

Hungarian prepositions: deriving variation in a postpositional language

Veronika Hegedűs and Éva Dékány

Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Case-assigning (naked) Ps

Naked P: oblique complement
separable from complement

Dressed P: unmarked complement
strictly postpositional

(1) a patak-on túl
the river-SUP beyond
'beyond the river'

(2) a patak mellett
the river next.to
'next to the river'

Observations about naked Ps (Marácz 1986; 1989)

Complementation:

Oblique complement

(3) a fal-on át
the wall-SUP through
'through the wall'

Complement not obligatory

(4) János át-jött.
John through-come.PST.3SG
'John came over.'

Agreement

No agreement with the complement

(5) rajt-am át-*(am)
SUP-1SG through-1SG
'through me'

No demonstrative concord

(6) *ez-en át a fal-on át
this-SUP through the fall-SUP through
'through this wall'

Word order effects within the PP

P > oblique

(7) át a fal-on
through the wall-SUP
'through the wall'

oblique > degree modifier > P

(8) a ház-on teljesen kívül
the house-SUP entirely outside.of
'entirely outside of the house'

Separability in the clause

Wh-movement with P-stranding

(9) Mi-n ment át?
what-SUP go.PST.3SG through?
'What did he go through?'

Preverbal position, acting as a verbal particle

(10) János át-ment a híd-on.
John through-went the bridge-SUP
'John walked across the bridge.'

Variation 1: positions in the clause

Can all naked Ps be separated from their complement?

Particle use

(11) János át-ment a híd-on
John through-went the bridge-SUP
'John crossed the bridge.'

P-stranding

(12) Mi-n ment át János?
what-SUP went through John
'What did John cross?'

(13) *A pont alul van a vonal-on.
the dot under be.3SG the line-SUP
'The dot is under the line.'

(14) *Mi-n van alul a pont?
what-SUP be.3SG under the dot
'What is the dot under?'

Only about half of the naked Ps can be separated from their complement.

There is no difference bw. the two kinds of separability: those that can be verbal particles can also be P-stranded.

Variation 2: PP-internal order

Can all naked Ps be prepositional?

Postposition

(15) az út-on át
the road-SUP through
'through the road'

Preposition

(16) át az út-on
through the road-SUP
'through the road'

(17) a vonal-on alul
the line-SUP below
'below the line'

(18) *alul a vonal-on
below the line-SUP
'below the line'

Only few naked Ps can be prepositional. Prepositional Ps are a subset of separable Ps.

Summary: variation 1 and variation 2

Table 1: Word order possibilities of naked postpositions

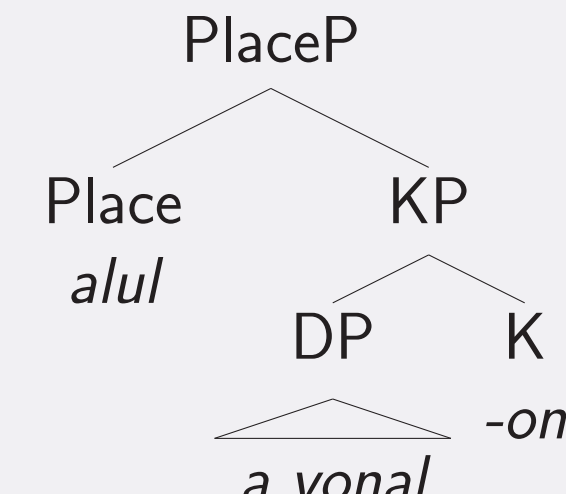
P	meaning	prepositional use	particle use	P-stranding
át	through, across, via	yes	yes	yes
közel	close to	yes	yes	yes
szemben	opposite.at	yes	yes	?
végig	(along) to the end of	yes	yes	yes
keresztül	through, across, via	?	yes	yes
túl	beyond	yes	yes	?
belül	inside of	no	yes	?
együtt	together	no	yes	yes
szembe	opposite.to	no	yes	yes
szemközt	opposite.at	?(?)	??	??
alul	below	no	no	no
felül	over	no	no	no
innen	on this side of	no	no	no
kívül-re	outside-to, beside-to	no	no	no
kívül-ről	outside-from	no	no	no
túl-ra	beyond-to	no	no	no
túl-ról	beyond-from	no	no	no
kívül	outside, beside	no	no	no
szemből	opposite.from	no	no	no

There is an almost complete correlation between a P having a prepositional order and being able to be separated from its complement. There is no significant difference bw. the two kinds of separability.

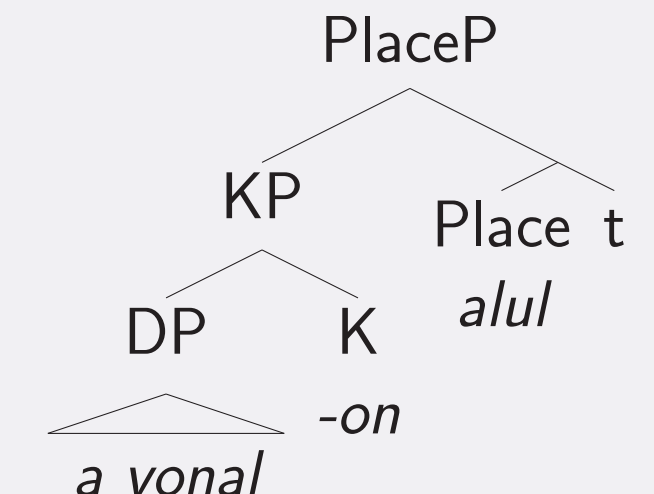
Proposal

P has a fine-grained extended structure (see Cinque 2010 and references cited therein).

(19) merging naked P

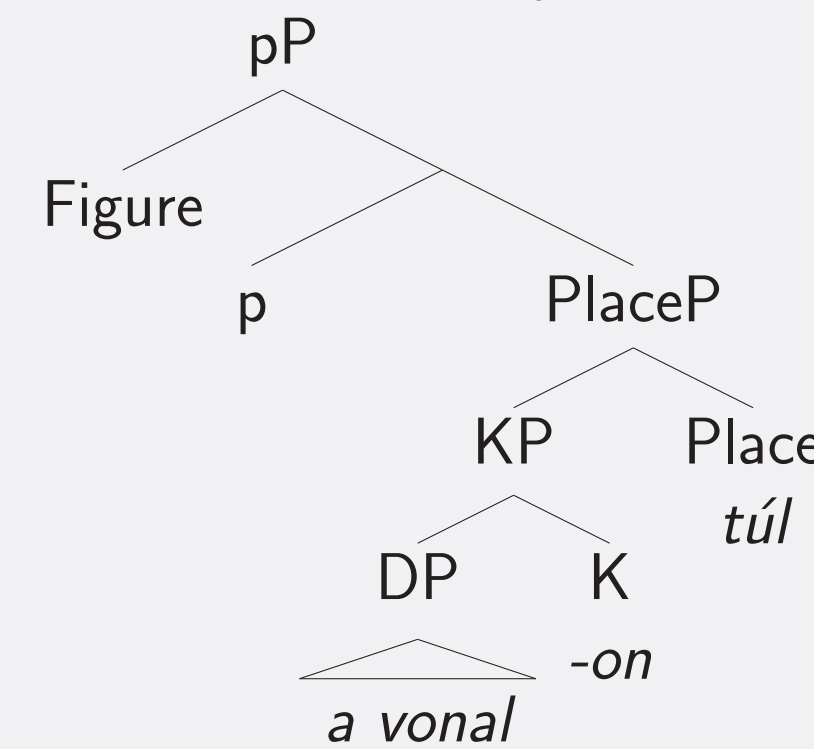


(20) deriving postpositional naked P

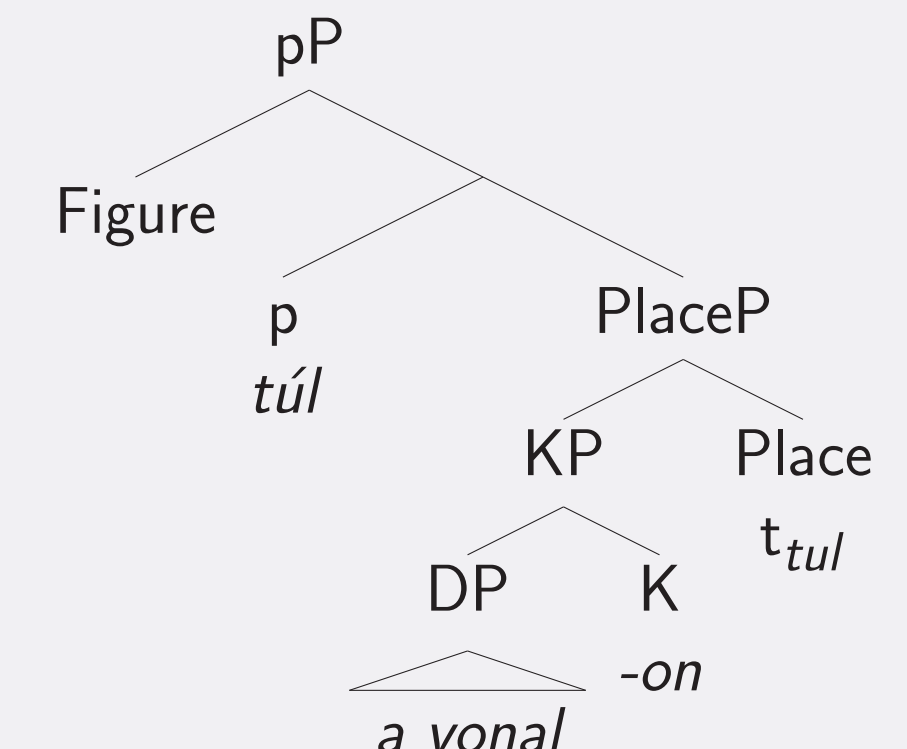


The prepositional order and the separability from the complement correlate because both involve the P in a higher position in the extended PP.

(21) Figure in spec pP (Svenonius 2010)

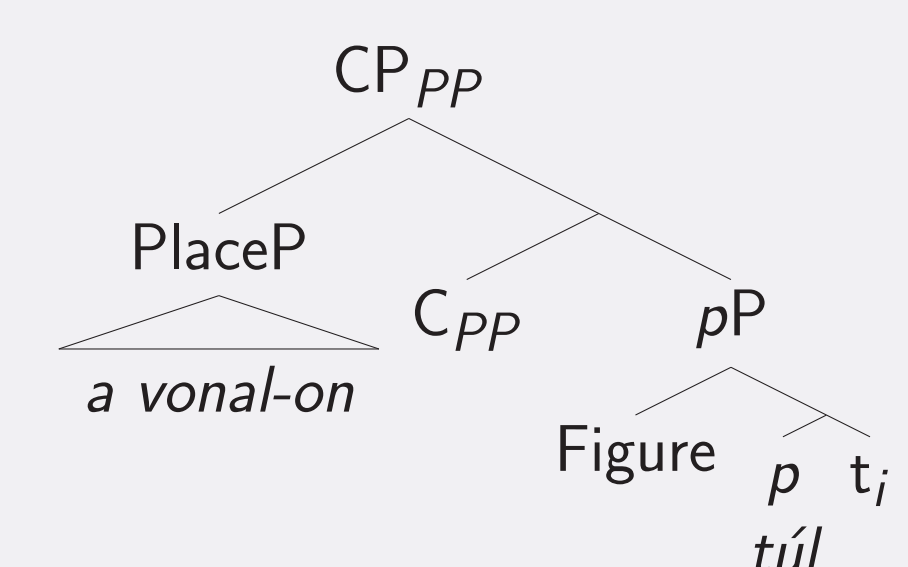


(22) Postposition moves to p



The complement of p can move, the complement of Place/Path cannot spec, CP_{PP} is the PP-internal escape hatch (Koopman 2000, Dikken 2010, Koopman 2010)

(23) Configuration for separation



Those naked Ps that don't have a prepositional use don't move to p, and PlaceP movement to the escape hatch doesn't separate the P from the complement. This derives that the prepositional use and separability correlate.

Movement to the functional p head appears to be a lexically idiosyncratic property. We argue that for those naked Ps that can be prepositional, a grammaticalization process has begun.

Variation 3: zero complement

Can all naked Ps be intransitive?

Overt complement

(24) A bolt szemben van az iskolá-val.
the store opposite be.3SG the school-INS
'The store is opposite to the school.'

Zero complement

(25) A bolt szemben van.
the store opposite be.3SG
'The store is opposite (to here).'

(26) A bolt az iskolá-n innen van.
the store the school-SUP this.side.of be.3SG
'The store is on this side on the school.'

(27) *A bolt innen van.
the store this.side.of be.3SG
'The store is on this side.'

Many but not all naked Ps can be used with a zero complement.

Analysis

We argue that this is not an intransitive use. In (25) the position of the Figure is interpreted with respect to the spatial center of deixis of the discourse, that is, *here/there*. In the absence of an overt complement, the complement is a phonologically null *here/there* (cf. Kayne 2004, Svenonius 2010):

(28) [_{PP} P [_{PP(place/path)} HERE/THERE]

Those naked Ps that cannot have an overt *here/there* complement cannot have a silent HERE/THERE complement either.

(29) *A bolt itt innen van.
the store here this.side.of be.3SG
'The store is on this side.'

References

- Cinque, G. (2010). Mapping spatial PPs: an introduction. Cinque, G. & L. Rizzi (eds.), *Mapping spatial PPs: the cartography of syntactic structures 6*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 3–25.
- Dikken, M. d. (2010). On the functional structure of locative and directional PPs. Cinque, G. & L. Rizzi (eds.), *Mapping spatial PPs*, The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 6, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 74–126.
- Kayne, R. S. (2004). Here and there. *Lexique, syntaxe et lexique-grammaire*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 253–275.
- Koopman, H. (2000). Prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions, and particles. The structure of Dutch PPs. Koopman, H. (ed.), *The Syntax of Specifiers and Heads. Collected Essays of Hilda Koopman*, Routledge leading linguistics, Routledge, London, pp. 204–260.
- Koopman, H. (2010). Prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions, and particles. Cinque, G. & L. Rizzi (eds.), *Mapping spatial PPs*, The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 6, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 26–73.
- Marácz, L. (1986). Dressed or naked: The case of the PP in Hungarian. Werner, A. & S. de Meij (eds.), *Topic, Focus and Configurability*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, pp. 223–252.
- Marácz, L. (1989). *Asymmetries in Hungarian*. Ph.D. thesis, Rijksuniversität Groningen.
- Svenonius, P. (2010). Spatial P in English. Cinque, G. & L. Rizzi (eds.), *Mapping spatial PPs*, The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 6, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 127–160.

Acknowledgements

This research was funded by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA) under grant No. 100804 (CGR: Hungarian).