

Dichotomies in Secondary Predication: A view from complex predicates in Hungarian

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Secondary Predication in Formal Frameworks

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Issues and Aim

Some long-standing issues:

- Do secondary predicates form a complex predicate together with the verb? If so, does this take place at the level of semantics or syntax or both?
- Are resultatives and object-oriented depictives distinguished structurally?
- Are weak and strong resultatives syntactically different?

Aim:

to bring evidence from Hungarian data to bear on these issues.

Claims

Main claim

The principal syntactic distinction among different classes of secondary predicates in Hungarian is whether or not they form a complex predicate together with the verb.

- RSPs may form a complex predicate with the verb. When they do, they do so both semantically and in overt syntax.
- Weak resultatives may or may not be adjuncts. Non-adjunct weak resultatives behave the same way as strong RSPs.
- While most DSPs are adjuncts, some object-oriented DSPs are generated as predicates of complement Small Clauses. Only these latter DSPs can enter complex predicate formation with the verb.

1 VMs

2 Resultatives

- Three types of resultatives
- RSPs in the VM position
- RSPs in a post-verbal position
- Analysis of RSPs

3 Depictives

- Types of depictives
- Depictives and complex verbal predicates

4 Conclusions

Verbal Modifiers

- In neutral sentences, a certain class of elements occupy the immediately pre-verbal position: Verbal Modifiers (VM).
(Neutral sentences: no narrow focus, no negation, not progressive.)

- (1)
- Péter level-et ír. (bare NP)
Peter letter-ACC write
'Peter is writing a letter.'
 - Mari okos / tanár volt. (predicate nominal/adjective)
Mari clever / teacher was
'Mary was clever / a teacher.'
 - A labda be- / a kapuba gurult. (verbal particle/goal PP)
the ball into- / the goal.ILL rolled
'The ball rolled in / into the goal.'

- VMs are all of a predicative type, interpreted as a predicative restriction on some dependent of the verb (Komlósy 1994, É. Kiss 2006; on pseudo-incorporated bare NPs: Farkas and de Swart 2003).

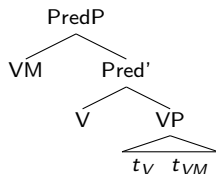
- (2)
- a. Mindenki okos-nak tartja Marit.
everyone clever-DAT consider.3SG Mary
'Everyone considers Mary clever.'
 - b. A kovács lapos-ra kalapálta a vasat.
the smith flat-SUB hammered the iron.ACC
'The smith hammered the iron flat.'
 - c. A vihar ijesztő-vé vált.
the storm frightening-TRA became
'The storm became frightening.'

- The VM position is a syntactically derived specifier position (É. Kiss 1994, 2002) that is associated with a special mode of composition (composition by Unification, Farkas and de Swart 2003), combining the verbal predicate and the VM into a single complex semantic predicate.

Note: cf. Matushansky (2012) on case selection on secondary predicates

- É. Kiss (2006) (following Koster 1994 and Zwart 1993): PredP above VP. The verb moves into the Pred head, the VM into Spec,PredP.

(3)



Resultatives

Three types of resultatives

- Hungarian permits both strong and weak resultatives, as well as spurious resultatives (in the sense of Washio 1997):

- (4)
- a. A bíró *(rekedt-re) kiabálta magát.
 the referee hoarse-SUB shouted himself
 'The referee shouted himself hoarse.' (strong)
- b. A kertben hamar (magas-ra) nőtt néhány fa.
 the garden.INE soon tall-SUB grew some tree
 'Some trees grew tall quickly in the garden.' (weak)
- c. A hentes (vékony-ra) szeletelte a húst.
 the butcher thin-SUB sliced the meat.ACC
 'The butcher sliced the meat thin.' (spurious)

- Notes:

(4a): unergative verb, fake reflexive is obligatory with RSP, RSP obligatory with fake reflexive

(4b): verb implies result, RSP optional, RSP cannot be replaced with its antonym

(4c): RSP can be replaced by adverb, RSP can be replaced with its antonym

- (5)
- *A bíró rekedt-re kiabált.
the referee hoarse-sub shouted
'*The referee shouted hoarse.'
 - *A kertben hamar alacsony-ra nőtt néhány fa.
the garden.INE soon short-SUB grew some tree
'*Some trees grew short quickly in the garden.'
 - *A hentes vékony-an szeletelte a húst.
the butcher thin-ADV sliced the meat.ACC
'The butcher sliced the meat thinly.'

The VM position

- RSPs must occupy the pre-verbal (VM) position in neutral sentences without a verbal particle:

- (6)
- a. *A bíró kiabálta magát rekedt-re.
the referee shouted himself hoarse-SUB
'The referee shouted himself hoarse.' (strong)
- b. *A kertben hamar nőtt néhány fa magas-ra.
the garden.INE soon grew some tree tall-SUB
'Some trees grew tall quickly in the garden.' (weak)
- c. *A hentes szeletelte a húst vékony-ra.
the butcher sliced the meat.ACC thin-SUB
'The butcher sliced the meat thin.' (spurious)

⇒ RSPs form a complex predicate with the verb in syntax. And in semantics?

Evidence from discourse anaphora

- NPs inside RSPs in the VM position do not license discourse anaphoric demonstrative pronouns:

- (7) a. A hörcsög darabok-ra rágta a dobozát.
 the hamster pieces-SUB chewed the box.3SG.ACC
 'The hamster chewed its box into pieces...'
 #Ezeket aztán János össze-ragasztotta.
 these.ACC then John together-glued
 'Then John glued these together.'
- b. Mari csíkok-ra vágott egy lepedőt.
 Mary stripes-SUB cut a sheet.ACC
 'Mary cut a sheet into stripes.'
 #Ezeket aztán össze-kötötte.
 these.ACC then together-tied
 'Then she tied them together.'

Evidence from modification by *again*

- RSPs in the VM position cannot be selectively modified by *again* (i.e., no restitutive reading):

- (8) I bought the dough frozen into long stripes. I let it thaw, kneaded it into a ball, rolled it out, and then
- #*óvatosan csíkok-ra vágtam újra.*
carefully stripes-SUB cut.1SG again
'carefully cut it into stripes again.'
 - #*újra óvatosan csíkok-ra vágtam.*
again carefully stripes-SUB cut.1SG

- In a neutral sentence RSPs may be post-verbal if the VM slot is occupied by a verbal particle, (9a), or bare NP, (9b).
- A post-verbal RSP may be optional (→ weak) or obligatory (→ strong)

- (9) a. Fel vágtam a tésztát (csíkok-ra).
 up cut.1SG the dough.ACC stripes-SUB
 'I cut the dough up into stripes.'
- b. A szerelő egész héten autókat szedett
 the mechanic whole week.SUP cars.ACC took
 *(darabok-ra).
 pieces-SUB
 'The mechanic took cars into pieces all week.'

- Do RSPs in a post-verbal position form a complex predicate with the verb?

Evidence from bare singulars

- Bare singular NPs can be licensed in Hungarian only as part of a complex predicate (Farkas and de Swart 2003):

- (10) a. Mari level-et írt.
 Mary letter-ACC wrote
 'Mary was writing a letter.'
- b. *Mari (meg) írt level-et.
 Mary PRT wrote letter-ACC
 'Mary wrote (up) a letter.'

⇒ Complex predicate formation is restricted to the VM position. ⇒
 Post-verbal RSPs should not form a complex predicate with the verb.

Evidence from discourse anaphora

- NPs inside RSPs in a post-verbal position license discourse anaphoric demonstrative pronouns:

- (11) a. A hörcsög szét-rágta a dobozát darabok-ra.
 the hamster apart-chewed the box.3SG.ACC pieces-SUB
 'The hamster chewed its box into pieces.'
 Ezeket aztán János össze-ragasztotta.
 these.ACC then John together-glued
 'Then John glued these together.'
- b. Az egyik rab egész nap lepedőket vág csíkokra.
 the one prisoner whole day sheets.ACC cut stripes-SUB
 'One of the prisoners cuts sheets into stripes all day.'
 Ezeket aztán a másik össze-kötözi.
 these.ACC then the other together-ties
 'Then the other one ties these together.'

Evidence from modification by *again*

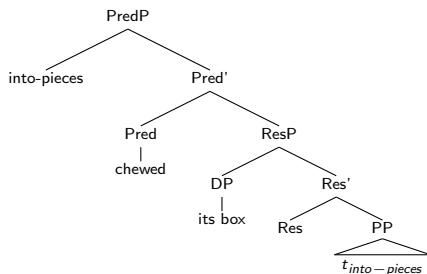
- Post-verbal RSPs can be selectively modified by *again* (i.e., may have a restitutive reading):

- (12) I bought the dough frozen into long stripes. I let it thaw, kneaded it into a ball, rolled it out, and then
- óvatosan fel-vágtam újra csíkok-ra.
carefully up-cut.1SG again stripes-SUB
'carefully cut it up into slices again.'
 - #újra óvatosan fel-vágtam csíkokra.
again carefully up-cut.1SG stripes-SUB

Derivation of RSPs

- RSP is generated as a predicate of a Small Clause complement to the verb (cf. Kayne 1985, Hoekstra 1988,)
- RSPs are raised to the specifier of PredP (= the VM position) above VP

(13)

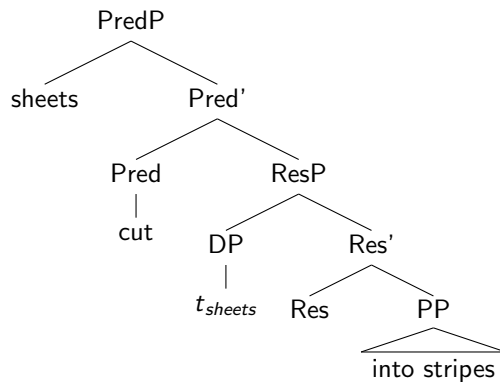


- The formation of a semantic complex predicate takes place in PredP (cf. Farkas and de Swart 2003).
- Verbal particles in Hungarian are all analyzed as RSPs (. Kiss 2006; see Kayne etc.)

Analysis of post-verbal RSPs

- When a bare NP occupies the VM position: subject-raising

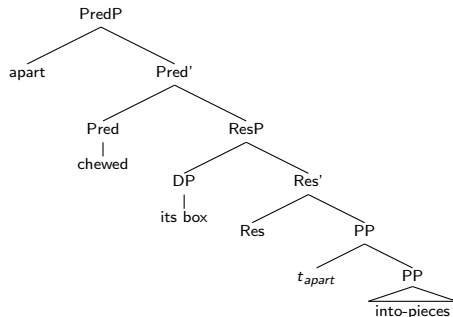
(14)



Analysis of post-verbal RSPs

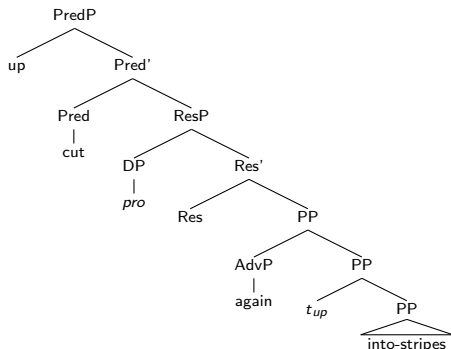
- When a verbal particle occupies the VM position:
 - the verbal particle is the RSP
 - the post-verbal RSP is an appositive adjunct to the verbal particle

(15)



- When a post-verbal RSP co-occurs with a verbal particle in VM *again*-modification is possible.

(16)



- The resultative verbal particle and the RSP both remain post-verbal if the subject NP of ResP raises to the VM position:

(17) János autókat szed [$t_{autókat}$ szét darabok-ra].
 John cars.ACC takes apart pieces-SUB
 'John takes cars (apart) to pieces.'

- Evidence for adjunct status from *wh*-subextraction:

(18) a. * $[_{FocP}$ Kihez formáltad_V $[_{PredP}$ át t_V $[_{ResP}$ Jánost
 who.ALL formed.2SG over John.ACC
 $[_{Res'}$ Res $[_{PP}$ $[_{PP}$ t_{at}] $[_{AP}$ t_{wh} hasonlító-vá]]]]]]?
 similar-TRA

‘Who did you transform John similar to?’

b. $[_{PredP}$ Át formáltad $[_{Jánost}$ $[_{AP}$ hozzád
 over formed.2SG John.ACC you.ALL
 hasonlító-vá]]].
 similar-TRA

‘You transformed John (to be) similar to you.’

(19) $[_{FocP}$ Kihez formáltad_V $[_{PredP}$ $[_{AP}$ t_{wh} hasonlító-vá] t_V $[_{ResP}$ Jánost
 $[_{Res'}$ Res t_{AP}]]]])?

Interim summary: Resultatives

- Pre-verbal RSPs:
 - form a complex predicate with the verb both semantically and syntactically
 - may be strong or weak or spurious
- Post-verbal RSPs:
 - do not form a complex predicate with the verb either semantically or syntactically
 - may be strong or weak or spurious
 - weak RSPs may either be predicates of complement Small Clauses (like strong RSPs), or appositive adjuncts of a strong RSP verbal particle

Depictives

Types of depictives

- -vA depictive participles (20a) (see Bartos 2009)
- -ként depictives (20b)
- -An (and -ul) depictives (21)
cf. de Groot (2008)

- (20)
- a. Mari meg-szárít-va fésülte a haját
Mary PRT-dry-PART combed the hair.3SG.ACC
'Mary combed her hair dried.'
- b. Mari dísz-ként hordta a hajtűt
Mary decoration-AS wore the hairpin.ACC
'Mary wore the hairpin as decoration.'

- (21)
- a. Mari nedves-en fésülte a haját
Mary wet-ADV combed the hair.3SG.ACC
'Mary combed her hair wet.'
- b. Mari mosatlan-ul eszi az almát
Mary unwashed-ADV eat.3SG the apple.ACC
'Mary is eating the apple unwashed.'

- Note: the adverbial suffix *-An* is distinct from the superessive:

(22) Mari sós-an / *sós-on eszi a kukoricát.
 Mary salt-ADV / salt-SUP eat.3SG the corn.ACC
 'Mary is eating the corn salty.'

The distribution of depictives

- Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann's (2004) typological survey: depictives typically do not form a complex predicate with the verb, though some languages allow depictive predicate nominals/adjectives to be (pseudo-)incorporated
- DSPs in Hungarian may either be pre-verbal or post-verbal:

- (23)
- a. Láttam valakit részeg-en.
saw.1SG someone.ACC drunk-ADV
'I saw someone drunk.'
- b. Részeg-en láttam valakit.
drunk-ADV saw.1SG someone.ACC
'I saw someone drunk.'

- Q: Are pre-verbal depictives in the VM position?

A: No (see also de Groot 2008). If a pre-verbal depictive co-occurs with a verbal particle:

- it either precedes the VM position (24a) (with the VM receiving its own accent),
- or it occupies the pre-verbal Focus position (24b).

- (24)
- János fáradt-an be kopogott az ajtón.
John tired-ADV into knocked the door.SUP
'John knocked on the door tired.'
 - Mari nedves-en fésülte meg a haját
Mary wet-ADV combed PRT the hair.3SG.ACC
'Mary combed her hair wet.'

- In the absence of a verbal particle, the pre-verbal DSP is located in the Focus position:
 - (25a) presupposes that Mary bought the potatoes (and did not, e.g., grow them)
 - (25a) is negated with a negation to the left of the pre-verbal DSP (which is like focus negation, and unlike negation in a neutral sentence containing a VM, see (25d))

- (25)
- a. Mari pucol-va vette a krumplit.
Mary peel-PART bought the potato.ACC
'Mary bought the potato(es) peeled.'
 - b. Mari nem pucol-va vette a krumplit.
Mary not peel-PART bought the potato.ACC
'Mary didn't buy the potato(es) peeled.'
 - c. #Mari nem vette a krumplit pucol-va. (as a negation of (25a))
Mary not bought the potato.ACC peeled-PART
'Mary didn't buy the potato(es) peeled.'
 - d. Mari nem (*vissza) vitte (vissza) a könyvet.
Mary not back took back the book.ACC
'Mary didn't take the book back.'

Subextraction

- DSPs disallow subextraction whether they are pre-verbal or post-verbal → they are generated in adjunct SCs

- (26)
- a. *Mire jött be János nagyon [_{AP} *t_{wh}* büszké-n]?
 what.SUB came into John very proud-ADV
 'What was John proud of when he came in?'
- b. *Melyik dikjra szeretnd, hogy a tanr [_{AP} *t_{wh}*
 which student.SUB would.like.2SG that the teacher
 büszkén] hallgassa az előadást?
 proud.ADV listen.3SG the talk.ACC
 'Which student do you want the teacher to be proud of when listening to the talk?'

- Claim: It is the adjunct status of DSP-(SC)s that prevents them from forming a complex predicate with the verb by raising to the VM position: adjuncts are generally unable to do so.

Complement depictives

- Evidence from selected (obligatory) secondary predicates that that bear the *-An* adverbial suffix of DSPs (which is unavailable to RSPs). These complement DSPs not only can, but must appear in the VM position, where they enter complex predicate formation.

(27) Péter *(vizes-en) hagyta a törölköző-t (*vizes-en).
 Peter wet-ADV left the towel-ACC (wet-ADV)
 'Peter left the towel wet.'

- (28) a. Mindenki *(éhes-en) maradt. (only locative reading without DSP)
 everyone hungry-ADV remained
 'Everyone remained hungry.'
- b. Mindenki *(éhes) maradt.
 everyone hungry remained
 'Everyone remained hungry.'

Conclusions

- Complex predicate formation:

RSPs (whether strong or weak) may form a complex semantic predicate together with the verb, which takes place syntactically in the pre-verbal VM position.

- Base positions:

- Strong RSPs, as well as some weak RSPs, originate as predicates of Small Clause complements.
- Other weak RSPs are generated as appositive adjuncts of a complement Small Clause predicate.
- (Object-oriented) DSPs are typically adjuncts, but some verbs license them as complement Small Clause predicates.

Köszönjük!

thank.DEF.IPL

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