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An Alternative Approach to Environmental Copula Constructions in Hungarian

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Goals of the presentation

- to develop a new treatment of the Hungarian environmental copula construction (ECC) in LFG
- to posit it in the broader context of Laczkó's (2021) analysis of the five major types of copula constructions (CCs) in Hungarian



1.2. Introduction



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Structure of the presentation

- 1. Introduction
- 2. The construction
- 3. Previous accounts (GB, MP, LFG)
- 4. The new analysis
- 5. Conclusion
- Acknowledgement
- References
- Appendix





🕽 Kádár (2011)

- there are slightly more than a dozen weather verbs in Hungarian that have no overt subjects (not even expletive ones)
- (1) Havazik (*a hó / *az).
 snow.pres.3sG the snow / it
 'It is snowing.'
- there is a second, syntactically different (but semantically and pragmatically similar) type
- (2) a. *Hideg van.* b. *Nyár van.* cold is summer is 'It is cold.' 'It is summer.'
- this highly productive type "comprises not only descriptions of weather conditions, but also state of affairs with a broader 'ambient' or 'environmental' interpretation. [...] I will call these (copular) environmental constructions." (2011: 419-420)
- in (2b) an NP is combined with the copula, and it can be naturally analysed as the subject of the sentence
- in (2a) an AP is combined with the copula, and this type poses an analytical challenge – we will concentrate on this



2.2. The construction



- (3) a. Nagyon hideg volt (a konyhá-ban). very cold was the kitchen-INESS 'It was very cold (in the kitchen).'
 - b. Nagyon hideg van (a konyhá-ban).
 very cold is the kitchen-INESS 'It is very cold (in the kitchen).'
- the sentence cannot contain an overt noun phrase subject (whether referential or expletive)
- the copula is combined with an adjectival phrase
- there is an expressed or understood location a rather overlooked and/or underestimated fact, *it will be important for us*
- even the present tense, 3sG copula must be present, see (3b), as in the case of some copula constructions (CCs) as opposed to other CCs *this will also be important for us*
- the key problem: is there a subject at all?
 - whether there is or there isn't
 - what are the details of a formal treatment?

- Kádár (2011) offers a critical overview of three different previous treatments of this construction
 - *Komlósy (1994):* the ECC has no subject, the predicate is AP + BE, and there is default agreement
 - Tóth (2001): the predicate is the same: AP + BE, and there is a covert quasi subject argument
 - Viszket (2002): the construction requires a dual analysis: the AP is either the predicate or the subject
- **Kádár (2011):** only the subject analysis two analytical possibilities
 - a) A→N conversion, and the A-looking word is an ordinary N head of the subject NP
 - b) the AP modifies a covert noun head in the subject NP
 - Kádár proposes (a)
- **here** I agree with the subject analysis, but I argue for (b)



3.2. Previous accounts

- E KÁROLI GÁSPÁR REFORMÁTUS EGYETEM KÁROLI GÁSPÁR UNIVERSITY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN HUNGAR
- Komlósy (1994) assumes that ECCs, just like clauses with weather verbs, have no subject and the copula bears a default 3sG agreement marker
- Kádár (2011) points out a fundamental problem for Komlósy's approach: if the AP is not (part of) the subject but it is used predicatively, it is not clear why the present tense, 3sG copula must be present in the clause compare (3b), repeated here, and (4b), in which *a konyha* is the subject
- (3) a. *Nagyon hideg volt (a konyhá-ban).* very cold was the kitchen-INESS 'It was very cold (in the kitchen).'
 - b. Nagyon hideg *(van) (a konyhá-ban).
 very cold is the kitchen-INESS
 'It is very cold (in the kitchen).'
- (4) a. *Nagyon hideg volt a konyha.* very cold was the kitchen.NOM 'The kitchen was very cold.'
 - b. *Nagyon hideg (*van) a konyha.* very cold is the kitchen.NOM 'The kitchen is very cold.'

3.3. Previous accounts

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- Tóth (2001) assumes that in ECCs there is a covert quasi-argumental subject that has an atmospheric theta-role
- Kádár (2011) points out the same fundamental problem as for Komlósy's approach: if the AP is not (part of) the subject but it is used predicatively, it is not clear why the present tense, 3sG copula must be present in the clause



3.4. Previous accounts



- Kádár's (2011) further arguments for the (part of the) subject analysis of the "AP" and against its (part of the) predicate analysis (1) – examples and discussion in the Appendix (3.1- 3.4)
 - A. Komlósy (1994), Tóth (2001) & Viszket (2002) if (part of) a predicate has the CONTRASTIVE TOPIC function clause-initially, it is marked with dative case, and it is repeated within the clause in its ordinary form
 - (Ai) *Hideg van.*(Aii) *Hideg-nek hideg van.*cold is
 cold-DAT cold is
 'It is cold.'
 ca. 'As regards being cold, it is cold.'
 - Kádár (2011): even arguments or adjuncts can follow this pattern, i.e. even if a constituent follows this pattern, it is not necessarily a predicate
 - B. it can undergo "subject-to-subject raising"
 - C. it is referential, i.e. it can serve as an antecedent



3.5. Previous accounts



- Kádár's (2011) further arguments for the (part of the) subject analysis of the "AP" and against its (part of the) predicate analysis (2)
- D. agreement: the "AP" can be pluralized, and this triggers plural agreement on the copula a quasi subject or a subjectless (and default agreement) approach cannot handle this "in such cases the adjectives behave like nouns" (!)

In certain cases, plural agreement is possible even with adjectives. In such cases these behave like nouns as is shown by their modifiability with adjectives: 14

- (27) (a) Nagy melegek vannak mostanában.
 great hot-pl be-3pl nowadays
 'It has been extremely hot lately.'
 - (b) *Nagyon melegek vannak mostanában. very hot-pl be-3pl nowadays
- my comment: plural adjective-looking words ARE nouns a case of "real" conversion, also see Kádár's footnote (p. 434): "with the singular form of *meleg* both adjectival and adverbial modification is available"
- (i) Nagy / Nagyon meleg van.
 great very hot is
 'It is very hot.'
- my comment: no, *meleg* is categorially ambiguous here → two different construction types – this is an argument against K's general A → N conversion approach



3.6. Previous accounts

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🖵 Kádár (2011)

- two possible ways of implementing the "subject approach"
- (i) adjective → noun conversion takes place and the adjective-looking word is actually the noun head of the construction
- (ii) the subject noun phrase is headed by an abstract null noun that is modified by the adjective
- Kádár opts for (i) without arguing against (ii)



3.7. Previous accounts

Kádár (2011) – summary of my previous comments and some further comments

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- 1) I fully agree with her (PRES.3SG copula, raising, topicalization, etc.) arguments against Komlósy's (1994) and Tóth's (2001) analyses
- 2) she lumps two construction types together: the "real" ECC, in which there is no A→N conversion, and another, in which there is – a problematic sweeping generalization in the name of uniformity – this is most problematic when she tries to account for the adverbial modifiability of an allegedly converted N
- 3) she claims that the predicate, VAN 'be' is a one-place existential copula this is problematic semantically, argument-structurally, and syntactically-prosodically (the copula here is not a verb of existence, it is a two-place predicate, and it is a stressavoiding verb [requiring the VM position to be filled], as is rightly pointed out by Kádár herself, while genuine verbs of existence are stress-requiring [no VM position])
- 4) she does not present any formal details of her proposed analysis in her chosen MP framework: (i) in which component of her MP model does conversion take place? (ii) what are the formal details? (iii) how can she really derive ECCs and truly existential sentences from the same input structure? (iv) what is her structural-categorial representation when the allegedly converted noun head is modified by an adverb?



4.1. My proposal

- I fully agree with Kádár's arguments against Komlósy's (1994) no subject and Tóth's (2001) covert quasi-argumental subject analyses
- I also assume that the constituent under investigation has the noun phrase subject status in this construction

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- however, I claim that instead of Kádár's adjective → noun conversion the covert noun head analysis is more appropriate, see my critical remarks on Kádár's claims and arguments (and Kádár herself has nothing to say against the covert noun head analysis)
- my additional motivation for an LFG-style covert noun head analysis is that we independently need it for a feasible treatment of certain constructions in Hungarian – these are "elliptical" noun phrases (without overt noun heads) containing head-final adjectives that bear nominal inflection (plural, possessive, case) – see (7), which can be a response to the following question: 'Which bottles shall I put in the box?'
- (7) A nagyon hideg-ek-et. the very cold-PL-ACC 'The very cold ones.'

4.2. My proposal

- motivated by Butt et al.'s (1999) LFG treatment of English constructions like *the dentist's*, in Laczkó (2007) I propose an analysis of the elliptical construction type exemplified in (7), repeated below the non-elliptical counterpart is given in (8)
- (7) ['Which bottles shall I put in the box?']

Anagyonhideg-ek-et.theverycold-PL-ACC'The very cold ones.'

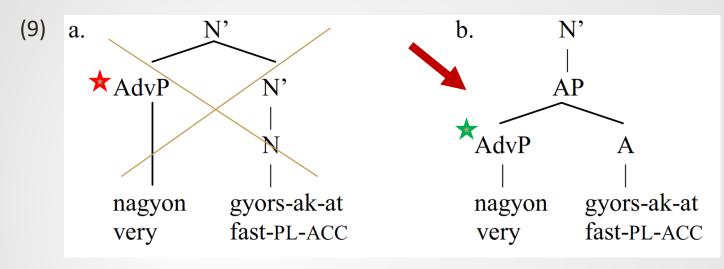
- (8) A nagyon hideg üveg-ek-et. the very cold bottle-PL-ACC 'The very cold bottles.'
- adjectives used attributively in non-elliptical noun phrases do not agree with the noun head they premodify for either number or case, see (8)
- in the elliptical version the adjective (or, if there is more than one adjective in the phrase, the final adjective) bears the nominal inflectional elements normally carried by the (missing) noun head, see (7)



4.3. My proposal



 Laczkó's (2007: 12) main argument against the A→N conversion analysis of elliptical constructions: adverbial modification of the word in question





4.4. My proposal

(1



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• Laczkó's (2007) phrase structure rules

10)	a.	$N' \rightarrow$	XP* ↓ € (个 ADJUNCT) 一(↓ CASE) 一(↓ NUM)	N ↑ = ↓
	b.	N′ →	XP* ↓ € (个 adjunct) ¬(↓ case) ¬(↓ num)	{NUMBERP AP} ↓ ϵ (↑ ADJUNCT) (↑ PRED) = 'pro' (↑ CASE) = (↓ CASE) (↑ NUM) = (↓ NUM

- (10a): for headed noun phrases
 - the adjuncts of the head must not bear case and number marking.
- (10b): the elliptical rule
 - the last constituent (whether it is an adjectival phrase or a number phrase) having the adjunct function carries nominal inflection for the entire noun phrase
 - a PRED feature with a 'pro' value is introduced



4.5. My proposal

- in Laczkó (2007) I claim that the 'pro' in (10b) yields two possible interpretations
- in an appropriate linguistic context or speech situation it has a function similar to that of *one* in English, compare the Hungarian example in (7) with its English translation – this is the standard elliptical use of the construction, see (11)

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- ii. in a non-elliptical use the interpretation is "pro-arb", i.e. the 'pro' has the [+human] semantic feature (which is roughly comparable to English examples like *the rich*), see (12)
 - Én Tíz autó udvar-on. gyors-ak-at van az a (11)Ι fast-PL-ACC is the yard-SUP the ten car kedvel-em. like.pres-3sg

'There are ten cars in the yard. I like the fast ones (= cars).'

(12) Én a gyors-ak-at kedvel-em. I the fast-PL-ACC like.PRES-3SG 'I like the fast ones (= people).'

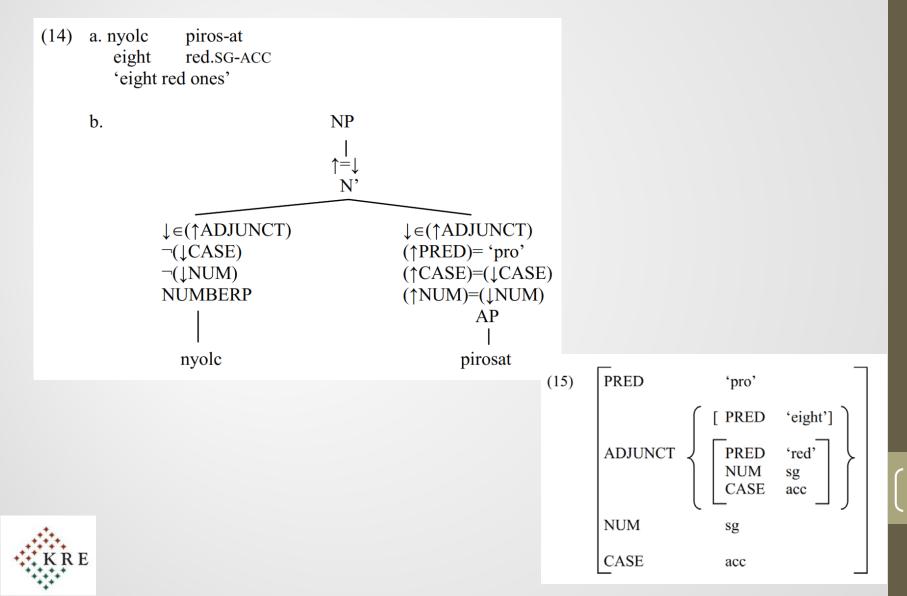


4.6. My proposal



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Laczkó (2007: 9)



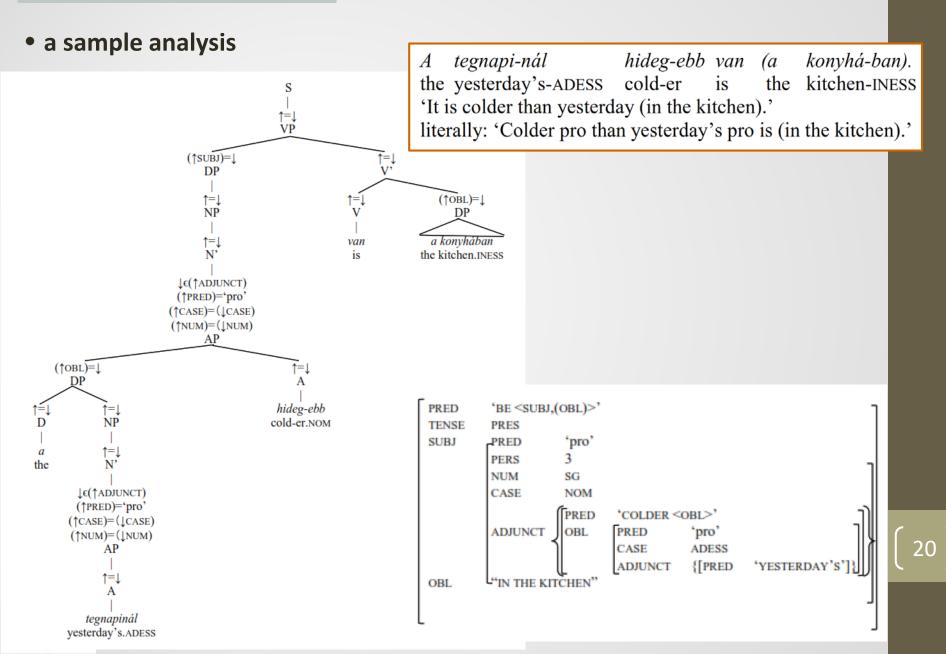
4.7. My proposal



- I propose that the relevant constituent in ECCs be analysed along these "elliptical" lines
- I suggest that in this construction type the 'pro' has a third role: the subject noun phrase receives an atmospheric/environmental interpretation, the interpretation Tóth (2001) associates with her covert quasi-argumental subject
- my proposal and Tóth's (2001) compared
 - similarity
 - an atmospheric/environmental interpretation is involved
 - differences
 - the clausal predicates are different
 - Tóth: the adjective is the main predicate taking an always covert, quasi-argumental subject – an insurmountable problem: PRES.3SG van 'be' must be present (⇔ when in a copula construction an adjective is the main predicate, this copula version must be absent, as a rule)
 - Laczkó: the main two-place predicate is the copula, and it takes an elliptical-looking NP as its subject, which contains an AP adjunct modifying a covert pro head
 - from the foregoing fundamental difference inevitable dissimilarities follow
 (i) argument structural *(ii)* (syntactic) categorial *(iii)* (syntactic) structural



4.8. My proposal



4.9. My proposal

the analysis posited in the big picture of Hungarian CCs (Laczkó 2021: 321)

Table 6.3. Properties and analyses of Hungarian CCs						
CC type	PR3:	PR3:	copula's	argument	VM	other traits
	cop	neg	function	structure		
attr/class	_	nem	formative	_	AP/NP	NP: -spec
identity	-	nem	predicate	< S, PL >	SUBJ	S: +spec, interch.
location	+	nincs	predicate	< S, OBL $>$	OBL	S: +spec
existence	+	nincs	predicate	< S, (OBL) >	_	S: _spec
						cop: FOC
possession	+	nincs	predicate	< S, PL >	_	S: –def
						S&PL agr.
						cop: FOC

cop = copula; attr/class = attribution or classification;
 PR3:cop = is the copula present in the present tense and 3rd person paradigmatic slots;
 PR3:neg = how is negation expressed in pr3; S = SUBJ; PL = PREDLINK;
 VM = what element occupies the VM position (if any) in neutral sentences;
 interch = the two arguments' grammatical functions are interchangeable in 3rd person;
 spec = specific; def = definite; FOC = FOCUS; agr = agreement

4.10. My proposal



the biggest and insurmountable problem for Komlósy's (1994) and Tóth's (2001) analyses is that they assume that the AP is the main predicate in the ECC, so the ECC is of the attr/class CC type; therefore the PRES.3SG copula should be absent, which it is not

 Kádár (2011) proposes that the copula in the ECC is a one-place existential predicate of the stress-avoiding (VM-requiring) type – she also mentions that possibly the verum focus version of the ECC and the true existential CC can be derived from the same underlying structure

 my comment: NO – the two copulas are radically different (i) semantically: 'be located' vs. 'exist' (ii) syntactically: stress-avoiding vs. stress requiring (in neutral sentences)



4.11. My proposal



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the copula in the ECC is the ordinary two-place locative predicate – this predicate is stress-avoiding, and if it has a [+specific] subject, it requires its VM position to be filled by its OBL_{loc} argument in neutral sentences

the reason why in ECCs the VM is occupied by the ("elliptical-looking")
 SUBJ in neutral sentences is a general requirement in Hungarian: if an argument of a verb is [-specific], this argument must occur in the VM position, which overrules the ordinary VM requirement of the verb involved

(16) a. A fiú-k a konyhá-ban van-nak.

- the boy-PL the kitchen-INESS be-PRES.3PL 'The boys are in the kitchen.'
 - b. *Fiú-k van-nak a konyhá-ban.* boy-pl be-pres.3pl the kitchen-INESS
- ★ 'There are boys in the kitchen.'
 - c. Hideg van a konyhá-ban.
- cold is the kitchen-INESS 'It is cold in the kitchen.'



5. Conclusion

- an LFG analysis of ECCs in Hungarian
- agreeing with Kádár (2011) and disagreeing with Komlósy (1994) and Tóth, the AP is (part of) the subject
- disagreeing with Kádár's (2011) A→N conversion analysis, the subject is an NP with a covert noun head modified by the AP
- disagreeing with Kádár's (2011) one-place existential predicate analysis, the copula is a two-place locative predicate (for semantic and syntactic reasons) – it is not clear at all what Kádár's (2011) big picture is
- due to the general [-specific] VM requirement in Hungarian, in ECCs the "AP" must occupy the VM position (in Kádár's approach this is SO construction-specific)



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Responses to reviewers' comments

It should be made clearer how this claim is different to the quasi-argument

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• see 4.7

analysis

- the location, which is analysed as the OBL argument of the copular predicate may be expressed or understood (presumably unexpressed) – the authors should make clear how they treat the unexpressed/understood one
 - Meleg van (itt). Péter megérkezett (ide).
 - 'It's warm (here).' 'Peter has arrived (here).'
- how do the authors treat verbal weather constructions in Hungarian would these also involve a pro with an environmental interpretation?
 - yes, I think an LFG version of Tóth's (2001) quasi-argument analysis would be the most appropriate, cf. agreement facts & the Subject Condition

 $havazik \text{ 'snows } < (\uparrow \text{ SUBJ}) > \text{'} (\uparrow \text{ SUBJ PRED}) = \text{'PRO'}$ $atm \qquad (\uparrow \text{ SUBJ PERS}) = 3$ $[-r] \qquad (\uparrow \text{ SUBJ NUM}) = \text{SG}$ $(\uparrow \text{ SUBJ PHON}) =_c -$



3.1. Previous accounts

Viszket (2002)

• contrastive topic test (shared by Komlósy (1994) and Tóth (2001) as well)

- if (part of) a predicate has the CT function clause-initially, it is marked with dative case, and it is repeated within the clause in its ordinary form
- if an argument has the CT function, it occurs in its ordinary form and it is combined with the pronoun az 'that' with matching case-marking (SUBJ: NOM-NOM, OBJ: ACC-ACC, etc.)
- (8) a. Hideg van.
 b. Hideg-nek hideg van.
 c. Hideg az van.
 cold is cold-DAT cold is cold.NOM that.NOM is ca. 'As regards being cold, it is cold.'
 ca. 'As regards being cold, it is cold.'
 - \rightarrow Viszket: (8a) requires a dual analysis
 - (8b): *hideg* is (part of) the predicate
 - (8c): *hideg* is the subject
 - -- no (not even informal) details of an analysis

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- in (8c) hideg is definitely the subject in anybody's approach
- Kádár (2011): (8b) doesn't exclude the subject (⇔predicate) analysis, see next slide

3.2. Previous accounts

Kádár (2011) about the CT test used by Komlósy (1994), Tóth (2001) and Viszket (2002)

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- even arguments or adjuncts can follow the dative case + repetition pattern, i.e. even if a constituent follows this pattern, it is not necessarily a predicate, cf. (31), where *boldog* is the predicate and (32), where *nyár* is the subject
- (31) Boldognak boldog volt Kati, de nem sokáig.
 happy-dat happy was Kate but not long
 'As for being happy, Kate has been happy, but not for long.'
- (32) [És mondd, ott nyár van?]
 Nyárnak nyár van, (de egész nap esik az eső).
 summer-dat summer is but whole day falls the rain
 '[And tell me, is it summer there?] As for summer, it's summer, (but it's raining all the day long).'



3.3. Previous accounts

- Kádár's (2011) arguments for the (part of the) subject analysis of the "AP" and against its (part of the) predicate analysis (1)
- 1) the AP must be combined even with the PRES.3SG version of the copula, see 3.2 \rightarrow here the copula is not a formative: it is an argument-taking predicate (and it has a subject argument)
- 2) the AP in ECCs is raised as a subject and not as a predicate
 - (18a) & (19a): meleg & jégeső: raised SUBJ-s
 - (18b) & (19b): the dative-marked AP is the XCOMP of the raising predicate
 - \rightarrow [?]Hideg látszott lenni.¹³ (18) (a) Hideg volt. cold was cold-nom seemed be-inf 'It was cold.' —quasi-argument *it* 'It seemed to be cold.'
 - (b) *pro* Hideg volt. *pro* cold was 'It was cold.'—referential *it*
 - (19) (a) Úgy látszott, hogy jégeső esik. \rightarrow Jégeső látszott esni. seemed that hail-nom falls SO 'It seemed that there was a hailstorm.' 'There seemed to be a hailstorm.'
 - (b) Úgy látszott, hogy Péter okos. \rightarrow Péter okosnak látszott. seemed that Peter smart Peter smart-dat seemed SO 'It seemed that Peter is smart.' 'Peter seemed to be smart.'

- $\rightarrow pro$ Hidegnek látszott. pro cold-dat seemed 'That thing seemed to be cold.'
 - hail-nom seemed fall-inf

3.4. Previous accounts



Kádár's (2011) arguments for the (part of the) subject analysis of the "AP" and against its (part of the) predicate analysis (2)

- 3) the AP in ECCs can be an antecedent of pro
- (20) (a) [%]Elég meleg_i van ahhoz, hogy pro_i erdőtüzeket okozzon. enough hot is that.allat that pro forest.fire-pl-acc cause-subj-3sg 'It's hot enough to cause forest fires.'
 - (b) A leves_i elég meleg ahhoz, hogy pro_i égési sérüléseket okozzon. the soup enough hot that.allat that pro burn injury-pl-acc cause-subj-3sg 'The soup is hot enough to cause burns.'

3.5. Previous accounts

Komlósy (1994) assumes that ECCs, just like clauses with weather verbs, have no subject and the copula bears a default 3sG agreement marker Kádár (2011) points out that, as mentioned by Komlósy himself, this assumption is problematic for the following two reasons (a) the construction is compatible with matrix subject control predicates like *kell* 'must', *akar* 'want' and *tud* 'be able to'

(4) Itt sehogy sem **akar** / **tud** meleg le-nni. (1994: 173) here nohow not wants / can warm be-INF 'It would not / cannot be hot here by any means.'

 Komlósy's somewhat handwaving explanation: in such constructions the matrix predicates are "grammatical formatives rather than real predicates"

(b) the copula in an ECC functioning as the complement of predicates like *kell(ene)* 'should/would' can have an infinitival form marked for subject agreement, which is unexpected if the ECC is assumed not to have a subject
(5) Már nagyon meleg-nek kell-ene le-nni-e.
already very warm-DAT must-COND be-INF-**3sg**'It should be very hot by now already.'



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Tóth (2001) assumes that in ECCs there is a covert quasi-argumental subject that has an atmospheric theta-role

her main claim: weather verbs (WVs) and ECCs are different from impersonal resultatives (IRs) when they are infinitival complements of modals: the infinitival forms of WVs and ECCs must carry 3sG agreement while those of IRs must not \rightarrow WVs and ECCs have subjects because (according to her) 3sG agreement marking on infinitives can never be the morphological spell-out of default agreement

(7)

*havaz-ni

(a) Havazik. → Március-ban már nem kellene havaz-ni-a. snow-3sg March-iness already not should snow-inf-3sg 'It's snowing.' 'In March it shouldn't still be snowing.'

(Tóth 2001, (14a), (16a))

(b) Itt nagyon meleg van. → Eb-ben a szobá-ban nem szabadna here very hot is this-iness the room-iness not should 'It is very hot here.' [ilyen meleg-nek len-ni-e]. *len-ni so hot-dat be-inf-3sg 'It should not be so hot in this room.'

(c) *Öt órára muszáj [a szobában kitakarítva lennie].
 (ibid., (14c), (16c))
 (ibid., itakarítva lennie].
 (ibid., itakarítva lennie].

(a) Kádár (2011)

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- in the case of ECCs agreement is optional: (7b) *len-ni* OK
- the infinitives of some impersonal passives can be marked for agreement: (7c) *len-n-i-e* OK



3.7. Previous accounts



Kádár (2011)

(9)	a.	Hideg	eg van. I		b.	Nyár	van.
		cold	is			summer	is
		'It's co	ld.'			'lt's summer.'	

- the copula here is not a "formative": it is an argument-taking predicate of the "stressavoiding verb" type (Komlósy 1989)
- stress-avoiding verbs require the immediately preceding verbal modifier (VM) position to be filled by a designated argument in neutral sentences
- Kádár adds that in a non-neutral sentence this copula can receive focal stress, and in such cases it acquires "a kind of existential (or *verum focus*) meaning" (2011: 424-425):
- (10) a. *Gyűlés van (bent).*b. *VAN gyűlés (ma).*is meeting today
 'There is a meeting in there.'
 b. *VAN gyűlés (ma).*is meeting today
- Kádár: "it seems likely that the verb-focus construction in (11a,b) is derivable from the same underlying structure as the copular environmental construction" (2011: 425)

(11) a.	Van	remény.	b. <i>Van</i>	lsten.	
	is	hope	is	God	
	'There is hope.'		'There is a God.'		



3.8. Previous accounts

Kádár (2011)

- my comments
 - she claims that (10) exemplifies an ECC with an NP subject
 - she doesn't give an AP example it seems that its acceptability would be considerably lower

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- (12) a. Hideg van (bent).
 b. ??VAN hideg (ma).
 c. HIDEG van (ma).
 cold is inside is cold today cold is today
 'It is cold in there.'
 'It IS cold today.'
 'It IS COLD today.'
- as regards (11) and her claim: it is **not** likely that this (truly) existential construction is "derivable from the same underlying structure as the copular environmental construction"
 - the copula behaves radically differently: ECC: stress-avoiding vs. (11): stress-requiring
 - ECC: "locative" vs. (11): "existential"
 - for further details, see the big picture later

