

Environmental Constructions	Hung
A variety of strategies are known to be exploited in the world's languages to form environmental construc- tions (ECs) (Eriksen et al 2010).	Komlósy Tradition We adopt
(1) It is warm (here/today).Our focus is on ECs in two Uralic languages: Hungarian (2) and Tundra Nenets (3). Despite the apparent similarity of (2) and (3), the two languages employ two opposite grammatical strategies.	based on (i) Nomina (4) $[_{NP}$ 'It is
 (2) A szobában meleg lesz. the room.INE warm be.FUT.3SG (Locative) Nominal_{SUBJ} BE 'It will be warm in the room.' 	(ii) Nomin (5) Hide cold 'It'll
 (3) labe-kăna jiba ŋæ-ŋku. room-LOC warm be-FUT.3SG (Locative) Nominal_{PRED} BE 'It will be warm in the room.' 	NB. imperse sives) c (6) *Villá
Claim: The subject-strategy is licensed in Hungarian through (pseudo-)incorporation, an operation that is independently unavailable in TN ECs.	light 'Th€

Explaining the difference

Hypothesis 1 (to be rejected): Bundling of subject role and topic role is generalized in TN. If all subjects are interpreted as topic in TN (compare Ob-Ugric, Filchenko 2007, É. Kiss 2019), it follows that the subject of ECs cannot be a non-specific NP. But: The subject role is not bundled with a topic role in TN; see the existential construction.

(18) Zooparkxăna ti? tăńa?. reindeer.PL exist.3PL Zoo.LOC 'There are reindeer in the zoo.'

Hypothesis 2: The subject of certain types of predication, including locative predication, must be specific (in the absence of any further operations). This precludes the subject-strategy in TN. Hungarian employs incorporation to skirt the restriction.

\triangleright Subjects of certain predications must be specific.					⊳ Th	nis spec
(19) Samĺamáej jaŋorejxăna ŋamdaś ŋa.				canor	nical st	
		row.LOC			(20)	a. ?? Ç
[#] 'There is a vacant seat in the fifth row.'						b. Th
	'The vacan	t seat is in t	he fifth r	COW.'		

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Grammatical strategies of predication in environmental constructions: A view from Hungarian and Tundra Nenets

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garian

- sy (1994), Tóth (2001): Nominal = predicate. onal gr., Kádár (2011): Nominal = subject. pt a version of the traditional subject-analysis, on the following arguments: nal is an NP; it cannot be an AdjP. Nagy köd] / $*[_{AdjP}$ Nagyon ködös] van. big fog / very foggy is is very foggy. [lit. There is big fog.]' nal can be plural, with plural AGR on copula.
- leg(-ek) / Fagy(-ok) lesz(-nek).frost-pl will.be-3pl d-PL ll be cold/frosty (repeatedly).'
- sonal weather-sentences (and impersonal pascannot be plural.
- lámlani fog-nak. ntning.VB.INF will-3PL nere'll be lightnings repeatedly.'

ecificity restriction may be overridden by nonstructures:

⁷Space is in the room. There is space in the room. (McNally 2011: 1836)

- (7) Orvos leszel. doctor will.be.2SG 'You will be a doctor.'
- Köd lesz. (9)fog will.be.3sg 'It will be foggy.'
- szoba meleg (*van). (11) A the room warm is 'The room is warm.'
- A szobában meleg *(van) / egy légy *(van).(12)the room.INE warm is / a fly 'In the room, there is warmth / a fly.'
- Borschev 2007).

▷ The subject of locative predication is salvaged in Hungarian by phrasal pseudoincorporation into the verb (Massam 2001, Barrie & Mathieu 2016; E. Kiss 2002), resulting in a Nominal_{SUBJ}+V complex predicate (Farkas & de Swart 2003). (23) = (22)

Summary

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(iii) Case in the *seem*-construction: dative impossible (8) Orvos-nak látszol. doctor-DAT seem.2SG 'You seem to be a doctor.'

> (10) * Köd-nek látszik. fog-dat seem.3sg 'It seems to be foggy.'

(iv) Copula is obligatory; unlike copular clauses with Nominal predicates and like existential (and other locative) sentences.

 \Rightarrow The Hungarian ECs examined here behave like existential constructions, analyzed as underlyingly involving locative predication (à la Freeze 1992, Moro 1997; cf. Partee &

Tundra Nenets

- (13) Moskvaxăna (num?) jiba- \emptyset -ś. Moscow.LOC sky warm-3sg-pst
- (iii) Copula drop is obligatory (Nominal predicate).
- (14) labekăna jiba room.LOC warm.3SG be.3SG 'It is warm in the room.'
- Igoŕ labekăna *(ŋa) / pirća (15)Igor room.LOC be.3SG / tall.3SG be.3SG 'Igor is in the room / tall.'
- wise it is immediately pre-verbal.
- (16) *jibaś labekăna. warm.3sg.pst room.loc 'It was warm in the room.'

(21) $\left[\left[PredP \left[NP \text{ légy}\right] + \left[Pred+V \text{ esett}\right] \left[SC \left[NP - \right] \left[PP \text{ a levesbe}\right]\right]\right]\right]$ $\left[\left[P_{redP} \left[N_P \text{ fly}\right] + \left[P_{red+V} \text{ fell}\right] \left[S_C \left[N_P - \right] \left[P_P \text{ into the soup}\right]\right]\right]\right]$

(22) $\left[\left[PredP \left[NP \text{ k} \ddot{o} d \right] + \left[Pred+V \text{ van} \right] \left[SC \left[NP - \right] \left[LOC \text{ kint} \right] \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[P_{redP} \left[NP \text{ fog}\right] + \left[P_{red+V} \text{ is}\right] \left[SC \left[NP - \right] \left[LOC \text{ outside}\right]\right]\right]\right]$

 \Rightarrow While the Nominal element functions as a grammatical predicate in TN, in Hungarian it functions as a grammatical subject. \Rightarrow The independent property that makes available the subject strategy in Hungarian, but not in TN, is the availability of complex predicate formation via pseudo-incorporation.

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The Nominal is the predicate. (Cf. Nikolaeva 2014 on weather expressions.)
(i) A quasi-argumental expletive subject is possible (num \text{ 'sky, weather', } (13)).
(ii) Nominal takes predicate morphology (subject agreement and tense, (13)).
       'It/The weather was warm in Moscow.'
                              (*na).
                                          (*ŋa).
(iv) In the absence of an overt copula, the Nominal is strictly clause-final, other-
                                         (17)
                                              jiba
                                                           *nańi nænku.
                                               warm.3sg again be.FUT.3sg
                                               'It will be warm again.'
\Rightarrow TN ECs are Nominal copular clauses, not locative (or existential) sentences.
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