

## Tanulmány

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### The identifying apposition in Hungarian\*

#### Abstract

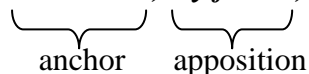
In this study I examine appositional constructions, which in Hungarian are equivalent to identifying appositions.<sup>1</sup> First I present the characteristic properties of the construction investigated, with reference to all the features mentioned in the literature. In my research I'm also trying to discover whether the types distinguished in the international literature can be justifiably related to Hungarian identifying appositions. I pay special attention to the examination of conjunctions appearing in the construction. My research also extends to the issue of which unit of the identifying apposition appearing either in subject or object position will induce agreement on the predicate. The question is important, since the answer may clarify whether identifying appositions should be analysed as subordinate or coordinate structures. I argue that each type of identifying appositions needs to be matched with different construction-types.

*Keywords:* close apposition, loose apposition, identification, attribution, inclusion, agreement, supplementation  
 Merge

#### 1 Introduction

In this paper I will examine appositional constructions in Hungarian focusing mainly on their syntactic structure. An English example of such a construction is given in (1):

(1) *John Smith, my friend, had arrived.*



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\* The publication is supported by the project OTKA NK 100804. Project title: “Comprehensive Grammar Resources: Hungarian”

<sup>1</sup> Descriptive grammars in Hungarian distinguish two different types of appositive constructions: attributive apposition (i) and identifying apposition (ii), where the latter corresponds to the appositional construction in the international literature.

i) *a rózsá-k, a piros-ak*  
 the rose-PL the red-PL  
 ‘the roses, the red [ones]’

ii) *a barát-om, Péter*  
 the friend-POSS.1SG Peter  
 ‘my friend, Peter’

The first element of the appositional construction will be called the anchor, and the second element, the apposition.

I examine only identifying appositions, excluding attributive appositions from the investigation. This study is related to a question that lies at the centre of the debate on appositions, namely how the relation between the anchor and the apposition has to be characterized with respect to the two main syntactic relations: coordination and subordination.

First I present the characteristic properties of identifying appositions, modifying the statements of traditional Hungarian grammars. An important issue to investigate in the Hungarian data is whether appositional constructions are independent of the matrix sentence. The relation between appositions and their hosts is of an ambivalent nature. On the one hand, appositions are closely related to the anchor, one element of the host sentence. On the other hand, appositions are only loosely related to the host sentence.

In the Hungarian literature identifying appositions have been classified either based on the part of speech the apposition belongs to (Simonyi 1913, Károly 1958), or based on the function of the apposition (Balogh 2004). But these classifications are not relevant for us in analysing identifying appositions. Therefore two classifications of different types of appositional constructions in Hungarian will be presented with reference to the international literature. First, there is a distinction between close and loose appositions. Second, Heringa (2012) assumes three types of relations between anchor and apposition: identification, attribution and inclusion. If a conjunction (such as *vagyis* ‘i.e.’ or *azaz* ‘that is’) appears between two elements of an appositional construction, descriptive Hungarian grammars consider the construction a coordination, but not an appositional construction. However, the presence of the conjunction does not automatically imply a coordinative construction. I will argue that these conjunctions are apposition markers in constructions whose elements have a single referent.

Below I investigate how agreement between the predicate and the appositional construction occurring as subject or object positions works. This question seems relevant, since the answer may clarify whether identifying appositions should be analysed as subordinate or coordinate structures. I suggest that we should assign separate structural analyses related to each type of identifying apposition, based on the different properties.

## 2 Characteristics of identifying appositions

In this section I present how Hungarian identifying appositions can be described, and what modifications and additional data need to be given in order to extend the statements of traditional Hungarian grammars.

- (2) a. *Péter, a barát-om*  
 Peter the friend-POSS.1SG.  
 ‘Peter, my friend’
- b. *a szomszéd-om, az orvos*  
 the neighbour-POSS.1SG the doctor  
 ‘my neighbour, the doctor’

Hungarian descriptive grammars (Tompá 1962, Rác 1968, Jászó 1991, Keszler 2000, Keszler & Lengyel 2002) define identifying apposition as an appositive attribute that cannot be transformed into an attribute appearing in front of the head nominal. This statement can be chal-

lenged at two different points: first, identifying appositions cannot be classified as attributes (Balogh 2004); second, there are certain identifying appositions from which we can generate attributes appearing in front of the nominal, as in example (3): if we change the order of the anchor and the apposition, we will get a specifying attribute, according to traditional terminology. In international literature these types of appositions are called close appositions; I will return to this distinction later in section 3.

- (3) *Mari, a fodrász* → *a fodrász Mari* (*Melyik Mari?*)  
 ‘Mary, the hairdresser’ → ‘the hairdresser Mary’ (‘Which Mary?’)

Descriptive linguistics emphasizes that anchor and apposition must agree in number and case. This is true only if we regard the relation between the two units of the construction as subordination, ignoring all other analytical possibilities.

But if we regard the appositional construction either as a case of coordination (Szabó 1955, Antal 1964, Sturm 1986, Hockett 1955) or the result of an application of the reduction principle<sup>2</sup> on a coordinated construction (Jakab 1977, 1978), or a coordination of two clauses (Burton-Roberts 1975, Szőke 2014), we can no longer talk about agreement in the strict sense between the two units, as in this case it is only a sharing of suffixes that we can observe. Hungarian descriptive grammars point out that the construction units are in a predicative relation, as one of the features of appositional constructions (4a), although it is easy to find examples that contradict this statement (4b–c).

- (4) a. *Rúza Magdi, egy híres énekesnő* → *Rúza Magdi egy híres énekesnő.*  
 ‘Rúza Magdi, a famous singer’ → ‘Rúza Magdi is a famous singer.’  
 b. *egy új játék, egy szép baba* → \**Egy új játék egy szép baba.*  
 ‘a new toy, a nice doll’ → \*‘A new toy is a nice doll.’  
 c. *a barátaim, köztük Mari* → \**A barátaim Mari.*  
 ‘my friends, among them Mary’ → \*‘My friends are Mary.’

Heringa (2012) argues through Dutch and English examples that appositional constructions are independent of the matrix sentence. Below I investigate the Hungarian data from this perspective. In the Hungarian examples the loose relation of the appositional construction and the matrix clause cannot be demonstrated in this particular way, since it is not clear whether it is the anchor or the apposition that controls the agreement with the predicate (5). I will discuss this point in more detail in section 4.

- (5) a. *A két barátnő-d, a lány-a-i-m megérkez-t-ek.*  
 the two friend-POSS.2SG the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG arrived-3PL  
 ‘Your two friends, my daughters, have arrived.’

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<sup>2</sup> Jakab (1972: 45) describes the reduction principle as follows: “If the basic unit of the attributional construction is missing from the sentence due to deletion or any other reason, the reference word in the position of an attribute in the main clause of the subordinating complex sentence will occasionally take over the meaning of the attributive clause, as well as its part of speech category, its formal criteria (the reduced possessive structure is marked with a possessive affix -é), and its syntactic function.” (translation mine, B.Sz.)

- b. A lány-a-i-m, a két barátnő-d megérkez-t-ek.  
 the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG the two friend-POSS.2SG arrived-3PL  
 ‘My daughters, your two friends, have arrived.’

In international literature the independent status of the apposition from the matrix sentence is sometimes confirmed by examples containing VP-ellipses (6): the apposition does not take part in the interpretation of the ellipsis (Heringa 2012: 62).

- (6) *Meghívt-am vacsorá-ra Mari-t, János húg-á-t, és Évát is.*<sup>3</sup>  
 invited-1SG dinner-SUB Mary-ACC John sister-POSS-ACC and Eve-ACC too  
 ‘I invited Mary, John’s sister, for dinner and Eve too.’  
 → *Meghívtam vacsorára Marit, János húgát, és Évát is meghívtam vacsorára.*  
 ‘I invited Mary, John’s sister, for dinner and I invited Eve for dinner, too.’  
 ↗ *Meghívtam vacsorára Marit, János húgát, és Évát, János húgát is meghívtam vacso-  
 rára.*  
 ‘I invited Mary, John’s sister, for dinner and I invited Eve, John’s sister, for dinner too.’

The Hungarian data only partly confirm Heringa’s assumption (2012) that the appositional construction is in fact a TP with its own tense and subject. On one hand, the anchor and the apposition always share their case, as opposed to certain German examples, where the apposition is in nominative case, regardless of the case of the anchor. On the other hand, in Hungarian the words referring to temporal relations often appear as attributes within the noun group of the apposition, rather than adverbial expressions that necessarily modify some predicative category:

- (7) a. *Egy híres író, [egy egykori alkoholista], lesz ma este a vendég-ünk.*  
 a famous writer a former alcoholic will.be.3SG today night the  
 guest-POSS.1PL  
 ‘A famous writer, a former alcoholic, will be our guest tonight.’  
 b. *\*/?/? Egy híres író, egykor/valamikor [egy alkoholista], lesz ma este a vendég-ünk.*  
 a famous writer formerly an alcoholic will.be.3SG  
 today night the guest-POSS.1PL  
 ‘A famous writer, formerly an alcoholic, will be our guest tonight.’

At the same time, there are data where certain adverbs appear inserted between the two construction units:

<sup>3</sup> I disregard here the irrelevant reading when three people are invited, and the difference is indicated by a comma before the conjunction *és* ‘and’ in written Hungarian (iii–iv.).

- iii) *Meghívtam vacsorára Marit, János feleségét, és Évát is.*  
 ‘I invited for dinner Mary, John’s wife, and Eve too.’ (= I invited two persons.)  
 iv) *Meghívtam vacsorára Marit, János feleségét és Évát is.*  
 ‘I invited for dinner Mary and John’s wife and Eve too.’ (= I invited three persons.)

- (8) *Egy híres író, fiatal-on [Illyés barát-ja], újabb*  
 a famous writer young-SUP Illyés friend-POSS newer  
*verseskötet-et adott ki.*  
 volume.of.poetry-ACC published.3SG PRT  
 ‘A famous writer, a friend of Illyés in his youth, published a new volume of poetry.’

In Hungarian there are examples, too, where a subject appears within the appositional construction:

- (9) *A tanár-om, pro egykor maga is nagy dohányos, támogatott,*  
 the teacher-POSS.1SG pro once oneself too great smoker supported.3SG  
*hogy leszok-j-ak a dohányzás-ról.*  
 that give.up-IMP-1SG the smoking-DEL  
 ‘My teacher, once a great smoker himself too, supported me in giving up smoking.’

In example (9) the reflective pronoun *maga* ‘himself’ appears with a *pro* subject, and yet we are facing an appositional construction here, which is demonstrated by the fact that the predicate in past tense can be omitted from the construction. However, if a verb occurs in the construction, we can no longer speak of an appositional construction. In this case we have two options to construct a well-formed sentence: one is to transform the initial appositional construction into a relative clause (10a); another is to hold a longer and more emphatic intonational pause before the appositional construction, thus emphasizing its parenthetical status (10b).

- (10) a. *A tanár-om, aki egykor maga is nagy dohányos volt,*  
 the teacher-POSS.1SG who once oneself too great smoker was.3SG  
*támogatott...*  
 supported.3SG  
 ‘My teacher, who was a great smoker himself once, supported...’  
 b. *A tanár-om – egykor maga is nagy dohányos volt –*  
 the teacher-POSS.1SG once oneself too great smoker was.3SG  
*támogatott...*  
 supported.3SG  
 ‘My teacher – once was a great smoker himself – supported...’

Therefore, statements of Hungarian descriptive grammars concerning appositional constructions must be both clarified and completed with regard to the independent status of the construction from the matrix clause.

### 3 Types of appositional constructions

In this subsection I will present a classification of different types of appositional constructions in Hungarian. In the Hungarian literature, identifying appositions have been classified either based on the part of speech the apposition belongs to (Simonyi 1913, Károly 1958), or based on the function of the apposition (Balogh 2004).

With reference to international literature, below I will present two novel approaches of classification of the Hungarian examples. First, in the international literature there is a distinction between close and loose appositions. Second, Heringa (2012) assumes three types of relations between anchor and apposition: identification, attribution, inclusion. The basis of classification is the position of the anchor and the apposition on the specificity scale, which may range from generic, through non-specific, to specific.

### 3.1 Close and loose appositions

Although Hungarian linguists traditionally do not differentiate close and loose appositions, I will argue in favour of the view that close appositions can be distinguished in Hungarian too. The argument in favour of this is the following: if we compare examples (11a) and (11c), it becomes evident that the grammaticality of the sentence won't change even if the apposition (11b) is omitted from the loose appositional construction (11a). In contrast, no loose apposition could be posited in (11c), since if we omit the apposition we will get a semantically incoherent sentence (11d). Consequently, there must be close apposition in (11c), since the construction in this case needs to be restrictive, that is neither of the construction units could possibly be omitted, as they refer to the given entity **jointly**.

- (11) a. *Péter, a barát-om sokkal népszerű-bb, mint Éva,*  
 Peter the friend-POSS.1.SG much popular-COMPR than Eve  
*a hűg-om.*  
 the sister-POSS.1.SG  
 'Peter, my friend, is much more popular than Eve, my sister.'
- b. *Péter sokkal népszerű-bb, mint Éva.*  
 Peter much popular-COMPR than Eve  
 'Peter is much more popular than Eve.'
- c. *Miltiadész a hadvezér sokkal ismert-ebb, mint Miltiadész a pápa.*  
 Miltiades the general much known-COMPR than Miltiades the pope  
 'Miltiades the general is much better-known than Miltiades the pope.'
- d. # *Miltiadész sokkal ismert-ebb, mint Miltiadész.*  
 Miltiades much known-COMPR than Miltiades  
 #'Miltiades is much better-known than Miltiades.'

In close appositions in English the two DPs are interchangeable (12). (13) demonstrates that the same holds in Hungarian:

- (12) a. *the poet Burns*  
 b. *Burns the poet*
- (13) a. *A hadvezér Miltiadész-t sokkal többen ismer-ik, mint a pápa*  
 the general Miltiades-ACC many more know-3PL than the pope  
*Miltiadész-t.*  
 Miltiades-ACC  
 'The general Miltiades is known by many more than the pope Miltiades.'

- b. **Miltiadész-t**    **a**    **hadvezér-t**    sokkal    többen    ismer-ik,    mint  
 Miltiades-ACC    the    general-ACC    many    more    know-3PL    than  
***Miltiadész-t***    ***a***    ***pápá-t.***  
 Miltiades-ACC    the    pope-ACC  
 ‘Miltiades the general is known by many more than Miltiades the pope.’

However, if we regard the data in (13) as close apposition based on the examples from international literature, a significant difference between the two construction types must be pointed out: if the apposition precedes the anchor, it will not bear any case ending (13a), while if the anchor is followed by the apposition, they will share their case endings (13b). Because of this difference I do not classify example (13a) as close apposition, as in Hungarian the two units of the appositional construction always share their case endings. In (13a) we are dealing with a noun modifier instead.

Other elements can also be inserted between the units of loose appositions; in English, for example, expressions like *namely*, *or rather*, and *in other words*. In Hungarian similar data can be found, too:

- (14) a. *Péter, vagyis a barát-om*  
 Peter    in.other.words    the    friend-POSS.1SG  
 ‘Peter, in other words my friend’  
 b. *Anna, azaz a fodrász-om*  
 Anna    that.is    the    hairdresser-POSS.1SG  
 ‘Anna, that is, my hairdresser’

Hungarian descriptive grammars regard examples like (14) as explanatory phrases classified within the group of coordinative phrases. These are not actual coordinations, as the two units of the construction refer to the same entity, which forces us to consider whether they should be classified within the group of appositions, too. I will return to this issue later.

One of the most important differences between close and loose apposition is in their intonation: close appositions constitute one single intonational unit (15a), while the two elements of loose appositions are separated by comma-intonation (15b). Furthermore, a close appositional relation may contain only DPs (15a), while a loose appositional relation may be generated between any identical categories (15b).

- (15) a. [<sub>DP</sub> Miltiadész] [<sub>DP</sub> a pápa]  
 ‘Miltiades the pope’  
 b. [<sub>PP</sub> a barát-om mellett], [<sub>PP</sub> Péter mellett]  
 the friend-POSS.1SG beside Peter beside  
 ‘beside my friend, beside Peter’

Close appositions imply a restrictive construal, while loose appositions imply a non-restrictive one. Close appositions can be used in a context like (16a), where one person is pointed out among several individuals, and the two units of the construction jointly define the reference to the given entity. In (16b) one single individual appears only, whose name is *Miltiades*, which implies that we have a loose appositional construction in this context.

- (16) a. A: *Úgy hallott-am, hogy a meghirdetett előadás Miltiadész-ről*  
 so heard-1SG that the advertised presentation Miltiades-DEL  
*fog szól-ni, csak az-t nem tud-om, hogy a*  
 will.3SG be.about-INF only that-ACC not know-1SG that the  
*hadvezér-ről vagy a pápá-ról.*  
 general-DEL or the pope-DEL  
 ‘I’ve heard that the advertised presentation will be about Miltiades, but I don’t really know whether about the general or the pope.’  
 B: *Mivel elsősorban az ókori görög-ök-et tanulmányoz-om, így*  
 since primarily the Ancient Greek-PL-ACC research-1SG so  
*természetesen Miltiadész-ről a hadvezér-ről / # Miltiadész-ről, a*  
 obviously Miltiades-DEL the general-DEL / Miltiades-DEL the  
*hadvezér-ről fog-ok beszél-ni.*  
 general-DEL will-1SG talk-INF  
 ‘Since primarily I am doing research on Ancient Greece, obviously I’m going to talk about Miltiades the general / # Miltiades, the general.’
- b. A: *Úgy hallott-am, hogy a ma esti előadás az ókori görög*  
 so heard-1SG that the today night presentation the ancient Greek  
*harc-ok-ról fog szól-ni.*  
 battle-PL-DEL will.3SG be.about-INF  
 ‘I’ve heard that the tonight’s presentation will be about ancient Greek battles.’  
 B: *Igen, pontosabban Miltiadész-ről, a hadvezér-ről fog-ok beszél-ni.*  
 yes more.specifically Miltiades-DEL the general-DEL will-1SG talk-INF  
 ‘Yes, more specifically I’m going to talk about Miltiades, the general.’

However, it is important to point out that this relation can occur not only when assuming several individuals. There is a possible context where one single individual occurs as the anchor, and we want to highlight his two different attributes:

- (17) *Petőfi a költő sikeres-ebb volt Petőfi-nél a katoná-nál.*  
 Petőfi the poet successful-COMPR was.3SG Petőfi-ADE the soldier-ADE  
 ‘Petőfi the poet was more successful than Petőfi the soldier.’

In conclusion, I have argued that we find cases of close apposition in Hungarian, too, even if they tend to occur more limited. In Hungarian I call close appositions only those constructions where both units have corresponding case endings. If it is only the second unit of the construction that has a case ending, we are no longer dealing with close apposition, and I regard these as noun modifiers, which consequently leads to the claim that the order of the units of appositional constructions cannot be interchanged in Hungarian.

### 3.2 *Semantic classes by Heringa*

Below I present Heringa’s (2012) semantic classes (identification, attribution, inclusion), with a closer look at Hungarian examples, revealing to what extent these examples can be distinguished based on the position of anchor and apposition on the specificity scale. My further goal is to examine the conjunctions that serve to link anchor and apposition, and also



find out whether different conjunctions (apposition markers) in Hungarian can be combined with any of the three semantic classes, based on the English, German and Dutch patterns.

In identifications, both units of the construction are expected to stand at the same place on the specificity scale. On the basis of Dutch examples Heringa further allows the combination of items with different specificity levels. This possibility of combination is confirmed by Hungarian examples too. Consider the following (non-exhaustive) overview of examples for identification:

- (18) a. *Mari babá-ja, mégpedig a nagymamá-já-tól kapott játék, eltűnt.*  
 Mary doll-POSS namely the granny-POSS-ABL got toy disappeared.3SG  
 ‘Mary’s doll, namely the toy she got from her granny, has disappeared.’
- b. A *Gyöngyhercegnő, azaz egy a nagymamá-tól kapott játék baba*  
 the Pearl.Princess that.is a the granny-ABL got toy doll  
*a lány-om kedvenc játék-á-vá vált.*  
 the daughter-POSS.1SG favourite toy-POSS-TRANS became.3SG  
 ‘Pearl Princess, that is to say a doll given by granny, became my daughter’s favourite toy.’
- c. A *tanár-unk előadás-t tartott az év állat-á-ról,*  
 the teacher-POSS.1PL lecture-ACC gave.3SG the year animal-POSS-DEL  
*vagyis a pandá-ról.*  
 namely the panda-DEL  
 ‘Our teacher gave a lecture on the animal of the year, namely the panda.’
- d. A *világ legnagyobb hatalmú férfi-ja, más szó-val az USA*  
 the world most might man-POSS other word-INS the USA  
*elnök-e, a Fehér Ház-ban él.*  
 president-POSS the White House-INE live.3SG  
 ‘The mightiest man in the world, in other words the president of the United States, lives in the White House.’

In the case of attribution, the apposition is generic, while the anchor can take any position on the specificity scale:

- (19) a. *Az év tanár-á-t, mellesleg egy kiváló pedagógus-t,*  
 the year teacher-POSS-ACC by.the.way an outstanding educator-ACC  
*a diák-ok választ-ják meg.*  
 the student-PL choose-3PL PRT  
 ‘The teacher of the year, an outstanding educator by the way, is chosen by the students.’
- b. *János pisztoly-a, tudvalevőleg egy gyilkos fegyver, nagyon veszélyes.*  
 John pistol-POSS known.to.be a murder weapon extremely dangerous  
 ‘John’s pistol, known to be a murder weapon, is extremely dangerous.’
- c. *János egy iPad-ot, amint tud-od a mai fiatal-ok*  
 John a iPad-ACC as know-2SG the today’s young-PL  
*leg-keresett-ebb kütyü-jét akar-ja megve-nni.*  
 SUP-wanted-COMPR gaged-ACC want-3SG buy-INF  
 ‘John wants to buy an iPad, the most wanted gadget among today’s young people.’

In the case of inclusions, the apposition is more specific than the anchor:

- (20) a. *Az előadás néhány bolygó-ról, köztük a Mars-ról szólt.*  
 the lecture several planet-DEL among.them the Mars-DEL was.about.3SG  
 ‘The lecture was about several planets, among them Mars.’
- b. *Az emberszabású majom, de különösen egy gorilla nagyon erős.*  
 the ape but in.particular a gorilla very strong  
 ‘The ape, and in particular a gorilla, is very strong.’
- c. *Egy emberszabású majom, de leginkább a csimpánz szeret-i a banán-t.*  
 an ape but most.of.all the chimpanzee like-3SG  
 the banana-ACC  
 ‘An ape, but most of all a chimpanzee, likes bananas.’
- d. *Egy nagy ragadozó, például egy oroszán a tápláléklánc csúcs-án van.*  
 a big predator such.as a lion the food.chain top-POSS-SUP  
 be.3SG  
 ‘A big predator, such as a lion, is at the top of the food chain.’

Heringa distinguishes attribution from the other two types of appositional constructions, making use of the following test (2012: 47). He demonstrates through Dutch examples that the construction can be transformed by means of inserting an appositive relative clause in the place of the apposition only in the case of attributive appositions:

- (21) a. *Het prisma, dat/wat een ruimtelijke figuur is, heft toepassingen in de optiek.*  
 the prism which a three-dimensional figure is has applications in the optics  
 ‘The prism, which is a three-dimensional figure, is applied in optics.’
- b. *\*De reuzenpanda, die de pandabeer is, eet voornamelijk bamboe.*  
 the giant.panda which the panda.bear is eats mainly bamboo  
 Lit. ‘The giant panda, which is the panda bear, eats mainly bamboo.’

This test, however, cannot entirely be applied to Hungarian examples: although in case of examples for inclusion the apposition cannot be transformed into an appositive relative clause (22), but this rule cannot apply to all examples for identification (23).

- (22) *\*Az előadás néhány bolygó-ról, amely a Mars, szólt.*  
 the lecture several planet-DEL which the Mars was.about.3SG  
 \*‘The lecture was about several planets, which is Mars.’
- (23) *A Gyöngyhercegnő, amely egy a nagymamá-tól kapott játék baba, a lány-om kedvenc-é-vé vált.*  
 the Pearl.Princess which a the granny-ABL got toy doll the daughter-POSS.1SG favourite-POSS-TRANS became.3SG  
 ‘Pearl Princess, which is a doll given by granny, became the favourite of my daughter.’

Another significant difference between the examples classified as inclusions and of the other two classes is that in the case of inclusion the conjunction cannot be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical:

- (24) a. \*Az előadás néhány bolygó-ról, a Mars-ról szólt.  
 the lecture several planet-DEL the Mars-DEL was.about.3SG  
 \*‘The lecture was about several planets, Mars.’
- b. \*Az emberszabású majom, egy gorilla, nagyon erős.  
 the ape a gorilla very strong  
 \*‘The ape, a gorilla, is very strong.’

Apposition markers play an important role in examples of inclusion, as they indicate that no predicative relation can be established between the units of the construction in which we make a statement about the anchor using the apposition:

- (25) a. \*Néhány bolygó a Mars.  
 several planet the Mars  
 \*‘Several planets are Mars.’
- b. \*Az emberszabású majom az orangután.  
 the ape the orangutan  
 \*‘The ape is the orangutan.’
- c. \*Az emberszabású majom egy gorilla.  
 the ape a gorilla  
 \*‘The ape is a gorilla.’

Another important distinction must be pointed out between inclusion and the other two appositional classes. While constructions using inclusion can be transformed into sentences where the proximity of the anchor and the apposition is not required (26), this is not so for attribution (27a) and identification (27b). Even if some of the examples are well-formed, the apposition can only take a distant position from the anchor as an afterthought, indicated by use of a very strong pause (which I indicate with colons), and must appear with conjunctions *mégpedig* ‘namely’ and *vagyis* ‘that is’ (27c).

- (26) Az előadás néhány bolygó-ról szólt, köztük a Mars-ról.  
 the lecture several planet-DEL was.about.3SG among.them the Mars-DEL  
 ‘The lecture was about several planets, among them Mars.’

- (27) a. \*Egy henger elkészíthető egy sima papírlap-ból, egy háromdimenziós test.  
 a cylinder preparable a plain sheet.of.paper-ELA a three-dimensional shape  
 \*‘A cylinder can be made from a sheet of plain paper, a three-dimensional shape.’
- b. \*Mari babá-ja eltűnt, a nagymamá-já-tól kapott játék.  
 Mary doll-POSS disappeared.3SG the granny-POSS-ABL got toy  
 \*‘Mary’s doll has disappeared, the gift from her granny.’

- c. Az év tanár-á-t a diák-ok választ-ják meg: mégpedig  
 The year teacher-POSS-ACC the student-PL choose-3PL PRT namely  
*egy kiváló pedagógus-t.*  
 an excellent educator-ACC  
 ‘The teacher of the year is chosen by the students: namely an excellent educator.’

This confirms the assumption that, in the case of inclusion, coordination of two clauses with ellipsis is used.

We firmly take the position that in Hungarian we also get an appositional construction when certain conjunctions (such as *vagyis* ‘i.e.’, *azaz* ‘that is’) occur between units having identical reference. These form a construction in which the second unit clarifies and completes the meaning of the first. Accordingly, the presence of the conjunction does not automatically imply a coordinative construction, which by descriptive grammars was classified as explanatory coordination. These conjunctions are considered apposition markers in international literature.

Now let us investigate apposition markers that normally occur in Hungarian appositional constructions. Examples (18–20), for the three different types of appositional constructions (identification, attribution, inclusion), contain all apposition markers most typical of the given group. However, compared to English, German and Dutch examples (Heringa 2012), Hungarian apposition markers cannot be sharply distinguished from one another as being typical of only one given semantic class of the appositional construction.

Apposition markers typical of the semantic class **identification** are: *vagyis* ‘i.e.’, *azaz* ‘that is’, *mégpedig* ‘namely’, *más szóval* ‘in other words’ *egyszerűbben mondva* ‘put more simply’, *pontosabban kifejezve* ‘specifically speaking’.

In appositional constructions of to the semantic class **attribution** the following apposition markers may occur: *tudvalevőleg* ‘known to be’, *mellesleg* ‘by the way’, *mint köztudott* ‘as is (well-)known’, *amint tudod* ‘as you know’.

In constructions of the class **inclusion** we may find the following apposition markers: *köztük* ‘among them’, *(mint) például* ‘for example’, *beleértve* ‘including’, *úgy mint* ‘such as’, *de főleg* ‘but/and mainly’, *de különösen* ‘but/and particular’, *de leginkább* ‘but most of all’, *de legfőképpen* ‘but/and especially’.

At the same time however, certain apposition markers of the identification group (like *vagyis* ‘i.e.’, *azaz* ‘that is’) may also occur in examples with attributive constructions.

### 3.3 *Different groups of identifying appositions*

In this subsection I make an attempt to describe the subclasses distinguished within the class of identifying appositions, placing them in a table, the aim of which is to provide a more specific structural analysis by creating a clearer system.

It is important to mention that of the three semantic classes categorized by Heringa (2012), identification and attribution can be matched with the groups established by Ott (2014). Ott (2014) distinguishes two subtypes among non-restrictive nominal appositions: in the case of specificational nominal apposition the apposition specifies or identifies the anchor, while the apposition within predicational nominal appositions assigns a certain attribute to the anchor. If we examine the Hungarian examples for identification in (18), we see that each of them corresponds to the concept of specificational appositional constructions, while in the case of

the attribution examples in (19), a parallel may be drawn with predicative appositions. The parallel between the two classifications is due to the fact that Ott's classification is based on the semantic groups established by Heringa (2012). The absence of inclusion from Ott's classification (2013) may partly be explained by the fact that Heringa did not include this semantic class in the range of his detailed investigations either.

Examples for close apposition in Hungarian constitute a narrower group compared to cross-linguistic data. Each one of the Hungarian examples can be classified within the semantic class of attributions. According to this, in Hungarian we can distinguish the apposition types listed in table 1:

	<b>Loose apposition</b>	<b>Close apposition</b>
<b>Identification</b>	(28a)	–
<b>Attribution</b>	(28b)	(29)
<b>Inclusion</b>	(28c)	–

Table 1. Types of identifying appositions

- (28) a. *Mari babá-ja, a nagymamá-já-tól kapott játék, eltűnt.*  
 Mary doll-POSS the granny-POSS-ABL got toy disappeared.3SG  
 'Mary's doll, the toy she got from her granny, has disappeared.'
- b. *János pisztoly-a, tudvalevőleg egy gyilkos fegyver, nagyon veszélyes.*  
 John pistol-POSS known.to.be a murder weapon extremely dangerous  
 'John's pistol, known to be a murder weapon, is extremely dangerous.'
- c. *Az előadás néhány bolygó-ról, köztük a Mars-ról szólt.*  
 the lecture several planet-DEL among.them the Mars-DEL was.about.3SG  
 'The lecture was about several planets, among them Mars.'
- (29) *Miltiadész-t a hadvezér-t sokkal többen ismer-ik, mint Miltiadész-t a pápá-t.*  
 Miltiades-ACC the general-ACC many more know-3PL than Miltiades-ACC the pope-ACC  
 'Miltiades the general is known by many more than Miltiades the pope.'

The apposition in (28a) is also an example for specificational appositions, while the appositional construction in (28b) corresponds to the predicational apposition.

#### 4 Agreement with the identifying apposition

In order to assign the corresponding structure to identifying apposition, we need to resolve the question of ellipsis? It may help answer this question if we investigate how agreement works between the predicate and the appositional construction occurring as subject or object of the sentence.

First let us examine Hungarian morphosyntactic number agreement between the subject and the verb. Quantified noun phrases (such as *két lány* 'two girls') are morphologically singular in Hungarian, hence they lack a number feature, triggering singular agreement on the verb (30a), and plural noun phrases trigger plural agreement on the verb (30b).

- (30) a. *A két lány megérkezett.*  
 the two girl arrived.3SG  
 ‘The two girls have arrived.’  
 b. *A lány-ok megérkeztek.*  
 the girl-PL arrived-3PL  
 ‘The girls have arrived.’

The Hungarian verb has a definite conjugation, used in the presence of a definite object (31a), and an indefinite conjugation, used in the absence a definite object (31b):

- (31) a. *A tanár-ok [a könyv-et]<sub>DEF</sub> ír-ják.*  
 the teacher-PL the book-ACC write-DEF.3PL  
 ‘The teachers write the book.’  
 b. *A tanár-ok [egy könyv-et]<sub>INDEF</sub> ír-nak.*  
 the teacher-PL a book-ACC write-INDEF.3PL  
 ‘The teachers write a book.’

Balogh (2004: 71) presents two examples and argues that in certain cases it is the subject (32a), or the apposition of the object (32b) that controls the agreement with the predicate.

- (32) a. *Ági és Panni, az újonnan jött osztálytárs-ak hamarosan  
 Ági and Panni the newly came classmate-PL soon  
 beilleszkedt-ek az osztályközösség-be.*  
 fitted.in-3PL the class-IN  
 ‘Ági and Panni, the newcomers in the class, soon fitted in with their classmates.’  
 b. *[Két diák-ot]<sub>INDEF</sub>, [Nagy Jóska-t és Kis Pista-t]<sub>DEF</sub> behívatt-ák  
 two student-ACC Nagy Jóska-ACC and Kis Pista-ACC asked.in-DEF.3PL  
 az igazgatói irodá-ba.*  
 the principal office-ILL  
 ‘Two students, Jóska Nagy and Pista Kis, were summoned to the principal’s office.’

In (32a) it cannot be conclusively demonstrated that it is the apposition that controls the agreement, since in the case of the *and*-coordination a plural form of the predicate can be induced (33), as it was demonstrated by É. Kiss (2012: 1026).

- (33) *János és Mari össze veszt-ek.*  
 John and Mary PRT quarrelled-3PL  
 ‘John and Mary quarrelled.’

I extended the investigation to data where no unequivocal grammaticality judgement could be produced, and decided to test the examples in question. With the tests I investigated, on one hand, the appositional construction used as subject, in which the apposition and the anchor appearing separately cause different kinds of agreement with the predicate. On the other hand, I tested the appositional construction used as an object too, in which there is a difference in the definiteness of the construction units. After evaluating the results it can generally be stated that in the judgement of sentences no significant difference showed up related to the fact

weather the appositional construction appeared in the sentence in position of a topic or a focus.

Based on the investigation of test-sentences containing appositional constructions in subject position, the conclusion can be drawn that it cannot be conclusively decided whether it is the anchor or the apposition that controls the agreement, since the agreement is influenced by two different factors: the principle of proximity and the marked feature value of the anchor concerning plurality. The [PI]-feature of a noun phrase is a marked feature value in number agreement.<sup>4</sup> If the apposition is plural, then the agreement is unambiguously clear: the verb will appear in plural (the principle of proximity reaffirms the plural agreement too).

- (34) a. *A két barátnő-d, a lány-a-i-m megérkeztek-ek.*  
 the two friend-POSS.2SG the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG arrived-3PL  
 ‘Your two friends, my daughters, have arrived.’
- b. \**A két barátnő-d, a lány-a-i-m megérkezett.*  
 the two friend-POSS.2SG the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG arrived.3SG  
 ‘Your two friends, my daughters, have arrived.’

If the anchor is formally plural, then in the case of the appositional construction appearing in a preverbal position the principle of proximity and the markedness of plurality become conflicted, and the grammaticality judgements of the sentences show a greatly varied picture from the point of view of agreement:

- (35) a. ?? *A lány-a-i-m, a két barátnő-d megérkezett.*  
 the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG the two friend-POSS.2SG arrived.3SG  
 ‘My daughters, your two friends, arrived.’
- b. ? *A lány-a-i-m, a két barátnő-d megérkeztek-ek.*  
 the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG the two friend-POSS.2SG arrived-3PL  
 ‘My daughters, your two friends, arrived.’

If the appositional construction appears in postverbal position, then it is the principle of proximity that determines the agreement:

- (36) a. *Összeveszték-ek / \*összeveszett a lány-a-i-m, a két barátnő-d.*  
 quarrelled-3PL / quarrelled.3SG the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG the two friend-POSS.2SG  
 ‘My daughters, yours two friends, had a quarrel.’

---

<sup>4</sup> It is not only the group of nouns in plural form that have a marked value concerning plurality, but the coordination of groups of nouns in singular can also have a marked feature value, when it induces plural agreement, as illustrated in (v).

v) *Mari és Anna megérkeztek-ek.*  
 Mary and Anna arrived-3PL  
 ‘Mary and Anna have arrived.’

- b. *Összeveszett / \*összeveszt-ek a két barátnő-d, a*  
 quarrelled.3SG / quarrelled-3PL the two friend-POSS.2SG the  
*lány-a-i-m.*  
 daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG  
 ‘Your two friends, my daughters, had a quarrel.’

In the case of an appositional construction appearing in preverbal position as object, there are two additional factors influencing the agreement: the principle of proximity and the marked feature value of definiteness. The [Def]-feature of a noun phrase is a marked feature value in object agreement. If the apposition is definite, then definite conjugation is clearly preferred.

- (37) a. *\*Egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t felkért-ek a fotózás-ra.*  
 a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC invited-INDEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’  
 b. *Egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t felkért-ék a fotózás-ra.*  
 a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC invited-DEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’

If the principle of proximity and the marked feature value become conflict with each other, the judgement of sentences shows a mixed picture, but definite conjugation still seems more preferable:

- (38) a. *?? Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t felkért-ek a fotózás-ra.*  
 Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC invited-INDEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.’  
 b. *? Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t felkért-ék a fotózás-ra.*  
 Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC invited-DEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.’

In the case of sentences containing appositional constructions in postverbal position, unequivocal grammaticality judgements are produced. In this case the agreement takes place according to the principle of proximity:

- (39) a. *\*Felkért-ek Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t a fotózás-ra.*  
 invited-INDEF.3PL Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.’  
 b. *Felkért-ék Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t a fotózás-ra.*  
 invited-DEF.3PL Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.’  
 c. *\*Felkért-ék egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t a fotózás-ra.*  
 invited-DEF.3PL a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’  
 d. *Felkért-ek egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t a fotózás-ra.*  
 invited-INDEF.3PL a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’



Summing up the results, we can conclude the following: although the principle of proximity has a certain role in the control of the agreement, which could suggest that we are dealing with a coordinative structure, the marked feature value can still override it occasionally, in which cases the agreement must obtain with the anchor, which is rather reminiscent of subordination.

However, all observations change if we hold an intonational pause after the apposition. By this we intensify the parenthetical nature of the structure, due to which it seems that the predicate should rather agree with the anchor even in cases of appositional structures occurring in preverbal position as subject (40) or object (41):

- (40) a. *A lány-a-i-m, a két barát-nő-d, összeveszt-ek.*  
 the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG the two friend-POSS.2SG quarrelled-3PL  
 ‘My daughters, your two friends, had a quarrel.’
- b. *A két barát-nő-d, a lány-a-i-m, összeveszett.*  
 the two friend-POSS.2SG the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG quarrelled.3SG  
 ‘Your two friends, my daughters, had a quarrel.’
- (41) a. *Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t, felkért-ék a fotózás-ra.*  
 Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC invited-DEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.’
- b. *Egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t, felkért-ek a fotózás-ra.*  
 a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC invited-INDEF.3PL the taking.photos-SUBL  
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’

The examples above show that in the case of the intonational pause held after the apposition, it is the first element of the appositional construction appearing in preverbal position either as subject (40) or object (41), that is the anchor, which influences the agreement with the predicate. The role of the intonation needs more research.

## 5 Analysis of identifying appositions

In the case of identifying appositions there is just one single argument for assuming that the construction units are in subordination: a predicative relation can be established between the two. Furthermore, as we could see in section 2, there are exceptions even to that. The construction cannot be analyzed – at least not in all cases – as coordination of two clauses accompanied by ellipsis, as in that case we would not be able to explain the agreement requirements in examples like (42), where in case of an ellipsis the predicate would be expected to agree with the apposition:

- (42) *Én<sub>1SG</sub>, a koronatanú<sub>3SG</sub> pontosan jelent-em/\*jelent meg*  
 I the key.witness on.time appeared-1SG/appeared.3SG PRT  
*a bíróság-on.*  
 the court-SUP  
 ‘I, the key witness, arrived at the court on time.’

The behaviour of identifying appositions mainly parallels coordination, but at the same time there is a significant difference between them. In the case of appositional constructions two

entities with identical reference will occur, while in the case of coordination the two entities (or events) will have different reference.

As we have seen in section 4, even the system of agreement cannot provide solid evidence for the identifying appositional construction being either subordination or coordination. The question becomes further complicated by the fact that different types of identifying appositions have different prosodic, syntactic and semantic characteristics.

With regard to all these, I suggest that we should assign separate structural analyses related to each type of identifying apposition, based on the different properties. A coherent analysis can be given only in the case of loose appositions, where an intonational pause must be held after the apposition too, thus intensifying the parenthetical nature of the construction. Based on the examples it was apparent that in this case the predicate of the matrix clause must agree with the anchor. My proposal is to posit a parenthetical phrase (De Vries 2012, Heringa 2012), the anchor of which appears in its specifier while the apposition appears in its complement. We should apply an operation different from Merge, since the apposition is invisible for the matrix clause. De Vries (2012) proposes such an operation, which Heringa (2012) calls **supplementation Merge**. The usual Merge will be called **dominance Merge**. The two types of Merge can be described as follows (adapted from De Vries 2012: 16):

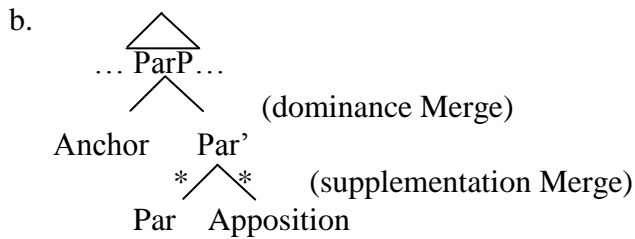
	Description	Notation
<b>dom-Merge</b>	dom-Merge (A, B) yields C such that C directly dominates A C directly dominates B A is a sister of B	<pre> graph TD     C --- A     C --- B </pre>
<b>sup-Merge</b>	sup-Merge (A, B) yields C such that A is directly supplemented to C B is directly supplemented to C A is a sister of B	<pre> graph TD     C --- A     C --- B     style C stroke-dasharray: 5 5     style A stroke-dasharray: 5 5     style B stroke-dasharray: 5 5 </pre>

*Table 2. Representing dom-Merge and sup-Merge*

Heringa (2012: 140–141) defines supplementation Merge in such a way that with its application the apposition and the anchor will form one constituent, while neither the anchor nor any other element of the matrix clause will c-command the apposition, because the supplement blocks this relation, since the constituents merged this way will become part of a different ‘dimension’ and thus invisible for the other elements.

If an intonational pause must be held after the apposition, the agreement with the predicate is solely controlled by the anchor, so we need apply the operation of supplementation Merge:

- (43) a. [<sub>ParP</sub> *A barát-a-i-m*, *köztük* *Mari*], *elutazt-ak*  
the friend-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG among.them Mary travelled-3PL  
*a hegyek-be a hétvégé-n.*  
the mountains-ILL the weekend-SUP  
‘My friends, among them Mary, travelled to the mountains at the weekend.’



Now let us investigate what constructions may be assigned to each type of appositional constructions.

### 5.1 Analysis of appositions classified as inclusive appositions

In the international literature, no particular attention is devoted to this group. Having reviewed the examples, Heringa (2012) ruled these constructions out from the range of further investigation, defining the group as coordination of two clauses involving ellipsis, based on Burton-Roberts' (1994) proposal. Ott (2014) also ignores these examples when he classifies appositions.

Below I examine if Hungarian examples truly confirm the proposal for analysis which assumes the coordination of two clauses and ellipsis performed on them. In order to resolve the question two factors can be examined: the paraphrase of the sentences containing inclusions, and the agreement between the inclusive apposition and the predicate. First let us examine the way in which the examples of inclusion can be transformed:

- (44) a. *Három jó barát-om, köztük Mari elutazott*  
 three good friend-POSS.1SG among.them Mary travelled.3SG  
*a hegyek-be a hétvégé-n.*  
 the mountains-ILL the weekend-SUP  
 'My three good friends, among them Mary, travelled to the mountains at the weekend.'
- b. \**Három jó barát-om köztük Mari.*  
 three good friend-POSS.1SG among.them Mary  
 \*'My three good friends are among them Mary.'
- c. *Mari a három jó barát-om egyik-e.*  
 Mary the three good friend-POSS.1SG one-POSS  
 'Mary is one of my three good friends.'
- d. *Három jó barát-om elutazott a hegyek-be a hétvégé-n,*  
 three good friend-POSS.1SG travelled.3SG the mountains-ILL the weekend-SUP  
*köztük Mari elutazott a hegyek-be a hétvégé-n.*  
 among.them Mary travelled.3SG the mountains-ILL the weekend-SUP  
 'My three good friends travelled to the mountains at the weekend, among them Mary travelled to the mountains at the weekend.'

Example (44b) demonstrates that no predicative relation can be established between the two units of the inclusive appositional construction. (44c) is a grammatical paraphrase of the inclusive appositional construction, but it is not the same as what the speaker wants to express

in (44a). In fact, the meaning of the sentence containing the appositional construction can be expressed as (44d), so it suggests that we have a coordination of the two clauses here.

Now let us examine what kind of agreement the inclusive appositional construction requires with the predicate, deliberately using examples with agreement mismatch between the two units. If the appositional construction appears in position of a focus, the apposition causes the agreement with the predicate (see 45). In this case an intonational pause can **not** be held after the apposition.

- (45) [<sub>Foc</sub> A barát-a-i-m, köztük Mari] utazott el a  
 the friend-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG among.them Mary travelled.3SG PRT the  
 hegyek-be.  
 mountains-ILL  
 ‘It was my friends, among them Mary, who travelled to the mountains.’

If there is no pause after the apposition, the predicate must agree with the apposition. (45), again confirm the hypothesis of the two clauses standing in a coordination and the assumption of an ellipsis<sup>5</sup> (46).

- (46) A barát-a-i-m [~~utaz-tak~~ el a hegyek-be], köztük  
 the friend-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG travelled-3PL PRT the mountains-ILL among.them  
 Mari utazott el a hegyek-be.  
 Mary travelled.3SG PRT the mountains-ILL  
 ‘It was my friends, among them Mary, who travelled to the mountains.’

If an intonational pause must be held after the apposition too, the predicate of the matrix clause must agree with the anchor. So my proposal is to posit a parenthetic phrase, as illustrated in (43b).

## 5.2 Analysis of appositions classified as identifying and attributive appositions

As mentioned before, nominal appositions classified as identifying appositions can be identified with the specificational appositions of Ott’s classification (2014), so these two terms can be used as synonyms. First let us check if the Hungarian data confirm the analysis proposed by Ott (2014), according to which the clause containing the specificational apposition is inserted in the matrix clause, while redundant items are deleted:

- (47) [<sub>CP1</sub> I met an old friend [<sub>CP2</sub> ~~I met John Smith at the pub today~~] at the pub today]]

However, the agreement facts in Hungarian contradict the suggested analysis in (47), since there are examples where agreement necessarily obtains between the apposition and the matrix predicate, as shown in (48):

- (48) a. Egy bájos kislány-t, Anná-t felkért-ék a fotózás-ra.  
 a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC invited-DEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’

<sup>5</sup> I indicate ellipsis with ~~strikeout~~.

- b. \* [CP<sub>1</sub> Egy bájos kislány-t [CP<sub>2</sub> Anná-t ~~felkért-ék~~ a  
 a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC invited-DEF.3PL the  
~~fotózás-ra~~] felkért-ek a fotózás-ra]  
 photo.shoot-SUBL invited-INDEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL

The anchor in (48b) is an indefinite noun phrase, triggering indefinite conjugation on the verb in matrix clause. The apposition is a definite noun phrase, triggering definite conjugation on the verb in inserted clause. When redundant items are deleted in inserted clause, the result is an ungrammatical sentence because of the indefinite conjugation on the matrix verb. Consequently, examples for the semantic class of identification in Hungarian require a different construction.

As we have seen, nominal appositional constructions classified as attributive appositions in Ott's (2014) classification correspond to predicational appositions, so I will use these two terms as synonyms from now on. Ott (2014) assigns a structure to predicational appositions in which the apposition is a reduced predicational copular clause (49).

- (49) [CP<sub>1</sub> I met John Smith [CP<sub>2</sub> ~~he is~~ my best friend] at the pub today]

However, the structure in (49) cannot be applied to Hungarian predicational appositions, for two reasons. First, the predicate of the reduced predicational sentence, that is the intended apposition, should have no case ending, being a predicate under Ott's proposal. But in Hungarian anchor and apposition always share the case endings, as shown below:

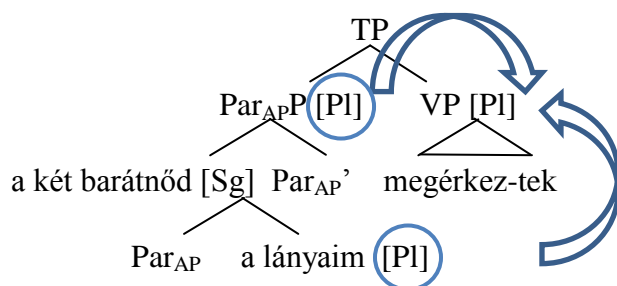
- (50) a. \* [CP<sub>1</sub> Az FTC-vel, [CP<sub>2</sub> ~~az FTC~~ egy jó csapat] fog-unk készit-eni  
 the FTC-INS the FTC a good team will-2PL make-INF  
 egy interjú-t.]  
 an interview-ACC  
 'We will make an interview with FTC, a good team.'  
 b. Az FTC-vel, egy jó csapat-tal fog-unk készit-eni egy interjú-t.  
 the FTC-INS a good team-INS will-2PL make-INF an interview-ACC  
 'We will make an interview with FTC, a good team.'

On the other hand, as has been observed in a number of examples, no explanation can be given as to how agreement between the predicate and the apposition takes place. The analysis is further complicated by the fact that the agreement in the case of the apposition in preverbal position is influenced by two factors: the principle of proximity and the marked feature value, due to which in certain examples the predicate must agree with the anchor, whereas in others with the apposition:

- (51) a. ?? Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t felkért-ek a fotózás-ra.  
 Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC invited-INDEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 'They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.'  
 b. ? Anná-t, egy bájos kislány-t felkért-ék a fotózás-ra.  
 Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC invited-DEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 'They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.'

In section 4.4 we saw that when the appositional construction, classified as identification and attribution, occurred in preverbal position, no unequivocal grammaticality judgement could be produced when the marked feature value and the principle of proximity were in conflict with each other. Therefore, my proposal is the following for both appositional constructions: both specificational and predicational appositions should be analysed as appositional parenthetical phrases (Par<sub>AP</sub>P), thus distinguishing them from appositional constructions where there is a pause after the apposition, too. In these constructions the apposition is **not** connected to the anchor by means of the operation of supplementation Merge, since in certain cases it is the apposition that controls the agreement with the predicate. So the apposition must also be visible for the predicate of the matrix sentence. When the construction units have different feature values, Par<sub>AP</sub>P acquires the marked value (plurality or definiteness), as a result of the feature percolation.<sup>6</sup> In the case of appositional constructions in preverbal position there are two options: the feature value of Par<sub>AP</sub>P and of value of the apposition as determined by the principle of proximity are identical (in which case the agreement with the predicate is controlled by the apposition), or they are in conflict with each other (in this case a fluctuation is observed in the grammaticality judgements and the predicate may agree either with the anchor or the apposition). As the fluctuation in grammaticality judgements only affects appositions appearing in preverbal position, from now on I will solely focus on these examples. Let us consider what kind of structural analysis can be assigned to the specificational apposition appearing in subject position:

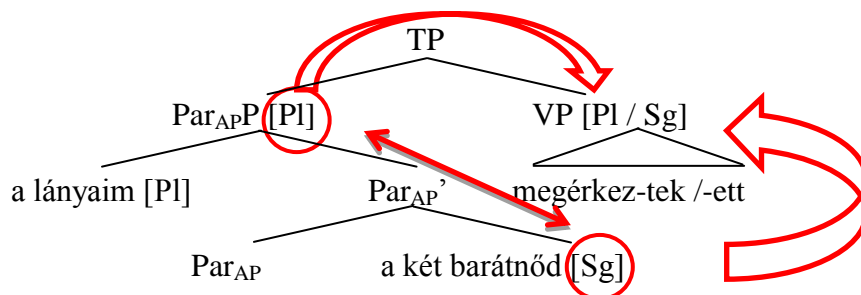
- (52) *A két barát-nő-d, a lány-a-i-m megérkez-t-ek / \*megérkezett.*  
 the two friend-POSS.2SG the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG arrived-3PL / arrived.3SG  
 ‘Your two friends, my daughters, have arrived.’



In example (52) the feature value of the apposition under the influence of the principle of proximity and the feature value of Par<sub>AP</sub>P coincide, so agreement with the predicate is controlled by the apposition and the anchor.

- (53) *A lány-a-i-m, a két barát-nő-d megérkez-t-ek /*  
 the daughter-POSS-PL-POSS.1SG the two friend-POSS.2SG arrived-3PL /  
*megérkezett.*  
 arrived.3SG  
 ‘My daughters, your two friends, have arrived.’

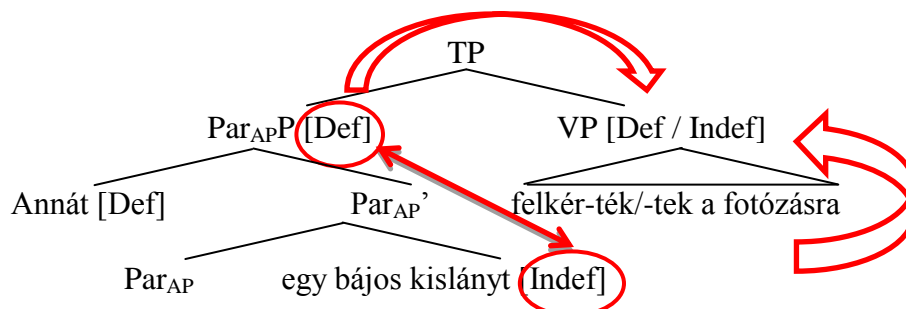
<sup>6</sup> The feature percolation is assumed in &P by Lieber (1989), allowing a feature specification to be percolated from the non-head if the head is not specified for that feature.



In example (53) the two feature values are in conflict, so the agreement can be controlled either by the anchor or the apposition, therefore plural forms of the predicate will be grammatical for some speakers, and singular forms for others.

Below I present the structure of the predicational apposition occurring as object in the sentence:

- (54) *Annát-t, egy bájos kislány-t, felkért-ék/-ek a fotózás-ra.*  
 Anna-ACC a lovely little.girl-ACC invited-DEF/INDEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited Anna, a lovely little girl, to the photo shoot.’



In (54) the feature value of the apposition in conformity to the principle of proximity and the value of the Par<sub>AP</sub>P are in conflict, therefore the predicate can be either in the plural or the singular form: a variability can be observed in the use of the suffix.

No example can be given for predicational appositions where the feature value of the Par<sub>AP</sub>P appearing as the object and the feature value of the apposition under the influence of the principle of proximity are **not** in conflict, as in this case we would have an instance of specificational apposition. Due to this fact, in the case of specificational appositions occurring as the object of the sentence, once the definiteness value of the construction units is different, the predicate must agree with the apposition (which is definite), as illustrated in (55):

- (55) *Egy bájos kislány-t, Annát-t felkért-ék/\*-ek a fotózás-ra.*  
 a lovely little.girl-ACC Anna-ACC invited-DEF/INDEF.3PL the photo.shoot-SUBL  
 ‘They invited a lovely little girl, Anna, to the photo shoot.’

### 5.3 Analysis of close appositions

In close appositions the two units of the construction form a single intonational unit, and the construction always consists of two DPs. Furthermore the reference to a single entity is determined by the two DPs jointly. These properties confirm that close appositions need to be

analysed as one single constituent and not a coordination of clauses. At the same time an important question arises: how can we define the relation between the construction units? In order to resolve the problem we cannot rely on the analysis of the agreement with the predicate, since no examples can be generated where the anchor and the apposition as a subject would separately induce different agreement in number with the predicate, nor can they appear as objects with different definiteness values.

Other characteristics of close appositions can be taken into consideration, such as: 1) no other element can be inserted between the construction units (including the apposition markers); and 2) the units cannot be modified:

- (56) a. \**Miltiadész-t a győztes hadvezér-t sokkal többet ismer-ik,*  
 Miltiades-ACC the victorious general-ACC many more know-3PL  
*mint Miltiadész-t a kevésbé ismert pápá-t.*  
 than Miltiades-ACC the less known pope-ACC  
 \*‘Miltiades the victorious general is known by many more than Miltiades the less-known pope.’
- b. \**A híres Miltiadész-t a hadvezér-t sokkal többet ismer-ik,*  
 the famous Miltiades-ACC the general-ACC many more know-3PL  
*mint a kevésbé ismert Miltiadész-t a pápá-t.*  
 than the less known Miltiades-ACC the pope-ACC  
 \*‘The famous Miltiades the general is known by many more than the less-known Miltiades the pope.’

Close appositions (57a) are very similar to afterthoughts (57b), which also have restrictive meaning.

- (57) a. *Petőfi-t a költő-t többre becsült-ék (mint Petőfi-t a nyelvész-t).*  
 Petőfi-ACC the poet-ACC more valued-3PL than Petőfi-ACC the linguist-ACC  
 ‘Petőfi the poet was more valued (than Petőfi the linguist).’
- b. *Petőfi-t sokra becsült-ék, mármint a költő-t (és nem a nyelvész-t).*  
 Petőfi-ACC much valued-3PL that.is the poet-ACC and not the linguist-ACC  
 ‘Petőfi was much valued, that is the poet (and not the linguist).’
- c. *Petőfi-t, a költő-t sokra becsült-ék.*  
 Petőfi-ACC the poet-ACC much valued-3PL  
 ‘Petőfi, the poet was much valued.’

The afterthought (57a) – because of its restrictive meaning – induces a different meaning to its loose appositional minimal pair (57c).

We can also examine the appearance of a close apposition as a focus in order to get a deeper structural analysis:

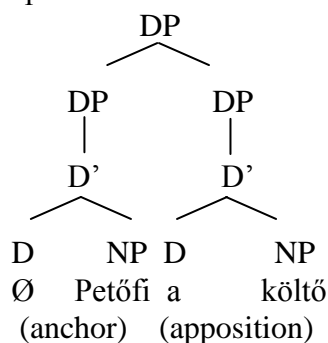
- (58) a. *Kosztolányi-t az író-t kedvelt-em meg az elmúlt évek során, (...)*  
 grew.fond-1SG PRT the writer-ACC grew.fond-1SG PRT the recent years during  
 ‘I grew fond of Kosztolányi the writer during recent years, (...)’
- b. (...) *és nem Kosztolányi-t a költő-t.*  
 and not Kosztolányi-ACC the poet-ACC  
 ‘(...) and not Kosztolányi the poet.’



(58b) is a continuation of (58a), as this kind of apposition makes a choice between two entities with identical names, so it sets up the two possible entities against one another as a focus. The analysis I propose is to adjoin the apposition to the anchor from the right side by the operation of adjunction, and the two DPs will form one single constituent (59):

(59) a. *Petőfi a költő*  
 ‘Petőfi the poet’

b.



## 6 Summary

In this study I have focused on the investigation of identifying appositions. The characteristics of identifying appositions were examined, with modification and extension, considering certain claims from the Hungarian literature: first, I do not regard apposition as an attribute, and second, by interchanging the position of the construction units in some examples, we can still create a construction containing an attribute appearing to the front. Furthermore, in my research I focused on the investigation of characteristics of identifying apposition which may show its independence from the matrix sentence.

Describing different types of identifying appositions, I presented two novel approaches and argued that we can speak of close appositions in Hungarian too, despite their more restricted appearance in this language than in languages commonly used in international literature. I also examined whether following the English, German and Dutch patterns, Hungarian identifying appositions can be classified in the three semantic classes proposed by Heringa (2012). This question is significant because I argue that in Hungarian occurrences of certain conjunctions – contrary to the traditional view – we have an appositional construction and not a coordinated syntagm. In my research I also investigated whether apposition markers – similarly to the languages examined by Heringa (2012) – can be distinguished in Hungarian too by including them in different semantic classes. Compared to English, German and Dutch examples, it has been revealed that Hungarian apposition markers cannot be unequivocally classified based on whether they are restricted to only one semantic class of appositional construction, since certain apposition markers of identification (such as *that is, i.e.*) can occur in examples for inclusion too.

I also thoroughly investigated the agreement with the identifying apposition occurring as subject or object, since resolving whether the predicate needs to agree with the anchor or the apposition may help to decide if we are dealing with subordination or coordination. However, based on the results we cannot decide unequivocally as to which construction unit the agreement is with, since it is influenced by two factors simultaneously: the principle of proximity and the marked feature value concerning plurality and definiteness. Furthermore, I

have presented a range of examples to show how the intonational pause following the apposition influences the agreement: in the case of appositional constructions, both as subject and object, it is the anchor that controls the agreement with the predicate, since due to the pause the parenthetical nature of the construction becomes more emphasized. In my structural analysis I argued that different types of identifying appositions (inclusive, identifying, attributive, close apposition) need to be distinguished from one another, assigning different structures to each different type of appositions.

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