Some notes on the contribution of Hungarian anaphors

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Abstract

This paper discusses the grammar of two Hungarian reflexives to argue that their complex and seemingly inconsistent behaviour in different agreement constructions can be described adequately at f-structure via the assumption that these anaphors only *constrain* the INDEX features of their antecedents. The primary reflexive does not have f-structure INDEX features of its own, and while the complex reflexive does, these are non-identical to the antecedent INDEX feature bundle. The current proposal is shown to be more comprehensive in coverage than previous LFG analyses by Laczkó (2013) and Rákosi (2009). Recent work in LFG emphasizes the need to separate the binding and the agreement aspects of anaphoric dependencies into s-structure and f-structure, respectively (see Haug 2014 and Dalrymple et al. 2018), and this paper provides further arguments for this approach.

1 Introduction[1]

LFG research on the syntax of anaphora has focused mostly on how to constrain the syntactic domain that can host a particular anaphor and its potential antecedents, and on how to constrain the selection of the antecedent via prominence conditions of different types (see Dalrymple 1993, and subsequent literature). *Anaphoric agreement*; i.e. syntactic agreement between anaphor and antecedent, is an aspect of anaphoric dependencies that "has attracted relatively little attention in LFG work" (Haug: To appear: ii). In fact, reflexive data often do not necessitate any special attention to this issue. In English transitive constructions, for example, anaphoric agreement between

[1] I am grateful to the two anonymous reviewers of this paper for their extensive comments on the manuscript. Any remaining errors are solely mine.

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the object anaphor and the subject antecedent involves covariation in terms of the PERSON, NUMBER and GENDER features (1).

(1) a. I saw myself in the mirror.
b. Kate saw herself in the mirror.
c. John saw himself in the mirror.
d. They saw themselves in the mirror.

It is relatively straightforward to capture this covariation in terms of the sharing of the value of the INDEX feature bundle at the level of f-structure.

But anaphors, just like their antecedents, could in principle be controllers of a predicate-argument type of agreement relation, too. That is, pending other constraints, both the antecedent and the anaphor could have their own agreement targets, *X* and *Y* in the following schematic representation:

(2) ANTECEDENT ..... X ..... ANAPHOR ..... Y
AGREEMENT AGREEMENT
ANAPHORIC AGREEMENT

It is of particular interest what happens when the anaphor is a *potential* agreement controller, that is, if it occurs in a configuration where personal pronouns trigger agreement. What we see in such cases is that anaphors typically do not: this is the content of the Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE, see, a.o., Rizzi 1990, Woolford 1999, Preminger 2019). Anaphors are either not grammatical in such agreement configurations, or they do not show the sort of agreement pattern that is usually expected of personal pronouns.[2] Both scenarios trigger non-trivial issues for an adequate treatment of anaphoric constructions, since the set of INDEX features that are used in the description of the covariation between anaphor and antecedent apparently cannot be evoked to explain what happens between the anaphor and its *potential* target of agreement. This is especially noteworthy in light of the fact that the same set of INDEX features on the antecedent do play a role in licensing agreement between, for example, the subject antecedent and the verb.

This paper aims to contribute to the line of research in LFG that aims to provide a more fine-grained representation of anaphoric dependencies, solving thereby, among other issues, the problems that the scenario represented in (2) raises. The empirical focus is Hungarian, a language where overt agreement morphology is ubiquitous. Building on earlier work in Rákosi (2019), and

[2] See especially Woolford (1999) and Preminger (2019) for this interpretation of the AAE.

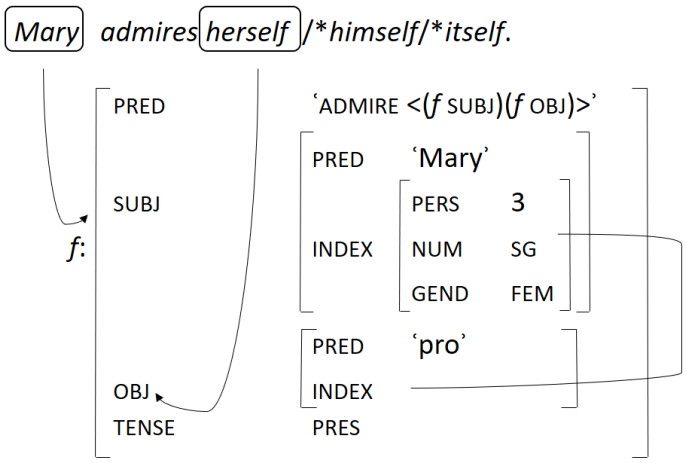
revisiting the LFG-analysis of Rákosi (2009), where the particular issue of anaphoric agreement is not addressed as such, I show that both the Hungarian primary reflexive *maga* 'Xself' and the complex reflexive *önmaga* 'Xself' are subject to the AAE. *Maga* never triggers agreement with any potential targets (which may result in ungrammaticality where agreement is unavoidable), and *önmaga* triggers constant 3SG agreement in each form of its paradigm. After an introductory discussion of how anaphoric agreement is handled in earlier and more recent LFG approaches (Section 2), I first overview the pertinent Hungarian data (Section 3), and then I propose an LFG account that can straightforwardly explain the syntactic behaviour of the two reflexive anaphors, including an account of the syntactic agreement between them and their antecedents (Section 4). The paper concludes with some further commentary on the share of labour between f-structure and other modules of the architecture in the description of the grammar of anaphoric dependencies (Section 5).

2 Anaphoric agreement in LFG

The semantic (*binding/coreference*) and the syntactic (*anaphoric agreement*) aspects of anaphoric dependencies are typically represented in the f-structure in more conventional LFG accounts. Specific analyses may make use of coindexation, or assume that sharing INDEX feature values in the f-structure representation adequately determines the syntactic as well as the semantic facets of the dependency.[3] Bresnan et al. (2016: 189), for example, explicitly state that semantic binding between the anaphor and the antecedent is modelled by the sharing of the INDEX value. Their example quoted in (3) below illustrates this approach.

[3] The INDEX feature is used here in the sense of Wechsler & Zlatić (2003) and subsequent work.

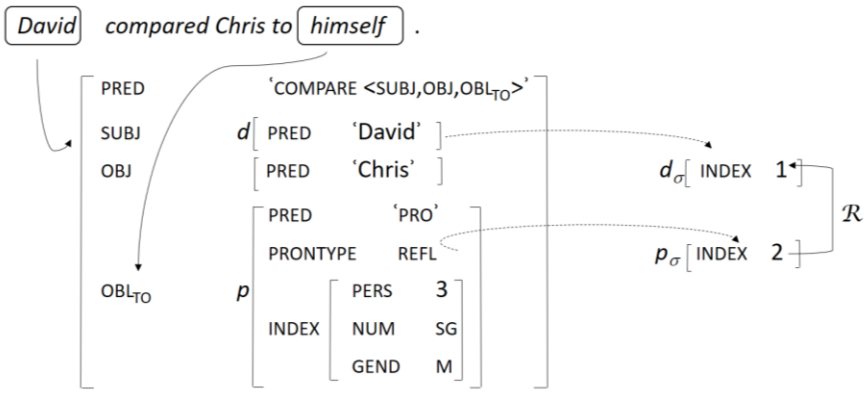
(3)



The subject antecedent *Mary* and the object anaphor *herself* share the same INDEX feature bundle in (3), and this is assumed to model the binding relation between them, too. As Bresnan et al. (2016) note, this comes close in spirit to the HPSG approach to anaphoric dependencies (see Pollard & Sag 1992, 1994).

More recent LFG research takes a differential approach, see especially Dalrymple et al. (2018) and Dalrymple et al. (2019). F-structure only hosts the features that are relevant in construing the anaphoric agreement relation between the antecedent and the anaphor, which is a purely syntactic relation. The referential side of the dependency is represented at s-structure. In other words, the INDEX attributes at f-structure and s-structure are not equivalent: the value of the f-structure INDEX is a syntactic agreement feature bundle, and the value of the semantic INDEX feature is a semantic index (Dalrymple et al. 2019: 253, fn. 9). (4) below illustrates this model (Dalrymple et al. 2019: 524):

(4)



The reflexive *himself* has two potential antecedents in this sentence: *David* or *Chris*. Both of these potential antecedents satisfy the syntactic constraint that the anaphor needs an f-commanding antecedent within the domain of the Minimal Complete Nucleus *which has matching INDEX features*.[4] Picking David as the antecedent, the corresponding f-structure *d* and f-structure *p* of the anaphor are mapped onto s-structure, where the function $\mathcal{R}$ maps the anaphor's *semantic* index to the antecedent index (see Haug 2014 for details).

What is important for our current purposes is that f-structure is no longer directly responsible for anaphora interpretation. This allows us to focus on anaphoric agreement as a purely syntactic phenomenon, and it makes it possible to develop an analysis in which the anaphor and the antecedent do not necessarily share INDEX features at f-structure in the technical sense of feature sharing. After a discussion of Hungarian reflexive data in Section 3, I propose such an analysis in Section 4.

3 Two Hungarian reflexives and agreement

3.1. Introduction

The primary Hungarian reflexive *maga* 'Xself' and its more complex counterpart *önmaga* 'Xself' show the full agreement paradigm, and they agree with their antecedents both in NUMBER and in PERSON.[5] The primary reflexive

[4] The INDEX features are not spelt out on the antecedent in the slightly simplified f-structure in (4).
[5] Hungarian has no grammatical GENDER.

maga is historically a body-part reflexive with a highly grammaticalized possessive structure, and *önmaga* is its more complex counterpart with the nominal prefix *ön* 'self' added (as in *ön-pusztítás* 'self-destruction').[6] (5) below demonstrates their paradigm, and (6) illustrates anaphoric agreement between the object anaphor *maga* and its subject antecedent, focusing on singular number alone:

(5)

magam	önmagam	1SG	'myself'
magad	önmagad	2SG	'yourself'
maga	önmaga	3SG	'him-/herself'
magunk	önmagunk	1PL	'ourselves'
magatok	önmagatok	2PL	'yourselves'
maguk	önmaguk	3PL	'themselves'

(6) a. Én lát-t-am magam-at a tükör-ben.
I saw-PAST-1SG myself-ACC the mirror-in
'I saw myself in the mirror.'

b. Te lát-t-ad magad-at a tükör-ben.
you.SG saw-PAST-2SG yourself-ACC the mirror-in
'You saw yourself in the mirror.'

c. Ő/Kati lát-t-a magát a tükör-ben.
s/he / Kate saw-PAST-3SG herself-ACC the mirror-in
'She/Kate saw herself in the mirror.'

Maga and *önmaga* are the 3SG non-case-marked citation forms.[7]

In this section, we discuss three constructions where personal pronouns trigger covarying agreement, but reflexives do not: subject-verb agreement in finite clauses, complements of inflecting postpositions, and possessive structures with non-case-marked anaphoric possessors.

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[6] A more detailed discussion of the morphology and the syntax of the two reflexives is available in Rákosi (2009).

[7] Both reflexives are anaphors in the classical sense of requiring a suitable antecedent:

(i) *A gyerek lát-t-a magadat/önmagadat a tükörben.
the child saw-PAST-3SG yourself-ACC the mirror-in
'*The child saw yourself in the mirror.'

In certain constructions, the antecedent may only available in discourse, as we discuss below. This is a marked option, and Hungarian reflexives are no different from English reflexives in this respect.

3.2. Finite subjects

Personal pronoun subjects agree with the verb in finite clauses both in NUMBER and PERSON, as the examples in (6) show for the singular. The complex reflexive *önmaga* can be a finite subject, especially with accusative and dative experiencer verbs, but all forms in the paradigm trigger 3SG agreement with the verb (7).[8] The primary reflexive *maga* cannot be used as a finite subject irrespective of the kind of agreement morphophonology the verb has (8).

(7) *A* *fiúkat* *nagyon* *aggasztott-*{*a*/**ák*} *önmaguk*.
the boy.PL.ACC very.much worried-{3SG/3PL} themselves
'Their own selves worried the boys very much.'

(8) **A* *fiúkat* *nagyon* *aggasztott-*{*a*/*ák*} *maguk*
the boy.PL.ACC very.much worried-{3SG/3PL} themselves
'*Themselves worried the boys very much.'

The English reflexive cannot be a finite subject either, but it is licensed as a conjunct in coordinate subject noun phrases. In Hungarian, only *önmaga* has this function, since *maga* is ungrammatical in this case, too.[9]

(9) *Csak* *a* *feladat-om* *és* **(ön)magam* *volt* *fontos*.
only the task-POSS.1SG and myself was.3SG important
'Only my task and myself were important.'

In sum, only *önmaga* can be a finite subject, but while it still shows full anaphoric agreement with its antecedent (which may only be a discourse antecedent, as in (9)), it triggers constant 3SG agreement on the verb irrespective of which form of the paradigm is used. It thus behaves like a singular possessive noun phrase, which has 3SG external agreement features irrespective of what INDEX features its possessor bears.

3.3. Complements of inflecting postpositions

Inflecting postpositions agree with their non-case-marked pronominal complements in Hungarian (see Rákosi-Laczkó 2011 for an LFG approach). Agreement morphology on the postposition licenses *pro*-drop of its complement, but the pronoun can also be spelled out if it bears a discourse

[8] See Rákosi (2015) for a detailed discussion of psych-verbs and backward binding in Hungarian.
[9] A coordinate noun phrase with two or more singular conjuncts triggers singular agreement with the verb by default.

function. Table 1 shows the pronominal paradigm of the inflecting postposition *mellett* 'next to, beside, by the side of'.

	NUM: SG	**NUM: PL**
PERS: 1	(*én*-)*mellett-em* I-beside-1SG	(*mi*-)*mellett-ünk* we-beside-1PL
PERS: 2	(*te*-)*mellett-ed* you-beside-2SG	(*ti*-)*mellett-etek* you-beside-2PL
PERS: 3	(*ő*-)*mellett-e* s/he-beside-3SG	(*ő*-)*mellett-ük* s/he-beside-3PL

Table 1. The pronominal paradigm of the inflecting postposition *mellett* 'next to, beside'

In the 3PL slot of the paradigm, the agreement marker is plural, but the pronoun, if overt, is in the singular form.

Agreement morphology on the postposition is only used if the P-complement is a pronoun, and it is ungrammatical elsewhere. So if the complement is a lexical noun phrase or possessive noun phrase, the postposition is used in its bare, non-case-marked form:

(10) *Kati / a mamám mellett(*-e)*
Kati the mum.POSS.1SG beside(-3SG)
'next to Kati/my mum'

The same is true of reflexive anaphors: none triggers agreement on the P-head:

(11) *magad / önmaguk mellett*
yourself/themselves beside
'next to yourself/themselves'

(12) (*ön*)*magam mellett*{*-*em*/*-*e*}
myself beside{-1SG/-3SG}
'next to myself'

(12) explicitly shows the reflexive is incompatible both with the agreement morphology that matches its antecedent features (1SG in this case) and with the default 3SG morphology. Since this is a construction type where lexical noun phrases also do not participate in an agreement relation (see 10), the pertinent reflexive data may either be due to inherent incapability of the reflexive to agree, or to the reflexive patterning with lexical (possessive) noun phrases. As

I argue here, the former scenario applies to the primary reflexive *maga*, and the latter to *önmaga*.

3.4. Reflexives as possessors

Unlike English reflexives, Hungarian reflexives can be used as possessors.[10] This is interesting in the context of the current inquiry because personal pronoun possessors show agreement with the possessum. Table 2 gives an overview of this paradigm.

POSSESSOR	**NUM: SG**	**NUM:PL**
PERS: 1	a(z *én*) *ház-am* the I house-1SG	*a* (*mi*) *ház-unk* the we house-1PL
PERS: 2	*a* (*te*) *ház-ad* the you house-2SG	*a* (*ti*) *ház-atok* the you.PL house-2PL
PERS: 3	*az* (*ő*) *ház-a* the s/he house-3SG	*az* (*ő*) *ház-uk* the s/he house-3PL

Table 2. Personal pronoun possessors and agreement

As in the case of inflecting postpositions, the pronoun itself can be *pro*-dropped if it does not bear a discourse function, and the overt pronominal form in the 3PL slot is the singular form. The pronoun possessor does not assume overt case morphology here, but it can also occur in dative case if it precedes the article or if it is outside of the possessive noun phrase (see Laczkó 1995 for a comprehensive discussion). We do not discuss dative possessors here, but focus on the construction demonstrated in Table 2.

The possessum looks the same if the possessor is a 3SG personal pronoun (13a), a singular or a plural lexical noun phrase (13b), a possessive phrase (13c), or any form of the reflexive (13d-e).

(13) a. az ő ház-a
the s/he house-POSS.3SG
'her/his house'

[10] Reflexive possessors often have a logophoric character in Hungarian, and they may occur in the absence of a clause-mate antecedent (see Rákosi 2014, 2020). We briefly return to the importance of this fact in Section 4, but this issue is not relevant directly in the discussion of the morphosyntax of these reflexive possessors.

b. a lány/lányok ház-a
the girl/girls house-POSS
'the girl's/girls' house'

c. a mamám ház-a
the mum.POSS.1SG house-POSS
'my mum's house'

d. a magam/önmagam ház-a
the myself house-POSS
'my own house'

e. a magad/önmagad ház-a
the yourself house-POSS
'your own house'

The possessive morphology is glossed as POSS.3SG in (13a) above, and as POSS in (13b-e). This is so because it has been argued that while personal pronoun possessors do agree with the possessum in 3SG, lexical noun phrases do not (see Bartos 1999 and É. Kiss 2002, contra the analysis in Laczkó 2001). Part of the argument concerns the complexities of possessive morphophonogy, which we do not discuss here. A relevant syntactic argument comes from coordination data. It is marginally acceptable to coordinate a 1SG possessor with a lexical noun phrase (with 1SG agreement morphology on the possessum), while coordinating a 1SG possessor with a 3SG pronominal possessor is non-acceptable (see also Laczkó 2002):[11]

(14) a. ??Ez itt [a Péter és az én] ház-am.
This here the Peter and the I house-POSS.1SG
'This is here is the house of Peter and me.'

b. *Ez itt [az ő és az én] ház-am.
This here the s/he and the I house-POSS.1SG
'This here is the house of him and me.'

One possible explanation of this contrast is that an irresolvable inconsistency arises in the case of (14b) due to the distinct PERSON values of the two pronouns. There is no such conflict in (14a) because the lexical possessor does not contribute INDEX features to the construction. It follows that lexical

[11] Coordination of a lexical noun phrase and the 3SG pronoun is non-problematic.

(i) Ez itt [az Mari és az ő] ház-a.
This here the Mary and the s/he house-POSS.3SG
'This here is the house of Mary and him.'

possessors (13b-c) do not actually agree with the possessum, and the possessive morphology in this case is just a marker of *possessedness*, but it is not interpreted as agreement morphology.

It follows that reflexive possessors do not show syntactic agreement with the possessum (13d-e), much like in the inflecting postposition construction we surveyed in 3.3. One argument in favour of this conclusion comes from further coordination data. Consider (15):

(15) a. a(z) (ön)magam és a kisgazdapárt nev-é-ben
the myself and the smallholders.party name-POSS-in
'on behalf of myself and the smallholders' party'

b.*az én és a kisgazdapárt nev-é-ben
the I and the smallholders.party name-POSS-in
'on behalf of me and the smallholders' party'

It is fully acceptable to coordinate a reflexive possessor with a lexical possessor with the default possessive morphology on the possessum (15a), but replacing the reflexive with a corresponding personal pronoun leads to full unacceptability. So I conclude that reflexive possessors do not agree with the possessum, in contrast with personal pronoun possessors.

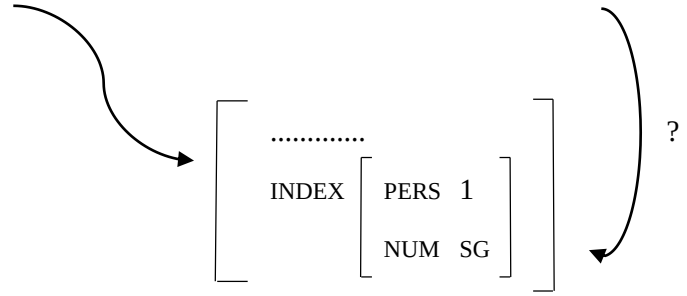
4 Reflexives and agreement: an LFG account

4.1. Interim summary

We have seen in Section 3 that the both primary reflexive *maga* and the complex reflexive *önmaga* show full, covarying anaphoric agreement with their antecedents. However, when it comes to constructions where personal pronouns trigger covarying agreement on particular agreement targets, the primary reflexive never does so, and the complex reflexive may only trigger constant 3SG agreement at best, as happens when it is a finite subject. This creates a conceptual problem: if both personal pronouns and reflexives contribute a full set of INDEX features at f-structure, then why is it that reflexives do not make use of these features in constructions where they could be potential agreement controllers?

(16) a. én-mellett-em
I-beside-1SG

b. magam mellett
myself beside



It is possible, of course, to constrain reflexives against such agreement by making reference to c-structure properties, but this would go against the general spirit of LFG. What I propose instead is an f-structure centred account that treats anaphoric agreement (*agreement with the antecedent*) and other types of agreement as separate in nature.

4.2. Two previous LFG accounts: Laczkó (2013) and Rákosi (2009)

Laczkó (2013) offers a discussion of the primary reflexive *maga*, raising some of the issues that we have discussed here. In particular, he addresses the question of why reflexive possessors show covarying agreement in Hungarian by postulating two distinct lexical entries for the primary reflexive. The run-of-the-mill reflexive entry occurs in transitive structures, for example:

(17) *Én láttam magam-at a tükör-ben*.
I saw.1SG myself-ACC the mirror-in
'I saw myself in the mirror.'

(18) $magam_1$ PRON (↑ PRED) = 'PRO'
(↑ PRON-TYPE) = REFL
¬(SUBJ ↑)
¬(POSS ↑)
(↑ PERS) = 1
(↑ NUM) = SG

This entry has the appropriate INDEX features that enter anaphoric agreement with the antecedent, and it is constrained not be a subject or a possessor. In Rákosi (2009) I propose a similar lexical entry for *maga* (without the constraint against the possessor use), as a sole lexical entry for the reflexive. While this

suffices in the context of the concerns I raise in that article, it clearly makes the wrong predictions with respect to the agreement data we have discussed in Section 3.

Laczkó's (2013) solution is to postulate a second lexical entry for *maga*:

(19) *a* *magam* *könyve*
the myself book-POSS
'my own book'

(20) *magam*$_2$ PRON (↑ PRED) = 'PRO'
(↑ PRON-TYPE) = REFL
{ (SUBJ ↑) | (POSS ↑) }
¬(TENSE ↑)
(↑ PERS) = 3
(↑$_\sigma$ PERS) = 1
(↑$_\sigma$ NUM) = SG

This variety of the reflexive either occurs as the subject of certain non-finite participles (a construction we do not discuss here), or as a possessor. It has a PERS: 3 feature, and it constrains the semantic index of its antecedent.

In this account, there is in effect no syntactic agreement between anaphor and antecedent in the case of *magam*$_2$. Some motivation for this assumption comes from the fact the reflexive possessors often have a logophoric character in Hungarian, and they tend to be sensitive to properties of the discourse in which they occur in (see Rákosi (2014, 2020). They may, for example, occur even in the absence of a clause-mate antecedent:

(21) Ez nem a magam vélemény-e.
this not the myself opinion-POSS
'This is not my opinion.'

Furthermore, Laczkó's account explains the behaviour of *maga* in possessive constructions, under the assumption that it shows constant 3SG agreement with the head.

I argued in Subsection 3.4. that this latter assumption is probably wrong: reflexive possessors do not agree with the possessum. They also do not agree with inflecting Ps, a fact which is not accounted for by Laczkó's analysis. In fact, the distributional difference between the two lexical varieties of the reflexive is postulated in Laczkó's analysis, but it does not seem to follow from independent facts. Notice also that though the discourse sensitive nature of reflexive possessors does motivate an analysis where these reflexives have

their own lexical entry, this argument does not carry over to PP contexts. In standard Hungarian, the reflexive is obligatory in locative PPs if a suitable antecedent is present in the clause, and these reflexives do not have a logophoric character (see Rákosi 2010). So it does not follow that *magam*$_2$ of Laczkó's (2013) account is a general discourse sensitive variety of the reflexive. Finally, Laczkó does not address the differences between *maga* and *önmaga*. As we have seen, *önmaga* can be a finite subject, whereas *maga* cannot. Rákosi (2009) has an account of this contrast, which we update in Subsection 4.4 below.

Notice finally that there is an interesting contrast between *magam*$_1$ and *magam*$_2$ in Laczkó's (2013) analysis in terms of the purported locus of the anaphoric agreement relation between antecedent and anaphor. In the former case, anaphoric agreement is an f-structure phenomenon, as is standard in LFG. In the latter case, however, there is no f-structure agreement between anaphor and antecedent, as this dependency is relegated to s-structure alone. While this could be the right approach for discourse-licensed instances of reflexives, it creates an unmotivated split in the case of regular anaphors, since it predicts that some (like object anaphors) establish anaphoric agreement at f-structure, while others (like reflexive complements of postpositions) do that at s-structure. In principle, it would be more desirable to leave anaphoric agreement within the confines of f-structure in the case of regular, well-behaving anaphors across the board.

4.3. The primary reflexive: an alternative account

To account for the data we have surveyed in Section 3, let us assume that the primary reflexive does not have INDEX features of its own, but it merely constrains the INDEX features of the antecedent.[12]

(22) *magam* PRON
$(\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{'PRO'}$
$(\uparrow \text{PRON-TYPE}) = \text{REFL}$
$(\uparrow \text{CASE})$
$(((\text{GF}^* \quad \text{GF}_{\text{PRO}} \uparrow)\ \text{GF}) = \%\text{LOCAL}$
$\neg(\rightarrow \text{SUBJ}))$
$(\%\text{LOCAL PERS}) =_{\text{C}} 1$
$(\%\text{LOCAL NUM}) =_{\text{C}} \text{SG}$

[12] I thank an anonymous reviewer for calling my attention to the need to use a local name (%LOCAL) in (22) to make sure that the PERS and NUM constraints refer to the same f-structure (the f-structure of the antecedent).

In other words, the anaphoric agreement between the anaphor and the antecedent is not due to sharing the values of INDEX features between the two, but it is the result of the anaphor constraining the INDEX feature values of its antecedent. The search for the antecedent satisfies the Miminal Complete Nucleus Condition. The prediction is that the primary reflexive never triggers agreement on potential targets, which is what I have been arguing for here.

This approach, however, seems to create problems for the mapping to s-structure. The f-structure input to this is a syntactic agreement feature bundle at f-structure, which is then mapped to a semantic index at s-structure (see Section 2). But the reflexive does not have an INDEX bundle in (22), so there is nothing to map to s-structure.[13] One possible solution is to allow this mapping to rely only on the constraining equations in (i-ii). Intuitively, if an anaphor requires a 1SG antecedent, then it is mapped onto a semantic index that identifies the speaker at s-structure.

I will leave this issue open for now, noting that the prediction is that f-structure INDEX values do not necessarily align with s-structure INDEX values neatly *all the time* anyway. As den Dikken et al (2001) note, Hungarian has an interesting inclusive reference anaphora pattern. If the denotation of the object includes the denotation of the subject, then the plural reflexive is generally obligatory in Hungarian:

(23) Sokszor sajnálom magunk-at/*minket.
often feel_sorry.1SG ourselves-ACC/us.ACC
'I often feel sorry for us.'

While (22), as is, does not account for this pattern, note that an alternative lexical entry for the reflexive, which constrains the antecedent to be singular, would still not map onto s-structure in a trivial manner. This is because the semantic index of the anaphor identifies a discourse referent which is non-identical to the discourse referent of the antecedent, since the latter is part of the former. For related discussion, I refer the reader to Dalrymple et al. (2018). Notice finally that while the English translation of (23) employs the personal pronoun *us*, the reflexive is the only option for speakers of standard Hungarian, as den Dikken et al. (2001) point out. Thus the Hungarian pattern needs to be captured lexically by postulating plural lexical reflexive entries that take singular antecedents with matching PERSON values. This, in itself, does not take care of the problem of the mapping to s-structure, but, as emphasized

[13] Laczkó's account is also problematic in this respect, since it assumes that values of semantic INDEX features are not semantic indices, but the f-structure INDEX values (see 20).

above, the current approach does provide further motivation for distancing f-structure anaphoric agreement from the s-structure semantic relation between anaphor and antecedent.

4.4. The possessive analysis of *önmaga*

The Hungarian reflexives developed diachronically from possessive constructions, and I argue in Rákosi (2009) that the possessive structure is still active in the case of *önmaga*. It can, for example, take nominal modifiers, in which case even the promominal possessor *én* 'I' may be spelled out:

(24) *az én gyermekkori *(ön)magam*
the I childhood myself.POSS.1SG
'my childhood self'

(24) is essentially a regular possessive construction, where the possessive layer on the core *mag-* (with the reconstructed meaning 'body') is active. The primary reflexive is ungrammatical in this construction, which we may interpret as the synchronic unavailability of its diachronic possessive structure.

Updating Rákosi (2009), I propose the following lexical entry for *önmagam*:[14]

(25) *önmagam* PRON $(\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{'SELF-REPRESENTATION'}$
$(\uparrow \text{PRON-TYPE}) = \text{REFL}$
$(\uparrow \text{PERS}) = 3$
$(\uparrow \text{NUM}) = \text{SG}$
$(\uparrow \text{CASE})$

$(\uparrow \text{POSS PRED}) = \text{'PRO'}$
$(\uparrow \text{POSS PERS}) = 1$
$(\uparrow \text{POSS NUM}) = \text{SG}$

$(\uparrow \text{POSS INDEX}) = (((\ \text{GF}^*\ \ \text{GF}_{\text{PRO}}\ \uparrow)\ \text{GF})\ \text{INDEX}\ )$
$\neg\,(\rightarrow \text{TENSE})$

$\Re(\uparrow_{\sigma}\ \text{POSS INDEX}) = (((\ \text{GF}^*\ \text{GF}_{\text{PRO}}\ \uparrow)\ \text{GF})_{\sigma}\ \text{INDEX})$

[14] It is possible that *önmagam* has a more grammaticalized entry, too, which is similar to (22). What is important for the current argument is that there is clear empirical evidence that the complex reflexive can act as a possessive structure.

This assigns the complex reflexive a possessive structure at f-structure. As such, it has external 3SG index features, which explains why it can be a finite subject (see Section 3.2.). The possessive structure allows this reflexive to occur in contexts where there is some referential shift between the anaphor and the antecedent (see Rákosi 2009 for pertinent data). The INDEX feature bundle of the antecedent is required to match the INDEX bundle of the "possessor" of the reflexive, and the antecedent is to be located within the Miminal Finite Domain.[15] Finally, the last equation requires the index of the antecedent of this possessor to appear as the actual value of the semantic index of a syntactically licit antecedent at s-structure.

In this technical sense of the word, the complex reflexive is better behaved in this analysis than the primary reflexive *maga*. The underlying intuition is that the complex reflexive is more referential in nature than the primary reflexive, which provides for a more problem-free mapping to s-structure.

5 Conclusion and outlook

I have argued in this paper that anaphoric agreement, i.e., agreement between an anaphor and its antecedent, is not necessarily the sharing of INDEX values between the two. If that was the case, then we would predict that anaphors may also themselves be controllers of covarying agreement on potential targets, which is a scenario that the Anaphor Agreement Effect rules out. I have discussed Hungarian reflexives which behave in this respect as expected: the primary reflexive *maga* never triggers any agreement, and the complex reflexive *önmaga* may trigger constant 3SG agreement. In line with my earlier account Rákosi (2009), I have argued that the complex reflexive has a synchronically active possessive structure.

The essence of the proposed analysis is that the primary reflexive only constrains the INDEX features of its antecedent, whereas the complex reflexive shows structure sharing between the INDEX bundle of the antecedent and that of its possessor. This can be embedded in the framework of more recent LFG research, which assumes that syntactic (f-structure) INDEX features are to be treated as distinct from the semantic INDEX features that appear at s-structure. In particular, the current paper argues that anaphors may only have semantic INDEX features without corresponding f-structure INDEX features of their own. This is the case of the primary reflexive in Hungarian. Since the primary

[15] This is so because the complex reflexive may sometimes take antecedents across clause boundaries (see Rákosi 2009).

reflexive may also take discourse antecedents in certain cases (possibly with no linguistically expressed antecedents), in which case anaphoric agreement in the syntactic sense is obviously absent, the factorization of anaphoric dependencies into distinct modules may be inevitable anyway. I have focused on constructions where a syntactic antecedent is present, but the current approach can in principle be extended to cover such cases, too. This is an issue that I leave for future research.

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