On the inventory of grammatical functions in LFG from a Hungarian perspective

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1 Introduction

Given the architecture, the assumptions and the principles of LFG, grammatical functions (GFs) play a central role in the theory. As a consequence, LFG has always needed a suitable taxonomy of GFs. Bresnan (1982b) offers the following classification in the earliest model of LFG.[1]
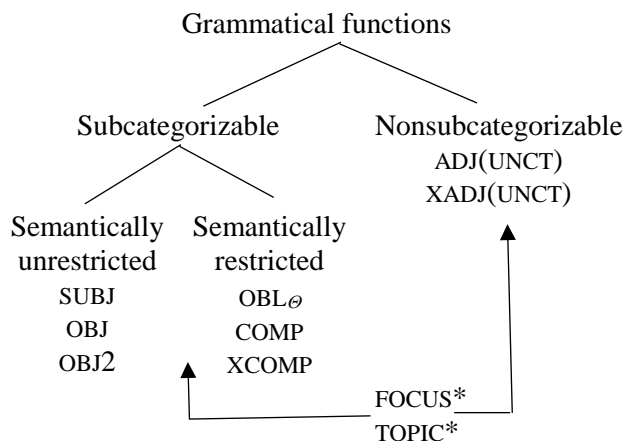

Figure 1. *Classification of grammatical functions (Bresnan 1982b: 287)*

This basic taxonomy of GFs in the clausal domain[2] has remained rather stable, except for one significant change: OBJ2 has been reclassified as semantically restricted: OBJ$_\Theta$. We find this modified classification in Bresnan et al. (2016), Börjars et al. (2019) and Dalrymple et al. (2019). However, Alsina et al. (1996, 2005) and several other authors since then have proposed that COMP and (to a lesser extent) XCOMP should be eliminated from the inventory of GFs in LFG. In this paper I point out that the tests used for other languages to support this proposal do not apply to the relevant Hungarian phenomena, as opposed to Szűcs's (2018) claim to the contrary. I also show that some Hungarian facts are straightforwardly analyzable by employing the COMP and XCOMP GFs. In addition, I argue that PREDLINK needs to be added to the inventory of LFG's GFs. The reason why I discuss this GF as well is two-fold. On the one hand, I believe that it is indispensable in the analysis of certain constructions. On the other hand, my view strongly contrasts with some recent GF-reductionist proposals in the LFG literature.

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[1] As regards focus and topic, Bresnan remarks that their subcategorizability is parametric, governed by the "subject-oriented" vs. "topic-oriented" nature of languages.

[2] For overviews of proposals with respect to the inventory and nature of GFs in the nominal domain and alternative proposals, see Laczkó (1995, 2004).

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I give a brief overview of the COMP debate and present the Hungarian facts supporting the retention of this GF, arguing against a recent abandonment proposal. Section 3 is devoted to XCOMP along the same lines. In section 4, I show that there are two Hungarian copula constructions (expressing identity and possession) that strongly call for an analysis using PREDLINK, and I also point out that English identity copula constructions are also best analyzed in this fashion. In section 5, I conclude.

2   COMP

In this section first I discuss the COMP debate in LFG (2.1) and then I concentrate on Hungarian, arguing against Szűcs's COMP-less proposal (2.2.1) and adding further general remarks (2.2.2).

2.1   COMP in general

There are three different views related to COMP.

(A)   All clausal complements have the COMP function.
(B)   In "mixed" languages certain clausal complements have the regular functions, and other clausal complements are COMPs.
(C)   There is no COMP function: all clausal complements have regular (nominal) functions: SUBJ, OBJ and OBL.

Below I discuss the most salient representatives of these views in the literature in the above order.

  (A) In the spirit of Bresnan (1982b), Asudeh & Toivonen (2015: 380) give the following description of COMP. "Closed (saturated) complement: a clausal argument which has its own subject." Bresnan et al. (2016: 99) also cite this. Börjars et al. (2019) and Dalrymple et al. (2019) provide a similar definition.[3]

  (B) Dalrymple & Lødrup (2000), concentrating on the COMP vs. OBJ contrast in the case of clausal arguments, propose that there are mixed languages in which there are two types of clausal complements: one of them calls for the standard COMP analysis, while the other is more appropriately analyzable as bearing the OBJ function. They use the following five tests (the first four are diagnostics for the OBJ function, and the fifth is a COMP test).

(i)   If the argument of the V can be realized by either NPs or CPs, the CP bears OBJ.
(ii) If the NP and CP arguments of the V can be coordinated, the CP bears OBJ.
(iii) If the CP argument can be passivized, it bears OBJ.
(iv) Typically, but not in all languages, if the clausal complement can be involved in an unbounded dependency, it bears OBJ.

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[3] However, Dalrymple et al. (2019) subscribe to the view that not all clausal complements have this function, see (B) below.

(v) Typically, if a CP can be the complement of a noun or an adjective, it bears
     COMP (because Ns and As are intransitive).

On these grounds they claim that German, English and Swedish belong to the mixed type, and they add that Slave also exhibits crucial characteristics of this type. Dalrymple et al. (2019) add some further details to this proposal.

Lødrup (2012) shows that there is a group of verbs in Norwegian whose noun phrase arguments exhibit syntactic behaviours characteristic of clausal arguments rather than noun phrase arguments; therefore, they are more appropriately analyzable as bearing COMP. This is important because it is one of the arguments against COMP (even in a mixed type approach) that it is burdened with the following redundancy: if a constituent has the COMP function, it can only be a CP.[4]

On the basis of agreement, pronominalization and coordination facts, Belyaev et al. (2017) argue that in Moksha Mordvin the majority of clausal complements (factive and eventive propositions) are straightforwardly analyzable as bearing the SUBJ, OBJ and OBL GFs, while a smaller group of CPs (non-factive propositions) are best treated as carrying the COMP function.

(C) Alsina et al. (2005) criticize Dalrymple & Lødrup's (2000) mixed languages approach, and on the basis of Spanish, Catalan and Malayalam data they argue for eliminating COMP from the inventory of GFs in LFG. One of their key arguments is based on Catalan clitcization and subcategorization facts involving clausal complements. Forst (2006), using German and French examples, and Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2014, 2016), using Polish data, share this view. For useful comparative overviews of these three main approaches, see Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2016), Szűcs (2018) and Dalrymple et al. (2019). It is also noteworthy here that Patejuk & Przepiórkowski's (2016) view is more reductionist than just abandoning COMP and XCOMP: motivated by Alsina (1996), they suggest a three-way GF-division: SUBJ-OBJ-DEP. The third label is short for dependents, subsuming both OBLs and ADJUNCTs.

2.2 COMP **in Hungarian**

2.2.1 On Szűcs (2018)

Szűcs (2018) subscribes to the anti-COMP view, and he argues that Hungarian embedded clauses do not need the COMP function at all. After briefly reviewing the COMP-related literature, he claims that the relevant Hungarian data can be adequately analyzed by assuming that finite and non-finite (i.e. infinitival) propositional arguments have the regular SUBJ, OBJ and OBL functions. He has the two standard arguments (shared by the COMP-less approaches) for this claim. On the one hand, he shows that DPs, finite CPs and non-finite Ss can

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[4] See Alsina et al. (2005) for instance.

realize the same arguments of a predicate. On the other hand, he claims that these various categorial realizations of the same argument can be coordinated, which justifies the assumption that they share the same GF. Below I highlight the most important aspects of Szűcs's argumentation and I make my comments as we proceed.

As regards Szűcs's first argument, consider his examples in (1)-(4).[5]

(1) *Kati   fél   a   kutyák-tól.*
Kate.NOM   fear.PRES.3SG   the   dogs-from
'Kate fears dogs.'

(2) *Kati   fél,   hogy   a   kutya*
Kate.NOM   fear.PRES.3SG   COMP   the   dog.NOM
megharap-ja.
bite-PRES.3SG.DEFO
'Kate fears that the dog may bite her.'

(3) *Kati   fél   kutyá-t   tart-ani.*
Kate.NOM   fear.PRES.3SG   dog-ACC   keep-INF
'Kate fears keeping a dog.'

(4) *Kati   a-ttól   fél,   hogy   a   kutya*
Kate.NOM   that-from   fear.PRES.3SG   COMP   the   dog.NOM
megharap-ja.
bite-PRES.3SG.DEFO
'Kate fears that the dog may bite her.'

In (1), the second argument of the verb is expressed by an oblique case-marked DP, in (2), it is expressed by a finite clause, and in (3), it is expressed by an infinitival construction. According to Szűcs, they should be treated as sharing the same OBL function. (4) is a special case in that it contains an oblique case-marked pronoun (*attól* 'that.from') that is associated with the same finite clause as we see in (2). Szűcs points out that this type can be analyzed by assuming that the pronoun is the OBL argument and the finite clause is its ADJUNCT associate, as proposed by Rákosi & Laczkó (2005). Szűcs shows that the same parallels as those in (1)-(4) hold for the SUBJ and OBJ functions in Hungarian. Below I only cite his OBJ examples, because for my purposes the OBL and the OBJ cases are important.

(5) *Kati   étel-t   akar.*
Kate.NOM   food-ACC   want.PRES.3SG
'Kate wants food.'

(6) *Kati   akar-ja,   hogy   e-gyünk.*
Kate.NOM   want-PRES.3SG.DEFO   COMP   eat-SBJV.1PL
'Kate wants that we eat.'

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[5] In the glosses below COMP stands for complementizer, DEFO for the definite object marker, INF for the infinitival marker, and SBJV for subjunctive mood.

(7) *Kati e-nni akar.*
 Kate.NOM eat-INF want.PRES.3SG
 'Kate wants to eat.'

(8) *Kati az-t akar-ja,   hogy e-gyünk.*
 Kate.NOM that-ACC want-PRES.3SG.DEFO COMP eat-SBJV.1PL
 'Kate wants (it) that we eat.'

The four types in (1)-(4) and (5)-(8) are entirely parallel. Only one remark is in order here, which will be important in the discussion below. Notice that the verb is marked for a definite object (DEFO) in both (6) and (8). This is obvious in the case of (8), because demonstrative pronouns bearing the OBJ function trigger the definite conjugation on the verb as a rule. (6) demonstrates that *that* clause complements also trigger this conjugation on a transitive verb.

 Although it is certainly true that in the case of a considerable number of Hungarian verbs we can find this four-way complement realization, the overwhelming majority of verbs do not have all the four options. What is of great importance, I claim, is that in Hungarian, too, there is a class of verbs that are best analyzed as subcategorizing for clausal complements bearing the COMP GF. Consider the following minimal pair examples.

(9) *Kati jelez-te,   hogy induljunk.*
 Kate signal-PAST.3SG.DEFO COMP start.SBJV.1PL
 'Kate signalled that we should start.'

(10) *Kati jelz-ett, hogy induljunk.*
 Kate signal-PAST.3SG COMP start.SBJV.1PL
 'Kate signalled that we should start.'

In (9) the verb, in addition to the standard subject agreement inflection (3SG), is also marked for definite object agreement (DEFO). Thus, it is natural to assume that the clausal complement has the OBJ GF, and it triggers object agreement on the verb. This manifests the pattern exemplified in (6): the second argument is expressed by a clausal argument, and it is not associated with a co-occurring OBJ pronoun. However, the same verb with exactly the same semantics can be used without object agreement, see (10). And, crucially, in the case of this verb there is no semantically fully identical OBL pronoun plus clausal complement combination here, i.e., the type in (4) is not available. Given the semantics of the verb in both (9) and (10), I claim that it is not an option to assume that in (10) the clausal constituent is an adjunct.

 Now consider (11).

(11) *Kati int-ett, hogy induljunk.*
 Kate.NOM wave-PAST.3SG COMP start.SBJV.1PL
 'Kate waved (her hand) that we should start.'

In the case of this verb there is no (either OBL or OBJ) nominal alternative realized either by a DP alone, the (1) type, or by the combination of an object or oblique pronoun combined with the clausal constituent, the (4) and (8) type,

respectively. And, again, given the semantics of the verb in (11), it is not an option to assume that the clausal constituent is an adjunct. A certain number of verbs of communication in the broad sense exhibit similar properties in Hungarian. In this connection, consider the following quote from Dalrymple & Lødrup (2000: 118) "Foley and Valin (1984) show that the use of a finite clause as a core argument is a marked situation in UG, which is only allowed for verbs of saying in some languages." Dalrymple & Lødrup (2000) claim that this typological generalization supports their approach in the following way. If the clausal complement is syntactically integrated into a sentence, it has the OBJ GF, and if it does not take part in syntactic processes like other core arguments, it has the COMP GF. In a "mixed language" in their terminology these two cases coexist. Lødrup (2012: 386) writes: "COMP differs from the other complement functions by not having their properties; it is a complement that just 'is there', and does not take part in grammatical processes."[6]

  On the basis of the foregoing discussion, my main claim is that the clausal complements of a whole range of Hungarian verbs of communication in the broad sense can be most appropriately analyzed along the COMP lines. Of course, it is also possible to claim that all these cases can be handled by assuming that these clausal complements, after all, still have an OBL function, but there are restrictions on their categorial realization. I think that this choice can be taken to be dependent, to a considerable extent, on the theory-internal persuasion of the researcher. The key issue here is whether we intend to capture the relevant facts in the dimension of GFs or in terms of categorial constraints on particular complements of individual predicates. My preference is the GF-based approach, while my external reviewer strongly advocates the categorial approach.**[7]**

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[6] My external reviewer writes: "I do not see why the semantics of the verb in (11) prevents us from assuming that its clausal complement is an adjunct. Alternatively, one could assume that it is an oblique categorially constrained to be a CP." I think this paragraph provides enough language-internal and cross-linguistic justification for my non-adjunct approach. Of course, in principle, it would also be possible to develop an adjunct-based analysis by creating the necessary formal devices for capturing the semantic generalizations and parallels discussed above in general and for encoding that the predicates in question admit (or, rather, "optionally subcategorize for") a particular kind of propositional constituent. As regards the other approach mentioned by my reviewer, this would be the most plausible analysis on COMP-less grounds.

[7] It is also noteworthy in this connection that at LFG21 Péter Szűcs made the following written comment, still accessible on the website of the conference. "It must not be forgotten that *that*-clauses can be relatively freely added to a number of verbs that are communicative only in the very broad sense: *tapsol* (clap), *pislog* (blink), *bólint* (nod), etc. – *János tapsolt, hogy bejöhetünk.* (John clapped that we may enter / John clapped indicating that we may enter.). For these CPs I'd be in favor of a (thematic) adjunct analysis and a similar approach might work for other verbs if there is only a finite CP complement." My reply was as follows. "I also used the expression 'in the broad sense'. At the same time it's my conviction that these verbs are truly and definitely

As far as Szűcs's second COMP-less argument is concerned, he presents the following example among others (and, in my judgement, all his relevant examples, which I cannot discuss here for space limitations, are equally problematic).

(12) *Kati   fél   a   kutyák-tól   és   hogy   az-ok*
     Kate.NOM fear.PRES.3SG the dogs-from   and   COMP that-PL
     megharapják.
     bite.PRES.3PL.DEF
     'Kate fears dogs and that they might bite her.'

In (12) an oblique DP and a CP are conjoined. The claim is that the possibility of this kind of coordination justifies the assumption that these categorially different constituents can be coordinated because they share the same GF, and naturally this GF can only be OBL. It is important to point out that Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2014, 2016) crucially base their COMP-less approach on similar coordination facts in other languages. As regards (12) (and Szűcs's related examples), my intuitions and the results of a small scale questionnaire question Szűcs's argumentation to a considerable extent. Even his own example is only marginally acceptable. On an OK/?/??/?*/* scale it would rank as ??. It is also noteworthy that the conjoined constituents in (12) are specifically related: the first (DP) conjunct is coreferential with the subject of the second (CP) conjunct. My claim is that if two semantically entirely distinct conjuncts of these two phrasal categories (DP and CP) are coordinated then the result is absolutely ungrammatical, see (13). If we swapped the two conjuncts, the result would be even worse. By (significant) contrast, if in the same example the pronoun plus CP version is used, i.e., type (4), the result is full grammaticality, see (14).

(13) **Kati   fél   a   macskák-tól   és   hogy*
      Kate.NOM fear.PRES.3SG the cats-from   and   COMP
      a   kutyák   megharapják.
      the dogs.NOM   bite.PRES.3PL.DEF
      'Kate fears cats and that the dogs might bite her.'

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used in this broad (or very broad) communicative sense. I think this is a productive semantic domain that calls for a systematic treatment along the lines that I sketched. In theory the thematic adjunct option is also available. However, it is my conviction that the *jelez(1)* vs. *jelez(2)* minimal pair […] rather supports the COMP treatment. Compare: (9) *Kati jelezte, hogy induljunk* and (10) *Kati jelzett, hogy induljunk.* On semantic grounds, I can't see why the argument vs. adjunct status of the CP in (10) should be assumed to be different from that of the CP in (9). In both cases the CP expresses the message (the content of the signal)."

(14) *Kati   fél   a   macskák-tól és   a-ttól,   hogy*
    Kate.NOM fear.PRES.3SG the cats-from   and that-from COMP
    a   kutyák   megharapják.
    the dogs.NOM   bite.PRES.3PL.DEF
    ca. 'Kate fears cats and the possibility that the dogs might bite her.'

My conclusion is that this construction type cannot be used as evidence for abandoning the COMP GF. This holds at least for the variety of Hungarian in which the grammatical status of the foregoing key examples is as I have pointed out.

My general remark on Szűcs's two arguments based on Hungarian data for abandoning COMP from the inventory of LFG GFs is that they are not convincing. On the contrary, they can be used to argue against his proposal.

As regards his first argument, the potential categorial diversity for the realization of the same GF, I have shown that there is a group of semantically (and cross-linguistically) identifiable verbs that can only take a CP complement. In this case the most natural assumption in a "mainstream" LFG framework is that the given complement carries the COMP function. Any other solution in a COMP-less approach seems to me to be less plausible for the following reason. The most straightforward COMP-less solution is that the verbs in question subcategorize for OBL, but the category of their OBL argument is constrained to CP. In my view it is a rather unusual situation that a GF cannot be realized by its default category (or categories). In Hungarian OBLs are canonically expressed by either (oblique) case-marked DPs or by postpositional phrases. Of course, it can be claimed that the semantics of the argument is responsible for this constraint: these are propositional arguments. However, in theory it would also be possible to use a derived nominal counterpart of the verb of such a CP, and this event nominal could be used in an oblique case-marked DP or in a PP. This alternative, however, is not available here.

As to Szűcs's second argument, the conjoinability of CP complements with categorially different complements, appears to backfire. CP complements by themselves (i.e. without pronominal support) seem to strongly reject coordination with non-CP complements**.** Thus, according to the logic of Szűcs's argumentation this lack of conjoinability actually supports the assumption that these non-conjoinable CPs bear a different GF: COMP.[8]

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[8] My external reviewer, advocating the COMP-less approach, remarks that despite my claim to the contrary, the non-conjoinability here can be simply captured in the categorial dimension: CPs are not compatible with non-CPs, so we do not need to invoke the GF dimension with COMP. My response to this observation is that there are several cases in Hungarian in which conjoinability has to be accounted for by assuming a GF shared by different phrasal categories. The most salient example of this is the natural conjoinability of oblique case-marked DPs and PPs when they share either an OBL or an ADJUNCT GF. (They are different categories because they exhibit different

Dalrymple et al. (2019: 32) write: "until convincing arguments can be made that all COMPs in languages such as English, German, and Norwegian can be reanalyzed in terms of other grammatical functions, COMP cannot be abandoned on the basis of being redundant."[9] My fundamental claim is that Szűcs's arguments as they stand are not convincing enough; therefore, in Hungarian "COMP cannot be abandoned on the basis of being redundant."

2.2.2 Further remarks

In this section I make two additional remarks. (A) is about the oblique domain and (B) is about the subject and object domains.

(A) Below I repeat one of the five tests employed by Dalrymple & Lødrup (2000) from section 2.1, the COMP test.

(v) Typically, if a CP can be the complement of a noun or an adjective, it bears COMP (because Ns and As are intransitive).

In Hungarian there are deverbal nouns of the "simple event or result" types that can be argued to have a complement, and this complement can only be expressed by CPs. Consider the following examples.[10]

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morpho-phonological properties.) Given this fact, the COMP-less approach would need to give a reason why CPs allegedly bearing the same GF cannot be conjoined with the other two categories. At LFG21 Péter Szűcs's second important written remark was similar to my external reviewer's. "As for the coordination data […], I really think a careful empirical investigation is required. I expect much variation here. A potential pitfall is that one might erroneously assume that GFs are the only relevant factors in coordination. This is very tempting for an LFG-practitioner, but in reality it may well be that GFs are just one factor out of many (c-structure categories, discourse structure, etc.)." My reply was as follows. "Your 'thought-provoking' 2018 paper made me start thinking about these phenomena (thanks for this motivation…). I readily accept your claim that coordination factors may not be reduced to the GF dimension. However, *you* used coordination examples to argue for abandoning COMP (a GF dimension). I took a look at your data and argumentation, and my claim is that, at least in the variety of Hungarian I speak and I am familiar with, these data rather support keeping COMP. Yes, there may be great variation here. As I briefly pointed out in the talk, there may even be dialectal differences here."

[9] My external reviewer writes: "one should really turn this around. Given that the simplicity criterion favors a framework with fewer theoretical concepts over one with more theoretical concepts, the burden of proof is on the side of the proponents of COMP. One could more appropriately say: *Until convincing arguments can be made that certain phenomena cannot be explained without COMP as a GF, the GF COMP should not be introduced in the inventory of GFs*." I think these two quotes, from Dalrymple et al. (2019) and from my reviewer, perfectly characterize the antagonistic with-COMP vs. without-COMP perspectives in LFG. I subscribe to the view of the with-COMP camp.

[10] In the glosses DEV stands for deverbal nominalizing suffix.

(15)   *Kati   jelz-és-e,   hogy   induljunk*
        Kate.NOM   signal-DEV-POSS.3SG   COMP   start.SBJV.1PL
        'Kate's signal(ling) that we should start.'

(16)   *a   gondol-at, hogy   János   távoz-ott*
        the think-DEV   COMP   John.NOM leave-PAST.3SG
        'the thought that John left'

(17)   *a   kérd-és, hogy   ki   távoz-ott*
        the ask-DEV   COMP   who.NOM leave-PAST.3SG
        'the question of who left'

(15) can be taken to be the nominal counterpart of (10), and I think we can draw a straightforward parallel here. In the case of (10), I have argued that it is reasonable to assume that the CP, spelling out the content of the message expressed by signalling, is a complement bearing COMP. On these grounds it also stands to reason that the CP in (15) is a CP complement of the noun head, again, bearing COMP. Note that in the case of (15), just like in the case of (10), the only categorial option is CP, and the semantic correspondence between the two CPs is also obvious. As (16) and (17) demonstrate, the head noun typically imposes constraints on the actual type of the required CP: we cannot exchange the two CPs in these examples (*gondolat* 'thought' requires a declarative CP, while *kérdés* 'question' calls for an interrogative CP).[11]

  I believe that the facts in the OBL domain in Hungarian amply support the idea that COMP needs to be retained. The crucial points are as follows. *(i)* There is a semantically identifiable group of verbs that can only take a CP complement, most naturally assumed to bear COMP, see (11) and the discussion of its relevance above. *(ii)* Certain (fundamentally) "result" deverbal nouns can also be assumed to subcategorize only for CP COMPs. *(iii)* Coordination facts also show that CP complements are not really conjoinable with oblique case-marked DPs (or PPs), see (12)-(13) and their discussion above. *(iv)* In addition, CP COMPs cannot bear all the same discourse functions as their DP/PP OBL counterparts. Consider the examples in (18), (19) and (20), and also compare them with (1), (4) and (2), respectively.

(18)   *A   kutyák-tól csak Kati   fél.*
        the dogs-from only Kate.NOM   fear.PRES.3SG
        ca. 'As far as dogs are concerned, only Kate is afraid of them.'

(19)   *A-ttól,   hogy   a   kutya   megharap-ja,*
        that-from COMP   the dog.NOM bite-PRES.3SG.DEFO
        csak   Kati   fél.
        only   Kate.NOM   fear.PRES.3SG
        ca. 'As far as getting bitten by the dog is concerned, only Kate is afraid of that.'

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[11] Naturally, Szűcs's comment cited in Footnote 7 is valid in this case, too, and my reply is also the same as that I cited there.

(20) *Hogy   a   kutya   megharap-ja,
       COMP   the dog.NOM   bite-PRES.3SG.DEFO
       csak   Kati   fél.
       only   Kate.NOM fear.PRES.3SG
       ca. 'As far as getting bitten by the dog is concerned, only Kate is afraid
       of that.'

Recall from the discussion of (1), (2) and (4) that, non-finite propositional complementation aside, in the Hungarian system verbs like *fél* 'fear, be afraid of' can take as complements oblique case-marked DPs, as in (1) and (18), a similarly oblique case-marked pronoun with a CP associate, as in (4) and (19), and a CP on its own, as in (2) and (20). (18)-(20) contain sentences with a contrastive topic and a classic *csak* ('only') focus constituent. As (18) and (19) demonstrate the DP complement alone and the corresponding pronoun with its CP associate can bear the contrastive topic DF. By contrast, (20) shows that a CP alone cannot be a contrastive topic. I think this is a strong additional argument for retaining COMP in LFG's GF inventory.[12]

  (B) The subject–object domain is different from the oblique domain discussed in (A) above in one important respect. Although there are full parallels between the four potential argument realization types, compare (1)-(4) and (5)-(8), the type illustrated by (6) in the subject–object domain is special. Naturally, it can be analyzed in exactly the same stand-alone CP fashion as the oblique counterpart in (2). However, given that Hungarian is a subject and object pro-drop language, there is an additional analytical option here: it can also be assumed that in this type we are dealing with a pro-dropped subject or object, in which case we can analyze this construction in the same way as the PRON + CP type exemplified in (8). I leave it to future research to investigate the theoretical ramifications of this potential analytical duality.

3   XCOMP

In this section first I briefly characterize XCOMP (3.1) and then I concentrate on Hungarian, arguing against Szűcs's XCOMP-less proposal (3.2).

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[12] My external reviewer makes the following comment. "This sentence is an implicit acknowledgement that we don't need COMP." Of course, they are right from their COMP-less perspective, where basically all the relevant facts need to be captured in categorial terms. However, I still claim that from my with-COMP perspective this is a valid argument. Let me also add a minor technical point here. It seems to me that this specific constraint on contrastive topics is more straightforwardly capturable in the formal apparatus of LFG in the GF dimension: (CONTR-TOPIC) ≠ (COMP).

3.1   XCOMP in general

LFG's XCOMP is an "open (unsaturated) predicate complement" (Asudeh & Toivonen 2015: 380), realized by categorially varied constituents whose shared property is that they do not have an overt, c-structurally expressed subject, and their subject, present in f-structure, is functionally controlled by an appropriate controller from outside the constituent, hence its openness. XCOMP constituents are typically headed by non-finite verbs (infinitives and participles), see Szűcs's (2018) Hungarian example and its English translation from section 2.2, repeated below for convenience.

(7)   *Kati   e-nni   akar.*
      Kate.NOM   eat-INF   want.PRES.3SG
      'Kate wants to eat.'

Here the XCOMP constituent is a VP headed by an infinitive in both languages and its unexpressed subject argument is functionally controlled by the overt subject of the finite matrix verb. Predicative APs and NPs can also bear this function, which will be important in sections 3.2 and 4 below.

  As regards the XCOMP GF, LFG practitioners in the pro-COMP camp obviously assume the standard status of XCOMP in the GF inventory of the theory. Interestingly, Falk (2005) goes even further and he proposes additional open GFs: XOBJ$_\Theta$ and XOBL$_\Theta$. I do not think that this extension is warranted by Hungarian data.

  In the anti-COMP camp there is no absolute consensus about XCOMP. For instance, Forst (2006), from an implementational perspective, argues for abandoning COMP and for keeping XCOMP. By contrast, Alsina et al. (2005: 41) write "XCOMP should probably go the same way as COMP", but they do not substantiate this claim. Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2016) argue that the same kinds of coordination facts justify abandoning XCOMP as they capitalize on in the case of getting rid of COMP. They develop an alternative and implementationally tested analysis of functional control into closed GFs like OBJ or OBL.

3.2   XCOMP in Hungarian

Szűcs (2018) also claims that XCOMP, just like COMP, can be dispensed with in the analysis of Hungarian. Recall that in section 2.2, when I discussed his arguments for abandoning COMP, realized by CPs, I showed that he assumes that non-finite (infinitival) S-s can also bear the regular (SUBJ, OBJ and OBL) GFs, just like CPs. In the case of his example in (7), repeated in 3.1 above, he assumes that the infinitival constituent has the OBJ (and not the XCOMP) function, and he points out that control into this OBJ can be handled along the lines proposed by Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2016). In the case of his other relevant example, repeated here for convenience, he assumes that the infinitival VP bears OBL, and control works in the same way.

(3) *Kati   fél   kutyá-t   tart-ani.*
    Kate.NOM   fear.PRES.3SG dog-ACC   keep-INF
    'Kate fears keeping a dog.'

Szűcs provides the same two arguments for abandoning XCOMP as he provides for abandoning COMP: (i) categorial complement realization variability and interchangeability and (ii) the conjoinability of categorial unlikes.

As regards (i), categorial variability, I think his argument here is even weaker than in the case of COMP, because there are a great number of verbs that can only take infinitival complementation, see my randomly selected example in (21), where the order of categorial realization types follows that in (5)-(8).

(21) a. **Kati   próbál-ja   a   koncentrál-ás-t.*
        Kate.NOM   try-PRES.3SG.DEFO   the   concentrate-DEV-ACC
        ca. '*Kate is trying concentration.'

   b. **Kati   próbál-ja,   hogy*
        Kate.NOM   try-PRES.3SG.DEFO   COMP
        koncentrál-j-on.
        concentrate-SBJV-3SG
        lit. 'Kate is trying that she should concentrate.'

    c. *Kati   próbál   koncentrál-ni.*
        Kate.NOM   try.PRES.3SG   concentrate-INF
        'Kate is trying to concentrate.'

   d. **Kati   próbál-ja   az-t,   hogy*
        Kate.NOM   try-PRES.3SG.DEFO   that-ACC COMP
        koncentrál-j-on.
        concentrate-SBJV-3SG
        lit. 'Kate is trying the thing that she should concentrate.'

As (21c) shows, the complement can only be realized by an infinitival construction. The Hungarian verbs *igyekszik* 'endeavour (to do sg)', *habozik, hezitál, tétovázik,* all three: 'hesitate (to do sg)', *baszik* (vulgar) 'literally: fuck; rudely refuse (to do sg)' behave similarly.

As regards (ii), conjoinability, the argument is as weak as in the case of COMP. Below I show Szűcs's relevant example.

(22) *Kati   étel-t   és   a-zzal*
     Kate.NOM   food-ACC   and   that-with
     jóllak-ni   akar.
     satisfied.become-INF   want-PRES.3SG
     'Kate wants food and to be satisfied with it.'

Just like in the case of Szűcs's COMP coordination example in (12) in section 2.2, this example is unacceptable according to my intuitions and my small-scale survey. Moreover, here, too, the conjoined constituents are semantically linked. The object NP of the matrix verb is coreferential with the oblique

complement of the infinitive. My remark here, too, is that if the two conjuncts are semantically entirely independent, such constructions are absolutely ungrammatical, see (23).

(23) *Kati   étel-t   és Pali-val   sétál-ni   akar.
      Kate.NOM   food-ACC   and Paul-with   walk-INF   want-PRES.3SG
      'Kate wants food and to go for a walk with Paul.'

Szűcs also mentions "subject-to-object raising" constructions in Hungarian. Consider his key example in (24).

(24) Kati-t   boldog-nak / zseni-nek   tart-om.
      Kati-ACC   happy-DAT   genius-DAT   consider-PRES.1SG
      'I consider Kate happy / a genius.'

In this sentence 'Kate' undoubtedly has the (non-thematic) OBJ function, and the non-SUBJ semantic argument of the verb can be realized by a predicatively used AP ('happy') or NP ('a genius'). In this case, Szűcs (2018: 335) writes: "the (X)OBJ$_\Theta$ seems to be an appropriate function for raising in Hungarian and XCOMP is not needed." He assumes, agreeing with Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2016), for instance, that the X in the function name can be omitted if an appropriate treatment of functional control (into closed GFs) is developed. Even so, my problem with Szűcs's alternative GF proposal is that, as far as I know, the OBJ$_\Theta$ GF has not been proposed in any LFG analysis of any phenomenon in Hungarian. Therefore, its inclusion in the set of Hungarian GFs would require substantial justification. As things stand now, Szűcs gets rid of XCOMP in the analysis of this functional control construction type by introducing a GF otherwise unattested in this language so far. Moreover, it is an additional and equally serious problem with Szűcs's proposal that in his analysis of raising constructions he is forced to assume that not only predicative noun phrases but adjectival phrases can also bear his newly introduced OBJ$_\Theta$ GF, which is a rather unorthodox category–function combination.[13]

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[13] My external reviewer makes the following comment. "The observation that, in a framework without COMP or XCOMP, as in that defended by Szűcs (2018) and Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2016), the predicative adjective phrase of consider-type verbs is assigned one of the GFs OBJ, OBJ$_\Theta$, or OBL can hardly be taken as an argument for COMP or XCOMP, however unexpected it may be for someone who assumes the standard LFG inventory of GFs to call a predicative adjective phrase an OBJ, OBJ$_\Theta$, or OBL. It is an obvious consequence of removing COMP and XCOMP from the inventory of GFs that the remaining GFs, particularly OBJ, OBJ$_\Theta$ and OBL, will have to be used to designate grammatical functions that, in the standard framework, are labeled as COMP or XCOMP." My brief response to this observation is as follows. It seems to me that my reviewer's view of the nature of LFG's GFs is rather simplistic. Of course, it is understandable that a COMP/XCOMP-less approach needs to use one of the three remaining GFs (other than SUBJ). However, if my reviewer assumes, as they state, that

4 PREDLINK

In their XLE implementational platform, Butt et al. (1999) propose a new GF: PREDLINK for a uniform treatment of copula constructions in English, German and French. It is interesting to see how this GF figures in most recent authoritative books on LFG. There is no mention at all of PREDLINK in Bresnan et al. (2016). Börjars et al. (2019: 155) mention this GF only once in a "Reading" section as an alternative of XCOMP in the analysis of copula constructions. Dalrymple et al. (2019) compare the PREDLINK and the XCOMP analyzes of certain copula constructions (2019: 32-33, 194-197).[14] This (rather minimal) coverage of PREDLINK[15] saliently contrasts with the standard, mainstream LFG view of the status of COMP and XCOMP in the same three books.

The two major general LFG strategies for the treatment of copula constructions (CCs) across languages are represented by Butt et al. (1999) and Dalrymple et al. (2004). In the former approach, CCs are treated in a uniform manner functionally. The copula is always assumed to be a two-place predicate. It subcategorizes for a subject (SUBJ) argument, which is uncontroversial in any analysis of these constructions, and the other constituent is invariably assigned a special, designated function designed for the second, "postcopular" argument of the predicate: PREDLINK. As opposed to this approach, in Dalrymple et al.'s (2004) view, the SUBJ & PREDLINK version is just one of the theoretically available options. In addition, they postulate that the copula can be devoid of a PRED feature (and, consequently, argument structure) and in this use it only serves as a pure carrier of formal verbal features: tense and agreement. Finally, it can also be used as a one-place "raising" predicate, associating the XCOMP function with its propositional argument and also assigning a non-thematic SUBJ function.

In Laczkó (2021) I analyze five CCs in Hungarian: attribution/classification, identity, location, existence and possession. I subscribe to the view, advocated by Dalrymple et al. (2004) and also by Nordlinger & Sadler (2007), among others, that the best LFG strategy is to examine all CCs individually, and to allow for diversity and systematic variation both in c-structure and in f-

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it is unproblematic to analyze an AP as possibly bearing either of the two OBJ functions, then for me this is tantamount to using these GF labels without minimally taking into consideration the general(ly acknowledged) grammatical (syntactic and morphosyntactic) properties of OBJs and APs. While I admit that this is a possible alternative approach to GFs in LFG, I strongly subscribe to the view I am defending in this paper.

[14] In Chapter 6 of Laczkó (2021) I present a comprehensive assessment of main approaches to copula constructions in English, with a detailed and systematic comparison of LFG and the Chomskyan mainstream.

[15] Even when PREDLINK is discussed, and thereby its existence in LFG is acknowledged, its actual status in the GF inventory is not addressed.

structure representations across and even within languages. This means that I reject Butt et al.'s (1999) and Attia's (2008) uniform PREDLINK approach at the f-structure level. In my analysis the copula has five distinct lexical forms. I show that this five-way distinction is strongly justified by the fact that each of these types has a partially different set of properties.[16] I make two fundamental claims. (i) It is highly implausible to analyze all the five Hungarian CCs in the same, uniform functional way. (ii) PREDLINK needs to be employed for the most feasible LFG analysis of the possession and identity types.

Let us first take a brief look at my analysis of Hungarian possession CCs in Laczkó (2021). Consider the following example (Laczkó 2021: 318).

(25) *Az igazgató-nak van szóvivő-je.*
the director-DAT is spokesperson-his.NOM
'The director has a spokesperson.'

I claim that this special CC type is best analyzed along the PREDLINK lines.[17] My intuitive assumption is that the function of the copula here is to link the possessor and the possessed entity at the clause level. In other words, the copula "raises" the possessive relationship expressed within DPs to a sentential level. The crucial parts of my representation of the lexical form of the possession copula is shown in (26).[18]

(26) *van*, V (↑ PRED) = 'BE$_{poss}$ < (↑SUBJ) (↑PREDLINK) >'
possessee possessor
(↑ PREDLINK CASE) =$_c$ dat

Now let us take a brief look at identity CCs exemplified in (27).

(27) a. *Az igazgató volt a szóvivő.*
the director.NOM was the spokesman.NOM
'The director was the spokesman.'
b. *van*, V (↑ PRED) = 'BE$_{ident}$ < (↑ SUBJ) (↑ PREDLINK) >'
(↑ PREDLINK CASE) =$_c$ nom

I believe that not only my PREDLINK analysis of this Hungarian CC in Laczkó (2021) is the best solution, but the English counterpart (see the translation in (27a)) is also most appropriately analyzed along the same lines for the following reasons. *(A)* It would be highly implausible to assume that the

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[16] For an overview of these details, see Table 6.3 in Laczkó (2021: 321).

[17] For my full argumentation for the assumption that the PREDLINK analysis is superior to assuming that the dative possessor bears OBL, see Section 6.3.2.5 in Laczkó (2021).

[18] The detailed representation formalizes the following properties of Hungarian possession CCs. (i) The possessee SUBJ must be indefinite and third person (singular or plural). (ii) The possessor PREDLINK's case must be dative (which is one of the case markers of possessors within possessive DPs, the other being nominative). (iii) The copula must be focused unless there is another focused constituent in the sentence.

postcopular fully referential DP constituent has the (sentential) PRED feature, and the copula as a co-head only contributes the usual morphosyntactic features (tense and agreement). An XCOMP "raising" analysis would suffer from the same problem, because the constituent in question would have the (sentential) PRED feature. *(B)* All the other three standard non-SUBJ GFs would be implausible to varying extents. I think that the two object functions (OBJ and OBJ$_\Theta$) would not be meaningful options, because it hardly makes theoretical sense to assume that the copula is a transitive verb.[19] Thus, the remaining choice would be OBL, see Footnote 21 in Patejuk & Przepiórkowski (2016: 547). However, I think that this would just be the best of the inappropriate solutions in the "straightjacket environment" of the canonical inventory of GFs in LFG for three reasons. *(i)* The category/form of the second argument is not at all oblique-like. *(ii)* There is number agreement between the subject and this argument.[20] *(iii)* The two arguments are "on a par" in that they can swap their GFs (which naturally follows from the identificational/equative role of the predicate). Compare the following sentence with the English translation in (27a). *The spokesman was the director.*[21]

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[19] Note that Bresnan (1982c), among others, assumes that the postcopular noun phrase in *there*-constructions bears OBJ (and *there* bears SUBJ).

[20] There is person and number agreement between the SUBJ possessum and the PREDLINK possessor in Hungarian possession CCs. (This agreement is present within possessive DPs and, as I pointed out above, we can assume that the possessum–possessor relation is "raised" to the clausal level by the possession copula, including the agreement dimension.) I think that this shared agreement property of the two Hungarian CCs that I analyze by employing PREDLINK lends additional support to this PREDLINK concept.

[21] My external reviewer makes the following remarks. "It seems that PREDLINK would be reserved for two constructions involving the copula: the identity construction and the possession construction. But one fails to see what the two uses of PREDLINK have in common: in one construction this GF is nominative and in the other one it is dative. I get the impression that the only reason for wanting to add this GF to the inventory is that it is a closed GF, without a functionally controlled subject, which means it cannot be XCOMP, generally taken to be an open GF, and the author feels it is unintuitive to use any of the existing closed GFs (OBJ, OBL, etc.). If one accepts the idea that what makes a GF open or closed is not the name that we give to the GF but whether it is associated with a control equation that identifies its subject with a GF of the embedding verb, this discussion becomes irrelevant. We could call it OBJ or OBL: it is a closed function if there is no control equation to go with it and it is an open function if there is a control equation establishing identity between its subject and a GF of the controlling verb." My response is as follow. As I showed, the constituent that I assume to have tbe PREDLINK function is a DP. As I also point out, they share a special agreement property. True, they bare different cases. However, both nominative case and dative case (in this particular use) are "structural" (i.e. non-oblique) cases. As regards the reviewer's repeated point that any standard closed function (other than SUBJ) can be used instead in an unproblematic manner, I can only repeat my response to a previous comment of theirs: this is tantamount to using these GF labels without minimally taking into

5 Concluding remarks

In this paper I showed that Hungarian does not provide convincing evidence for eliminating COMP and XCOMP from the inventory of GFs in LFG. On the contrary, it provides evidence for retaining these functions. In addition, I argued that PREDLINK is also needed for principled theory-internal reasons at least in the analysis of certain copula constructions (identity and possession in Hungarian and identity in English).

My view of the GF inventory is not reductionist; on the contrary, it is expansionist. I readily admit that the reductionist approach is also fully legitimate in LFG, and principled alternative analyzes can be developed of the same phenomena that have traditionally been treated in terms of the mainstream GF inventory (see my external reviewer's comments).[22] However, on the basis of the Hungarian facts discussed here my theory-internal choice is the classical LFG approach to GFs.

It is a frequently repeated reductionist claim that dropping COMP and XCOMP has the favourable side-effect that LFG's Lexical-Mapping Theory can be made more streamlined and principled. However, in my view first a broad consensus on the number and nature of GFs in the inventory should be achieved (and adding GFs is a likely option here, see PREDLINK, for instance) and it is only after this that the argument–function mapping system should be (re)developed.

Acknowledgements

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consideration the general(ly acknowledged) grammatical (syntactic and morphosyntactic) properties of OBJs.

[22] In the last paragraph of the review my external reviewer writes the following. "My conclusion is that the paper presents no solid arguments for including the three GFs under discussion in the inventory of GFs. It seems to me that it would probably be easier to rewrite this paper so that it presents arguments in favor of eliminating the GFs COMP, XCOMP, and PREDLINK than to revise it in such a way that the phenomena presented can be shown to provide arguments for supporting the claim that these GFs are needed." I am not sure that I agree with this conclusion. It seems that the with-COMP vs. without-COMP debate continues.

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