in the morphological component (in PF, in the used model of Distributed Morphology) as a necessarily silent *pro* next to a case suffix with 3person inflection.

(11) *syntactic structure*: [PP [DP {3P}{PL} ~~a lányok~~]-ra]_i ... [PP [DP a lányok-**ra**]]_i
spell-out *pro-rá* ... *a lányokra*

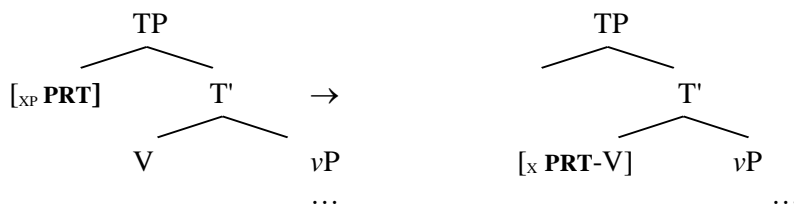
In the lower copy, partial deletion does in principle apply to the case suffix (and only that, since deletion of the lexical complement is barred by recoverability), but a morphological repair mechanism forces the appearance of the case suffix nevertheless, as nominals cannot surface 'bare', without case marking in Hungarian (Kenesei 2000).

In the second step in the PF-derivation of (9), following Chain Reduction, the multiple copies become formally distinct in a step of morphosyntactic reanalysis in which the higher phrasal copy gets reanalyzed as a head-level element. Morphosyntactic reanalysis makes the higher copy not count for the calculation of the LCA and as a result both copies can be exceptionally pronounced.

In this step of morphosyntactic reanalysis, the particle *pro-rá* in Sp,TP fuses with the verbal head adjacent to it, and loses its phrasal status. The step of morphosyntactic reanalysis is left somewhat vague by the author, who allows for it to be either a cliticization step of the verb to the particle as in Brody (2000) or of the particle to the verb as in É. Kiss (2002). In the following illustration, I choose the latter mechanism for ease of exposition:

(12) *morphosyntactic reanalysis of particles as part of the verb (adapting É. Kiss 2002)*
structure before reanalysis *structure after reanalysis*

³ The LCA is a well-formedness condition defined on linearization statements (Chomsky 1995), which maps asymmetric c-command relations to linear structure. In the works cited here, multiple identical overt chain links are unlinearizable, as they provide conflicting linearization statements, as each copy both precedes and follows the other.



Under either of the above mentioned options, morphosyntactic reanalysis should yield a particle–verb complex that functions as a single head element. This assumption is crucial to explain why morphosyntactic reanalysis can only apply if the higher copy corresponds to a single morphological word, and is blocked otherwise. If the higher copy is a multi-word entity (like *a lányokra*), reanalysis cannot take place and the complex strategy, involving a reduplicating case affix, does not surface. Instead, the simplex strategy is used (cf. 1b).

To sum up the gist of this account, the formation of the final output in case of the complex strategy proceeds in the following steps: the movement of the lexical PP in the syntax undergoes partial deletion in PF, followed by a step of morphological reanalysis, which in turn allows for the double pronunciation of the case marker. Schematically the order of operations is represented in (13). Note that Vocabulary Insertion arguably takes place between partial deletion and morphosyntactic reanalysis in this model.

(13)

<i>Syntactic component</i>	<i>PF component</i>		
movement of PP →	partial deletion	→ morphological reanalysis	→ reduplication of case suffix

A key assumption in this model is that morphosyntactic reanalysis is a *prerequisite* for the derivation of the complex strategy. As the next two sections will show, data from ellipsis call this assumption in question. Section 3 introduces the ellipsis phenomenon in question and section 4 details the relevance of this for inflected adpositional constructions.

3 Particle Stranding Ellipsis: General Properties

Particle constructions in Hungarian can undergo ellipsis that severs the particle from the rest of the clause, in positive answers to yes/no questions (É. Kiss 2006, Surányi 2009c), consider the example in (14) with an ordinary, uninflected particle.

- (14) Q: Fel hívtad a szomszédokat? A: Fel.
PRT call.2SG the neighbors.ACC PRT
'Did you call the neighbors?' 'I did.'

Stranded particles are fragments left behind by forward ellipsis that elides a single syntactic constituent containing the verb and its dependents, akin to the formation of fragments via clausal ellipsis (see Merchant 2004 for elliptical fragments in general and Lipták 2012 for specific arguments for Hungarian particle stranding).

Following Lipták (2013), I take the elliptical domain to correspond to *vP* and assume that the particle comes to occupy its positions in *Sp,TP* outside the elided *vP* by movement to this position, just like in ordinary clauses (see the structure in 8 above). Ellipsis of the *vP* is licensed by the (covert) affirmative polarity head that builds on top of *TP*:

- (15) [_{PolP} Pol_{aff} [_{TP} fel_j [_{vP} ~~hívtam a szomszédokat~~_{t_j}]]] *particle stranding vP ellipsis*

Even though ordinarily the verb also moves out of the vP into T , this head movement is bled in the cases of particle stranding (Surányi 2009c, Lipták 2012).⁴

The fact that ellipsis can leave behind the particle as the sole fragment in an instance of forward ellipsis provides evidence for the phrasal nature of particles and attests to their syntactic autonomy at the same time. Clearly, the particle cannot form a single lexical head together with the verb at the point when vP ellipsis applies, as in this case ellipsis would not be able to sever the particle from the verb, for two reasons. First, ellipsis would not target a single syntactic constituent, but rather would have to eliminate a syntactic constituent (vP), plus a sub-head (the verb in the particle–verb complex), which normally appear to be distinct types of reduction processes (see below). Second, breaking up the complex head — under the assumption that this complex head constitutes a single lexical vocabulary item — would violate the *Lexical Integrity* condition (Selkirk 1982, Booij 1985) that rules out manipulation of the internal structure of lexical items.

It is important at this point that the assumption that the complex head constitutes a single lexical vocabulary item is not made in syntactic approaches to inflected adpositional particles (É. Kiss 2002, Surányi 2009a,b), so the availability of particle stranding is predicted by syntactic approaches to particles in general. The availability of particle stranding is also predicted by what we termed lexical accounts in section 1 (e.g. Ackerman and Webelhuth 1993, É. Kiss 1998), as both acknowledge the syntactic independence of preverb and verb, assuming they correspond to a lexical representation that is expressed by multiple morphological elements in the syntax. These proposals are thus also in principle compatible with the existence of preverb stranding.

Before closing this section, we must provide arguments that the ellipsis operating in (14) should be taken to be standard clausal ellipsis that elides a single syntactic constituent and is subject to the same recoverability conditions as fragment formation, where ellipsis is made possible by the fact that the elliptical remnant is manipulated by the syntax and comes to occupy a position outside the elided constituent. That syntactic manipulation of the particle out of the ellipsis site is necessary for the derivation of particle stranding is also evidenced by the observation made in Hegedűs and Dékány (2017) that particle stranding cannot take place with inseparable particles (cf. 16a), which do not show syntactically autonomous behavior in other contexts (they do not undergo inversion under negation or focus, cf. 16b, they always stand next to their verb):

- (16) a. Q: Felvételiztél az egyetemre? A: * Fel.
 PRT.exam.took.2SG the university.ONTO PRT
 'Did you take an entrance exam?' 'I did.'
- b. * Peti nem vételizett fel az egyetemre.
 Peti not exam.took.2SG PRT the university.ONTO
 'Peti did not take an entrance exam.'

As Hegedűs and Dékány (2017) show, the verb that occurs with inseparable particles does not form a constituent to the exclusion of the particle, as the structure of the verb is [felvétél-i]-z]-t]-él]. Accordingly, the fact that particle stranding is ungrammatical in this case can be put down to the fact that particle stranding ellipsis eliminates a syntactic constituent necessarily.

⁴ Ellipsis *bleeding* verb movement has also been found in matrix sluicing in English: verb movement to C does not take place when the TP is elided. See for explanations Lasnik (1999), Merchant (2001), and for other constructions involving bleeding, van Craenenbroeck and Lipták (2008):

(i) A: Max has invited someone.

B: Who (*has)? = [_{CP} Who [_C C° [_{TP} ~~Max~~ [_T has invited]]]?

An alternative possibility to derive the lack of verb movement out of the ellipsis site in particle stranding would be to say that the verb does move to C as in non-elliptical clauses, and ellipsis deletes the C' constituent.

Note that particle stranding does differ in this respect from so-called word-part ellipsis (aka conjunction reduction) that can eliminate part of a (compound) word or phrase, and can apply to the verb to the exclusion of its particle, cf. (17) (Kiefer 2000, Bánréti 2007):

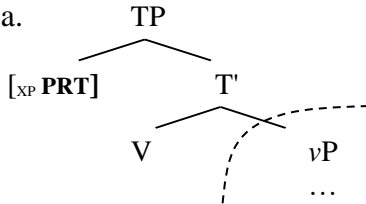
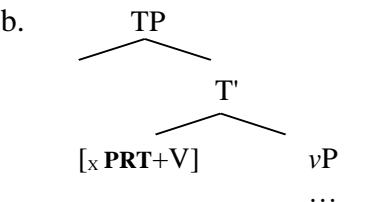
- (17) Mari be festette vagy át festette a haját.
 Mari in painted.3SG or across painted.3SG a hair.POSS3SG.ACC
 'Mari painted or re-painted her hair.'

Crucially, the conditions on this type of ellipsis are different from particle stranding. Word-part ellipsis is only possible inside coordination, applies in a backward manner and does not observe syntactic constituency: the elided material need not correspond to a syntactic constituent (indicated by brackets in 18) (Kenesei 2008):

- (18) [[Be-fest]és]re vagy át-fest-és-re gondolt.
 in paint-NOM-ONTO or across-paint-NOM-ONTO thought
 'She thought of painting or re-painting.'

Since particle stranding takes place in a forward manner, outside coordination and seems to observe syntactic constituency, it is clearly a different elliptical process from word-part ellipsis.

The argumentation about examples (14) and (16) shows that syntactic autonomy of the preverb is a prerequisite for preverb stranding to be well-formed, i.e. particle and verb do not form a single syntactic constituent at the point when ellipsis occurs. For this reason, we also have to conclude that in case Hungarian particles do indeed undergo morphosyntactic reanalysis and become part of the verb as suggested by É. Kiss (2002) and assumed (in one version or another) by Surányi (2009b), the ellipsis process yielding particle stranding *must precede* the step of morphosyntactic reanalysis in the PF component, because only in that stage does the verb form part of a syntactic constituent to the exclusion of its particle.⁵

- (19) a.  *ellipsis configuration yielding preverb stranding*
- b.  *configuration after morphosyntactic reanalysis: preverb stranding is impossible*

4 Particle Stranding Ellipsis in Inflecting Adpositional Particle Constructions

⁵ The conclusion that ellipsis in particle stranding must take place before morphosyntactic reanalysis is compatible with various views on the timing of this ellipsis process. It would be compatible with the view that ellipsis happens in PF (Merchant 2001), necessarily before morphosyntactic reanalysis, or that ellipsis is implemented already in the syntactic component (Aelbrecht 2010, Baltin 2012). Alternatively, it is also compatible with the view that ellipsis blocks vocabulary insertion (Bartos 2001): if the verb does not receive an exponent via vocabulary insertion, morphosyntactic reanalysis between the particle and the verb cannot obtain.

With the above introduction to particle stranding in place, we are now in position to evaluate the direct dependency account of inflecting adpositional particles in the light of the existence of particle stranding ellipsis.

The most crucial observation pertaining to inflected reduplicated adpositional particle constructions is that just like any separable particle, they can undergo particle stranding in both strategies. Stranding in the complex strategy is illustrated in (20, 21), stranding in the simplex one is shown in (22, 23).

- (20) Q: Rád nézett valaki? A: Rám.
 ONTO.2SG looked.3SG someone ONTO.1SG
 ‘Did someone look at you?’ ‘Someone did.’
- (21) Q: Nektek ment valaki? A: Nekünk.
 DAT.2SG went.3SG someone DAT.1PL
 ‘Did someone look bump into you?’ ‘Someone did.’
- (22) Q: Rá nézett a lányokra valaki? A: Rá.
 ONTO.3SG looked.3SG the girls. ONTO someone ONTO.3SG
 ‘Did someone look at the girls?’ ‘Someone did.’
- (23) Q: Neki mentél a kerítésnek? A: Neki.
 DAT.3SG went.2SG the fence. DAT DAT.3SG
 ‘Did you bump into the fence?’ ‘I did.’

Following the argumentation in section 3, the application of ellipsis must necessarily happen before the point in which morphosyntactic reanalysis takes place in the PF component, and this has repercussions for the direct dependency approach posited in Surányi (2009b).

Recall that in this account morphosyntactic reanalysis is a *prerequisite* for the derivation of the complex strategy (see the schema in 13 again). This predicts that if ellipsis blocks application of morphosyntactic reanalysis, double pronunciation of the case marker should be blocked as well, i.e. the complex strategy with two case markers should never surface. This prediction, however, is not borne out: it is possible to construct examples in which next to the stranded particle, we also see the associate in the same clause, i.e. in left dislocated position preceding the particle (√ indicates the fall-rise intonation characteristically associated with left dislocated topics):

- (24) Q: Rá nézett valaki a lányokra?
 ONTO.3SG looked.3SG someone the girl.PL. ONTO
 ‘Did someone look at the girls?’
 A: √ Marira rá.
 Mari. ONTO ONTO.3SG
 ‘As far as Mari is concerned, someone did (about others, something else might hold).’
- (25) Q: Neki mentél ezeknek a dolgoknak?
 DAT.3SG went.2SG this.PL. DAT the thing.PL. DAT
 ‘Did you bump into these things?’
 A: √ A kerítésnek neki.
 the fence. DAT DAT.3SG
 ‘As far as the fence is concerned, I did (about other things, something else might hold).’

As Den Dikken and Surányi (2017) furthermore argue, the dislocated constituent and the particle are both in the same clause (contra bi-clausal accounts like Ott 2014). Given that these sentences are monoclausal constructions in which left dislocated constituents get to the

left periphery by movement (see Molnár 1998, Gécseg 2001), these examples should be derived from an underlying complex strategy in which the associate PP extracts out of the ellipsis site, in turn evidencing that double pronunciation of the case marker is possible under ellipsis of the verb.

- (26) A: Marira_i rá [_{VP} nézett — valaki — t_i -]
 Mari. ONTO ONTO.3SG looked.3SG someone Mari. ONTO

These data therefore indicate that particle and associate can also surface in single clauses in which particle stranding ellipsis takes place, applying *before* morphosyntactic reanalysis. This disproves the assumption that morphosyntactic reanalysis should be the step that allows pronunciation of multiple chain links in the complex strategy. These facts therefore necessitate a direct dependency account in which pronunciation of multiple links is allowed already at the point when partial deletion applies in the chain. This would result in a simpler derivational scheme of the direct dependency approach, summed up in (27).⁶

(27)

<i>Syntactic component</i>	<i>PF component</i>
movement of PP →	partial deletion → reduplication of case suffix

Note that in constructions like (24-25), the distinct information structural status of the two copies blocks silencing of both copies also for the reason that the higher copy is a topic while the lower one assumes focal emphasis, i.e. both copies need to be spelled out overtly. In precisely these contexts multiple copy spell-out via partial deletion can apply, as was shown by Fanselow and Cavar (2002), see also Landau (2006).⁷

It is important to note that the ellipsis facts reviewed in this section would also be derivable in lexical accounts, as well as the syntactic account that does not argue for a direct dependency between the particle and the associate (É. Kiss 2002), as this do not posit any derivational dependency between double pronunciation of the case suffix and fused/non-fused nature of the particle with respect to the verb.

5 Particle Stranding Ellipsis and Lexical Identity

⁶ The simplified approach presented in (27) would nevertheless bring up the question why partial deletion is allowed to begin with. As Nunes (2004) states, partial deletion, operating with more steps of deletion than full copy deletion, is only allowed as a form of Chain Reduction if full copy deletion would violate additional requirements. Since full copy deletion is in principle allowed in derivations like (i), the account in (27) would have to state that partial deletion must be freely available as an option next to full copy deletion — possibly because the two strategies do not compete in this sense as they differ in subtle aspects of meaning or information structure.

(i) Peti [_{PP} a lányokra]_i nézett [_{PP} a lányokra]_i.
 P. the girl.PL. ONTO looked.3SG the girl.PL. ONTO
 'Peti looked at the girls.'

⁷ It is an interesting question in what precise way ellipsis interacts with the formation of the multiple copy chain and whether the step of morphosyntactic reanalysis is not missing due to the ellipsis process itself. As an anonymous reviewer remarks, if ellipsis applies before linearization in (26), it can potentially remove the postverbal copy in the same chain, thus saving the particle-copy from any linearization-related effect that can be detrimental to its surfacing overtly. If this is possible, multiple copy formation should be possible without morphosyntactic reanalysis taking place, and this would not interfere with the formation of the chain headed by the dislocated topic (which can be taken to head its own chain). I leave the viability of this approach for future research, noting only that under this scenario, it is not clear why ordinary particle-stranding, unaccompanied by topics, cf. (20-22), always features a partially deleted copy to begin with. If the lower copy is fully removed via ellipsis, the need for partial deletion disappears and we would expect a full copy in the preverbal slot, such as (i) in fn. 6.

The second set of elliptical data that have repercussions for the analysis of inflecting adpositional particle constructions have to do with the puzzling property of particle stranding that it obeys the *lexical identity condition* (LIC, aka *verbal identity restriction*).

This condition requires that the lexical content of the stranded element needs to be identical to that of its antecedent, and has been identified as a restriction on stranding-type ellipsis that strands an entire verb in non-focal contexts (see Goldberg 2005, McCloskey 2010, Schoorlemmer and Temmerman 2012, Gribanova 2013 for data and analysis). Due to this condition, the stranded verb cannot be lexically distinct from its antecedent, even if that is fully identical or near-identical to it in meaning. Irish, for example, has two cognates for the verb *miss*, but in cases of verb-stranding, the lexical items have to match up between the elliptical clause and its antecedent (McCloskey 2005).

- (28) Q: Ar mhiss-eáil tú é? A: * Chrothnaigh.
 COMP.INTER missed you him miss.past
 ‘Did you miss him?’ ‘I did.’

The LIC poses a challenge for theoretical approaches because it is far from obvious why verbal material extracted out of ellipsis sites should show lexical identity, when A- and A-bar-type extraction do not show a similar restriction under ellipsis (cf. *Bill bought a house, and John did, too* allows extraction of the non-identical subject *John* out of the vP).

While the explanation of the LIC is unsettled in the theoretical literature at present, existing proposals try to explain this effect by arguing that the stranded verb must be part of the ellipsis site in LF, either because head movement only happens in PF (Schoorlemmer and Temmerman 2012, see Lipták 2012 for criticism) or because there is obligatory reconstruction of these items into their initial position in LF (Goldberg 2005). Since semantic identity is required for material that is inside the ellipsis site, if the stranded item is part of the ellipsis site in LF, its lexical semantic content cannot differ from that of its antecedent.

To be precise, identity of the ellipsis site boils down to two conditions, one semantic and one lexical. The semantic one, originating from Merchant (2001), is that *e-GIVEN* constituents can be elided, which boils down to a mutual entailment relation between the elided category and its antecedent.⁸ The lexical condition is that elided material must comply with Chung's (2006) "*no new words*" condition. This requires that every lexical item in the numeration of the elided constituent must be identical to an item in the numeration of the antecedent constituent. With these two conditions jointly operating in the identity requirements of elliptical material, the LIC can be captured, provided we take the stranded material to be in the ellipsis site in LF.

The important point for the present paper is that particle stranding also complies with the LIC restriction in Hungarian (Lipták 2012). Consider the following example in which mismatch between *be* vs. *bele* (near-identical in meaning) is not allowed. Note that ungrammaticality would also obtain if the antecedent contained *bele* and the answer *be*.

- (29) Q: Bele fért az autóba az összes csomag?
 in₁.3SG fit. 3SG the car.IN the all luggage

⁸ The precise definition of e-givenness is as follows:

(a) A constituent α can be deleted only if α is e-given.

(b) An expression E counts as e-given iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting, (i) A entails the F-closure of E and (ii) E entails the F(ocus)-closure of A.

(c) The F-closure of α is the result of replacing F-marked parts of α with \exists -bound variables of the appropriate type (modulo \exists -type shifting).

(d) \exists -type shifting is a type-shifting operation that raises expressions to type $\langle t \rangle$ and existentially binds unfilled arguments.

A: **Bele.** / * **Be.**
 in₁ in₂

Clearly, the restriction is not total morphological identity: inflectional endings on stranded material can vary with respect to the antecedent (the same is true for verb stranding), as we have seen above in (20), repeated here as (30). The simplex strategy of inflected particle constructions does allow for inflectional mismatches on the particles (cf. also 21):

(30) Q: **Rád** nézett valaki? A: **Rám.**
 ONTO.2SG looked.3SG someone ONTO.1SG
 ‘Did someone look at you?’ ‘Someone did.’

The key pieces of data in this respect are those in which the complex strategy antecedes the simplex strategy in the elliptical clause — see the following data — the answers in (A) fail to be grammatical, despite the fact that antecedent particle and stranded particle are *formally* both inflected forms of one and the same case suffix (note that *Rá* / *Neki* are possible answers).⁹

(31) Q: **Rá** nézett a lányokra valaki? A: * **Rájuk.**
 ONTO.3SG looked.3SG the girls. ONTO someone ONTO.3PL
 ‘Did someone look at the girls?’ ‘Someone did.’

(32) Q: **Neki** mentél ezeknek a dolgoknak? A: * **Nekik.**
 DAT.3SG went.2SG these.DAT the thing.PL.DAT DAT.3PL
 ‘Did you bump into these things?’ ‘I did.’

If both *rá* and *rájuk* in the first pair and *neki* and *nekik* in the second are referential inflected case-marked pronominals, they should be interpreted in the same way in LF and should count as inflectional variants of the same lexical items: pronouns. Since both contain the same lexical case marker, the case suffix *-ra*, the case suffix cannot be the source of the LIC violation. Neither can distinct agreement features be the source, since agreement mismatches are allowed in other contexts, as shown by (30).

The mismatch that causes a violation of the LIC therefore must be that the inflected particles are not interpreted in the same way semantically in the two cases, or do not count as the same lexical item — for example, because the particle in the complex strategy is structurally different from the particle in the simplex strategy.

Approaches in which the particle in the complex strategy, unlike the one in the simplex strategy, is not a full pronoun, such as Ackermann and Webelhuth (1993), É. Kiss (1998), and in a similar vein, Rákosi and Laczkó (2011), Rákosi (2014) have no problem explaining this mismatch and in fact predict the LIC violation to rear its head in the above contexts: *rá* and *rájuk* in these analyses differ from each other in that the former has no complement, while the latter does. In line with this, *rá* is not interpreted as a referential pronoun, while *rájuk* is, leading to a difference in semantic interpretation. This difference can arguably also be captured with reference to these items being distinct lexical items. We can treat the two forms as intransitive vs. transitive variants of the same suffix.

(33) intransitive particle in complex strategy transitive particle in simplex strategy

⁹ The opposite situation in which a simplex strategy antecedes a complex one is similarly ill-formed:
 (i) Q: **Rájuk** nézett valaki? A: * **A lányokra rá** (~~nézett~~ ~~valaki~~).
 ONTO.2PL looked.3SG someone the girls. ONTO ONTO.3SG looked.3SG
 ‘Did anyone look at them?’ ‘When it comes to the girls, someone did.’

The data in (31/32), however, pose a puzzle for syntactic approaches to adpositional particles, which treat both types of particles as pronominal, such as É. Kiss (2002), or Surányi (2009b).

For Surányi (2009b) the problem is not immediately evident, as in this account the particle in the complex strategy is only spelled out as *pro-rá*, but is underlyingly a PP with a lexical noun complement with the lexical noun and some features deleted in it, see (11) above. As the interpretive component interprets the PP with the lexical noun in it, and not the (late inserted) spell-out form *pro-rá* (as proposed for the model of the grammar in Halle and Marantz 1993), in LF the compared items will be *a lányokra* and the *pro-rá* form. The former containing a lexical noun, the latter a pronoun, their non-identical nature seems to be evident. What casts doubt on this solution to the problem, however, is the well-known fact that in LF conversion between an R-expression and a pronoun is exceptionally attested inside ellipsis sites: non-pronominals can be equivalent to pronominals provided they have the same reference. In fact in many contexts they have to be — observe the phenomenon called *vehicle change* (Dalrymple et al. 1991, Fiengo and May 1994) in an English and a Hungarian example:

- (34) They arrested Alex_i, though he_i thought they wouldn't { ~~arrest him_i~~ / * Alex_i }.
- (35) Én várok majd a lányokra, bár ők még nem tudják,
 I wait.1SG later the girl.ONTO though they yet not know.3PL
 hogy én fogok { várni——rájuk / * a——lányokra }.
 that I FUT.1SG wait.INF onto.3PL the girl.ONTO
 lit. 'I will be waiting for the girls, even though they don't yet know I will.'

On the basis of (34/35), we expect that vehicle change should be available inside the particle that is interpreted in LF as part of the ellipsis site in particle stranding as well — i.e. the conversion of *a lányokra* into *rájuk* should be allowed. The existence of vehicle change also shows that (late inserted) pronouns escape Chung's *no new word* condition in vehicle change contexts and do not count as novel lexical items under ellipsis.

Turning now to the syntactic account in É. Kiss (2002), this approach can easily be remedied such that it can provide explanation for (31/32). What we would need to say in this approach is that *rá* and *rájuk* differ in the *type* of pronoun they contain: if *rá* contains a non-referential pronoun and *rájuk* contains a fully referential pronoun, semantic interpretation in the two cases would be distinct. Formally, the two PPs would also be distinct when it comes to lexical content: if the pronoun in *rá* is a lexical item such as an NP-*pro* and the pronoun in *rájuk* is a DP-*pro* (see Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002 for lexical distinctions of this type and see Dékány 2015 for the claim that Hungarian possesses different types or "sizes" of *pro* elements), the LIC facts above will follow. An assumption along these lines would enable the adjunction-based syntactic approach to account for the mismatches above with reference to distinct interpretation and lexical content of two types of covert pronouns.

6 Summary of Findings and Conclusions

This paper introduced novel data featuring inflecting adpositional particle constructions in the domain of particle stranding ellipsis and the lexical identity condition operating on stranded particles. The novel data were checked against the predictions of the existing accounts and it was found that particle stranding is compatible with lexical approaches, as well as the syntactic indirect approach to adpositional particles, and forces slight modification of the direct dependency account. Concerning the observations about lexical identity of the stranded material, these are predicted by lexical approaches or the syntactic indirect approach if the latter is modified, but are not predicted by the syntactic direct dependency approach. Table 3 summarizes these findings at a glance.

Table 3 Aspects of approaches to reduplicated adpositional particle strategies, elliptical phenomena included

	<i>syntactic relation PRT & associate</i>	<i>PRT in simplex vs. complex strategies</i>	<i>extraction from associate</i>	<i>PRT stranding</i>	<i>lexical identity mismatches</i>
lexical approaches (e.g. Ackerman and Webelhuth 1993, É. Kiss 1998)	no syntactic dependency	different	predicted	predicted	predicted
syntactic indirect dependency approach (É. Kiss 2002)	associate modifies PRT	identical	not predicted	predicted	predicted if modified
syntactic direct dependency approach (Surányi 2009a,b)	two links of a chain	identical	predicted	predicted if modified	not predicted

The net result is that the ellipsis facts are fully predicted by lexical approaches and motivate the modification of the syntactic ones in some way. On the whole, however, the empirical lie of the land does not single out any of the three types of account as the most accurate, which indicates that a comprehensive account of these constructions is not yet in sight.

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