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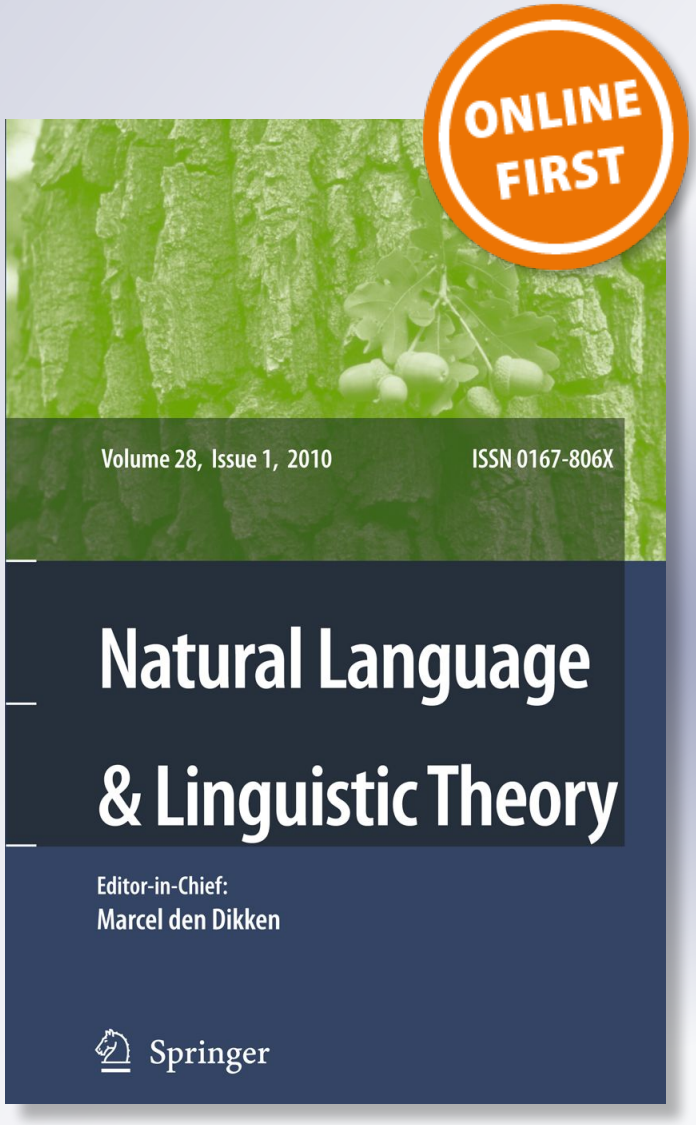

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Abstract The paper examines the agreement behavior of coordinate phrases (&Ps) on the basis of Hungarian data. It examines subject-verb agreement in number (and, in the case of pronominal subjects, also in person), and object-verb agreement in definiteness. Its primary goal is to account for the different agreement behavior of IP-internal and left-peripheral &Ps. It argues that because & has no φ-features of its own, &P assumes the φ-features projected by its conjuncts in formal agreement relations, and the features of its discourse referent in semantically motivated relations such as binding. In Hungarian, IP-internal agreement relations are formal relations, in which &P participates with the φ-features of its conjuncts. A left-peripheral &P, on the other hand, can be associated with a resumptive pro sharing its semantic features, and can be represented in agreement relations by its pro associate.

An IP-internal &P elicits plural agreement on the verb if and only if either the specifier or the complement of &, or both, project a [plural] feature to &P. Since—as argued by Farkas and de Swart (2010) on the basis of Hungarian facts—only plural noun phrases have a number feature, the possibility of a number feature conflict does not arise. When the conjuncts project contradictory person features or definiteness features to &P, the feature conflict must be eliminated for agreement to be possible. An option is the left dislocation of &P, and agreement with the resumptive pro associated with it. In the case of conjoined objects with conflicting definiteness features, Hungarian speakers prefer closest conjunct agreement, which is presumably licensed at the syntax-phonology interface.

Keywords Agreement · Partial agreement · Closest conjunct agreement · Coordination · Resumptive pro

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1 Introduction

Agreement with coordinate noun phrases poses various challenges to linguistic theory. One problem is the different agreement behavior of pre- and post-verbal coordinate noun phrases attested in many languages, with preverbal conjoined singular subjects eliciting plural agreement, and postverbal ones triggering singular agreement (i.e., partial agreement involving only the first conjunct). A further problem is the unpredicted variation in agreement with coordinate noun phrases whose conjuncts have conflicting number and/or gender features. This paper contributes to the understanding of agreement by analyzing the agreement behavior of Hungarian coordinate subjects participating in number and person agreement, and Hungarian coordinate objects participating in definiteness agreement with the verb.

The agreement possibilities of subject and object &Ps in Hungarian will be shown to be determined by their IP-internal versus left-peripheral position—instead of their position relative to the verb. The explanation to be proposed is based on the assumption that &P, having no φ-features of its own, assumes either the formal features of its conjuncts, or the semantic features of its discourse referent. Hungarian morphosyntactic number agreement between the subject and the verb and morphosyntactic definiteness agreement between the object and the verb are formal relations in which &P participates with the φ-features inherited from its conjuncts. However, a left-peripheral &P has an additional option: it can bind an IP-internal pro sharing its semantic features, in which case it is the IP-internal pro, which has the semantic features of &P, that determines agreement.

IP-internally, the agreement possibilities of &P depend on whether the conjuncts pass on conflicting or non-conflicting features to &P. As for number agreement, Farkas and de Swart (2010) argue that the feature [plural] is a privative feature; singular noun phrases are not marked for number. (Interestingly, quantified noun phrases (such as *két lány* 'two girls', *sok lány* 'many girls', *az összes lány* 'all the girls') are morphologically singular in Hungarian, hence they also lack a number feature.) If singular nominals have no number feature, the conjuncts of &P never project conflicting number features; &P is [plural], triggering plural agreement on the verb, if and only if at least one of its conjuncts is [plural].

When the conjuncts project contradictory features to &P, the feature conflict must be eliminated for agreement to be possible. Owing to pro-drop, conjoined pronominal subjects of different person features occur in the left (or, occasionally, in the right) periphery of the clause, where they bind an IP-internal pro. The verb agrees with this pro, which shares the semantic features of the composite referent of &P. In the case of IP-internal conjoined objects with conflicting definiteness features, Hungarian speakers prefer closest conjunct agreement.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 examines number agreement with coordinate subjects in Hungarian. Section 2.1 presents the facts to be accounted for, and Sect. 2.2 discusses the general properties of Hungarian number agreement, whereas Sects. 2.3 and 2.4 contain the analyses, the former discussing agreement with conjoined subjects internal to IP, and the latter analyzing agreement with conjoined subjects in the left periphery. Section 3 examines person agreement with conjoined subjects of different person features. Section 4 extends the analysis to definiteness agreement between object &Ps and the verb. Section 5 is a summary.

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2 Number agreement with coordinate subjects

2.1 The facts to be accounted for

Number agreement with coordinate phrases has been in the focus of interest mainly because of an unexpected asymmetry: whereas preverbal conjoined singular subjects trigger plural agreement, postverbal conjoined singulars can—or must—agree with a singular verb in many languages (e.g., in Irish (McCloskey 1986), Arabic (Benmamoun 1992; Munn 1993, 1999; Aoun et al. 1994, 1999; Soltan 2007), Czech and German (Johannessen 1996), Biblical Hebrew (Doron 2000, 2005), and Polish (Citko 2004)). Hungarian also appears to share this property:

(1) a. János és Mari össze vesztek.
János and Mary PRT quarrelled-3PL
'John and Mary quarrelled.'
b. Össze veszett /* vesztek János és Mari.[1]
PRT quarrelled.3SG / quarrelled-3PL John and Mary

Most accounts of similar Irish, Arabic, Czech, German, Biblical Hebrew, and Polish facts analyze singular agreement with postverbal conjoined singular subjects as agreement with the first conjunct (i.e., as partial agreement).[2] However, when the first conjunct is singular and the second conjunct is plural, agreement with the first

[1] All the examples in this paper were judged by 25 native Hungarians (a class of 10 students at the Faculty of Arts, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, and 15 colleagues, mainly linguists specializing in areas other than Hungarian syntax). The informants received the list of Hungarian examples in the order in which they appear in the paper. They had to mark each sentence as OK, ? (marked), ?? (marginal), or * (ungrammatical). The judgments in the paper represent the judgments on which the informants' opinions have converged. In some cases, the distribution of grammaticality judgments yielded one or two minority patterns in addition to the majority ones. All emergent patterns will be discussed.

[2] The explanations proposed belong to the following major types.

A family of explanations, e.g., Munn (1993, 1999), inspired by McCloskey's (1986) analysis of Irish, are based on the assumption that agreement can be realized in a specifier-head configuration and in a government configuration. The pattern in (1a) represents the former case, and (1b) represents the latter. The full coordinate phrase is claimed to be transparent to government. Its ungoverned status is supported by independent evidence: in Irish, only the first conjunct is assigned nominative case; the second conjunct bears default accusative. Doron (2000, 2005) formulated this theory in Minimalist terms, replacing the notion of government with "closest c-command".

In Johannessen's (1996) theory, the head of a coordinate phrase (CoP) also projects the features of its specifier, in addition to its own features—hence in languages with a leftmost specifier, CoP shares the features of its first conjunct, whereas in languages with a rightmost specifier, it shares the features of its last conjunct. Plural agreement in the case of conjoined singulars is semantic agreement.

Aoun et al.'s (1994, 1999) theory represents a completely different approach. They claim that coordinate singular subjects trigger singular agreement when the underlying structure consists of conjoined singular clauses to be subjected to Right Node Raising and Conjunction Reduction. Munn (1999) and Doron (2000, 2005) have argued against this theory by pointing out that—even if not in the dialects analyzed by Aoun et al.—coordinate subject noun phrases can also trigger singular agreement in the presence of expressions licensed only by a plural subject, e.g., *together*, *each other*, *the same*, *different*.

Citko (2004) claims that the possibility of singular and plural agreement with conjoined singular noun phrases derives from the following structural ambiguity:

(i) $[_{\&P}$ DP $[_{\&'}$ & DP]]
(ii) $[_{DP}$ pro_{pl} $[_{\&P}$ DP $[_{\&'}$ & DP]]]

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conjunct is ungrammatical in Hungarian, as shown by (2a). In fact, the verb bears plural agreement if either one or both of the postverbal conjuncts are plural; it is only singular if both conjuncts are singular. Compare with (1b):

(2) a. Össze *veszett /vesztek Péter és a gyerekek.
PRT quarrelled.3SG /quarrelled-3PL Péter and the children
'Peter and the children quarrelled.'
b. Össze *veszett /vesztek a gyerekek és Péter.
PRT quarrelled.3SG /quarrelled-3PL the children and Péter

The generalization that verb agreement is plural if either conjunct is plural is apparently contradicted by the grammaticality of (3a), where a postverbal coordinate subject involving a singular and a plural conjunct agrees with a singular verb. Informants not only found (3a) grammatical, the majority of them (20 out of 25) also preferred (3a) to (3b), the variant containing a plural verb.

(3) a. Meg érkezett Péter és a gyerekek.
PRT arrived.3SG Péter and the children
'Peter and the children arrived.'
b. Meg érkeztek Péter és a gyerekek.
PRT arrived-3PL Péter and the children

As Aoun et al. (1994, 1999) have shown using Arabic examples, sentences involving a coordinate subject can, in principle, also be derived from conjoined clauses via ellipsis. (3a) must be the output of clausal coordination subjected to ellipsis, i.e., the gapping of the verbal particle and the verb, as indicated in (4a).[3] The fact that the agreement features on the two occurrences of the verb are different does not block deletion in the second conjunct—as was demonstrated by Bartos (2000b, 2001), and as is also shown by example (4b), where the presence of two time adverbials is clear

Structure (ii), involving an empty plural pro head taking the &P as its complement, has been proposed independently by den Dikken (2001) for semantically plural, formally singular NPs triggering plural agreement. The bare &P with a singular DP in its specifier triggers singular agreement because the DP in Spec,&P is the closest goal for the T probe of the subsuming TP. In the case of structure (ii), the closest goal for T is the plural pro. Singular agreement is restricted to postverbal subjects because movement to Spec,TP is contingent on Agree. If T agrees with the DP in the specifier of a bare &P, the whole &P is not available for movement (and neither can its first conjunct move on its own).

According to Soltan (2007), a preverbal &P in Arabic is a topic base-generated in its surface position; what triggers plural agreement is a pro in Spec, v*P. Singular agreement arises because ConjPs may be introduced postcyclically in the thematic domain.

[3]In sentences involving a particle verb, gapping always affects both the particle and the verb, although they do not form a syntactic constituent, e.g.:

(i) János fel hívta Évát, és Péter Julit.
John up called Eve-ACC and Peter Julie-ACC
'John called up Eve, and Peter, Julie.'

This suggests that—as proposed by Hartmann (2000)—ellipsis takes place in PF, where the particle and the verb form one phonological word. For analyses of ellipsis in Hungarian, see Bánréti (1994), as well as Bartos (2000b, 2001), who treats ellipsis as the non-insertion of phonological material at the level of morphology.

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evidence of a biclausal underlying structure. In example (2a), in which the collective predicate requires a plural subject, the singularity of the first conjunct precludes such a derivation.

(4) a. [$_{IP}$ Meg érkezett [$_{VP}$ Péter]] és [$_{IP}$ ~~meg érkeztek~~ [$_{VP}$ a gyerekek]].
PRT arrived.3SG Peter and PRT arrived-3PL the children
'Peter and the children have arrived.'

b. [Ötkor meg érkezett Péter], és [fél órával később
five-at PRT arrived.3SG Peter and half hour later
~~meg érkeztek~~ a gyerekek].
PRT arrived-3PL the children
'At five, Peter arrived, and half an hour later, the children did.'

For those preferring (3a) to (3b), the clausal coordination plus gapping analysis seems to be the default option; they assume noun phrase coordination when the possibility of clausal coordination is excluded. Since this paper focuses on agreement with coordinate noun phrases, in the relevant cases I will avoid examples which can also be derived from coordinate clauses via ellipsis, and will use sentences whose predicate phrase requires a semantically plural subject.

A further remarkable property of number agreement with conjoined singulars in Hungarian is that singular agreement is not only possible for postverbal conjoined singular subjects, but is always a perfectly grammatical option, no matter what position the conjoined phrase occupies. That is, (5), involving preverbal conjoined singular subjects and a singular verb, is just as grammatical as (1a, 1b), where the conjoined singulars elicit plural agreement:

(5) János és Mari össze veszett.
János and Mary PRT quarrelled.3SG
'John and Mary quarrelled.'

Apparently, Hungarian conjoined singular subjects elicit singular agreement by default; it is the plural agreement in (1a, 1b) that is licensed by some extra mechanism.

Interestingly, the licensing of plural agreement in the case of conjoined singulars is not linked to preverbal position, despite appearances. The contrast is not between pre- and postverbal conjoined subjects, but between topicalized conjoined subjects and IP-internal ones. Topicalized conjoined singular subjects can license plural agreement, whereas IP-internal ones (whether preverbal or postverbal) cannot license it. Focussed conjoined singular subjects occupy an intermediate position between topicalized subjects and those in Spec,IP both structurally (as discussed below), and with respect to the acceptability of plural agreement on the verb.

In the Hungarian sentence structure argued for in the syntactic literature (cf. Piñón 1992; É. Kiss 2006b, 2008; Csirmaz 2006; Surányi 2009a, 2009b, etc.), the specifier of IP[4] is the landing site of the non-referential, predicative complement of the verb, constituted by a verbal particle or a non-specific, usually bare, nominal. (The checking of nominative case involves no subject movement in Hungarian.) E.g.:

[4]This projection has also been labelled in Hungarian syntactic literature as TP, AspP, or PredP.

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(6) a. [$_{IP}$ Meg érkezett [$_{vP}$ a vendég t_V]].
PRT arrived the guest
'The guest arrived.'
b. [$_{IP}$ Vendég érkezett [$_{vP}$ t_{NP} t_V]].
guest arrived
'Some guest(s) arrived.'

IP can be dominated by a focus projection. Focus movement into Spec,FocP goes together with V-movement:

(7) a. [$_{FocP}$ MIKOR érkezett [$_{IP}$ meg t_V [$_{vP}$ a vendég t_V]]]?
when arrived PRT the guest
'When did the guest arrive?'
b. [$_{FocP}$ Csak JÁNOS érkezett [$_{IP}$ meg t_V [$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_V]]].
only John arrived PRT
'It was only John who arrived.'

The IP of neutral sentences, and the FocP of focus constructions can be dominated by a TopP projection, whose specifier is filled by a [+specific] complement of the V, to be interpreted as the logical subject of the sentence. Topicalization is movement from vP to Spec,TopP; it is never vacuous movement from Spec,IP. (Spec,IP, filled by the verbal particle if the sentence has one, is only available for a non-specific, non-referential noun phrase (as illustrated in (6b)), which is not suitable for the topic role.[5]) E.g.:

(8) a. [$_{TopP}$ A vendég [$_{FocP}$ MIKOR érkezett [$_{IP}$ meg t_V [$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_V]]]]?
the guest when arrived PRT
'When did the guest arrive?'
b. [$_{TopP}$ A vendég [$_{IP}$ meg érkezett [$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_V]]].
the guest PRT arrived
'The guest arrived.'

A sentence in which all the functional projections are activated is built up as follows:[6]

[5]The assumption of topicalization across a filled Spec,IP may raise questions about how the Minimal Link Condition is satisfied. The possible solutions include analyzing topicalization as adjunction rather than substitution, as in Szendrői (2003).

[6]For simplicity's sake, I represent the V attracted by the focus in the Foc head. In fact, there is evidence that the preposed verb heads a functional projection different from FocP. As shown by Horvath (2005), the V-initial portion of the sentence can be coordinated and deleted, i.e., in frameworks assuming that coordination and ellipsis can only affect maximal projections, it acts as a maximal projection:

(i) JÁNOS CIKKÉT dicsérte meg az egyik bíráló és húzta le a
John's paper-ACC praised PRT the one reviewer-NOM and criticized PRT the
másik.
other-NOM
'It was John's paper that one of the reviewers praised and the other one criticized.'
(ii) JÁNOS KÖNYVÉT dicsérte meg Éva, nem PÉTER CIKKÉT.
John's book-ACC praised PRT Eve-NOM, not Peter's paper-ACC
'It was John's book that Eve praised, not Peter's paper.'

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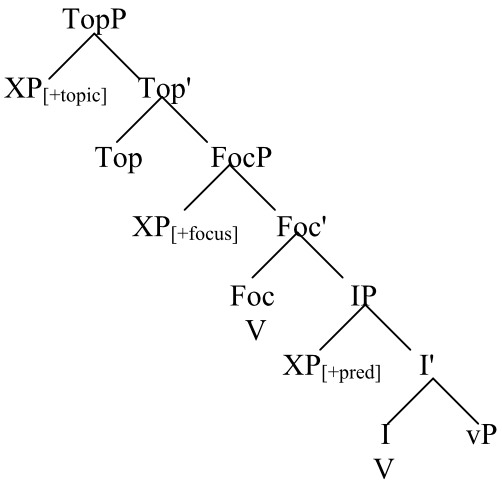
(9)



Plural agreement with conjoined singular subjects sounds fully grammatical when the subject is in topic position. Singular agreement is an option in this case, as well.

(10) [$_{TopP}$ Péter és János [$_{IP}$ össze vesztek /veszett [$_{vP}$ t$_{\&P}$ t$_{V}$]]].
Peter and John PRT quarrelled-3PL /quarrelled.3SG
'Peter and John quarrelled.'

Focus-moved conjoined singular subjects with plural agreement are often only marginally acceptable, or ungrammatical, and the degree of acceptance depends on the referential properties of the subject. Compare:

(11) a. [$_{FocP}$ A POSTÁS ÉS A GONDNOK vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t$_{V}$
the postman and the caretaker quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t$_{\&P}$t$_{V}$]]].
'It was the postman and the caretaker who quarrelled.'

b. ?[$_{FocP}$ EGY RENDŐR ÉS EGY ORVOS vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t$_{V}$
a policeman and a doctor quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t$_{\&P}$ t$_{V}$]]].
'It was a policeman and a doctor who quarrelled.'

c. *[$_{FocP}$ MELYIK FIÚ ÉS MELYIK LÁNY vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t$_{V}$
which boy and which girl quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t$_{\&P}$ t$_{V}$]]]?
'Which boy and which girl quarrelled?'

d. **[$_{FocP}$ HÁNY FIÚ ÉS HÁNY LÁNY vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t$_{V}$
how.many boy and how.many girl quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t$_{\&P}$ t$_{V}$]]]?
'How many boys and how many girls quarrelled?'

A minority of informants (7 out of 25) also rejected (11a, 11b), marking them either as ungrammatical (*) or as marginal (??).

Conjoined non-specific singular subjects, confined to Spec,IP, only allow singular agreement according to all informants:

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(12) a. A kórházban egymás után [$_{IP}$ kisfiú és kislány *születtek/
the hospital-in each.other after little-boy and little-girl *were.born/
született [$_{VP}$ t$_{&P}$ t$_{V}$]].
was.born
'A little boy and a little girl were born one after the other in the hospital.'

b. [$_{IP}$ Könyv és ceruza *vannak /van [$_{vP}$ t$_{&P}$ t$_{V}$ egymás mellett az
book and pencil *are /is each.other next.to the
asztalon]].
table-on
'There is a book and a pencil next to each other on the table.'

In sum, the analysis of number agreement with coordinate phrases in Hungarian will have to account for the following facts: (i) Hungarian conjoined singular subjects always allow singular agreement on the verb. (ii) Topicalized conjoined subjects and certain types of focussed ones can also license plural agreement. For IP-internal conjoined singular subjects plural agreement is impossible, irrespective of whether they appear preverbally in Spec,IP, or stand postverbally in Spec,vP. (iii) If at least one of the conjoined subjects is plural (and the possibility of clausal coordination plus ellipsis is excluded), the verb must bear plural agreement.

2.2 General properties of Hungarian number agreement

Number agreement with coordinate phrases in Hungarian is partly determined by general properties of number agreement. Number agreement in Hungarian is not semantically but morphologically conditioned: a subject noun phrase elicits plural agreement on the verb if and only if it is supplied with a *-k* or *-i* plural morpheme (see (13a)).[7] (The plural pronouns *ők* 'they', lit.: 'he-PL', *ezek* 'these', lit.: 'this-PL', and *azok* 'those', lit.: 'that-PL' also bear a *-k*.) Numerically modified noun phrases have no plural suffix, hence they agree with a singular verb (13b, 13c). Pluringulars (i.e., group-denoting singular noun phrases (cf. den Dikken 2001)) also trigger singular agreement (13d).

(13) a. A fiú**k** /a fia**i** /ő**k** el mente**k**.
the boy-PL /the boy-POSS-PL /he-PL PRT left-3PL
'The boys/his sons/they left.'

b. Két fiú el ment /*mente**k**.
two boy PRT left.3SG /*left-3PL
'Two boys left.'

c. Néhány /sok /mindegyik /minden /az összes fiú el ment/
some /many /each /every /the all boy PRT left.3SG/
*mente**k**.
*left-3PL
'Some/many/each/every/all boy(s) left.'

d. A csoport /a katonaság el ment /*mente**k**.
the group /the army PRT left.3SG /*left-3PL
'The group/the army left.'

[7] The plural suffix *-i-* appears in possessive constructions; it shows the plurality of the possessum.

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Morphosyntactically, noun phrases containing a definite or indefinite numeral are clearly singular. This is confirmed by demonstrative constructions. The φ-features of a noun phrase are copied on its demonstrative modifier in Hungarian—see (14a). A noun phrase with a definite or indefinite numeral always takes a singular demonstrative—see (14b).

(14) a. ez a ház, ezt a házat, ezek**k**ben a házak**k**ban
this the house, this-ACC the house-ACC, these-in the houses-in

b. ez a két ház, ezt a két házat, ebben a két házban
this the two house, this-ACC the two house-ACC, this-in the two house-in

As discussed above, predicates involving a verb like *össze-vész* 'quarrel with somebody', an adverb like *együtt* 'together', or an anaphor like *egymás* 'each other' require a subject denoting two or more individuals. As expected, it can be represented either by a plural noun phrase, or a numerically modified singular noun phrase. The verb will be in the plural only in the former case; a numerically modified singular noun phrase requires a 3rd person singular verb, despite its semantic plurality.

(15) a. A fiú**k** /a fia**i** együtt *ment /mente**k** moziba.
the boys /the son-his-PL together *went.3SG /went-3PL cinema-to
'The boys/his sons went to the cinema together.'

b. A két fiú együtt ment /*mente**k** moziba.
the two boy together went.3SG /*went-3PL cinema-to
'The two boys went to the cinema together.'

(16) a. A diáko**k** *ismeri/ismeri**k** egymást.
the students *knows/know-3PL each-other
'The students know each other.'

b. A két diák ismeri /*ismeri**k** egymást.
the two student knows /*know-3PL each other
'The two students know each other.'

Predicate nominals, which are crosslinguistically more likely to agree with the subject on the basis of the semantic number of its referent (cf. Corbett 2000, 2006; Comrie 1975; Wechsler 2011),[8] also take a plural suffix only in case the subject bears one. Compare:

[8] Dutch is different though; bare-NP predicates in Dutch have been shown to remain uninflected for number (see de Swart et al. 2007).

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(17) a. A fiú**k** boldogo**k** /*boldog voltа**k**.
the boys happy-PL / happy-SG were
'The boys were happy.'
b. A szüle**i** tanáro**k** /*tanár voltа**k**.
the parent-his-PL teachers /*teacher were
'His parents were teachers.'
c. Sok fiú boldog volt /*boldogo**k** voltа**k**.
many boy happy was /*happy-PL were
'Many boys were happy.'
d. A két szülője tanár volt/*tanáro**k** voltа**k**.
the two parent-his teacher was/*teachers were
'His two parents were teachers.'

In fact, singular agreement means the lack of number agreement. A subject noun phrase bearing no plural suffix does not elicit any agreement morpheme on the verb; a 3rd person singular verb can only bear a tense suffix and/or an object agreement suffix.

Summarizing these observations:

(18) a. *Number marking in Hungarian*
Noun phrases encode the plurality of their referent by a numeral or a plural suffix.
b. *Number agreement in Hungarian*
Only plurality marked by a plural suffix elicits number agreement on the verb.

Whereas a numerically modified noun phrase denoting two or more individuals is morphosyntactically singular, it enters into a coreference relation with a plural pronoun:

(19) Két vendég$_i$ érkezett. Láttam őket$_i$ /*őt$_i$.[9]
two guest$_i$ arrived.3SG saw-I them$_i$ /*him$_i$
'Two guests arrived. I saw them.'

That is, whereas number agreement between the subject and the verb is a formal relation determined by the presence or lack of a plural morpheme on the subject noun phrase, coreference is a semantic relation determined by the discourse referent of

[9] In the case of clausal coordination, a numerically modified noun phrase can apparently also be coreferent with a singular pro in a subsequent clause, e.g.:

(i) Be jött két vendég, majd *ec*$_{SG}$ le ült /*pro*$_{PL}$ le ülte**k**.
in came-3SG two guest then down sat-3SG / down sat-3PL
'Two guests came in, then (they) sat down.'

In such cases, the singular empty subject of the second clause must be the elided copy of the numerically modified subject of the first clause. That the phenomenon is not pronominal coreference is shown by examples involving nonreferential antecedents, e.g.:

(ii) Figyelmeztettük egymást, és ti is figyelmeztessétek *ec*!
warned-1PL each-other-ACC and you also warn-IMPERATIVE-2PL
'We warned each other, and you should also warn (each other)!'

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the subject. The latter generalization can also be extended to binding relations—even though a pronominal bound by a numerically modified noun phrase is in the singular:

(20) Két fiú$_i$ el vesztette a pro-SG$_i$ szemüvegét /*pro-PL$_i$ szemüvegüket.
two boy PRT lost the his glasses /*their glasses
'Two boys lost their glasses.'

The meaning of a bound singular pronoun associated with a numerically modified antecedent is clearly different from the meaning of a plural pronominal associate:

(21) a. A két fiú$_i$ meg kapta a neki$_i$ címzett leveleket.
the two boy PRT got the him addressed letters
'[Each of] the two boys got the letters addressed to him.'
b. A két fiú$_i$ meg kapta a nekik$_i$ címzett leveleket.
the two boy PRT got the them addressed letters
'The two boys got the letters addressed to them.'

(21a) means that for two x, where x is a boy, x received the letters addressed to x, i.e., each boy received his own letters. (21b), on the other hand, means that the two boys received the letters addressed to the group of them. That is, in (21b), the referential identity holds between the discourse referent of *a két fiú* 'the two boys' and *nekik* 'to them'; and in (21a) as well as in (20), it holds between the variable bound by *two* and the pronominal variable.

2.3 Agreement with IP-internal coordinate subjects

The Hungarian data surveyed in Sect. 3 have indicated that the unmarked pattern of verbal agreement for conjoined singular subjects is singular agreement. Plural agreement is a specific option available only for left-peripheral conjoined singulars. In this section, the unmarked pattern of agreement will be examined. It will be tested on subjects in situ, for which singular agreement is the only possibility.

Adopting insights of Farkas and Zec (1995) and Wechsler (2008, 2011), I assume that only (functionally extended) projections of lexical heads can have φ (person, number, and gender) features. &P has no lexical head; consequently, it has no number feature of its own.

Farkas and Zec claim on the basis of Romanian data that because &P lacks a lexical head, its agreement features are determined by the properties of its discourse referent. Wechsler's (2011) Agreement Marking Principle formulates a similar claim: agreement is driven by a syntactic feature of the controller, if the controller has such a feature. If the controller lacks such a feature, then the target agreement inflection is semantically interpreted as characterizing the controller denotation.

The situation in Hungarian is somewhat different. Because the & head has no number feature of its own, the number features of the conjuncts are projected to &P. If both the specifier and the complement of & are formally singular (with or without a numerical modifier), &P elicits singular agreement (22a–22c). In other words, if neither of the conjoined noun phrases involves a plural morpheme, the verb will not bear a plural subject agreement morpheme either. (In fact, it will not bear any subject agreement morpheme. The *-(j)a/e/i* appearing on 3rd person singular verbs

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in the objective/definite conjugation has been shown by Bartos (2000a) to be an object agreement morpheme.) If both the specifier and the complement of & are plural noun phrases, both conjuncts project the same [plural] feature to &P (23). Crucially, a [plural] feature will also be projected to &P, and will elicit plural agreement on the verb in case only one of the conjuncts (whether the specifier or the complement) is plural (24a, 24b).

Examples (22a–22c)–(24a–24c) are of the category IP, with an adverb adjoined to it, but no TopP or FocP projected. The subject is in its base-generated position in Spec,vP, with the V raised to I. Spec,IP is occupied by a resultative verbal particle, to be semantically incorporated into the verb. (The verb requires a semantically plural subject, i.e., the possibility of clausal coordination with conjunction reduction is excluded.)

(22) a. Végre [$_{IP}$ meg [$_{I'}$ *egyeztek /egyezett [$_{vP}$ Emil és a
at.last *PRT* *agreed-3PL /agreed.3SG Emil and the
detektív]]].[10]
detective
'Emil and the detective agreed at last.'

b. Végre [$_{IP}$ meg [$_{I'}$ *egyeztek /egyezett [$_{vP}$ a két detektív és
at.last *PRT* *agreed-3PL /agreed.3SG the two detective and
Emil]]].
Emil
'Emil and the two detectives agreed at last.'

c. Végre [$_{IP}$ meg [$_{I'}$ *egyeztek/egyezett [$_{vP}$ Emil és a két detektív]]].

(23) Végre [$_{IP}$ meg [$_{I'}$ egyeztek /*egyezett [$_{vP}$ a tanúk és a
at.last *PRT* agreed-3PL /*agreed.3SG the witnesses and the
detektívek]]].
detectives
'The witnesses and the detectives agreed at last.'

(24) a. Végre [$_{IP}$ meg [$_{I'}$ egyeztek /*egyezett [$_{vP}$ Emil és a
at.last *PRT* agreed-3PL /*agreed.3SG Emil and the
detektívek]]].
detectives
'Emil and the detectives agreed at last.'

b. Végre [$_{IP}$ meg [$_{I'}$ egyeztek/*egyezett [$_{vP}$ a detektívek és Emil]]].

[10]Some informants have noticed that the plural verb in (22a–22c) can be acceptable if the subject represents a new intonation phrase, separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause. In that case the clause-internal subject position is obviously filled by a plural pro, and the lexical subject is an afterthought in right dislocation. For the detailed analysis of agreement with coordinate subjects in (left) dislocation, see Sect. 2.4.

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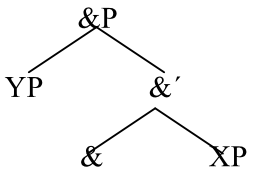
The facts that (i) agreement can only be elicited by a plural morpheme, and (ii) a plural morpheme in either the complement or the specifier of &P triggers plural agreement on the V lead us to the conclusion that in the conjoined structure assumed, there is feature percolation to &P both from XP and from YP: [11]

(25)



Whether both YP and XP pass on a [plural] feature to &P, or only one of them does so, no feature conflict arises (given that singular nominal expressions have no [singular] feature; they merely lack a [plural] feature). If neither XP nor YP has a [plural] feature to pass on to &P, &P will have no (plural) number feature, i.e., it will not elicit plural agreement on the verb.

Our observations can be summarized in the following generalization:

(26) *Formal agreement with &P*
Because & has no φ-features, &P can participate in agreement relations with the φ-features projected by its conjuncts.

(26), in principle, involves the possibility of a feature conflict. Since, however, in Hungarian only plural noun phrases have a number feature (see Farkas and de Swart 2010), the determination of &P's number feature is conflict-free:

(27) *Number agreement with &P in Hungarian*
&P elicits plural agreement iff either its specifier or its complement or both are [plural].

By adopting (26)–(27), Hungarian follows a strategy of supplying &P with agreement features that is different from the strategy in (28), proposed by Farkas and Zec (1995) and Wechsler (2011):

(28) *Semantic agreement with &P*
Because & has no φ-features, &P can participate in agreement relations with the semantic features of its discourse referent.

As Sect. 2.4 will show, Hungarian also has another strategy in addition to that in (26)–(27): an &P in the left periphery can be associated with a resumptive pro sharing its semantic features, in which case it is the resumptive pro that agrees with the V.

[11] The feature percolation assumed in &P is reminiscent of Lieber's (1989) Back-up Percolation, allowing a feature specification to be percolated from the non-head if the head is not specified for that feature. In the case of conflicting features, this system would privilege the features of the complement over those of the specifier. It is not clear though if &P satisfies the condition of Back-up Percolation, requiring a proper path for percolation in which the syntactic category of the node from which the feature is percolated is nondistinct from that of the dominating node.

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The assumption of a pattern of formal agreement with IP-internal subjects and semantic agreement with left-peripheral ones is not new. According to Fassi-Fehri (1988), a postverbal subject in Arabic agrees with the verb in a formal feature, whereas a left-dislocated subject binds a pronoun incorporated into the V sharing its semantic features. The distinction between grammatical (formal) agreement with the subject, and anaphoric agreement with the topicalized object in Chichewa is also of a similar kind (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987). Soltan (2007) claims that surface full agreement in Arabic is actually agreement with a v*P-internal pro subject. (For him, singular agreement with a postverbal coordinate subject is first conjunct agreement, with the adjunct ConjP introduced postcyclically.)

2.4 Agreement with coordinate subjects in the left periphery

If plural agreement on the V is only licensed by a subject bearing a plural suffix (or by an &P having a conjunct bearing a plural suffix), i.e., if semantic agreement is not available in Hungarian grammar, then the question is: what licences plural agreement in the case of a preverbal subject constituted by conjoined singular noun phrases? I will argue for the following answer:

(29) In the case of a left-peripheral coordinate subject with singular conjuncts eliciting plural agreement, the verb agrees with a plural resumptive pro.

This claim is based on two assumptions: (i) Left-peripheral noun phrases can bind a resumptive pro in argument position. (ii) The binding possibilities of &P are determined by the features of its discourse referent.

Assumption (i) has already been proposed to explain an unexpected occurrence of plural agreement by den Dikken (1999) in his analysis of agreement in Hungarian possessive constructions. In Hungarian, pronominal possessors do, but lexical possessors do not elicit agreement on the possessum (cf. Bartos 2000a). Surprisingly, if the lexical possessor is separated from the maximal projection of the possessed noun phrase, a plural agreement morpheme can optionally appear on the possessum. Thus in (30a) the possessum only bears the *-j(a)* possession suffix; in (30b), on the other hand, it can also bear the *-k* 3rd person plural agreement marker, licensed only in the presence of a 3rd person plural pronoun:

(30) a. [$_{FocP}$ Csak [$_{DP}$ a fiú**k**nak az autója /*autóju**k**] tört [$_{IP}$ össze]].
only the boys-DAT the car-POSS /*car-POSS-3PL broke PRT
'It is only the boys' car that broke.'

b. [$_{TopP}$ A fiú**k**nak [$_{FocP}$ csak [$_{DP}$ az autója /autóju**k**]
the boys-DAT only the car-POSS /car-POSS-3PL
tört [$_{IP}$ össze]]].
broke PRT

The possibility of plural agreement in (30b) is attributed by den Dikken (1999) to a resumptive pronoun, which is realized as a null pro, Hungarian being a pro-drop

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language. He identifies the structure as "in essence a left dislocation or hanging topic construction" (den Dikken 1999: 163). He assumes the locality constraint formulated by Ouhalla (1993), according to which the left-dislocated element need not be external to the clause; there merely should be a certain distance between the resumptive pronoun and its A-bar associate, i.e., the resumptive pronoun should be free from the most local potential A-bar binder. In the majority dialect of Hungarian this amounts to the requirement that the resumptive pro should be external to the DP projected by the possessum.[12]

2.4.1 Agreement with topicalized coordinate subjects

The resumptive pronoun strategy has also been invoked at the clause level. As argued in É. Kiss (1991), certain instances of Hungarian topic constructions cannot be derived by topic movement, because, although the topic originates in an island, the output is fully grammatical. In (31a, 31b), for example, the matrix topic is selected by a verb embedded in the relative clause of a complex noun phrase. These sentences, where the left-peripheral element is not moved but is externally merged, represent the base-generated type of left dislocation, called hanging topic left dislocation by Van Riemsdijk and Zwarts (1997). In these constructions, the assumption of a null resumptive pro is unavoidable. However, if the resumptive pronoun strategy is available in such sentences, it must be an option in any sentence with a topic; thus (31c) (a simple sentence with a Q-raised universal quantifier in IP-adjoined position) must also be analyzable as a base-generated structure with a null pro in Spec,vP.

(31) a. [$_{TopP}$ János$_i$ [$_{FocP}$ alig akad [$_{NP}$ valaki [$_{CP}$ akiben [$_{IP}$ meg
John-NOM hardly is.found anybody whom PRT
bízna [$_{vP}$ pro$_i$ t$_V$]]]]]].
would.trust
'(As for) John, there is hardly anybody who (he) would trust.'

b. [$_{TopP}$ János$_i$ [$_{NegP}$ nincs [$_{NP}$ az a pénz [$_{CP}$ amiért [$_{TopP}$ ezt [$_{IP}$
John isn't that the money which-for this-ACC
meg tenné [$_{vP}$ pro$_i$ t$_V$]]]]]]].
PRT would.do
'(As for) John, there is no (amount of) money for which (he) would do this.'

c. [$_{TopP}$ János$_i$ [$_{IP}$ mindenkit [$_{IP}$ ismer [$_{vP}$ pro$_i$]]]].
John everybody-ACC knows
'(As for) John, he knows everybody.'

The initial elements in these sentences appear to be in Spec,TopP. The locality requirement that there be a certain distance between the resumptive pronoun and its

[12] In a "liberal" minority dialect, the resumptive pronoun strategy is said to also be acceptable with the lexical associate left-adjacent to the projection of the possessed nominal; however, den Dikken's examples do not make it clear whether the possessor occupies an A′-position inside the projection of the possessum or is external to it in such cases, as well.

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A-bar associate is always satisfied; in (31c), it is satisfied by (two segments of) an intervening IP.

As was discussed in connection with (19)–(21a, 21b), the referential relations of noun phrases do not depend on their formal features; they are determined by their semantic properties. Thus a resumptive pronoun shares the semantic features of the discourse referent of the left dislocated element, or, if it is a resumptive pronoun bound by a quantified noun phrase, as in (33c), it shares the semantic features of the variable bound by the quantifier.

(32) a. János nincs az a pénz, amiért ezt meg tenné
John isn't that the money for-which this-ACC PRT do-COND.3SG
pro.
'(As for) John, there is no (amount of) money for which he would do this.'

b. A fiú**k** nincs az a pénz, amiért ezt meg
the boys isn't that the money for-which this-ACC PRT
tenné**k** pro-**PL**.
do-COND-3PL
'(As for) the boys, there is no (amount of) money for which they would do this.'

c. A két fiú nincs az a pénz, amiért ezt meg
the two boy isn't that the money for-which this-ACC PRT
tenné pro /??meg tenné**k** pro-**PL**.[13]
do-COND.3SG PRT do-COND.3PL
'(As for) the two boys, there is no (amount of) money for which they would do this.'

An &P conjoining two or more noun phrases with different discourse referents can establish a coreference or binding relation with a plural pro—see (33).[14] In the case of a left dislocated coordinate subject binding a resumptive pro, it is the plural pro that participates in subject-verb agreement—see (34):

(33) Össze veszett Emil és a detektív. Hallottam ő**k**et.
PRT quarrelled.3SG Emil and the detective heard-I he-PL-ACC
'Emil and the detective quarrelled. I heard them.'

(34) Emil és a detektív$_i$ össze veszte**k** pro-**PL**$_i$.
Emil and the detective PRT quarrelled-3PL

[13] A reviewer notes that if we assume a standard bottom up derivation, there is no way one can know at the stage of verb agreement what kind of antecedent the pro will have. If one does, it is a look-ahead. However, there is also another way of looking at (32c). Unless the verb agrees with a singular pro, the noun phrase *a két fiú* at the head of the matrix clause cannot be interpreted as part of the complex sentence, i.e., the utterance is not coherent. A further way out is to assume—following Ackema and Neeleman (2007) and Bobaljik (2008)—that agreement is a PF/postsyntactic operation.

[14] Naturally, &Ps of the type *my colleague and my best friend*, referring to a single person, bind, and corefer with a singular pro—cf. Farkas and Zec (1995).

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The optionality of plural agreement with a left-peripheral &P derives from structural ambiguity. While a left-peripheral coordinate subject with a singular verb, e.g., that in (35), is a simple topic-moved constituent, raised from Spec,vP to Spec,TopP, a left-peripheral coordinate subject eliciting plural agreement on the verb, e.g. that in (34), is a base-generated constituent associated with a resumptive pro.

(35) [Emil és a detektív]$_i$ össze veszett t_i.
Emil and the detective PRT quarrelled.3SG

Interestingly, whereas a left-peripheral numerically modified noun phrase can only trigger singular agreement (see (36a)), a conjunct of two numerically modified noun phrases can also occur with plural agreement (see (36b)). In the plural version, &P binds a plural resumptive pro sharing its semantic plurality.

(36) a. A két detektív össze veszett /*veszte**k**.
the two detective PRT quarrelled.3SG /*quarrelled-3PL
'The two detectives quarrelled.'

b. A két tanú és a két detektív össze veszett/
the two witness and the two detective PRT quarrelled.3SG/
?veszte**k**.
?quarrelled-3PL
'The two witnesses and the two detectives quarrelled.'

Left-peripheral possessors binding a resumptive pro display exactly the same pattern. A left-peripheral plural possessor is associated with a plural resumptive pro that elicits plural agreement on the possessum (37a), whereas a numerically modified noun phrase is associated with a singular pro sharing the semantic features of the variable bound by the quantifier (37b). A left-peripheral &P can bind a resumptive pro sharing the semantic plurality of the discourse referent of &P—see (37c, 37d).

(37) a. A gyerekeknek [$_{IP}$ be hívatták [$_{DP}$ pro**PL** az
the child-PL-DAT PRT called.they the
apju**k**at]].
father-POSS-3**PL**-ACC
'The children's father was called in.'

b. A két gyereknek [$_{IP}$ be hívatták [$_{DP}$ pro az
the two child-DAT PRT called.they the
apját /*[$_{DP}$ pro**PL** az apju**k**at]].
father-POSS-ACC / the father-POSS-3**PL**-ACC
'The two children's father was called in.'

c. Jancsinak és Marinak [$_{IP}$ be hívatták [$_{DP}$ pro**PL** az
Johnny-DAT and Mary-DAT PRT called.they the
apju**k**at]].
father-POSS-3**PL**-ACC
'The father of Johnny and Mary was called in.'

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d. A két fiúnak és a két lánynak [$_{IP}$ be hívatták
the two boy-DAT and the two girl-DAT PRT called.they
?[$_{DP}$ pro**PL** az apju**k**at]].
father-POSS-3**PL**-ACC
'The father of the two boys and two girls was called in.'

Naturally, the extracted possessor can also bind a trace instead of a resumptive pro. In that case, the possessum lacks plural agreement in (37c, 37d), as well, because the trace/copy of the possessor noun phrase has no [plural] feature.

The claim that conjoined singulars associated with a plural verb represent a base-generated expression, a hanging topic, is supported by clear and strong independent evidence: a conjunct phrase agreeing with a plural verb cannot be bound by a clause-internal element, unlike a topic-moved &P eliciting singular agreement. Compare the following minimal pairs. The bound reading of the pronouns in the (a) examples is made possible by the overt Q-raising of the object to IP, as a result of which it c-commands the trace/lower copy of &P. The pronouns in the (b) examples have no bound readings because the left-dislocated &Ps have no lower copy c-commanded by the quantifier phrase.

(38) a. [A pro$_k$ fia és a pro$_k$ lánya]$_i$ minden
the (his) son-POSS.3SG and the (his) daughter-POSS.3SG every
apát$_k$ büszkévé tesz t_i.
father-ACC proud makes
'His$_k$ son and his$_k$ daughter make every father$_k$ proud.'

b. *[A pro$_k$ fia és a pro$_k$ lánya]$_i$ minden
the (his) son-POSS.3SG and the (his) daughter-POSS.3SG every
apát$_k$ büszkévé tesz**nek** pro**PL**$_i$.
father-ACC proud make-3PL
*'His$_k$ son and his$_k$ daughter, they make every father$_k$ proud.'

(39) a. [Az pro$_k$ edzője és a pro$_k$ gyúrója]$_i$ mindegyik
the (his) trainer-3SG and the (his) masseur-3SG each
sportolót$_k$ el kísérte t_i.
athlete-ACC PRT accompanied-3SG
'His$_k$ trainer and his$_k$ masseur accompanied each athlete$_k$.'

b. *[Az pro$_k$ edzője és a pro$_k$ gyúrója]$_i$
the (his) trainer-POSS.3SG and the (his) masseur-POSS.3SG
mindegyik sportolót$_k$ el kísérté**k** pro**PL**$_i$.
each athlete-ACC PRT accompanied-3PL
*'His$_k$ trainer and his$_k$ masseur, they accompanied each athlete$_k$.'

The base-generated status of focussed &Ps eliciting plural agreement is supported by the fact that plural agreement is also fully grammatical across islands, whereas singular agreement represents the mild ungrammaticality typical of Subjacency violations:

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(40) a. János és Mari$_i$ nem hiszem el a pletykát, hogy össze
John and Mary not believe-I PRT the gossip that PRT
házasodta**k** pro**PL**$_i$.
married-3PL
'John and Mary, I do not believe the gossip that they got married.'

b. ??János és Mari$_i$ nem hiszem el a pletykát, hogy össze
John and Mary not believe.I PRT the gossip that PRT
házasodott t_i.
married.3SG

(41) a. János és Mari$_i$ nem tudom meg szokni a gondolatot, hogy
John and Mary not can-I PRT get.used.to the idea that
össze akar**nak** pro**PL**$_i$ házasodni.
PRT want-3PL marry-INF
'John and Mary, I cannot get used to the idea that they want to get married.'

b. ??János és Mari$_i$ nem tudom meg szokni a gondolatot, hogy
John and Mary not can-I PRT get.used.to the idea that
össze akar t_i házasodni.
PRT wants marry-INF

2.4.2 *Agreement with focussed coordinate subjects*

The resumptive pronoun strategy is also available in Hungarian focus constructions, as shown by sentences like (42a, 42b), involving foci selected by a verb in an island. (42a, 42b) are fully grammatical, hence they obviously do not violate Subjacency, i.e., the focus is generated in the matrix clause, and is associated with a resumptive pro in the embedded sentence:

(42) a. [$_{FocP}$ Csak MARIT$_i$ nincs [$_{DP}$ senki [$_{CP}$ aki [$_{IP}$ el vigye
only Mary-ACC isn't noone who PRT would.take
[$_{vP}$ pro$_i$ vacsorázni]]]].
to.dine
'It is only Mary who there is nobody who would take (her) out to have dinner.'

b. [$_{FocP}$ Csak MARI$_i$ nem volt [$_{CP}$ hol [$_{IP}$ aludjon [$_{vP}$ pro$_i$
only Mary-NOM not was where should.sleep
t_V]]]].
'It was only Mary who there was no place where (she) could sleep.'

Still, as was shown in Sect. 3, in some cases Hungarian speakers find focus-moved conjoined singulars hard—or impossible—to use with a plural verb, which means in the proposed framework that they find it hard—or impossible—to base-generate them in Spec,FocP and to associate them with a resumptive pro. If all focussed conjoined singulars were equally marginal with a plural verb, their marginality could be

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attributed to the fact that the focus position is not peripheral enough for the focussed constituent to be considered as dislocated. Most theories assign left-dislocated elements to the leftmost segment of the clause (cf. Van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1997 and Grohmann 2000), and also Ouhalla's (1993) locality constraint requires "a certain distance" between the left-dislocated element and the resumptive pro. The problem is that the acceptability of a focus binding a resumptive pro depends on the referentiality of the focussed constituent; speakers prefer a definite one to an indefinite one, and totally reject a wh-focus associated with a resumptive pro. Recall the examples in (11a–11d), rewritten here as (43a–43d), marked with the grammaticality judgments on which the informants' judgments converged:

(43) a. [$_{FocP}$ A POSTÁS ÉS A GONDNOK vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t_V
the postman and the caretaker quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_V]]].
'It was the postman and the caretaker who quarrelled.'

b. ?[$_{FocP}$ EGY RENDŐR ÉS EGY ORVOS vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t_V
a policeman and a doctor quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_V]]].
'It was a policeman and a doctor who quarrelled.'

c. *[$_{FocP}$ MELYIK FIÚ ÉS MELYIK LÁNY vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t_V
which boy and which girl quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_V]]].
'Which boy and which girl quarrelled?'

d. **[$_{FocP}$ HÁNY FIÚ ÉS HÁNY LÁNY vesztek [$_{IP}$ össze t_V
how.many boy and how.many girl quarrelled-3PL PRT
[$_{vP}$ t_{DP} t_V]]].
'How many boys and how many girls quarrelled?'

Seven of the 25 informants also found (43a, 43b) marginal, or ungrammatical.

According to the evidence of these examples, the more easily the focus-moved constituent can be assigned a referential interpretation, the more easily speakers accept it as the binder of a resumptive pro. This fact must be related to the discourse role of left-dislocated elements. They act as logical subjects of predication, denoting that which the sentence is about, hence they are required to be referential and presuppositional (cf. Wiltschko 1995 and Grohmann 2000). Hungarian structural focus, similar to the English pseudo-cleft and cleft focus, has been claimed to be generally non-referential, functioning as a specificational or identificational predicate (cf. É. Kiss 2008, with reference to Higgins 1973, and Huber 2000)—which may explain why a subset of speakers reject all foci associated with a resumptive pro. However, in an identificational sentence, the subject and predicate roles can, in principle, be reversed. Apparently, such a reversal is possible in focus constructions if the focus, to be assigned the role of logical subject, can be interpreted referentially.

The role of referentiality in licensing the left dislocation/resumptive pro strategy is confirmed by further evidence. In (44), our world knowledge supports the predicative reading of the focussed &Ps. (If *Michelle and Barack*, and *the President and the First Lad*y were used referentially, the two clauses could not be true simultaneously.) The improbability of the referential reading of the focus is expected to decrease its ability

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to bind a plural resumptive pro. Indeed, whereas in the case of the corresponding (43a) only 7 out of 25 informants found plural verbal agreement (indicative of a resumptive pro) marginal or ungrammatical, in (44) the use of plural agreement has been rejected by 13 of the informants.

(44) A sérültet MICHELLE ÉS BARACK látogatta /??látogattá**k**
the injured-ACC Michelle and Barack visited-3SG /??visited-3PL
meg, nem az ELNÖK ÉS A FIRST LADY.
PRT not the President and the First Lady
'Who visited the injured was Michelle and Barack, not the President and the First Lady.'

If, on the other hand, the referential interpretation of the focussed &P is supported by a non-restrictive relative clause, as in (45), &P can bind a plural pro eliciting plural agreement also for the majority of those (for 4 informants out of 7) who reject (43a):

(45) Csak JÁNOS ÉS PÉTER késtek el, akik mindig mindenhonnan
only John and Peter were.late PRT who always everywhere-from
elkésnek.
late.are
'Only John and Peter were late, who are always late for everything.'

Conjoined bare nominal subjects such as those in (12a, 12b), rewritten here as (46a, 46b), are not in the left periphery of the sentence. They occupy Spec,IP, where they are in complementary distribution with the verbal particle. The fact that they cannot be associated with a resumptive pro and cannot trigger plural agreement can have two causes: (i) Spec,IP is too close to Spec,vP to license a resumptive pro. (ii) A subject in Spec,IP is necessarily non-referential. In Hungarian, Spec,IP is the position of predicative elements to be combined with the primary predicate in semantics; thus bare or indefinite nominals moved to Spec,IP are interpreted as predicates predicated of the implicit/incorporated internal argument of the verb.

(46) a. A kórházban egymás után [$_{IP}$ kisfiú és kislány
the hospital-in each.other after little-boy and little-girl
*születtek/született [$_{VP}$ $t_{\&P}$ t_V]].[15]
*were.born/was.born
'A little boy and a little girl were born one after the other in the hospital.'

b. [$_{IP}$ Könyv és ceruza *vannak /van [$_{vP}$ $t_{\&P}$ t_V egymás mellett az
book and pencil *are /is each.other next.to the
asztalon]].
table-on
'There is a book and a pencil next to each other on the table.'

[15] A reviewer wonders why these examples contain no verbal particle in Spec,IP. Particle verbs require a specific theme argument (whose result state they predicate). A non-specific subject is in complementary distribution with the verbal particle; they are alternative fillers of Spec,IP (cf. Piñón 1992; É. Kiss 2006b, 2008; Csirmaz 2006; Surányi 2009a, 2009b, etc.).

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In sum: what appears to be plural agreement with a left-peripheral coordinate subject involving singular conjuncts is, in fact, agreement with a plural pro associated with the coordinate phrase, sharing its semantic features. Topicalized elements, which are referential by definition, can always license a resumptive pro.[16] Foci, on the other hand, can only be associated with a resumptive pro if they can be assigned a referential interpretation.

3 Person agreement

Unlike the coordination of noun phrases with and without a [plural] feature, the coordination of noun phrases with different person features results in a feature conflict. According to Farkas and Zec (1995), this conflict is resolved by &P assuming the features of its discourse referent. They argue that pronouns are the spell-outs of morphosyntactic agreement features present on the D. Adopting Harley and Ritter's (2002) proposal, they claim that 1st person pronouns spell out the features [+Participant, +Speaker], and 2nd person pronouns spell out the features [+Participant, −Speaker], whereas 3rd person pronouns spell out the feature [−Participant]. Furthermore, singular pronouns are [Atomic], and plural pronouns have the feature [Group]. Conjoined DPs with different person features have a composite discourse referent. In the case of a conjoined you_{SG} and *he*, for example, the discourse referent has the features [Group, +Participant, −Speaker], hence &P will elicit 2nd person plural agreement.

At first sight, the facts of Hungarian (discussed in detail by Bánréti 2003) confirm Farkas and Zec's theory:

(47) Te és ő mindig el késtek.
you$_{SG}$ and he always PRT late.are-2PL
'You and he are always late.'

[16] Corbett (2000: 202) claims with reference to Edith Moravcsik (p.c.) that conjoined singulars in topic position must be used with a singular verb if they are inanimate, e.g.:

(i) A könyv és a kommentár megérkezett /*megérkezte**k**
ART book and ART commentary arrived.SG / arrived-PL
'The book and the commentary arrived.'

cf.

(ii) John és Jill megérkezett /megérkezte**k**
John and Jill arrived.SG /arrived.PL
'John and Jill arrived.'

The informants I consulted, including myself, disagree with the grammaticality judgment provided by Corbett/Moravcsik, but we concede that the singular verb sounds better than the plural one in (i). Plural agreement with topicalized inanimates is an unmarked option if it is obvious that the two inanimate referents are involved in the same event. E.g.:

(iii) Az autó és a motorbicikli össze- ütközött /ütköztek.
the car and the motorcycle PRT collided.SG /collided-PL
'The car and the motorcycle collided.'

In view of the grammaticality of (iii), the markedness of (i) must be of a pragmatic nature. Apparently, in a sentence involving conjoined inanimate subjects, the default reading is the non-collective, two-event reading, associated with two conjoined singular clauses, one of which is subjected to ellipsis. Subject noun phrase coordination and agreement with a plural resumptive pro is only assumed if the predicate requires a collective reading, as in (iii). Conjoined animate referents, capable of cooperating, can more easily be conceptualized as a group involved in a single event.

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However, if conjoined personal pronouns automatically assumed the features determined by their discourse referent, then conjoined pronouns should be able to occur in every structural position where pronouns can occur. In fact, they are rather marginal in focus position:

(48) a. [$_{TopP}$ Ezek az alakok a képen [$_{FocP}$??[te és ő] /ti
these the figures the picture-in you$_{SG}$ and he /you$_{PL}$
vagytok]].
are-2PL
'These figures in the picture are you$_{SG}$ and he/you$_{PL}$.'

b. [$_{TopP}$ Ezek az alakok a képen [$_{FocP}$??[én és ő]/mi vagyunk]].
these the figures the picture-in I and he/we are-1PL
'These figures in the picture are I and he/we.'

The conjoined pronominal possessors in (49), which elicit agreement on their shared possessum, should also be grammatical, but they are not:

(49) a. *[$_{DP}$ A [$_{\&P}$ te és én gyerekünk]] biztosan okos lesz.
the you and I child-1PL surely smart be.FUT.3SG
'Your and my child will surely be smart.'

b. A mi gyerekünk biztosan okos lesz.
the we child-1PL surely smart be.FUT.3SG
'Our child will surely be smart.'

Conjoined pronominal possessors are only possible as external possessors supplied with a dative suffix, moved to the left periphery of the clause:

(50) Neked és nekem biztosan okos lesz a gyerekünk.
you.DAT and I.DAT surely smart be.FUT.3SG the child-1PL
'The child of you and me will surely be smart.'

Actually, coordinate subject pronouns are only expected to appear preverbally, because postverbal pronominal subjects undergo obligatory pro-drop in Hungarian. However, according to the evidence in the above examples, coordinate nominative pronouns are also barred in positions where non-coordinate pronouns can occur, i.e., where pro-drop is not obligatory. Apparently, when the specifier and complement of &P project different person features to &P, the feature conflict cannot be resolved, and &P cannot participate in agreement. Coordinate pronouns in the left periphery are presumably represented in agreement relations by a resumptive pro.[17]

[17]Occasionally, pronominal &Ps also occur in right dislocation, as in the following example of the Hungarian National Corpus:

(i) Ilyesmiről beszélgettünk, te és én.
such-about talked-1PL you and I
'We were talking about such things, you and I.'

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As was argued in connection with number agreement in Sect. 2.4, the coreference possibilities of a left-peripheral &P are determined by the semantic features of its discourse referent. It follows from the theory of Farkas and Zec (1995) that conjoined 1st person (i.e., [+Participant, +Speaker]) and 2nd person ([+Participant, −Speaker]) pronouns have a composite referent with the features [+Participant, +Speaker, Group], and can be coreferent with a 1st person plural pronoun having the same features. Conjoined 2nd person (i.e., [+Participant, −Speaker]) and 3rd person ([−Participant, −Speaker]) pronouns have a composite referent with the features [+Participant, −Speaker, Group], and can be coreferent with a 2nd person plural pronoun with the same features. This is confirmed by overt coreference and binding relations:

(51) a. [Te és én]$_i$ számíthatunk rá, hogy meg várnak minket$_i$.
you and I count-can-1PL on.it that PRT wait.they we-ACC
'You and I can count on it that they wait for us.'

b. [Te és ő]$_i$ nem számíthattok rá, hogy meg várnak
you and he not count-can-2PL on.it that PRT wait-they
titeket$_i$.
you.PL-ACC
'You and he cannot count on it that they wait for you.'

c. [Én és János]$_i$ a mi$_i$ autónkkal megyünk,
I and John the we car-POSS-1PL-with go-1PL
[te és Péter]$_k$ pedig a ti$_k$ autótokkal.
you-SG and Peter however the you.PL car-POSS-2PL-with
'I and John go in our car, whereas you and Peter go in your car.'

In view of this, the grammatical examples with coordinate pronouns in (47) and (50) will be analyzed as involving a left-dislocated &P and a resumptive pro associate. The person feature of pro is determined by the semantic features of the composite referent of &P, and the person feature of the agreement morpheme on the verb or on the possessum is determined by the person feature of pro.[18] That is:

(52) a. [$_{TopP}$ Te és ő$_i$ [$_{IP}$ mindig [$_{IP}$ el kés**tek** pro**2PL**$_i$]]].
you and he always PRT be.late-2PL
'You and he are always late.'

b. [$_{TopP}$ Neked és nekem$_i$ [$_{IP}$ biztosan [$_{IP}$ okos lesz
you-DAT and I-DAT surely smart be-FUT.3SG
[$_{DP}$ pro**1PL**$_i$ a gyerek**ünk**]]]].
the child-POSS-1PL
'The child of you and me will surely be smart.'

[18]Notice, though, that the sharing of the semantic features [+/-Speaker], [+/-Participant], and [Group/Atomic] does not necessarily mean referential identity; it can only mean the nondistinctness of referents. In (51c), *Én és János* and *mi* can be referentially identical; alternatively, *mi* can denote a group that includes me, John, and others; and it can also denote a group that only overlaps with the referent of *én és János*, including me and excluding John. This kind of vagueness is inherent in the binding of pronouns by pronouns; it is independent of whether or not the binder is a conjunct phrase. The referents of *we* and *our* need not be identical but merely nondistinct also in cases like *We live in the second floor of our house*.

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In sum: conjoined pronominals with conflicting person features cannot participate in subject-verb agreement or possessor-possessum agreement directly, presumably because the percolation of conflicting features to &P is blocked. However, conjoined pronominals with conflicting person features can occur in (left) dislocation, where they can be associated with an IP-internal pro sharing the semantic features of the discourse referent of the dislocated &P. Agreement processes target the IP-internal pronominal associate.[19]

4 Agreement with coordinate objects

In addition to subject-verb agreement, Hungarian also displays object-verb agreement, hence the strategies of agreement with coordinate noun phrases can also be examined on coordinate objects. Whereas subject-verb agreement is number agreement (or, in the case of pronominal subjects, number and person agreement), object-verb agreement is definiteness agreement.

Historically, the Hungarian verb only agreed with definite objects, which elicited the appearance of an object clitic pronoun on the verb (surviving in the 3rd person singular form and in some plural forms of today's verbal paradigm as the *-(j)a/e/i* object agreement suffix preceding the subject agreement morpheme (cf. Bartos 2000a; Rebrus 2000 and É. Kiss 2006a)). However, the object agreement suffix is fused with the subject agreement morpheme in various cases, hence, synchronically, the Hungarian verb has two agreement paradigms: a definite conjugation, used in the presence of a definite object, and an indefinite conjugation, used in the presence of an indefinite object and in intransitive sentences. That is, for speakers of present-day Hungarian, both definite and indefinite objects "agree" with the verb; they elicit different conjugations. This is confirmed by the fact that both definite and the indefinite verbal morphology can licence object-pro-drop. 1st and 2nd person pronominal objects elicit the indefinite conjugation, whereas 3rd person pronouns elicit the definite conjugation. Hence an obligatorily transitive verb in the indefinite conjugation associated with no visible object is interpreted as having a silent 1st or 2nd person pronominal object, whereas its counterpart in the definite conjugation is interpreted as involving a silent 3rd person pronominal object. Thus *Látsz?* 'see-INDEF.2SG' is understood as '(Do) you see me?', whereas *Látod?* 'see-DEF-2SG' is understood as '(Do) you see it?'.

The & head has no definiteness feature of its own. If we assume the same mechanism of feature percolation to &P that was observed in the case of number and person features, then the definiteness features of both conjuncts are projected to &P. When one of the conjuncts projects a [+definite] feature, and the other one a [−definite] feature, the resulting feature conflict blocks percolation, and needs to be "resolved"

[19] A reviewer asks how the polite 2nd person pronoun is coordinated. In Hungarian, a non-peer, higher status addressee is referred to by the 3rd person pronouns *ön* or *maga* (whose plural forms are *önök/maguk*). These pronouns behave in coordinated constructions like any other 3rd person pronoun, except that they cannot be coordinated with a non-polite 2nd person pronoun—perhaps because there is no pronominal that could refer to a group involving both peer and non-peer addressees. *Ti* 'you-PL' has the feature [peer], whereas *önök/maguk* 'you-PL' has the feature [non-peer]. Mixed groups cannot be addressed simultaneously.

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(cf. Givón 1970) somehow. In the case of IP-internal conjoined objects, Hungarian speakers mostly establish agreement with the conjunct closest to the verb. Closest conjunct agreement means first conjunct agreement for postverbal objects (see (53a–53b)), and last conjunct agreement for preverbal objects (see (54a–54b)). Notice that the use of the adverb *egyszerre* 'at the same time' in (53a, 53b) and the anaphor *egymás* 'each other' in (54a, 54b) excludes the possibility of a clausal coordination + ellipsis analysis.

(53) a. Egyszerre választott**uk** /*választottunk be **a**
at-the-same-time elected-**DEF**.1PL /*elected-INDEF.1PL PRT **the**
professzort és egy diákot a bizottságba.
professor-ACC and a student-ACC the committee-to
'We elected the professor and a student to the committee at the same time.'

b. Egyszerre *választottuk /választott**unk** be **egy**
at.the.same.time *elected-DEF.1PL /elected-**INDEF**.1PL PRT **a**
diákot és **a** professzort a bizottságba.
student-ACC and the professor the committee-to
'We elected a student and the professor to the committee at the same time.'

(54) a. Melyik professzort és **hány** diákot
which professor-ACC and **how.many** student-ACC
ültess**ünk** /*ültessük
make.sit-SUBJUNC-**INDEF**.1PL / make.sit-SUBJUNC-DEF.1PL
le egymással szemben?
down each-other opposite
'Which professor and how many students shall we make sit down opposite each other?'

b. Hány diákot és **melyik** professzort
how.many student-ACC and **which** professor-ACC
*ültessünk /ültess**ük**
make.sit-SUBJUNC-INDEF.1PL / make.sit-SUBJUNC-**DEF**.1PL
le egymással szemben?
down each-other opposite
'How many students and which professor shall we make sit down opposite each other?'

In these &Ps, where the specifier and the complement project different definiteness features, the feature conflict between the conjuncts apparently blocks feature projection to &P. When the object agreement head probes for a goal with an accusative case feature and a definiteness feature, it finds, instead of &P, the closer conjunct of &P.

According to Corbett's (2000) typological survey, closest conjunct agreement is a cross-linguistically common strategy of agreement with conjoined noun phrases; in fact, this is the only widespread strategy besides semantic agreement. First conjunct agreement also occurs, but much less frequently. Closest conjunct agreement is the

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strategy employed, for example, in the resolution of conflicting gender features in Slovenian (Marušič et al. 2008) and Serbo-Croatian (Bošković 2009). In Slovenian, the participle in composed tenses agrees in gender with the last conjunct of a preverbal subject &P, and with the first conjunct of a postverbal subject &P. (Slovenian also displays two other strategies; some speakers prefer highest (i.e., first) conjunct agreement, and there is also default masculine agreement, which is agreement with the & head according to Marušič et al. (2008), and may be agreement with a plural *pro* according to Bošković (2009).[20])

A licensing condition involving linear—rather than hierarchical—closeness is indicative of a process taking place at the syntax-phonology interface according to Ackema and Neeleman (2007). Agreement has been claimed to be a post-syntactic process by Bobaljik (2008), as well. His argument is based on cross-linguistic data demonstrating that accessibility for agreement is dependent on morphological (as opposed to abstract) case assignment. In Icelandic sentences involving quirky subjects, for example, the verb agrees with the nominative object instead of the dative subject. Benmamoun et al. (2009) argue that agreement is a process that takes place in two steps: First the agreement relationship between V/T and the coordinated phrase is established in the syntactic component; then, this relationship is satisfied post-syntactically (at PF) by spelling out the features of either the whole coordinated phrase or the features of the linearly closest conjunct within this coordinate structure.

Whereas for IP-internal conjoined objects with different definiteness features closest conjunct agreement is the only option in Hungarian, left-peripheral objects can also elicit the resumptive pro strategy. Left-dislocated elements can, in principle, be associated either with a personal pronoun or with a demonstrative (cf. Van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1997; Grohmann 2000). When analyzing the behavior of the phonologically empty pronominal associated with a left-dislocated subject, we were only interested in its number feature; the question of the identity of pro was not raised. The identity of the resumptive pro becomes relevant in the case of a left-dislocated object, which can be either [+definite] or [−definite]. Since the resumptive pro must share the definiteness feature of its associate, it cannot be a null 3rd person personal pronoun, which is inherently definite. A potential candidate is the demonstrative, which can be either [+definite] or [−definite], depending the properties of its contextual antecedent or discourse referent. Its definiteness feature is indicated by the object agreement morpheme on the verb. A definite demonstrative pronominal object elic-

[20]In South Slavic, a subject &P participates in both number and gender agreement, which complicates the resolution of feature conflicts. &P always counts as plural, therefore, Marušič et al. (2008) assume split number and gender agreement processes, Bošković (2009), however, aims at a uniform account. In Bošković's theory of agreement with &P, the probe for agreement finds different valuators for number and gender (&P for number, and the first conjunct for gender). This situation results in ambiguous targeting for movement, which makes movement impossible; that is why first conjunct agreement is only attested in the case of unmoved postverbal subjects. In case an EPP feature requires the subject to move to preverbal position, a second probing operation has to be initiated within a larger search space, including the second conjunct. Now the gender feature of the first conjunct is deleted (provided it is uninterpretable—but valued—grammatical gender), and gender agreement targets the second conjunct. Since the second conjunct is immobile, the pied-piping valuator is unambiguously identified as &P. Conjuncts with natural gender (i.e., an interpretable gender feature) resist last conjunct agreement; they require default masculine agreement, which may be the manifestation of agreement with a covert pro.

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its the definite conjugation, whereas an indefinite demonstrative pronominal object elicits the indefinite conjugation. Cf.:

(55) a. Kére**d** azt az almát?[21]
want-**DEF**.2SG that-ACC the apple-ACC
'Do you want that apple?'
Azt nem kére**m**.
that-ACC not want-**DEF**.1SG
'I don't want that.'

b. Kér**sz** almát?
want-**INDEF**.2SG apple-ACC
'Do you want some apple?'
Azt nem kére**k**.
that-ACC not want-**INDEF**.1SG
'I don't want that/any.'

c. Kér**sz** egy almát?
want-**INDEF**-2SG an apple-ACC
'Do you want an apple?'
Azt nem kére**k**.
that-ACC not want-**INDEF**.1SG
'I don't want that/any.'

The assumption that the resumptive pro associated with a left dislocated object is a covert demonstrative is supported by contrastive left dislocation constructions such as (56a, 56b)–(57a, 57b), where the resumptive pronominal, a demonstrative, appears overtly.[22] The resumptive *azt* associated with the left-dislocated definite object in (56a, 56b) elicits the definite conjugation, and the resumptive *azt* associated with the indefinite object in (57a, 57b) elicits the indefinite conjugation. (Since the object is 3rd person in every example, the person feature of the object agreement suffix will not be glossed. The DEF/INDEF feature of the verbal suffix marks the definiteness of the object, and the person and number features indicated mark the person and number of the subject.)

(56) a. Az orvost, **azt** be-enged**ik** Évához.
the doctor-ACC, that-ACC in-let-**DEF**.3PL Eve-to
'The doctor, they let him in to Eve.'

b. Az orvosokat, **azokat** be-enged**ik** Évához.
the doctors-ACC, those-ACC in-let-**DEF**.3PL Eve-to
'The doctors, they let them in to Eve.'

[21] The demonstrative determiner must be followed by the definite article, hence a noun phrase supplied with a demonstrative determiner, unlike a demonstrative pronoun, is always definite.

[22] Left dislocation constructions, with the resumptive pronoun left in situ, and contrastive left dislocation constructions, with the resumptive pronoun adjacent to the left-dislocated element, have been argued to have different derivations—cf. Cinque (1990) and Grohmann (2000); but the possibility of their involving different types of pronominals has not been raised.

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(57) a. Egy ápolónőt, **azt** be-engednek Évához.
a nurse-ACC, that-ACC in-let-**INDEF.**3PL Eve-to
'A nurse, they let one in to Eve.'

b. Ápolónőket, **azokat** be-engednek Évához.
nurses-ACC, those-ACC in-let-**INDEF**.3PL Eve-to
'Nurses, they let some in to Eve.'

If the left-dislocated object is an &P with a definite and an indefinite conjunct, the overt pronoun associated with it must be definite:

(58) a. Az orvost és egy ápolónőt, **azokat** be-engedik/
the doctor-ACC and a nurse-ACC those-ACC in-let-**DEF**.3PL/
*be-engednek Évához.
*in-let-INDEF.3PL Eve-to
'The doctor and a nurse, they let them in to Eve.'

b. Egy ápolónőt és az orvost, **azokat** be-engedik/
a nurse-ACC and the doctor-ACC those-ACC in-let-**DEF**.3PL/
*be-engednek Évához.
*in-let-INDEF.3PL Eve-to
'A nurse and the doctor, they let them in to Eve.'

If a resumptive pro behaves like the overt *azt* of contrastive left dislocation constructions, then a resumptive pro associated with conjoined objects of different definiteness features is expected to elicit the definite conjugation also in case the conjunct closest to the verb is indefinite. This prediction has been tested on examples (59a–59d) and (60a–60d). The &P is in topic position in (59a–59d), and in focus position in (60a–60d). The (a) examples can, in principle, be analyzed as outputs of either agreement with a resumptive pro, or agreement with the first/highest conjunct (assuming feature percolation to &P from its specifier, as in the theory of, e.g., Johannessen (1996)). The (b) examples represent closest (i.e., last) conjunct agreement. Agreement in the (c) examples can be both agreement with a resumptive pro and agreement with the closest conjunct. The (d) examples represent first conjunct agreement. The interesting question is whether the (a) examples, derivable via first conjunct agreement and via agreement with a resumptive pro, are found better than the (d) examples, derivable only via first conjunct agreement.

(59) a. ?**A** professzort és **egy** diákot ki békített**ük**
the professor-ACC and a student-ACC PRT reconciled-**DEF**-1PL
egymással.
each-other-with
'The professor and a student, we have reconciled with each other.'

b. **A** professzort és **egy** diákot ki
the professor-ACC and a student-ACC PRT
békített**ünk** egymással.
reconciled-**INDEF**-1PL each-other-with

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c. **Egy** diákot és **a** professzort ki békített**ük**
a student-ACC and the professor-ACC PRT reconciled-**DEF**-1PL
egymással.
each-other-with
'A student and the professor, we have reconciled with each other.'

d. *__Egy__ diákot és **a** professzort ki
a student-ACC and the professor-ACC PRT
békített**ünk** egymással.
reconciled-**INDEF**-1PL each-other-with

(60) a. ??**A** PROFESSZORT ÉS **EGY** DIÁKOT békített**ük**
the professor-ACC and a student-ACC reconciled-**DEF**-1PL
ki egymással.
PRT each-other-with
'It was the professor and a student that we reconciled with each other.'

b. **A** PROFESSZORT ÉS **EGY** DIÁKOT békített**ünk**
the professor-ACC and a student-ACC reconciled-**INDEF**-1PL
ki egymással.
PRT each-other-with

c. **EGY** DIÁKOT ÉS **A** PROFESSZORT békített**ük**
a student-ACC and the professor-ACC reconciled-**DEF**-1PL
ki egymással.
PRT each-other-with
'It was a student and the professor that we reconciled with each other.'

d. *__EGY__ DIÁKOT ÉS **A** PROFESSZORT békített**ünk**
a student-ACC and the professor-ACC reconciled-**INDEF**-1PL
ki egymással.
PRT each-other-with

The (b) and (c) examples, displaying closest conjunct agreement, were found grammatical by all informants. Crucially, more than half of the 25 informants, 13 speakers, found the (a) examples better than the (d) examples, whereas only 9 speakers marked the (a) and (d) sentences identically. (Seven ruled them out, and two judged them as marginal (??).) The 13 informants who found the (a) examples better than the (d) examples obviously do not accept first conjunct agreement, hence they must have analyzed the (a) sentences as outputs of agreement with a resumptive pro. (Three speakers marked the (d) sentences slightly better than the (a) sentences. It is unclear what agreement strategy they followed.)

These data have provided new evidence for the claim that left-peripheral &Ps can participate in agreement relations via a resumptive pro. At the same time, the question arises as to why the resumptive pro strategy, which is fully grammatical in the case of left-peripheral subjects, is generally less accepted in the case of left peripheral objects. The reduced acceptability of the resumptive pro strategy in the case of object &Ps might be due to the reduced acceptability of a silent plural object pronominal.

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The resumptive pronoun associated with a left-dislocated element must be a silent pro in Hungarian; a full pronoun in situ would be ungrammatical—cf.:

(61) a. A fiúk nincs az a pénz, amiért ezt megtennék
the boys-NOM isn't that the money which-for this-ACC would.do
*ők/*azok/pro.
*they/*those/pro
'As for the boys, there is no (amount of) money for which they would do this.'

b. A fiúkat nincs az a pénz, amiért meghívnám
the boys-ACC isn't that the money which-for would.invite-I
*őket/*azokat/pro.
*them/*those/pro
'As for the boys, there is no (amount of) money for which I would invite them.'

However, whereas a silent subject pro can be either singular or plural, a silent object pro is understood as 3rd person singular in the unmarked case. The objective conjugation on the V only encodes the person of the object, it does not encode its plurality, hence the [plural] feature of a silent object pro cannot be reconstructed on the basis of verbal agreement, as shown by (62a–62c); it can only be interpreted if the object pro has a plural object antecedent, as in (62d) (see also fn. 8).

(62) a. Péter megjött, de alig ismertem meg pro.
Peter arrived but hardly recognized-I PRT him/pro
'Peter arrived, but I hardly recognized him.'

b. A fiúk megjöttek, de alig ismertem meg őket/*pro.
the boys arrived but hardly recognized-I PRT them/*pro
'The boys arrived, but I hardly recognized them.'

c. János és Péter egyszerre érkezett /érkeztek, de alig
John and Peter at.the.same.time arrived-3SG /arrived-3PL but hardly
ismertem meg őket/*pro.
recognized-I PRT them/*pro
'John and Peter arrived at the same time, but I hardly recognized them.'

d. Láttam a fiúkat, de nem ismertem meg őket/ec.
saw-I the boys-ACC but not recognized PRT them
'I saw the boys but I did not recognize them.'

The (a) examples in (59a–59d) and (60a–60d) are marked or marginal because of the difficulty of reconstructing their plural accusative resumptive pro. The reason why they are not quite as ungrammatical as (62c) with a pro may be that the plural accusative antecedent in the left periphery facilitates the interpretation of the plural pro, as also happens in (62d).

Summarizing this section: In Hungarian objects also agree with the verb; it is their definiteness feature that elicits matching verbal morphology. In the case of conjoined objects, the definiteness features of the conjuncts are projected to &P. When the conjuncts project conflicting features, feature projection to &P is blocked, and object agreement must probe for a different target. In the case of left-peripheral co-

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ordinate objects with conflicting definiteness features, slightly more than half of the informants accept the strategy of agreement with a resumptive [+definite] pro. The strategy accepted by all is for the verb to agree with the closest accusative noun phrase having a definiteness feature, i.e., closest conjunct agreement. The possibility of closest conjunct agreement suggests that agreement is valuated at the syntax-PF interface.

5 Summary

The paper has examined the agreement behavior of coordinate phrases (&Ps) on the basis of Hungarian data. It has examined subject-verb agreement in number (and, in the case of pronominal subjects, also in person), and object-verb agreement in definiteness. Its primary goal has been to account for the different agreement behavior of IP-internal and left-peripheral &Ps. It has argued that because & has no φ-features of its own, &P assumes the φ-features projected by its conjuncts in formal agreement relations, and the features of its discourse referent in semantically motivated relations such as binding and coreference. In Hungarian, IP-internal agreement relations are formal relations, in which &P participates with the φ-features of its conjuncts. A left-peripheral &P, on the other hand, can be associated with a resumptive pro sharing its semantic features, and can be represented in agreement relations by its pro associate.

Hungarian has provided evidence against the widely accepted assumption that the φ-features of &P are those of its specifier. An IP-internal &P elicits plural agreement on the verb if and only if either the specifier or the complement of &, or both, project a [plural] feature to &P. Since—as argued by Farkas and de Swart (2010) on the basis of Hungarian facts—only plural noun phrases have a number feature, the possibility of a number feature conflict does not arise.

When the conjuncts project contradictory person features or definiteness features to &P, the feature conflict must be eliminated for agreement to be possible. An option is the left dislocation of &P, and agreement with the resumptive pro associated with it. In the case of conjoined objects with conflicting definiteness features, Hungarian speakers prefer closest conjunct agreement, presumably licensed at the syntax-phonology interface.

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