

# P heads in Hungarian complex events\*

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## 1 Introduction

### Aims and claims

- look at the encoding of result/end-point in Hungarian and provide a syntactic account
- ⇒ Hungarian is a strong (or strict) satellite-framed language (see also Acedo-Matellán 2016): the result/end-point of an event is always encoded by an adposition, which does not incorporate into V (see Hale & Keyser 2002) but is lexicalized separately
- particles and other directional, goal-denoting PPs
- ⇒ in an extended PP structure, a *p* or a Path head has to be lexicalized under V
- syntactic variation and diachronic change
- ⇒ variation may occur in the optionality of *p* when the Path is filled; this variation is related to movement to *p* and possible grammaticalization, i.e., merger in the higher head)

### Outline

- quick overview of Hungarian adpositions, with special focus on particles, and the structure of PPs
- particles—or P in general—in complex events
- proposal: a syntactic analysis
- variation: *p* vs Path and possibly filling *p* via movement from Path

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## 2 V-framed and s-framed languages

### Typology

- verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (e.g. Talmy 2000)
  - the distinction whether it is the verb that is responsible for telicity/result/endpoint or it is lexicalized by something else
  - e.g. Romance languages are verb-framed –no particles, verb can encode endpoint, e.g. *entrar* ‘go in(to)’–, English is satellite-framed
  - it is sometimes taken to be a lexical or semantic distinction, others take it to be a structural property (e.g. Borer 2005, Ramchand 2008, the (neo-)constructionist approach, cf. Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2014)
- furthermore: weak s-framed vs. strong s-framed languages (Acedo-Matellán 2016)
  - English vs. Hungarian (also Finnish)

### Mapping it onto syntactic structure

- decomposing argument structure below V (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Ramchand 2008 etc.)

(1) [VP [ V [PP INT-ARG [ P [ N ]]]]]

- Does P incorporate into V (in the sense of Hale & Keyser; not necessarily via movement)? Put differently: can the verb lexicalize P+V?
- N to P to V incorporation is also possible (again, not necessarily via movement), e.g. Hale & Keyser (2002) analyze denominal verbs like *saddle (the horse)*, *box (the books)* that way.

## 3 Hungarian PPs and secondary predication

### 3.1 Hungarian PPs

Hungarian has a range of adpositions:

- two types of postpositions

– case-like

(2) a híd alatt  
the bridge under.at  
‘under the bridge’

(3) (én) alatt-am  
I under.at-1SG  
‘under me’

– case-assigning

(4) a fá-\*(hoz) közel  
 the tree-ALL close.to  
 ‘close to the tree’

(5) (én) hozz-ám közel  
 I ALL-1SG close.to  
 ‘close to me’

- oblique case suffixes

(6) a. a ház-ban  
 the house-INE  
 ‘in the house’  
 b. a ház-ba  
 the house-ILL  
 ‘into the house’  
 c. a ház-ból  
 the house-ELA  
 ‘out of the house’

(7) a. Mari-val  
 Mary-INS  
 ‘with Mary’  
 b. tanító-vá  
 teacher-TRA  
 ‘((turn) into a teacher’  
 c. tanító-ként  
 teacher-ESS  
 ‘as a teacher’

- particles

(8) a. A labda be-gurult az ágy alá.  
 the ball into-rolled the bed under.to  
 ‘The ball rolled under the bed.’  
 b. János meg-találta a labdá-t.  
 John MEG-found the ball-ACC  
 ‘John found the ball.’

(9) Mari át-jött.  
 Mary over-came  
 ‘Mary came over (to our place).’

- adverbs

(10) A labda bent van (a kapu-ban).  
 the ball inside is (the goal-INE)  
 ‘The ball is in (the goal).’

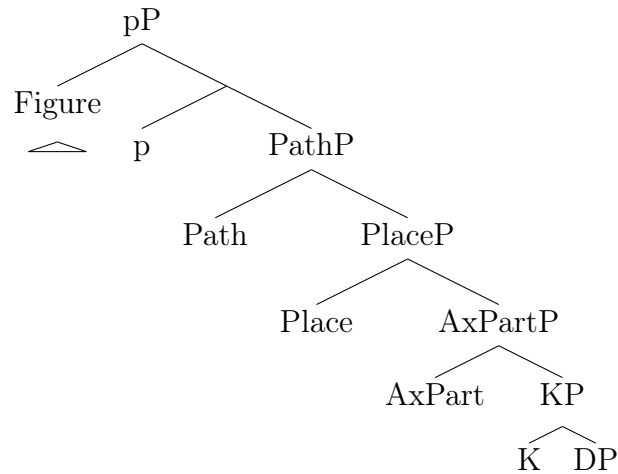
- particles are “separable”, they are immediately preverbal in so-called neutral sentences, but they are postverbal in non-neutral sentences or may be e.g. contrastively topicalized

- particles are inserted in a PP, they move to the preverbal position via a phrasal movement to create complex predicates (e.g. É. Kiss 2006), this may be disrupted by further movements

(11) János nem találta meg a labdá-t.  
 John not found MEG the ball-ACC  
 ‘John didn’t find the ball.’

- I assume the following structure for PPs (see also Van Riemsdijk 1990; Svenonius 2003, 2010; Koopman 2000; Den Dikken 2010 etc.; about Hungarian: Asbury 2008, Asbury et al 2007; Dékány 2011; Hegedűs 2013, Dékány & Hegedűs 2015 a.o.<sup>1</sup>)

(12)



### 3.1.1 PPs in event structure

- particles can license internal arguments

(13) Jutka át-úszta a folyó-t.  
 Judith across-swam the river-ACC  
 ‘Judith swam across the river.’

- secondary predicates are all expressed with an adpositional element (Hegedűs 2013):  
 sublative/translative suffix; adverbial suffix; dative suffix

(14) a. János zöld-re festette az ajtó-t.  
 John green-SUB painted the door-ACC  
 ‘John painted the door green.’

b. János le-festette az ajtó-t.  
 John down-painted the door-ACC  
 ‘John painted the door.’

(15) A vihar ijesztő-vé vált.  
 the storm scary-TRANS turn  
 ‘The storm turned scary.’

(16) János FEKETÉ-N issza a kávé-t.  
 John black-ADV drink the coffee-ACC  
 ‘John drinks coffee black.’

(17) Péter okos-nak tartja Marit.  
 Peter clever-DAT consider Mary.ACC  
 ‘Peter considers Mary clever.’

<sup>1</sup>Dékány & Hegedűs (2015) actually assume a slightly larger structure with an additional functional layer for an ‘escape hatch’ on the top in order to derive all word order variation and extraction possibilities. For present purposes, it is not necessary to posit more structure.

### 3.2 Proposal: Hungarian is a strong s-framed language

- Hungarian is a more strictly satellite-framed language than English: incorporation of result does not seem to be an option at all
- this general inability to express result/goal has been formulated by É. Kiss (2006) as a lexical/semantic property of Hungarian verbs, which are said to be inherently atelic and in need of another telicizer to express events that have an end-point (an observation made in various places)
- Claim: it is a structural property, V does not incorporate/lexicalize P in a decomposed structure, there is no N to P to V incorporation either

(18)  $[_{VP} [ V [_{PP} \text{INT-ARG} [ P [ N ] ] ] ] ] ]$

- generally cross-linguistically telic verbs require a particle in Hungarian, e.g. achievement verbs

(19) a. A váza el-tört.  
           the vase away-broke  
           ‘The vase broke.’  
       b. A főszereplő meg-halt.  
           the main.character prt-died  
           ‘The main character died.’

- denominal verbs, e.g. (20)-(21), always require a particle in their telic uses
- Hungarian always lexicalizes the result component as a particle (which is preverbal in neutral sentences) with this class of verbs
- although the object is licensed without there being a particle, the event is atelic in those cases –this still might pose a problem for a Hale & Keyser style analysis since we expect the object of transitive verbs to be introduced as the Spec of a PP– i.e. there is no end-point

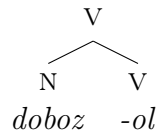
(20) János fel-nyerg-el-i                    a lov-at  
       John up-saddle-VRB-3SG.DEF the horse-ACC  
       ‘John saddles the horse’

(21) János be-doboz-ol-ja                a könyv-ek-et  
       John into-box-VRB-3SG.DEF the book-PL-ACC  
       ‘John boxes the books’

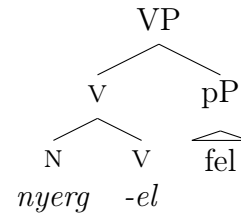
(22) Mari könyv-ek-et dobozol.  
       Mary book-PL-ACC box-VRB.3SG  
       ‘Mary is boxing books.’

- NB. the nominal root in denominal verbs is inserted via conflation (e.g. Haugen 2009; Mateu 2008, 2012): the simple root is adjoined to the verbalizer (see also Hegedűs & Dékány to appear)

(23)



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- possible exception 1: verbs of creation –but here the indefinite object is the end result, the object is scalar (see Kardos 2016 for a semantic account)

(25)

János készített egy repülőgéppel.  
 John prepared an airplane.model.ACC  
 ‘John prepared an airplane model. (É. Kiss 2006:(36a))’

- possible exception from the structural claim 2: motion events
  - regular directional PPs may also express end-point, e.g. with motion verbs, where we find examples with a particle and without one as well
  - manner of motion verbs seem worse without the particle; the sentence is definitely not neutral
  - a systematic study needs to be done to check which (if any) of these can be neutral; focus may have an effect on the interpretation of the directional PP

(26)

a. János el-ment a bolt-ba  
 John away-went the shop-ILL  
 ‘John went to the shop’  
 b. János a bolt-ba ment.  
 John the shop-ILL went  
 ‘John went to the shop.’

(27)

a. János el-vánszorgott a bolt-ba  
 John away-crawled the shop-ILL  
 ‘John crawled to the shop’  
 b. ??János a bolt-ba vánszorgott.  
 John the shop-ILL crawled  
 ‘John crawled to the shop.’

## 4 Variation in lexicalizing Ps

So far:

- the cross-linguistic variation in the encoding of result/goal in complex events in v-framed and s-framed languages is fully structural
- a parametric variation in the lexicalization of P in a decomposed argument structure (e.g. Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Borer 2005; Mateu 2012, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2014) can account for the cross-linguistic variation
- Hungarian never incorporates P into the V head; it has to be lexicalized separately in complex events. There is no N into P into V incorporation with denominal verbs (Hale & Keyser 2002) either, distinguishing it e.g. from English, as well → Hungarian is a strong s-framed language

## 4.1 Lexicalizing *p*P

- decomposing the PP in the complement of V, makes it possible to further distinguish particles (*p*) and other P heads structurally (namely, at least Path and Place heads, Koopman 2000)

$$(28) \quad [_{VP} [ V [_{pP} \text{INT-ARG} [ p [_{PathP} \text{Path PlaceP}]]]]]]$$

- the internal argument is introduced in the specifier position of the complement *p*P (Svenonius 2003 etc.), where *p* is the syntactic position of particles
- directional/goal-denoting adpositions lexicalize the Path head; end-point is included in goal denoting Path
- Hungarian telic predicates always lexicalize *p* or Path, i.e., there is always an adposition in the argument structure

Source of variation

- In various cases, a PP without a particle can provide a (bounded) goal reading for the complex event
- however, a particle often seems necessary where the complex event either needs a directed motion that has an explicit bounded goal, or if the event just needs a clear boundary even if it has no spatial semantics.

## 4.2 Some more variation in *p*/Path

- intra-linguistic variation as to the presence of a particle

- (29) a. A labda be-gurult az ágy alá.  
the ball in-rolled the bed under.to  
'The ball rolled under the bed.'
- b. A labda az ágy alá gurult.  
the ball the bed under.to rolled  
'The ball rolled under the bed.'

- (30) a. János be-táncolt a szobá-ba  
John into-danced the room-ILL  
'John danced into the room.'
- b. János a szobá-ba táncolt.  
John the room-ILL danced  
'John danced into the room.'

- a group of directional case suffixes may be “doubled” by a morphologically corresponding particle<sup>2</sup>
- in some cases, the directional PP seems to freely alternate with a particle + directional PP

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<sup>2</sup>This seems to me to be different from Romance *en-carcela en Sing Sing* ‘imprison in Sing Sing’, since it is the particle that is optional in many cases, and the particle is separable from the verb, just like other particles (it is even more complex morphologically than other particles).

- (31) Péter bele-ugrott a tó-ba.  
Peter into-jumped.3SG the lake-ILL  
'Peter jumped into the lake.'
- (32) Péter a tó-ba ugrott.  
Peter the lake-ILL jumped  
'Peter jumped into the lake.'
- (33) Valaki rá-lépett a lábam-ra.  
someone onto-stepped.3SG the foot.1SG-SUB  
'Someone stepped on my foot.'
- (34) Valaki a láb-am-ra lépett.  
someone the foot-1SG-SUB stepped  
'Someone stepped on my foot.'
- (35) A sofőr neki-hajtott a kerítés-nek.  
the driver to-drove.3SG the fence-DAT  
'The driver drove into the fence.'
- (36) A sofőr a kerítés-nek hajtott .  
the driver the fence-DAT drove.3SG  
'The driver drove (in)to the fence.'
- (37) A mai számlát hozzá-adtam a tegnapi-hoz.  
the today.MOD bill.ACC to-added.1SG the yesterday-ALL  
'I added today's bill to yesterday's.'
- (38) A mai számlá-t a tegnapi-hoz adtam.  
the today bill-ACC the yesterday-ALL added.1SG  
'I added today's bill to yesterday's.'

- furthermore: in some uses, the particle seems obligatory, e.g. (40) needs the particle to refer to the medical examination of the eye and not just simple eye contact.

- (39) János a szem-em-be nézett.  
John the eye-POSS.1SG-ILL looked  
'John looked into my eyes.'
- (40) Az orvos bele-nézett a szem-em-be.  
the doctor into-looked the eye-POSS.1SG-ILL  
'The doctor looked into my eyes.'

#### Previous accounts

- the particle forms a lexical unit with the verb, and it is the complex that takes an oblique case marked DP (e.g. Kálmán & Trón 2000; Laczkó & Rákosi 2011)
- we have two co-indexed PPs in the sentence, with the particle being an argument PP and the other PP a co-indexed adjunct; co-indexing the particle (the preverbal PP) with the postverbal PP mirrors an agreement relation between the two, this is how the almost identical morphological forms are accounted for (É. Kiss 2002)
- movement account: the preverbal particle is the spell-out of the formal features of the postverbal PP (Ürögdi 2003); the particle is identical in form with the suffix in the PP, because they spell out the same features (Surányi 2009)



↔ variation (both the optionality and the obligatoriness in some cases) is a problem even for the copy-account

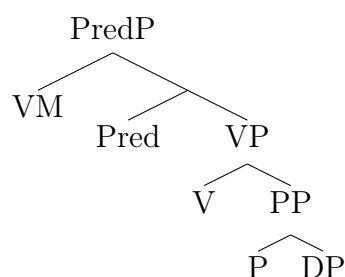
My proposal

- there is movement, but it is within the extended PP: Path moves into *p*, but has to spell out more features due to its quasi-affixal status (hence the agreement feature)
- Diachronic outline: the variation in the doubling pattern seems to go together with a diachronic change in the increasing use of particles throughout the written history of Hungarian in the past c. 800 years and with the grammaticalization of new particles, providing new, semantically less bleached *ps*, for e.g. spatially oriented events
- these adpositions are in the process of grammaticalization, which in syntactic terms means that they can fill the *p* head in the structure of the complex event
- they are to some extent undergoing morphological and semantic bleaching (no full agreement in most cases)

## 5 Lack of incorporation vs predicate movement

- incorporation into the V head differs from having particles and other predicates in the preverbal position in overt syntax
- predicate movement as phrasal movement, contrary to incorporation in the present sense, “incorporation” in the present sense is not even necessarily movement
- incorporation of bare singular and plural object nominals in the sense of Farkas and de Swart (2003) would also be related to particle/predicate movement
- predicate movement is into a Spec position above VP (PredP in É. Kiss 2006 and later works; or AspP according to Csirmaz 2004)

(41)



## 6 Conclusions

- Hungarian is a strict/strong s-framed language, which means that result/goal in complex events is lexicalized separately from the verb
- result/goal is always lexicalized by a P head
- it may be *p* or Path, with some variation allowed between the two

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