

Alberti, Gábor¹ – Farkas, Judit² – Szabó, Veronika¹—Tóth, Bálint¹:
**Verbal and nominal properties of the productive Hungarian
deverbal nominalizations**

alberti.gabor@pte.hu; juttasusi@gmail.com, szabo.veronika@pte.hu; toth.balint.pte@gmail.com
¹University of Pécs, ²Hungarian Academy of Sciences

1. Introduction

1.1. Topic and aims of the talk

- the main topic of the paper is the investigation of Hungarian deverbal nouns
- research question: Do derived nouns have verbal and nominal properties too?
- aim: Our talk provides an answer to the research question examining four productive suffixes in Hungarian.

1.2. Theoretical background

–Grimshaw:

- **complex event nominals:** event-reading means “existence of an internal semantic analysis of the event provided by the event structures” (Grimshaw 1990: 59) → correlates with the presence of argument structure
- **simple event nominals:** event-reading without an internal semantic analysis → lack of argument structure
- **result nominals:** result-reading, lack of argument structure “result nominals name the output of a process or an element associated with the process” (Grimshaw 1990:49)

TYPES OF DEVERBAL NOUN		EVENT R.	ARGUMENT STR.
Complex e.	(4a) The examination (*of the patient) in ten minutes was successful.	✓	✓
Simple e.	(4b) The examination took a long time.	✓	-
Result	(4c) The examination was on the table.	-	-

Table 1: Types of deverbal nouns in Grimshaw 1990

–Our extension based on Laczkó’s system (2000), which is an adaptation of Grimshaw’s theory:

- **complex-event-based deverbal nouns:**
 - denote particulars events/ participants of particular events
 - inherit the argument structure of the input verb
- **event-type-based:**
 - denote typical and/or institutionalized kinds of events/participants of such events

- are derived by conversion from complex event denoting deverbal nouns

– **irregular:**

- denotes results, style, place, instrument, or Agent
- are transparent, but the derivation is not productive

TYPE	SUFFIX	EXAMPLE
COMP EV.	-Ás	(5a) <i>A levél elnök által való¹ alá-ír-ás-a</i> meglepett. <i>the letterpresident by be.Part under-write-Ás-Poss.3Sg surprise.Past.3Sg</i> 'The signing of the letter by the president surprised me'
	-Ó₀²	(5b) Péter lesz az ötödik fejezet <i>meg-ír-ó-ja?</i> <i>Péter will_be.3Sg the fifth chapter perf-write-Ó-Poss.3Sg</i> 'Will Peter be the writer of the fifth chapter?'
	-T_{EV}³	(5c) ^(?) Amerika <i>felfedez-t-é-vel</i> új korszak kezdődött. <i>America discover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg</i> 'With America having been discovered, a new age has begun.'
	-T_{TH}	(5d) Dóri volt Péter <i>felfedez-ett-je.</i> <i>Dóri be.Past.3Sg Péter discover-T-Poss.3Sg</i> 'Dóri was the one discovered by Péter.'
	-HAT-NÉK	(5e) <i>Sír-hatnék-om</i> van. <i>cry-HATNÉK-Poss.1Sg be.3Sg</i> 'I am having the urge to cry.'
EV. TYPE	-Ás	(6a) Az elnök ezt a tollat <i>a lá-ír-ás-ra</i> használja. <i>the president this.Accthe pen.Acc under-write-Ás-Sub use.DefObj.3Sg</i> 'The president uses this pen only for signing.'
	-Ó₀	(6b) Péter a megyében <i>a legjobb ír-ó.</i> <i>Péter the county.Ine the best write-Ó</i> 'Péter is the best writer in the country.'
	-T_{TH}	(6c) Ízlett neki <i>Ili főz-t-je.</i> <i>like.Past.3Sg Dat.1Sg Ili cook-T-Poss.3Sg</i> 'He liked Ili's cooking'
	-HAT-NÉK	(6d) Péter <i>állandó kocsmáz-hatnék-ja</i> kiborít. <i>Péter constant go_out_to_pubs-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg make_angry.3Sg</i> 'Péter's constant urge to go out to pubs makes me angry.'
IRREG	-Ás	(7a) Megvagyunk elégedve az új <i>lak-ás-sal.</i> <i>perf be.1Pl satisfied the newlive-Ás-Ins</i> 'We are satisfied with the new flat.'
	-Ó	(7b) Küldtek nekünk egy kis <i>kóstol-ó-t</i> a levesből. <i>send.Past.3Pl we.Dat a little taste-Ó-Acc the soup.Del</i> 'They sent us a taste of the soup.'

Table 2. Types of Hungarian deverbal nouns

Explanations

1. **Való-test:** Beside a complex-event denoting deverbal noun postpositions can be attributivized by means of the separate word *való*, one of the present participial counterparts of the copula *van* ‘be’.

2. (81) • The subtypes of Ó_θ-nouns

- a. Ő lesz az ötödik fejezet meg-ír-ó-ja? Ó_{AG}
 (s)he will_be.3Sg the fifth chapter perf-write-Ó-Poss.3Sg
 ‘Will he be the writer of the fifth chapter?’
- b. Ez a férfi Mari lelkes imád-ó-ja. Ó_{EXP}
 this the man Mari enthusiastic admire-Ó-Poss.3Sg
 ‘This man is Mari’s enthusiastic admirer.’
- c. Ez a szerkezet lesz ma a kész termékek számlál-ó-ja? Ó_{INST}
 this the device will_be.3Sg today the ready product.Plcount-Ó-Poss.3Sg
 ‘Will this device be the counter of the prepared products today?’
- d. ^{??}Ez a szoba volt Ili tegnapi meggy-ki-magoz-ó-ja. Ó_{LOC}
 this the room be.Past.3Sg Ili yesterday.Adj sour_cherry-out-seed-Ó-Poss.3Sg
 ‘This room was the place where Ili performed the destoning of sour cherries yesterday.’

3. The two potential kinds of T-nominalization:

- *T_{EV}-nominalization*: produces T_{EV}-nouns denoting events essentially in the same way as ÁS-nominalization
- *T_{TH}-nouns* denote the participant of the input complex event which can be taken to have the Theme thematic role.

2. Nominal and verbal properties of Hungarian deverbal nouns

2.1. Nominal properties

The relevant nominal properties are the following (see Broekhuis –Keizer 2012):

- pluralization → plural suffixes in Hungarian: *-k/-i* (Kiefer 1998)
- possibility to take a possessive argument → two possessors: unmarked and –Nak (É. Kiss 2002)
- case marking → 18 case suffixes (Kiefer 1998)
- adjectival modification
- definiteness and other degrees of referentiality → articles
- quantification (and determination) → numerals, demonstratives

Possessive argument	Demonstrative	Definite Article	Adjective	Noun stem	Poss. Suffix	Plural Suffix	Case Suffix
<i>Péternek</i> Péter.Dat	<i>ezeket</i> this.Pl.Acc	<i>az</i> the	<i>új</i> new	<i>ház</i> house	<i>-a-</i> Poss.3Sg	<i>-i-</i> Pl.	<i>t</i> Acc

Table 3. An example for realizing nominal properties

2.1.1. Nominal properties of irregular derived nouns

Irregular nouns behave like regular non-derived nouns and take part in every process listed above → they possess the most nominal features

(9) • Nominal properties of irregular derived nouns

- a. Szeretjük Péternek ezeket az új lakásait/ vetélkedőit.
love.1Pl Péter.Dat this.Pl.Acc the new live.Ás.Pl.Acc competitÓ.Pl.Acc
'We love Peters new flats/ quiz shows.'
- b. (Egy/Három) új lak-ást/vetélkedőt láttunk.
new live.Ás.Pl.Acc competitÓ.Pl.Acc
'We love Peters new houses/flats/ quiz shows.'

2.1.2. Nominal properties of event-type-based derived nouns

Event-type-based nouns behave almost similarly to irregular derived nouns.

(10) • Nominal properties of event-type based derived nominals

- a. Péternek ezeket a(z) egyeztetés nélküli látogat-ás-a-i-t
Péter.Dat this.Pl.Acc the agreement without.Attr visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Pl.Acc
nem szeretem.
no love.Def.Obj.1Sg.
'I don't like Péter's visits (without any agreement)'
- b. [?]Dühös vagyok Ilinek erre a tegnapi meg-masszíroz-ó-já-ra.
angry be.1Sg Ili.Dat this.Sub the yesterday.Adj perf-massage-ó-Poss.3Sg-Sub
'I am angry with that / this person who massaged Ili yesterday.'
- c. Mérges vagyok a bírónak ezekre a kedvenc vádl-ott-ai-ra.
Angry be.1Sg . the judge.Dat this.Pl.Sub the favorite accuse-T-Pl.Sub
'I'm angry with the the favorite accused persons of the judge'

2.1.3. Nominal properties of complex-event-based-derived nouns

While irregular and event-type-based nominalizations form nouns with the classic nominal properties, complex-event-based derivation results nouns with less nominal features.

All of them **can have a possessor**, however, only T_{TH}-nouns and –Ó nouns can be **pluralized**.

(11) • Complex-event denoting ÁS-nouns, T_{EV}-nouns and –HATNÉK nouns cannot be pluralized

- a. [?]Péternek a(z) előzetes egyeztetés nélküli való meg-látogat-ás-a-i
Péter.Dat the previous agreement without be.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.3Sg-Pl
Intended meaning: 'The occasions on which Péter was visited (without any previous agreement)'
- b. a film *meg-néz-t-e-i-vel
the film perf-disturb-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins / perf-disturb-T-Poss-Pl-Ins
'After watching the film (/several times)'

- c. * *a lefekvés előtt való sír-hatnék-ok /nyafog-hatnék-ok.*
the go_to_bed.ÁS before be.Part cry-HATNÉK-Pl /whine-HATNÉK-Pl
 Intended meaning: ‘The urges to whine before going to bed.’

Case marking: almost all the groups of derived nouns can occur with any kind of case marking, and with any kind of postpositions. However, T_{EV} -nouns can appear only as certain oblique case-marked noun phrases (12 d,e), while they are unacceptable with other oblique case markings (12a, b).

- (12) ● The (very low level of) noun-like external distribution of T_{EV} -nouns
- * *Az izlandiak útja miért nem minősül Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-nek?*
the Icelander.Pl trip.Poss.3Sg not qualify.3Sg America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Dat
 ‘Why the Icelander’s trip does not qualify as the discovery of America?’
 - *? *Megünnepezték Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-t.*
celebrate.Past.DefObj.3Pl America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc
 ‘They celebrated the discovery of America.’
 - ^(?) *Amerika fel-fedez-t-é-vel új korszak kezdődött.*
America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
 ‘When America was discovered, a new age has begun.’
 - [?] *Amerika fel-fedez-t-e-kor új korszak kezdődött.*
America up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp new age begin.Past.3Sg
 ‘When America was discovered, a new age has begun.’

Adjectival modification: Beside ÁS -nouns, Ó -nouns, T_{TH} -nouns adjectival expressions take the place of the input adverbs and adverbial-like expressions:

- with an adjectival derivational suffix *-i* or *-s* is added to an adverb or a postposition or the stem of an originally case-marked noun; OR
- the input adverb has been derived from an adjective, this adjective is restored through depriving the input adverb from its adverbial derivational suffix.

T_{EV} -noun constructions cannot readily host adjectives (and other attributive constructions), only in quite a “selective” way in respect of their subtypes.

- (13) ● Adjectival modification of T_{EV} -nouns
- Amerika [?]1492-es/^{??}váratlan fel-fedez-t-é-vel új korszak kezdődött.*
America 1492-Adj /unexpected up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins new age begin.Past.3Sg
 ‘With America’s unexpected discovery in 1492 a new age began.’
 - Amerika ^{??}[Kolumbusz által-i]/^{*?}[Kolumbusz által való] fel-fedez-t-é-vel*
America Columbus by-Attr / Columbus by be.Part up-cover-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 ‘With America’s discovery by Columbus’

A HATNÉK-noun construction cannot be modified by an adjective or attributive expression that serves as a counterpart of an adverb or a converbin in the corresponding input verbal construction.

(14) ● Adjectival modification of HATNÉK-nouns

a [^{??}némán / ^{*?}szunyókálva / ^(?)[faalatt] való] ücsörög-hetnék
 thespeechless.Adv / nap.Conv / treeunder be.Part sit_around-HATNÉK
 ‘The desire to sit around speechlessly / napping / [under the tree] after lunch.’

Degree of referentiality: While -Ó and -T_{TH}-nouns can occur in an indefinite (non-specific) construction, -HATNÉK, ÁS-nouns, and T_{EV}-nouns can be characterized by a strict distributional restriction. Their phrases are capable of “at least partially” definite (that is, specific) reference.

(15) ● -HATNÉK, ÁS, and T_{EV} and nouns in indefinit phrases

- a. A feleségem egy ^(??)éjjél után való) meg-látogat-ás-od miatt
 thewife.Poss.1Sg a midnight after be.Part perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of
 hagyott el.
 leave.Past.3Sgaway

Intended meaning: ‘My wife left me *because I paid a visit to you (after midnight).*’

- b. ^{??}Ili egy meg-vendégel-t-e-kor elromlott a sütő.
Ili a perf-host-T-Poss.3Sg-Tmp get_wrong.Past.3Sg the oven
 ‘On an occasion when Ili was regaled, the oven got wrong.’

- c. ^{??}Hát például mindenkit kiborított
 well for_instance everyone.Acc make_angry.Past.3Sg
egy májusi ebéd után való beszélget-hetnék-ed.
a May.Adj lunch after be.Part chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Sg
 ‘(Why do people avoid me?) Well for instance, an occasion made everyone angry, when *the desire came over you to chat after lunch in May.*’

Quantification and determination: we can observe the definite failure of modifying ÁS-nouns, and T_{EV}-nouns by demonstrative pronouns. HATNÉK-noun constructions essentially pattern with ÁS-noun and T_{EV}-noun constructions in not readily hosting “regular” quantifiers, especially non-specific ones.

(16) ● Quantification and determination of -HATNÉK, ÁS-nouns, and T_{EV}-nouns

- a. ^{*?}Anejem kiborult *e* miatt *a* meg-látogat-ás-od miatt.
 the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg this because_of the perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of
 Intended meaning: ‘My wife freaked out *about that / this case when I paid a visit to you.*’

- a'. A nejem kiborult $a(z)$ [?]két / ^{??}tíz/ ^{??}utolsó meg-látogat-ás-od miatt.
 the wife.Poss.1Sg freak_out.Past.3Sg the two / ten / last perf-visit-ÁS-Poss.2Sg because_of
 'My wife freaked out about the two / ten / first / second / tenth / last case(s) when I paid a visit to you.'
- b. a cikknek $a(z)$ ^{*?}három/ ^(?)utolsó / ^(?)háromszori át-olvas-t-á-val
 the paper.Dat the three / last / three_times.Adj across-read-T-Poss.3Sg-Ins
 'When the paper had been read through [three times] / [for the last time] / [three times]'
- c. $a(z)$ ^{*?}három/ ^{??}utolsó/ ^{*}gyakori, ebéd utánvaló beszélget-hetnék-etek
 the three / last / often.Adj lunch after be.Part chat-HATNÉK-Poss.2Pl
 Intended meaning: 'the [three occasions] / [last occasion] / [often occasions] when the desire came over you to chat after lunch'

2.2. Verbal properties

2.2.1. Verbal properties of irregular derived nouns

Irregular nouns behave like regular non-derived nouns → they do not have any verbal properties

2.2.2. Verbal properties of eventive derived nouns

Tense and mood: Tense and mood morphemes are inflectional → **there is no morphological way** of attaching the productive derivational suffixes to the inflected verb forms. The intended tense can only be expressed by temporal adjectives.

Person and number: In Hungarian, both verbs and nouns can be provided with suffixes referring to person and number →

Verbs: “more than two” paradigms:

- the verb agrees with the subject in number and person
- the verb also encodes such features of the object as its definiteness and person.

In the case of derived nouns, there is **only one paradigm**: the noun head, that is, the possessee, agrees only with the possessor (in number and person).

Verbal modifiers: in certain verbal constructions the verbal modifier can occupy other positions than its usual immediate left-adjacent position to the stem of the verb, for example in negation. This separability is characteristic of complex event denoting ÁS-nouns, but only to a low degree.

(17) ● Separability of verbal modifier (example: *Ás*-nouns)

- a. *A szerződésnek *[nem ír-ás-a alá]/ *[nem alá-ír-ás-a]*
the contract.Dat not write-Ás-Poss.3Sg under/ not under-write-Ás-Poss.3Sg/
 [✓][alá nem ír-ás-a] mindenkit felháborított.*
under not write-Ás-Poss.3Sg everyone.Accmake_angry.Past.3Sg
 ‘It made everyone angry *that the contract has not been signed after the lengthy negotiation.*’
- b. *az évtized legmeglepőbb [(szerződés)-nem-ír-ás-a-alá]*
the decade most_surprising (contract)-not-write-Ás-Poss.3Sg-under/
 [^{*?}*(szerződés-)alá-nem-ír-ás-a]* / [^{*?}*(szerződés)-nem-alá-ír-ás-a]*.
(contract)-under-not-write-Ás-Poss.3Sg / (contract)-not-under-write-Ás-Poss.3Sg
 ‘the decade’s most surprising case when a contract has not been signed.’

Accusative case-marked arguments: In contrast to verbs derived nouns can be characterized by the prohibition against Accusative case marking on their immediate dependents. *-hAtnék*-nouns are significantly more verbal than all other types of deverbal nominal → the retainment of accusative case marking depends also on phonological properties: one-syllable roots, are more likely to show the property in question than longer roots.

(18) ● Accusative case-marking in the case of *HATNÉK*-nouns and *HATNÉK_{SED}*-nouns:

- a. *Ilire rájött a világ*(^(?)-ot) lát-hatnék.*
Ili.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg the world(-Acc) see-HATNÉK
 ‘The desire came over Ili to see the world.’
- b. *Ez volt az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb világ*(^(?)-ot) lát-hatnék-ja.*
this be.Past.3Sg the decade most_invincible world(-Acc) see-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
 ‘This was the decade’s most invincible desire to see the world.’

Adverbial modification: derived nouns can be characterized by the prohibition against adverbial modification belonging immediately to the noun head. The input adverbs appear as adjectives in these constructions. ←→ The appearance of adverbial and converbial modification is not blocked in the *HATNÉK*-nouns type.

(19) ● Potential adverbial and converbial modification of *HATNÉK*-nouns and *HATNÉK_{SED}*-nouns

- a. ^(?)*A gyerekekre rájött az éjfél után való ébren marad-hatnék.*
the child.Pl.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg the midnight after be.Part awake stay-HATNÉK
 ‘The desire came over the children to stay awake after midnight.’
- b. [?]*az évtized leglegyőzhetetlenebb éjfél utáni ébren marad-hatnék-ja.*
the decade most_invincible midnight after.Adj awake stay-HATNÉP Poss.3Sg
 ‘the decade’s most invincible desire to stay awake after midnight.’

Argument inheritance:

-complex event denoting ÁS-nouns can essentially be characterized by the “as complete as possible” retainment of the argument structure of the input verb (Laczkó 2000).

- oblique arguments retain their syntactic functions and obligatory or optional status.
- non-oblique arguments must undergo some change → if the input argument structure contains an object, it will occupy the output possessor position; otherwise, the possessor will correspond to the input subject, which remains obligatory (or reconstructable)

-SED-nouns, only partially inherit the argument structure of the input verb. They basically inherit the oblique arguments, but with a decreasing degree of obligatoriness → [--HUMAN] Themes must appear in the output SED-noun construction.

- they can appear in the possessor position, OR
- in the prenominal zone before the N head

(20) • Argument inheritance in complex event denoting –Ás nouns

- a. *Péternek a (vasárnapi ebéd után való) beszélget-és-e Ili-vel a politiká-ról*
Péter.Dat the Sunday.Adj lunch after be.Part talk-Ás-Poss.3Sg Ili-Ins the politics-Del
‘Péter’s talking with Ili about politics after the Sunday lunch’
- b. *Marinak a (Péter által / tanóra alatt) való*
Mari.Dat the Péter by / lesson under be.Part
zaklat-ás-a a házasság-gal mindenkit meglepett.
harass-Ás-Poss.3Sg the marriage-Ins everyone.Acc surprise.Past.3Sg
‘Harassing Mari (by Péter) / (during the lesson) was a surprise to everyone.’

The output results of Ó-nominalization can be evaluated as highly verbal construction, BUT less verbal than those of ÁS-nominalization

- inherit the argument structure of the input verb, together with the obligatory or optional status of arguments
- practically “select” their ideal input argument-structure types:
 - in the case of thematic Ó-nominalization, the output possessor has to correspond to the input object
 - in the case of adjunctive Ó-nominalization, the output possessor has to correspond to the input subject
 - the prenominal modifier zone does not readily host input arguments

-TPD Ó- nouns are poorly verbal since they do not inherit the fully fledged arguments of the input verb (Laczkó 2000: 374-377,380,399), but only the “innermost” core of the input argument structure as members of its prenominal complement zone

- (21) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of \acute{O}_{AG} -nouns
Jankó, a királylány önfeláldozó meg-ment-ő-je ^(?)*a sárkánytól*
Jankó the princess self-sacrificing perf-save-ó-Poss.3Sg the dragon.Abl
 ‘Jankó, the self-sacrificing man who saved the princess (from the dragon)’

T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns pattern with $\acute{A}S$ -nouns and \acute{O} -nouns, respectively, in inheriting the argument structure of the input verb “to the maximum possible extent” -- they provide *ab ovo* less acceptable potential constructions, they much less accept the *való*-construction.

- (22) ● The inheritance of argument structure in the case of T_{TH}-nouns
^{??}*A zsűri tavalyi ki-zár-t-ja a verseny-ből*
the jury last_year.Adj out-close-T-Poss.3Sg the competition-El
 ‘Who was disqualified by the jury from the competition last year’

Both types of **-hAtnék**-nouns essentially pattern with $\acute{A}S$ -nouns in almost completely inheriting the argument structure of the input verb, in connection with their “on-line created” character (Oszoli 2014).

- the counterpart of the Agent(-like) input subject is always expressed since it obligatorily corresponds to the (output) possessor
- the possessor can also be a temporal expression;
- HATNÉK_{SED}-nouns: the input subject cannot be expressed in the output in any way
- fully fledged input objects cannot appear within *-hAtnék*-noun constructions in any way
- oblique case-marked arguments: both types of *-hAtnék*-nouns readily inherit them, with their obligatoriness somewhat weakening.

- (23) ● The inheritance of oblique argument in the case of HATNÉK-nouns
- a. Péterre rájött *a* ^{*? (??)}*medvére való* *rá-lő-hetnék.*
Péter.Sub come_over.Past.3Sg the bear.Sub be.Part onto-shoot-HATNÉK
 ‘The desire came over Péter to shoot (at the bear).’
 - b. *a Marival/politikáról való beszélget-hetnék.*
the Mari.Ins /politics.Del be.Part talk-HATNÉK
 ‘The desire to talk [with Mari] / [about politics].’

Information structure

-complex event denoting $\acute{A}S$ -nouns (a’): have an internal information structure → narrow scope reading: ‘both girl’ /wide-scope reading ←→ **simple event denoting:** the narrow scope reading is not available (b’) – only the distributive reading (wide scope) is possible

- (24) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of *ÁS*-nouns, SED-nouns and non-eventive *ÁS*-nouns: I. Quantifier *mind* ‘every’
- a. Mindkét lányt meghívták a koncertre.
 both girl.Acc invite.Past.DefObj.3Pl the concert.Sub
 [BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
 ‘They invited both girls to the concert.’
- a’. Imi váratlanul érte
 Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 [*mindkét lánynak*]_{Theme} a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.
 both girl.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
 narrow-scope reading: [CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
 ‘It caught Imi unawares that both girls had been invited to the concert.’
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH_GIRLS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
 ‘In the case of both girls, it caught Imi unawares that they had been invited to the concert.’
- b. Mindkét lány meghívta Imi a koncertre.
 both girl invite.Past.DefObj.3Sg Imi.Acc the concert.Sub
 [BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]
 ‘Both girls invited Imi to the concert.’
- b’. Imi váratlanul érte
 Imi.Acc unexpectedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
 [*mindkét lánynak*]_{Agent} a meghív-ás-a a koncertre.
 both girl.Dat the invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub
~~narrow-scope reading: *[CATCH_UNAWARES > BOTH_GIRLS > INVITE]~~
 Intended meaning: ‘It caught Imi unawares that both girls had invited him to the concert.’
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH_GIRLS > CATCH_UNAWARES > INVITE]
 ‘In the case of both girls, it caught Imi unawares that they had invited him to the concert.’

Ó-noun: internal information structure: narrow scope reading + wide-scope reading \leftrightarrow **TPD_{AG}-noun:** only wide-scope reading

- (25) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of *Ó*-nouns and TPD-nouns:
- I. Quantified possessor
- a. Letartóztatták [[*mindkét hír*] bemond-ó-i-t].
 arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl both news announce-Ó-Poss.Pl-Acc
 narrow-scope reading: [ARREST \supseteq [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
 ‘Those who announced *both pieces of news* were arrested.’
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > [ARREST \supseteq ANNOUNCE]]
 ‘In the case of *both pieces of news*, those who announced either of them were arrested.’

- a'.[?] Csak [[*mindkét hír*] bemond-ó-i-t] tartóztatták le.
 only both news announce-ó-Poss.Pl-Acc arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl down
 narrow-scope reading: [ARREST \equiv [BOTH_PIECES_OF_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]
 'Only those who announced *both pieces of news* were arrested.'
 wide-scope reading: –
- b. Letartóztatták [[*mindkét csatorna*] bemond-ó-i-t].
 arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl both channel announce-ó-Poss.Pl-Acc
~~narrow-scope reading: *[ARREST \supseteq [BOTH_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCE]]~~
 Intended meaning: 'Those who work for *both channels* (at the same time) as announcers were arrested.'
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH_CHANNELS > ARREST > ANNOUNCE]
 'In the case of *both channels*, those who work for either of them were arrested.'
- b'. *Csak[[*mindkét csatorna*] bemond-ó-i-t] tartóztatták le.
 only both channel announce-ó-Poss.Pl-Acc arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl down
~~narrow-scope reading: *[ARREST \equiv [BOTH_CHANNELS > ANNOUNCE]]~~
 Intended meaning: 'Only those who work for *both channels* (at the same time) were arrested.'
 wide-scope reading: –

T_{EV}-noun: narrow + wide scope reading

T_{TH}-noun: narrow + wide scope reading \leftrightarrow TPD_{TH}-noun: only wide scope reading

(26) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of T_{EV}-nouns and T_{TH}-nouns:

Quantified possessor

- a. ^(?)Új korszak kezdődött [[*mindkét sziget*] felfedez-t-é-vel].
 new age begin.Past.3Sg both island discover-T-Poss.Pl-Ins
 narrow-scope reading: [?][NEW_AGE_BEGAN > BOTH_ISLANDS > DISCOVER]
 'With *both islands* having been discovered, a new age began.'
 wide-scope reading: ^(?)[BOTH_ISLANDS > NEW_AGE_BEGAN > DISCOVER]
 'In the case of *both islands*, a new age began when either of them had been discovered.'
- a'. ^(?)Csak [[*mindkét sziget*] felfedez-t-é-vel]
 only both island discover-T-Poss.Pl-Ins
 kezdődött igazán új korszak a telepések életében.
 begin.Past.3Sg really new age the settler.Pl life.Poss.3Sg.Ine
 narrow-scope reading:
^(?)[ONLY_[BOTH_ISLANDS > DISCOVER] > NEW_AGE_BEGAN >]
 'A really new age began in the settlers' lives only when *both islands* had been discovered.'
 wide-scope reading: –

- b. Megnyerheti a versenyt [[*mindkétmentor*] protezsál-t-ja].
 win.Mod.DefObj.3Sgthe competition.Acc *both mentor favor-T-Poss.3Sg*
 narrow-scope reading: ^{??}[MAY_WIN \supseteq [BOTH_MENTORS > FAVOR]]
 ‘One who is favored by *both mentors* at the same time has a chance to win the competition.’
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH_MENTORS > [MAY_WIN \supseteq FAVOR]]
 ‘In the case of *both mentors*, the person who has been favored by either of them has a chance to win the competition.’
- b’. ^(?)Csak [[*mindkét mentor*] protezsál-t-ja] nyerheti meg a versenyt.
 only *both mentor favor-T-Poss.3Sg win.Mod.DefObj.3Sg perf the competition.Acc*
 narrow-scope reading: ^(?)[MAY_WIN \equiv [BOTH_MENTORS > FAVOR]]
 Intended meaning: ‘Only (the) one who is favored by *both mentors* at the same time has a chance to win the competition.’
 wide-scope reading: –
- c. Elítélték [[*mindkét ügy*] vádl-ott-já-t].
 convict.Past.DefObj.3Pl *both case accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc*
 narrow-scope reading: *[CONVICT \supseteq [BOTH_CASES > ACCUSE]]
 Intended meaning: ‘The person who was an accused *in both cases* at the same time was convicted.’
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH_CASES > [CONVICT \supseteq ACCUSE]]
 ‘In the case of *both cases*, the person who was an accused in either of them was convicted.’
- c’.*Csak [[*mindkét ügy*] vádl-ott-já-t] ítélték el.
 only *both case accuse-T-Poss.3Sg-Acc convict.Past.DefObj.3Pl away*
 narrow-scope reading: *[CONVICT \equiv [BOTH_CASES > ACCUSE]]
 Intended meaning: ‘Only the person who was an accused *in both cases* at the same time was convicted.’
 wide-scope reading: –

HATNÉK-noun/ HATNÉK_{SED}-noun: wide and narrow-scope reading

- (27) ● The inheritance of information structure in the case of HATNÉK-nouns and HATNÉK_{SED}-nouns
- a. A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel töltötte el
 theprime_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.Past.DefObj.3Sg away
 [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja].
both coalition partner constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
 narrow-scope reading: [?][FRIGHTEN > BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.]
 ‘It frightened the prime minister that *both coalition partners* had the desire to modify the constitution.’

wide-scope reading: \checkmark [BOTH_PARTNERS > FRIGHTEN > MODIFY_CONST.]

‘In the case of *both coalition partners*, it frightened the prime minister that they had the desire to modify the constitution.’

- a'.[?] Csak [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja]
 only *both coalition partner* constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
 tölténé el ijedséggel a miniszterelnököt.
 fill.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away fright.Ins the prime_minister.Acc
 narrow-scope reading:

[?][ONLY_[BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.] > FRIGHTEN]

‘Only the possibility that *both coalition partners* have the desire to modify the constitution would frighten the prime minister.’

wide-scope reading: –

- b. A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel tölti el
 theprime_minister.Acc fright.Ins fill.DefObj.3Sg away
 [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] örökös alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja].
both coalition partner eternal constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
 narrow-scope reading: [?][FRIGHTEN > BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.]
 ‘It frightens the prime minister that *both coalition partners* always have a desire to modify the constitution.’

wide-scope reading: \checkmark [BOTH_PARTNERS > FRIGHTEN > MODIFY_CONST.]

‘In the case of *both coalition partners*, it frightens the prime minister that they always have a desire to modify the constitution.’

- b'.[?] Csak [[*mindkét koalíciós partner*] örökös alkotmány-módosít-hatnék-ja]
 only *both coalition partner* etenal constitution-modify-HATNÉK-Poss.3Sg
 tölténé el ijedséggel a miniszterelnököt.
 fill.Cond.DefObj.3Sg away fright.Ins the prime_minister.Acc
 narrow-scope reading:
[?][ONLY_[BOTH_PARTNERS > MODIFY_CONST.] > FRIGHTEN]
 ‘Only the possibility that *both coalition partners* always have a desire to modify the constitution would frighten the prime minister.’
 wide-scope reading: –

3. Conclusion

All types of deverbal nouns are decisively not verbal, but nominal, however, there are some differences in the nouns examined here.

		nominal properties	verbal properties
irregular <i>Ás</i>, and <i>Ó</i>-nouns		completely nominal	fully non-verbal
event-type-based	-<i>ÁS</i>	almost completely pattern with irregular <i>Ás</i> -nouns	-retain verbal properties to a certain extent, but to a significantly lesser extent than complex event <i>Ás</i> -nouns
	-<i>Ó</i>	essentially pattern with irregular <i>Ó</i> -nouns	-inherit the “core” of the argument structure of their verbal inputs
	T_{TH}	completely nominal	-inherit certain verbal modifiers in the “core” of input argument structures.
	-HATNÉK	-cannot be pluralized -are not compatible with (the regular way of) quantification -do not readily form non-specific and predicative phrases.	-obligatorily retain the accusative case marking of certain arguments even if they are not idiom parts. -inherit the input argument and information structure -the inheritance of complex argument and/or information structures can rather be regarded as a “theoretical possibility” than an actual practice
complex-event-based	-<i>ÁS</i>	-no pluralization -no quantification -cannot form non-specific noun phrases	-practically inherit the argument and information structure of their verbal inputs
	-T_{EV}	-cannot be pluralized -are more compatible with adjectival quantification than with the “regular” way of quantification.	-show more verbal and less nominal properties than T _{TH} -nouns. -inherit the argument structure of their verbal inputs to a somewhat greater extent (→hosting of oblique case-marked arguments) -less verbal than <i>Ás</i> -nouns, →weak capability of hosting “inherited” complex information structures and attributivized adverbial modifiers.
	-<i>Ó</i>:	-can be pluralized -can form non-specific noun phrases -compatible with most forms of quantification -cannot host and adjective/adverb	-practically inherit the argument and information structure of their verbal inputs -less verbal than <i>Ás</i> -nouns
	T_{TH}	essentially pattern with <i>Ó</i> _{AG} -nouns, T _{TH} -nominalization typically provides quite marked potential forms	

Table 4 Nominal and verbal properties of deverbal nouns

Our observations are summarized in Table 5. The lighter a cell is, the more nominal—and simultaneously the less verbal—the noun type is in the given respect.

Table 5: The degree of verbalness/nominalness of different nominalizations

	NOMINAL				VERBAL				
PROPERTIES									
tense and mood	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
two person/number paradigms	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
separability of verbal modifier	??	*?	??	—	??	—	*?	*	*
presence / obligatoriness of arg.	(?)	(?)	✓	(?)	(?)	?	?	?	*
accusative case-marked arg.	??	?	*?	*?	*	*	*	*	*
adverbial modification	??	??	*?	*?	*?	*?	*?	*?	*
information structure	(?)	?	(?)	?	?	?	??	*	*
pluralization	*	*?	*	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
possessive argument	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
case marking	✓	(?)	✓	??	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
adjectival modification	??	✓	✓	??	?	(?)	✓	✓	✓
definiteness / referentiality	??	??	??	??	?	(?)	(?)	✓	✓
quantification / determination	*?	*?	*?	*?	(?)	(?)	(?)	✓	✓

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