I Agrees with You: Object Agreement and Permissive *hagy* in Hungarian

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Abstract: The paper discusses differences between object agreement in general and the LAK-agreement form identified as a special form of it in Hungarian. We show that it is not restricted to transitive verbs but to accusative environments in a broader sense, and, based on parallels with reflexives, propose a syntax-pragmatics interface driven account of LAK-agreement in terms of Participant Oriented Relational Agreement (PORA). This raises questions concerning dative control and the permissive constructions of Hungarian as well. We argue that the PORA analysis not only leads to a more explanatory account of the data but also has the interesting consequence of providing compelling evidence for the existence of unmarked passives in some of the permissive constructions of Hungarian, further supporting the claim made in Pitteroff (2015) that "a passive syntax does not have to correlate with passive morphology".

Keywords: object agreement; reflexivity; passive infinitive

1. Introduction

Hungarian finite verbs agree with their subjects as a default, but in the presence of a definite object a different agreement paradigm is used. In case of a first person singular subject and second person (singular or plural) object a special form of the agreement marker surfaces, which is not found in the second or third person subject paradigm. Based on its morphological realization we are going to call it LAK-agreement. This LAK-marker is usually taken to be a part of the object agreement paradigm in spite of

earlier observations (den Dikken 2004) showing that some intransitive verbs can also bear this morpheme. The present paper addresses this apparent anomaly and offers a more refined analysis of the data. In order to do so, first some background information is provided on what we claim to be two different types of definiteness agreement. This claim is further supported by constructions with multiple embedding, which turn out to be subject to different locality restrictions depending on whether we are dealing with definiteness agreement in the narrow sense (to the exclusion of LAK-agreement) or LAK-agreement. Then we go on to discuss some relevant word order facts of Hungarian focusing on a contrast between the preverbal and the postverbal domain. The next section discusses the different patterns permissive *hagy* "let" can appear in, both in finite and non-finite clauses focusing on the different patterns of agreement. The central observation of the paper is that LAK-agreement shows the same patterns as reflexive sentences with *hagy* "let": whenever reflexives are possible, LAK-agreement is well-formed as well, and when reflexives are ruled out, LAK-agreement is not possible either. Drawing on this parallel and Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) account of reflexivity, we propose an analysis in terms of the shared relational nature of reflexives and LAK-agreement. In both of the cases the construction encodes a relationship between semantically or pragmatically salient participants: in the case of reflexives the reflexive anaphor itself expresses that the subject of the predication is to be understood as being the same as its object, in the case of LAK-agreement the verbal inflection encodes the two main contributors of the communicative situation, the speaker and the hearer.

This proposal has an interesting consequence: it predicts that in certain constructions containing permissive *hagy* "let", the embedded infinitival clause is best understood as passivized. This is discussed in detail in Section 4. The section that follows introduces cross-linguistic data with similar claims for certain German permissive constructions (Pitteroff 2015) and Czech retroactive infinitives (Dotlačil and Šimík 2013). All these data suggest that passivization does not always correlate with passive morphology.

The paper finishes with a discussion of cross-linguistic differences and, to account for the rarity of the construction, suggestions for requirements that a language needs to meet in order to allow for these patterns.

2. Background Information on Hungarian

This section discusses in detail the two patterns of object agreement in Hungarian, and introduces those word order facts that will turn out to be relevant for the account proposed in Section 4.

2.1 Object Agreement

2.1.1 Object Agreement in Simple Sentences

Definiteness agreement in Hungarian leads to the following patterns: in the presence of a definite object the definite (also called object) conjugation is used. If the object is

indefinite or there is no object in the sentence the indefinite (also called subject) agreement forms appear in the verb, as shown in Table 1. Illustrative examples are given in (1).[1]

	Intransitive *fut* "run"	Transitive *lát* "see"	
		indefinite objects	definite objects
1SG	*fut-ok*	*lát-ok*	*lát-om*
2SG	*fut-sz*	*lát-sz*	*lát-od*
3SG	*fut-Ø*	*lát-Ø*	*lát-ja*
1PL	*fut-unk*	*lát-unk*	*lát-juk*
2PL	*fut-tok*	*lát-tok*	*lát-játok*
3PL	*fut-nak*	*lát-nak*	*lát-ják*

Table 1. The present tense definite and indefinite paradigm

(1) (a) Anna lát/*lát-ja egy könyv-et
Anna.NOM see.INDEF/see-DEF[2] a book-ACC
"Anna sees a book."

(b) Anna *lát/lát-ja a könyv-et
Anna.NOM see.INDEF/see-DEF the book-ACC
"Anna sees the book."

If the subject is first person singular and the object second person (singular or plural), a unique marker of agreement, *-lak* appears on the verb.[3] As Table 2 indicates, when the subject is second or third person singular, the usual definite or indefinite endings are used, just like in the whole plural subject paradigm not shown in the table. It is important to note that (for reasons irrelevant for the present discussion) first and second person pronouns trigger indefinite verb forms, but anaphoric pronouns always appear with a definite verb form.

1 For the more subtle details concerning the nature of the object and the form of the verb see Bárány (2015), who accounts for the data in terms of Differential Object Marking (DOM). Bartos (2000), and Szécsényi and Szécsényi (2016; 2017) also discuss related issues.

2 In the examples we focus on object agreement and do not indicate subject agreement separately.

3 Since Hungarian has vowel harmony, there is a corresponding form with a front vowel, *-lek*.

	Transitive *lát* "see"		
Object	1SG subject	2SG subject	3SG subject
1SG	*lát-om magam* (DEF)	*lát-sz engem* (INDEF)	*lát-Ø engem* (INDEF)
2SG	*lát-LAK téged* (LAK)	*lát-od magadat* (DEF)	*lát-Ø téged* (INDEF)
3SG	*lát-om őt* (DEF)	*lát-od őt* (DEF)	*lát-ja őt* (DEF)
1PL	*lát-om magunkat* (DEF)	*lát-sz minket* (INDEF)	*lát-Ø minket* (INDEF)
2PL	*lát-LAK titeket* (LAK)	*lát-od magatokat* (DEF)	*lát-Ø titeket* (INDEF)
3PL	*lát-om őket* (DEF)	*lát-od őket* (DEF)	*lát-ja őket* (DEF)

Table 2. *-lak/lek* agreement with 1SG subject and second person pronominal object

In the simplest cases shown above definiteness agreement and LAK-agreement cannot be distinguished. Simple sentences do not reveal much about whether the two agreement patterns differ. Focus on simple sentences often results in the conclusion that the two are not to be distinguished (Bárány 2015), and the LAK form is just an exceptional marker of definiteness agreement. It is at this point that we diverge from earlier accounts and emphasize the importance of working with more complex data in order to see more precisely how agreement works. We have found that infinitival constructions reveal more of the real nature of the two agreement patterns in spite of the fact that infinitives themselves do not agree with their objects. This is what is discussed in the next section.

2.1.2 Object Agreement across Infinitival Clauses

It is not only nominal expressions that trigger different agreement patterns on the selecting verb, a contrast in agreement forms can observed between finite and infinitival clauses as well. A finite clause triggers definite agreement (2a), whereas an infinitive typically counts as indefinite (2b).

(2) (a) (Én) tud-om, hogy (te) szeret-ed a csoki-t.
I.NOM know-DEF that you.NOM love-DEF the chocolate-ACC
"I know you like chocolate."

(b) (Én) tud-ok úsz-ni.
I.NOM know-INDEF swim-INF
"I can swim."

However, when an infinitival verb selects its own object, it can, and in most of the cases does affect the definiteness agreement appearing on the finite verb. This is what makes infinitival constructions an optimal testing ground for us: the existence of different

agreement patterns for the same type of object. Some verbs with infinitival complements show object agreement, while some others do not. Crucially, the class of verbs that shows definiteness agreement and LAK-agreement overlaps, but is not the same. The different verb classes and speaker variation are discussed extensively in Szécsényi and Szécsényi (forthcoming), what follows below is a brief summary of the attested patterns. What we systematically compare is whether agreement with a definite/indefinite object and LAK-agreement are possible for a verb selecting an infinitival complement.[4] Three different groups can be observed.

1. Transitive verbs and auxiliaries taking infinitival complements obligatorily agree with the object of the infinitive. The subject control verb *akar* ("want") is our representative example in (3). Agreement is full, both definiteness (3ab) and LAK-agreement (3c) are obligatory.

(3) (a) Definite infinitival object—definite finite verb

Anna	*akar/akar-ja	olvas-ni	a	könyv-et
Anna.NOM	want.INDEF/want-DEF	read-INF	the	book-ACC

"Anna wants to read the book."

(b) Indefinite infinitival object—indefinite finite verb

Anna	akar/*akar-ja	olvas-ni	egy	könyv-et
Anna.NOM	want.INDEF/want-DEF	read-INF	a	book-ACC

"Anna wants to read a book."

(c) 1SG subject, second person infinitival object

(Én)	akar-lak	lát-ni	(téged)
I.NOM	want-LAK	see-INF	you.ACC

"I want to see you."

2. Some verbs optionally show LAK-agreement (4b), but definiteness agreement leads to ungrammaticality (4a), as pointed out in Den Dikken (2004) as well. This pattern strongly suggests that definiteness agreement and LAK-agreement are independent syntactic processes. The lack of agreement with the definite object of the infinitive is easy to account for: as opposed to the members of the previous class, these verbs are not transitive themselves, they only agree with their subject. When not taking an infinitival clause they are either objectless or select for an argument in oblique case. In such cases LAK-agreement is ruled out (4c, 5b). The obvious question that arises at this

4 Objects of infinitival adjunct clauses do not agree with the finite verb. This suggests that infinitival adjunct clauses are not transparent for object agreement.

point is what licenses it in constructions like (4b). One of the conditions is clearly the presence of a second person object, but the question still remains: how can a verb show LAK-agreement if it is not transitive under the assumption that LAK-agreement is part of the object agreement paradigm?

(4) (a) Anna készül/*készül-i olvas-ni egy/a könyv-et
Anna.NOM prepare.INDEF/prepare-DEF read-INF a/the book-ACC
"Anna is preparing to read a/the book."

(b) (Én) készül-ök/*készül-öm/készül-lek meglátogat-ni (téged).
I.NOM prepare-INDEF/prepare-DEF/prepare-LAK visit-INF you.ACC
"I was preparing to visit you."

(c) Készül-ök/*Készül-öm/*Készül-lek a vizsgá-ra.
prepare-INDEF/prepare-DEF/prepare-LAK the exam-SUBL
"I prepare for the exam."

(5) (a) (Én) jöt-te-lek meglátogat-ni (téged).
I.NOM come-PAST-LAK visit-INF you.ACC
"I have come to see you."

(b) *(Én) jöt-te-lek
I.NOM come-PAST-LAK

3. Finally, there are verbs that do not agree at all with the object of their infinitival complements. As pointed out in den Dikken (2004) these verbs are typically morphologically complex verbs. In the verb *próbálkozik* "try", the morpheme *kozik* has the same form as the reflexive suffix of Hungarian. Hungarian offers a nice contrast to support the claim that it is indeed the presence of the extra suffix that is to blame: there are two verbs meaning "try" in Hungarian, the morphologically complex one that we can see in example (6) meaning "try hard", and the suffixless version *próbál* "try", which behaves as can be expected of a transitive verb described in the first group.

(6) (a) *Anna próbál-koz-za megtanul-ni a vers-et
Anna.NOM try-KOZ-DEF learn-INF the poem-ACC
"Anna is trying to learn the poem."

(b) *(Én) próbál-koz-ta-lak lefeste-ni téged
I.NOM try-KOZ-PAST-LAK paint-INF you.ACC
"I was trying to paint you."

(7) (a) Anna próbál-ja megtanul-ni a vers-et.
Anna.NOM try-DEF learn-INF the poem-ACC
"Anna is trying to learn the poem."

(b) *(Én) próbál-ta-lak lefeste-ni téged
I.NOM try-PAST-LAK paint-INF you.ACC
"I was trying to paint you."

2.2 Word Order

The second property of Hungarian relevant for us in the present paper is its word order. As discussed e.g.. in Szabolcsi (1997) and É. Kiss (2008), the word order of Hungarian in the preverbal domain is determined by information structure and scope. Postverbal word order is free. In that domain the word order may be characterized by Behaghel's (1932) Law of Growing Constituents: shorter constituents tend to be closer to the verb than longer ones. This results in the following pattern:

(8) RefP >> DistP >> FocP >> TP >> vP . . . (Szabolcsi 1997)

Infinitival complement clauses undergo restructuring, as a result of which they can scramble with constituents of the matrix clause (cf. K. Szécsényi 2009; T. Szécsényi 2013) as shown in (9). In that case the usual restrictions on word order apply: topics and foci precede the matrix verb (including constituents from the infinitival clause), and information structurally neutral elements are postverbal, ordered according to phonological weight. It means that it can be hard to say whether a postverbal constituent is an argument of the finite verb or the infinitive, which is going to play an important role in the analysis proposed later.

(9) **HOLNAP** akar-ja **Péter-t** Mari **meglátogat-ni**
tomorrow want-DEF Peter-ACC Mari.NOM visit-INF
"Mary wants to visit Peter TOMORROW."

3. The Case of Permissive *hagy* "let" in Hungarian

Returning to the main target of this paper, permissive constructions with *hagy* "let", the first observation to make is the multitude of constructions it can appear in. It can introduce different types of finite *that* clauses as well as different patterns of non-finite complementation.

With a finite clausal complement *hagy* can have a dative DP argument as well, which is obligatorily coreferent with the subject of the *that* clause (10a). This dative complement gets its theta role from permissive *hagy*. The main clause optionally contains a proleptic accusative pronoun, *azt* "it" introducing the clause. There is another finite *hagy* construction, where there is no dative complement, only the optional proleptic pronoun *azt* "it" (10b). In this construction a constituent of the embedded clause can move into the position of

the expletive. If the subject of the subordinate clause moves to the matrix clause, it gets accusative case from the matrix *hagy* verb, but no thematic role (10c).

(10) (a) Anna hagy-ja Mari-nak$_i$, (az-t) hogy (ő$_i$) ír-jon egy level-et
Anna.NOM let-DEF Mari-DAT it-ACC that she.NOM write-SUBJ a letter-ACC
"Anna lets Mary write a letter."

(b) Anna hagy-ja (az-t), hogy Mari ír-jon egy level-et
Anna.NOM let-DEF it-ACC that Mari.NOM write-SUBJ a letter-ACC
"Anna lets Mary write a letter."

(c) Anna hagy-ja Mari-t$_i$, hogy t$_i$/*ő ír-jon egy level-et
Anna.NOM let-DEF Mari-ACC that write-SUBJ a letter-ACC
"Anna lets Mary write a letter."

The data in (10) indicate that the dative version is ditransitive, and the accusative a monotransitive construction.

With a non-finite clausal complement the verb *hagy* "let" is generally followed by an accusative DP complement understood as the subject of the infinitival clause. The question arises whether it is the result of object control or subject-to-object raising (also called ECM),[5] which is something that we consider in more detail in the next section. Dative forms are usually ungrammatical (11a, b). However, when the non-finite verb has an object of its own, which is invariably assigned accusative case, a dative complement is preferred with *hagy* (11c). We assume that it is the result of the two accusative forms ending up in the same domain after restructuring takes place. Notice that the presence of two accusative DPs is not a problem when *hagy* takes a finite complement since apparently they are then in two different domains.

(11) (a) Anna hagy-ja Mari-t/*Mari-nak alud-ni
Anna.NOM let-DEF Mari-ACC/Mari-DAT sleep-INF
"Anna lets Mary sleep."

(b) Anna hagy-ja Mari-t/*Mari-nak beszél-ni a film-ről
Anna.NOM let-DEF Mari-ACC/Mari-DAT talk-INF the film-DEL
"Anna lets Mary talk about the film."

5 Section 3.5 presents evidence for the superiority of the subject-to-object raising analysis as opposed to an ECM account according to which the infinitival subject remains in the embedded subject position.

(c) Anna hagy-ja ??Mari-t/?Mari-nak megnéz-ni a film-et
Anna.NOM let-DEF Mari-ACC/Mari-DAT watch-INF the film-ACC
"Anna lets Mary watch the film."

3.1 Control vs. Raising: Tóth (2000)

In order to account for the alternation between dative and accusative forms in sentences like (11c), Tóth (2000) proposes that the accusative form is the result of ECM/raising-to-object, whereas sentences with the dative form are dative control constructions similar to the finite sentence that we saw in (10a).

(12) ACC DP + infinitive: ECM/raising-to-object:
$[_{AgrOP}\ DP_i(ACC)\ \textit{hagy}\ [_{TP}\ t_i\ V{+}\textit{ni}\ [_{AgrOP}\ DP(ACC)\ ...]]]$
Case

(13) DAT DP + infinitive: dative control:
$\textit{hagy}\ DP_i(DAT)\ [_{CP}\ [_{AgrSP}\ \textit{ec}_i\ Agr\ [_{TP}\ V{+}\textit{ni}\ [_{AgrOP}\ DP(ACC)\ ...]]]$
Case + θ-role

In order to support her proposal Tóth (2000) presents the sentences shown below, where (14a) is ambiguous between readings where accusative *Katit* is the deliberate or accidental hitter of herself. The accidental interpretation is absent from (14b) containing *Katinak* in a dative form, the sentence can only be understood with Kate hitting herself deliberately in spite of this being the less natural of the two possible readings. That is, the different argument structures of the verb *hagy* "let" are reflected in the infinitival constructions of Hungarian as well.

(14) Tóth (2000, 253)

(a) Nem hagy-tam Kati-t megüt-ni magá-t
not let-1SG.DEF Kate-ACC hit-INF herself-ACC
"I did not let Kate hit herself (accidentally against some hard object)."
"I did not let Kate hit herself (deliberately with something)."

(b) Nem hagy-tam Kati-nak megüt-ni magá-t
not let-1SG.DEF Kate-DAT hit-INF herself-ACC
"I did not let Kate hit herself (deliberately with something)."

3.2 *Hagy* "let" and Object Agreement

Changing the focus of Tóth (2000) somewhat, the primary aim of which is accounting for the accusative/dative case alternation, let us consider now how *hagy* "let" agrees with the object of its infinitive when present. Importantly, as pointed out above, in

these cases *hagy* typically takes a dative complement. Considering how this affects the definiteness agreement patterns available can lead us to a better understanding of the locality conditions on definiteness and LAK-agreement.

In (15a, b) we can see that definiteness agreement with the infinitival object is obligatory in the presence of a dative DP. Object raising *hagy* does not agree with the object of the infinitive, as seen in (15c). This is as expected: *hagy* has a closer object to agree with.

(15) (a) Anna hagy/*hagy-ja Mari-nak megnéz-ni egy film-et
Anna.NOM let.INDEF/let-DEF Mari-DAT watch-INF a film-ACC
"Anna lets Mary watch a film."

(b) Anna *hagy/hagy-ja Mari-nak megnéz-ni a film-et
Anna.NOM let.INDEF/let-DEF Mari-DAT watch-INF the film-ACC
"Anna lets Mary watch the film."

(c) Anna *hagy/hagy-ja Mari-t megnéz-ni egy/a film-et
Anna.NOM let.INDEF/let-DEF Mari-ACC watch-INF a/the film-ACC
"Anna lets Mary watch a/the film."

Let's turn to LAK-agreement now, not discussed in Tóth (2000). With a first person singular matrix subject and second person embedded object, there is no LAK-agreement in (16a), independently of the case of the matrix complement. A matrix second person object shows LAK-agreement, as expected (16b). The construction most important for the purposes of the present paper is (16c), which shows that dropping the DP complement of matrix *hagy* can result in the verb showing LAK-agreement with the embedded second person accusative object. The emerging questions are the following: How does agreement take place in (16c)? How and why does the intervening matrix dative or accusative block agreement in (16a)? This is what the rest of the paper addresses.

(16) (a) (Én) nem hagy-om/*hagy-lak Mari-nak/Mari-t átver-ni téged
I.NOM not let-DEF/let-LAK Mari-DAT/Mari-ACC deceive-INF you.ACC
"I don't let Mary deceive you."

(b) (Én) nem *hagy-om/hagy-lak téged átver-ni Mari-t
I.NOM not let-DEF/let-LAK you.ACC deceive-INF Mari-ACC
"I don't let you deceive Mary."

(c) (Én) nem *hagy-om/hagy-lak Ø átver-ni (téged)
I.NOM not let-DEF/let-LAK deceive-INF you.ACC
"I don't let anybody deceive you."

3.3 Direct Agreement?

In accounting for data very similar to those presented in (16) Den Dikken (2004) argues that agreement between the matrix verb and the object of the infinitive in (17) is the result of direct agreement, which is blocked by an intervening DP constituent. This accounts for the fact that LAK-agreement is possible only in the absence of the dative DP.

(17) Den Dikken (2004, 453, ex [19b])
Hagy-lak (*János-nak) meglátogat-ni téged
let-LAK János-DAT visit-INF you.ACC
"I let you be visited (by János)."

Den Dikken (2004) derives the ungrammaticality of sentence (17) in the presence of an overt dative DP from a dative control construction as shown in (13). As opposed to this we claim that this construction type can be derived with the help of subject-to-object raising (12). The translation of the Hungarian sentence into English using the passive voice in itself suggests an alternative explanation along these lines. Also, not having an overt DP, dative or accusative, present in the sentence actually results in a different interpretation: "I let you be visited by somebody.". We return to these issues in section 4. Before we do that we need to point out important parallels between the constructions under discussion and reflexives.

3.4 Parallels with Reflexivity

Interestingly, in *hagy*-sentences reflexive objects in the infinitival clause that are coreferent with the subject of the matrix verb are allowed if and only if LAK-agreement is also allowed. In example (18) we simply substitute the second person pronouns of example (16) with reflexives. This correlation may be taken as suggesting a parallel structural account. One reason why this observation turns out to be particularly useful is that the substantial amount of research that has already been carried out in the domain of reflexives can help us understand the much lesser studied and understood phenomenon of LAK-agreement. Explaining the reflexive data may offer an explanation of at least certain aspects of LAK-agreement as well. Once again, the data in (18) are exact parallels of (16), the only difference being that instead of LAK-agreement we have reflexive anaphors coreferent with the subject of the matrix verb in (18).

(18) (a) *(**Én**) nem hagy-om Mari-nak/Mari-t átver-ni **magam-at**
I.NOM not let-DEF Mari-DAT/Mari-ACC deceive-INF myself-ACC
intended meaning: "I will not let Mary deceive me."

(b) (**Én**) nem hagy-om **magam-nak**/**magam-at** átver-ni Mari-t
I.NOM not let-DEF myself-DAT/mysel-ACC deceive-INF Mari-ACC
"I won't let myself deceive Mary."

(c) **(Én)** nem hagy-om Ø átver-ni **magam-at**
I.NOM not let-DEF deceive-INF myself-ACC
"I will not let anyone deceive me."

The principles accounting for the distribution of different types of nominal expressions such as anaphors, pronouns and R-expressions are the three binding principles. The principle relevant for us is Binding Principle A stating that an anaphor must be bound in its governing category. This leads to the following apparent contradiction: in sentence (18a) the matrix subject and reflexive are in different binding domains whereas in (18c) they seem to be in the same domain. In order to explain the difference in the grammaticality judgements we need to say more about the properties of the empty noun phrase in (18c).

3.5 Reflexivity and Coreference

In order for an infinitival reflexive object to be understood as coreferent with the subject of the selecting clause the properties of the infinitival subject must be suitable for a transmitter role. The presence of an overt accusative or dative DP turns out to interfere with this requirement. The control module of grammar accounts for this assuming that the zero subject of the infinitival clause identified as PRO is controlled by the subject or object of the control verb—in (19a) the subject control verb *szeretné* "would like" —, which in turn binds the reflexive. The same effect can be achieved if instead of a PRO there is a trace of a moved constituent in the subject position of the infinitival clause. Following Tóth (2000) in assuming subject-to-object raising in (19b), we can account for the interpretation of the sentence easily, under the assumption that the infinitival clause contains a trace of the raised reflexive, which can be identified as the subject of the infinitival clause. What (19c) shows is that the accusative DP can also bind the reflexive object of the infinitive. Again, we assume subject-to-object raising leaving a trace in the subject position of the embedded clause that binds the reflexive object. All these data show the importance of assuming a covert subject in the infinitival clause. The examples in (19ac) indicate that matrix DPs can bind an infinitival reflexive via such a covert subject.

(19) (a) **Anna**$_i$ szeretné [**PRO**$_i$ meglep-ni **magá-t**$_i$]
Anna.NOM would.like surprise-INF herself-ACC
"Anna would like to surprise herself."

(b) **(Én**$_i$**)** nem hagy-om **magma-at**$_i$ [***t***$_i$ pletykál-ni Mari-ról]
I.NOM not let-DEF myself-ACC gossip-INF Mari-DEL
"I will not let myself gossip about Mary."

(c) Péter$_j$ hagy-ja **Mari-t$_i$** [***t***$_i$ beszél-ni **magá-ról$_{i/*j}$**]
Péter.NOM let-DEF Mari-ACC speak-INF herself-DEL
"Peter lets Mary speak about herself."

4. Proposal: Passive Infinitives in Hungarian

Now we are in a better position to discuss the sentences in (16c) and (18c), repeated here for the sake of convenience as (20a, b).

(20) (a) (Én) nem *hagy-om/hagy-lak Ø átver-ni (téged)
I.NOM not let-DEF/let-LAK deceive-INF you.ACC
"I don't let anybody deceive you."

(b) (**Én**) nem hagy-om Ø átver-ni **magam-at**
I.NOM not let-DEF deceive-INF myself-ACC
"I will not let anyone deceive me."

In these sentences there is no overt DP complement present that could function as the antecedent of the reflexive. It is at this point that we need to take into consideration the word order facts of Hungarian: free word order after the finite verb. What this means is that it is not possible to decide whether the reflexive anaphor or second person pronoun is understood as the subject or the object of the infinitive. Actually, it is worse than that: serious problems emerge either way. Let us consider our options now. In (21) the reflexive is identified as the object of the infinitival clause bound by the trace of a proform that is coindexed with the subject of the matrix clause. However, the resulting meaning is not what this sentence actually means. The predicted meaning is "I will not let myself deceive myself" and not the expected "I will not let anyone deceive me". A further problem with (21) is that we would have to assume the presence of a zero reflexive in the matrix clause.

(21) (**Én$_i$**) nem hagy-om ***pro***$_i$ [***t***$_i$ átver-ni **magam-at$_i$**]
I.NOM not let-DEF decieve-INF myself-ACC
"I will not let myself deceive myself."
intended meaning: "I will not let anyone deceive me."

An alternative analysis is presented in (22). Here the accusative reflexive is identified as the subject of the infinitive that undergoes the usual process of raising, so the problem of zero reflexives above disappears. The problem that we encounter this time is the lack of an object for the transitive infinitive. And again, the resulting interpretation is different from what we expect. This sentence is not about me deceiving someone else, but about me being deceived.

(22) (**Én**$_i$) nem hagy-om **magam-at**$_i$ [t_i átver-ni *pro*]
I.NOM not let-DEF myself-ACC deceive-INF
"I will not let myself deceive ???."

The representation of the sentence that we can see in (22) together with the expected interpretation suggests an easy but somewhat risky way out of the problems observed. Can the missing object indicated as *pro* be coindexed with the subject of the sentence? This would indicate that the object of the infinitive actually appears in the subject position. Such a construction is actually not unheard of, it is a defining property of passive constructions.

Now we have arrived at one of the main claims of the paper: the embedded infinitival clause of permissive *hagy* constructions can be a passive infinitive, where the pronoun ends up in the matrix clause and is coindexed with the internal argument of the embedded clause via the trace in the subject position as shown in (23). In case the matrix accusative DP is coreferent with the matrix subject, a reflexive form surfaces. An important part of the claim can be read off in (23) as well: reflexivity is established in the matrix clause, as it is at that point that the object and the subject of the verb end up as coarguments, perfectly capturing the interpretation of the sentence. When the reflexive appears after the infinitive, it is the result of the postverbal free word order of Hungarian, also indicated by the fact that the interpretation of the sentence does not change.

(23) (Én$_i$) nem hagy-om magam-at$_i$ [t_i átver-ni$_{pass}$ t_i]
I.NOM not let-DEF myself-ACC deceive-INF
"I will not let myself be deceived (by anyone)."

The part of the sentence that undergoes this free postverbal reordering is the part following the main verb *hagyom* "I let" in sentence (23). Importantly, this reordering follows the raising of the infinitival subject to the main clause.

Turning to LAK-agreement we find that the account of (23) presented above carries over to (24): the embedded infinitival clause is a passive infinitive, the overt second person object is in the matrix clause and is coindexed with the internal argument of the embedded clause. The right configuration for LAK-agreement is established in the matrix clause, where the verb has a first person singular subject and a second person object. The ungrammaticality of the version with a dative pronoun, which cannot be assumed to originate in the embedded clause reflected in (25) further supports this account. In such a case the transitive verb of the embedded clause ends up objectless.

(24) (Én) nem hagy-lak téged$_{i}$ [t_{i} átver-ni$_{pass}$ t_{i}]
I.NOM not let-LAK you.ACC deceive-INF
"I will not let you be deceived (by anyone)."

(25) *(Én) nem hagy-ok/hagy-om neked átver-ni.
I.NOM not let-INDEF/let-DEF you.DAT decieve-INF

4.1 Reflexivity and LAK-agreement

Now that we have managed to account for the interpretation of (23) and (24) we need to identify the properties that they share in order to explain their parallel behaviour. What we find to be the most relevant factor is that neither is strictly speaking object agreement, but the properties of the object also play a role. Reflexive constructions are best accounted for in terms of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and Newson (2014), where reflexivization is identified as an argument structure changing operation with an emphasis on the relational nature of the process. Reflexivization encodes a coargument relation salient at the syntax-semantics interface: the subject and the object of the verb are the same individual leading to overt reflexes of reflexivization. The second major claim of the paper, our account of the distribution of LAK-agreement is based on this idea: LAK-agreement is also an argument structure changing operation establishing a coargument relation as well, but this time at the syntax-pragmatics interface. A first person singular subject and a second person object are the most prominent participants of a communicative situation, which Hungarian seems to have grammaticalized. We propose to call this kind of agreement **Participant Oriented Relational Agreement (PORA)**.

4.2 LAK-agreement in Control Structures

To conclude this discussion let us see the derivation of the different patterns of LAK-agreement (26). In this case the PORA relationship is established in the infinitival clause without any overt marking. LAK-agreement appears on the matrix verb as a result of the matrix subject controlling the infinitival PRO on which the PORA relationship is marked. This is independent of definiteness agreement, non-transitive matrix verbs also show this pattern. Notice that there is no need for the object of the infinitive to move to the matrix clause. This is what accounts for the lack of the transitivity requirement.

(26) = (3c) (Én) akar-lak PRO lát-ni (téged)
I.NOM want-LAK see-INF you.ACC
"I want to see you."

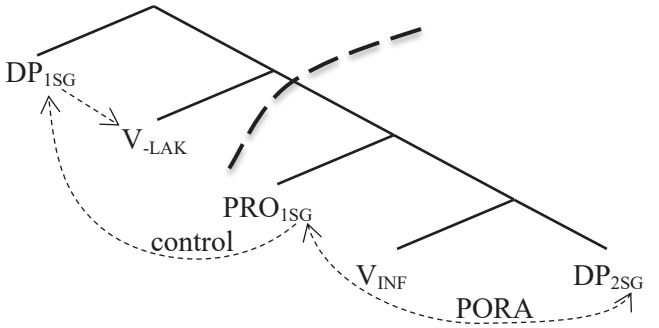

Figure 1. Structure of sentence (26).

4.3 LAK-agreement in Permissive *hagy*-constructions

Permissive *hagy* "let" shows LAK-agreement when the second person subject of the embedded infinitive undergoes raising to the matrix clause and receives accusative case there. PORA is established in the matrix clause between the matrix subject and the raised object. What (27) shows is that derived subjects of the infinitival clause can also be raised.

(27) = (24) (Én) nem hagy-lak téged$_i$ [t_i átver-ni$_{pass}$ t_i]
I.NOM not let-LAK you.ACC deceive-INF
"I will not let you be deceived (by anyone)."

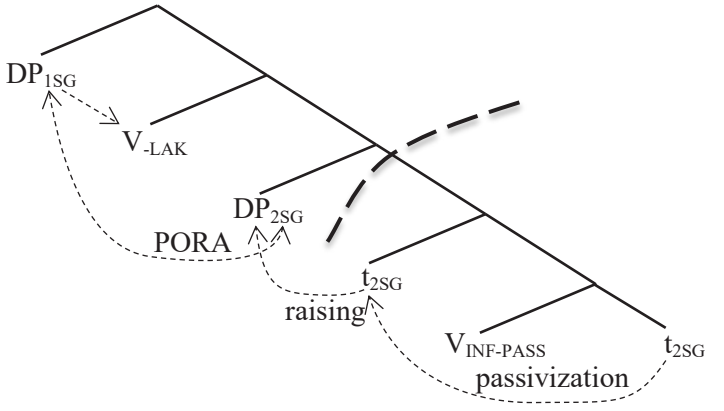

Figure 2. Structure of sentence (27).

5. A Cross-Linguistic Outlook

One problem that arises in connection with our account is the unmarked nature of passivization, since passivization as a marked operation is expected to go together with morphological indicators. In this section we present data from German and Czech to show that the proposed structure is actually attested in other languages as well, and is not merely a quirk of Hungarian. This cross-linguistic support indicates that the structure proposed is made available by Universal Grammar. In order to comply with the cross-linguistic observation that passivization is incompatible with reflexivity, a subtype of antipassive constructions, we are drawing attention to the fact that the two are in different domains in our proposal.

5.1 German

Discussing different types of permissive *lassen*-constructions in German including middles, Pitteroff (2015) argues that they are reflexively marked anticausative (*sich lassen*) constructions containing a derived subject without passive morphology. His analysis is also a raising analysis. In order to account for the rarity of the construction it is claimed that the unmarked passive is "restricted to contexts in which not enough structure is present for passive morphology to surface. Restructuring infinitives are one such context" (Pitteroff 2015, 1). Looking at the data in (28) the parallels with the Hungarian data discussed in this paper are very easy to see.

(28) Das Buch lässt sich gut lesen (LM)
the book lets refl well read
"The book reads well."

5.2 Czech

Dotlačil and Šimík (2013) also proposes an unmarked passive analysis of Czech retroactive infinitives to account for one of the meanings of the ambiguous sentence in (29). Their proposal is based on observations regarding English retroactive gerunds such as *That shirt needs washing*. Evidence for the claim comes from *by*-phrase modification and a correlation between passivizable verbs and those appearing in retroactive infinitives.[6]

6 For the sake of completeness it also has to be mentioned that Petter (1998) focuses on Dutch constructions similar to the Hungarian sentences discussed here and argues against an analysis in terms of passive infinitives. However, the arguments used for Dutch do not carry over to Hungarian and may not stand up to closer scrutiny even for Dutch in light of the more recent unmarked passive accounts. For space reasons we cannot discuss the details here.

(29) Ten muž potřebuje milovat.
that man.NOM needs love.INF
(a) "That man needs to love (somebody)."
(b) "That man needs love (from somebody)."

6. Conclusion

In this paper we discussed the two types of object agreement in Hungarian focusing on different permissive constructions with the verb *hagy* "let". There are two main claims made: (i) one type of object agreement, LAK-agreement, is the result of Participant Oriented Relational Agreement (PORA), which helps in accounting for the parallels with reflexive constructions; (ii) in certain permissive constructions the embedded infinitive is an unmarked passive infinitive, also supported by cross-linguistic evidence.

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