

Two positions for verbal modifiers: Evidence from derived particle verbs*

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1. Introduction

Verbal Modifiers (VMs):

- bare objects, verbal particles, resultatives, other primary and secondary predicates
- preverbal in neutral sentences and postverbal otherwise (illustrated with particles below).

particle > V

- (1) János **fel-biciklizett** a hegyre.
John up-bike.PST.3SG the mountain.to
'John biked up the mountain.' neutral sentence
- (2) János **fel** akart **biciklizni** a hegyre.
John up wanted bike.INF the mountain.to
'John wanted to bike up the mountain.' neutral sentence with Aux

V > particle

- (3) János **nem biciklizett fel** a hegyre.
John not bike.PST.3SG up the mountain.to
'John did not bike up the mountain.' negation
- (4) JÁNOS **biciklizett fel** a hegyre.
John bike.PST.3SG up the mountain.to
'It was John who biked up the mountain.' narrow focus

- can be left behind in positive answers to polar questions (TP-ellipsis, Lipták, 2012, 2013):

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- (5) a. Fel-bicikliztél a hegyre?
 up.bike.PST.2SG the mountain.to
 ‘Did you bike up the mountain?’
 b. Fel.
 up
 ‘I did.’

- Recent analyses: VMs are merged in the complement of V (É. Kiss, 2006, Surányi, 2009a,b, Hegedűs, 2013); they move to the preverbal position in overt syntax.

Aim of this talk:

- analyze denominal particle verbs with inseparable particles;
- account for their dual behavior w.r.t other particles/resultatives;
- show that not all VMs are merged in the same position.

Claims:

- The particle of a group of derived verbs (where the particle attaches low) is inseparable in syntax because of a nominalizer in the structure (and not because those are „lexical particle verbs”).
- Semantically bleached particles/resultatives referring to ‘(full) degree’ are compatible with inseparable particle verbs because they are introduced as specifiers, as opposed to regular particles/resultatives, which are predicates of complement Small Clauses.
- The word order variation we find in our data is due to a structural reanalysis of the particle.

2. Inseparable particle verbs

There exist a few cases in which the particle is not separable from the verb. We illustrate with *felvételizik* ‘take an entrance exam’:

- (6) János **fel-vételizett** az egyetemre.
 John up-exam.take.PST.3SG the university.to
 ‘John took a university entrance exam.’ neutral sentence
- (7) János **fel-vételizni** akart az egyetemre.
 John up-exam.take.INF wanted the university.to
 ‘John wanted to take a university entrance exam.’ neutral sentence with verb cluster
- (8) János éppen **fel-vételizett** az egyetemre amikor ...
 John just up-bike.pst.3sg the university.to when
 John was taking a university entrance exam when ... progressive aspect

- (9) János nem **fel-vételizett** az egyetemre.
 John not up-exam.take.PST.3SG the university.to
 ‘John did not take an entrance exam.’ negation
- (10) JÁNOS **fel-vételizett** az egyetemre.
 John up-exam.take.PST.3SG the university.to
 ‘It was John that took an entrance exam.’ narrow focus
- (11) **Fel-vételizz** az egyetemre!
 up-exam.take.IMP.2SG the university.to
 ‘Take an entrance exam!’ imperative

Cannot be left behind in positive answers to polar questions

- (12) a. Fel-vételiztél az egyetemre?
 up-exam.take.PST.2SG the university.to
 ‘Did you take a university entrance exam?’
 b. *Fel.
 up
 ‘I did.’

The list of verbs:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--|
| (13) | $-ás_N-ol_V$ | <i>kifogásol</i> ‘take objection to’
<i>befolyásol</i> ‘influence’ |
| | $-at_N-ol_V$ | <i>kivonatol</i> ‘précis’ |
| | $-t_N-el_N-ez_V$ | <i>feltételez</i> ‘assume’
<i>kivitelez</i> ‘carry out’
<i>kivételez</i> ‘show a favor toward’
<i>bevételez</i> ‘enter as income’
<i>szemrevételez</i> ‘inspect’
<i>utánvételez</i> ‘collect (value) upon delivery’ |
| | $-t_N-el_N-i_N-z_V(ik)$ | <i>felvételizik</i> ‘take an entrance exam’ |

Possible accounts:

- Lexical integrity or Word Structure Autonomy Condition (Selkirk, 1982; Booij, 1985)?

↔ No: these particles are at least to some extent visible for syntax.¹

- Inseparable particles combine with the V in the lexicon?

¹Lipták and Kenesei (2014) discuss inseparable particles inside *-ható* adjectives, such as *be-számít-ható* in-count-able ‘sane’. Our cases are different in two respects: (i) *-ható* forms are adjectives (or non-finite clauses), our derived words have the distribution of verbs, and (ii) the particles in *-ható* forms appear to be completely invisible to syntax, while this is not the case with our derived verbs.

↔ No: On a lexicalist view, it is unexpected that combination with preverbal bare objects, and ordinary resultatives or ordinary verbal particles is out.

- Inseparable particles combine with the V in syntax? = These are regular particle verbs?

↔ (i) Inseparability needs accounting for. (ii) It is unexpected that combination with exhaustive and durative particles and some resultatives is OK. (Particle doubling is not OK, either, but it has a more limited distribution in general.)

Generalizations

- all inseparable particle verbs involve a nominalized verb
- there might be multiple nominalizers, but the innermost nominalizer is *-t* or *-ás*

– *-t* attaches low

(14) ad, ad-at, ad-ás
give give-NMZ give-NMZ
give, datum, giving/broadcast

– *-ás* can also attach low

– the particle is attached before nominalization

(15) [*befolyás*]+*ol* ‘influence’ (16) [*kiwonat*]+*ol* ‘précis’

3. VMs and inseparable particle verbs

3.1. Co-occurrence with preverbal bare objects

(17) Mari *tervet* *kovácsolt* (**tervet*).
Mary plan.ACC make.PST.3SG plan.ACC
‘Mary made a plan.’

co-occurrence: ✗

(18) *Mari ***tervet*** ***ki***-*fogásolt*.
Mary plan.ACC out-object.PST.3SG
‘Mary was taking objection to a plan.’

NB: telic verbs are ungrammatical with bare objects, which may rule out (18), but (19) features an atelic inseparable particle verb:

(19) *Mari ***tervet*** ***ki***-*vonatolt*.
Mary plan.ACC out-précis.PST.3SG
‘Mary made a précis of a plan.’²

²(19) is OK if the object is focused, but we are interested in the object incorporation reading.

3.2. Co-occurrence verbal particles

- ordinary verbal particle

- (20) Mari meg-főzte a levest.
Mary PRT-cook.PST.3SG the soup.ACC
'Mary has cooked the soup.' *meg*
- (21) Mari el-olvasta a könyvet.
Mary away-read.PST.3SG the book.ACC
'Mary has read (all of) the book.' perfectivizing
- (22) Mari el-ment a koncertre.
Mary away-went the concert.to
'Mary went to the concert.' directional

co-occurrence: ✗

- (23) *A cég meg-ki-vitelezte a tervet.
the firm PRT-out-carry.PST.3SG the plan.ACC
'The firm carried out the plan.' *meg*
- (24) *A cég el-ki-vitelezte a tervet.
the firm away-out-carry.PST.3SG the plan.ACC
'The firm carried out the plan.' directional/perfectivizing

- particles with highly bleached semantics (exhaustive *ki*, exhaustive *szét*, durative *el*, and durative *át*)

- (25) Ki-futottam magamat.
out-ran.1SG myself
'I ran myself to exhaustion.' exhaustive *ki*
- (26) Szét-tanultam az agyamat.
apart-learned.1SG the brain.1SG.ACC
'I have studied to exhaustion.' exhaustive *szét*
- (27) El-beszéltük az időt.
away-spoke.1PL the time.ACC
'We spoke away and ran out of time.' durative *el*
- (28) Át-aludtam a napot.
through-slept.1SG the day.ACC
'I slept through the day.' durative *át*

co-occurrence: ✓

- (29) [after 5 exams] mára ki-fel-vételiz-t-em magam
today.for out-up-entrance.exam.take-PST-1SG self.1SG
'I got exhausted with entrance exams for the day...' exhaustive *ki*

- (30) **Szét-fel-vételiztem** az agyam.
 apart-up-entrance.exam.take.PST.1SG the brain.1SG
 ‘I got exhausted with taking entrance exams’ exhaustive *szét*
- (31) **El-fel-vételiztem** az időt.
 away-up-entrance.exam.take.PST.1SG the time.ACC
 ‘I spent all the available time with tanking entrance exams.’ durative *el*
- (32) **Át-fel-vételiztem** a napot.
 through-up-entrance.exam.take.PST.1SG the day.ACC
 ‘I spent all day with taking entrance exams.’ durative *át*

3.3. Co-occurrence with resultatives

- ordinary resultative

- (33) **Vörös-re** sírtam a szemem.
 red.to cry.PST.1SG the eye.1SG
 ‘I got red eyes by crying.’

co-occurrence: ✗

- (34) ***Vörösre fel-vételiztem** a szemem.
 red.to up-entrance.exam.take.PST.1SG the eye.1SG
 ‘I got red eyes by taking entrance exams/an entrance exam.’
- (35) ***A cég készre ki-vitelezte** a tervet.
 the firm ready.to out-carry.PST.3SG the plan.ACC
 The firm carried out the plan.’

- other resultatives (*halálra* ‘to death’, *betegre* ‘sick’)

- (36) **Halálra/betegre ettem** magam.
 death.to/sick.to eat.pst.1sg myself
 ‘I ate myself entirely full/sick.’

co-occurrence: ✓

- (37) **Betegre fel-vételiztem** magam.
 sick.to up-entrance.exam.take-PST.1SG self.1SG
 ‘I got myself sick by taking entrance exams.’

3.4. Interim summary

(38)	PRT+bare object		X
	PRT+particle	ordinary	X
		exhaustive or durative	✓
	PRT+resultative	ordinary	X
		<i>halálra, betegre</i>	✓

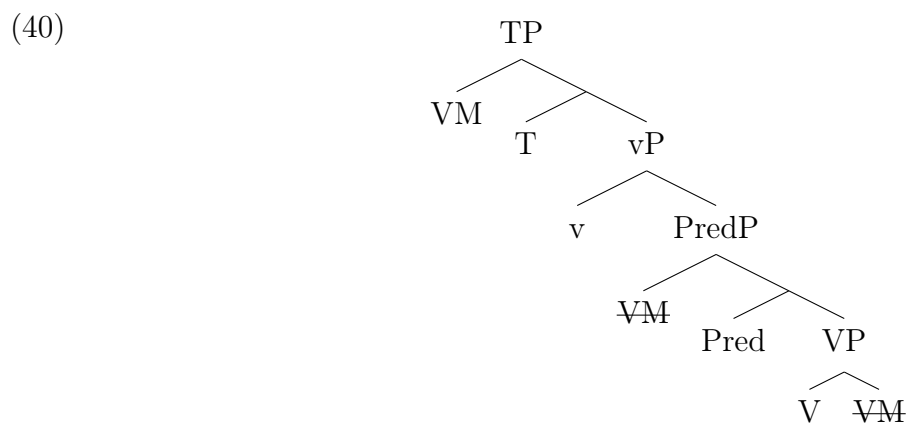
4. Theoretical background

We assume that particle verbs in general are constructed in narrow syntax.

VMs are predicative (É. Kiss, 2006), they are merged in the predicate of a Small Clause that is the complement of V (Hegedűs, 2013)



We adopt Surányi's (2009a; 2009b) proposal about particle syntax: particles are merged inside the VP, move to a vP-internal position (spec, PredP)³ where semantic incorporation happens, and they move on to their surface position in Spec, TP (see also Kenesei, 1988).



We take derivational suffixes to be exponents of syntactic heads; NMZ and VRB are meant to be theory-neutral labels.

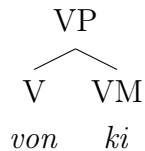
³Note that we use PredP in the sense of Zwart (1993) and Koster (1994): the projection whose specifier is occupied by a predicate, the locus of complex predicate formation; not to be confused with Bowers' 1993 Predicative Phrase.

5. The structure of inseparable particle verbs

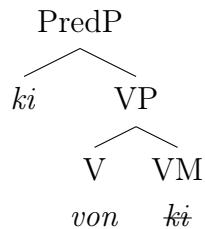
Proposal: it is the nominalization merged to the particle-verb construction that is responsible for the inseparability

Derivation:

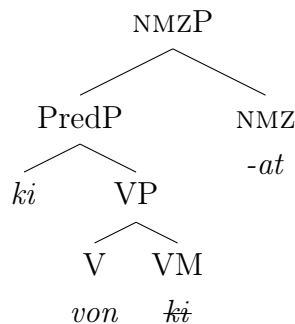
1. verb and particle merged in syntax



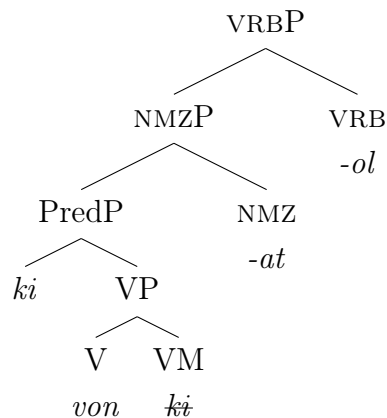
2. particle undergoes movement to above VP for semantic incorporation (Surányi, 2009a,b)



3. nominalizer(s) is(/are) merged



4. outermost verbalizer is merged



5. surface position of particles is spec, TP (Surányi, 2009a,b), but the particles in question cannot move there because

- (a) NMZ is a phase head, the particle could only move to spec, TP via NMZP's specifier
- (b) this is not possible because PPs cannot occupy specifier positions in the extended NP

(41) a pad a kertben, *a kertben pad
 the bench the garden.INE the garden.INE bench
 both: the bench in the garden'

- (c) PPs must be attributivized by *-i* or *levő* in order to sit in nominal Specs (Kenesei, 2014)

(42) a kert-i pad (43) a kertben levő pad
 the garden-ATTR bench the garden.INE being bench
 the bench in the garden' the bench in the garden'

- (d) particles cannot be attributivized

(44) *az el-i futás (45) *az el levő futás
 the away-ATTR running the away being running
 the running away' the running away'

6. Accounting for the co-occurrence restrictions

In inseparable particle constructions, the outermost verbal head has no complement position available for VMs.



This accounts for the incompatibility with ordinary particles, ordinary resultatives, and bare objects.

- (47) *Mari **tervet** **ki**-fogásolt.
 Mari plan.ACC out-object.PST.3SG
 'Mary was taking objection to a plan.' bare object
- (48) a. *A cég **meg-ki**-vitelezte a tervet.
 the firm PRT-out-carry.PST.3SG the plan.ACC
 The firm carried out the plan.' *meg*
- b. *A cég **el-ki**-vitelezte a tervet.
 the firm away-out-carry.PST.3SG the plan.ACC
 The firm carried out the plan.' directional/perfectivizing
- (49) a. *Vörösre fel-vételiztem a szemem.
 red.to up-entrance.exam.take.PST.1SG the eye.1SG
 'I got red eyes by taking entrance exams/an entrance exam.'

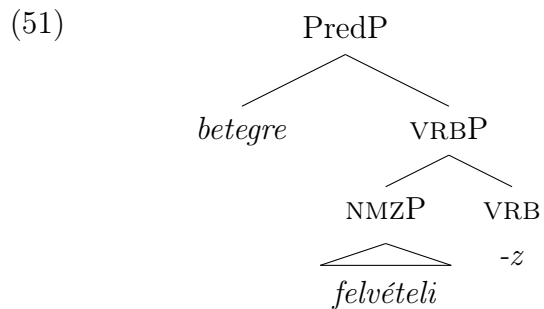
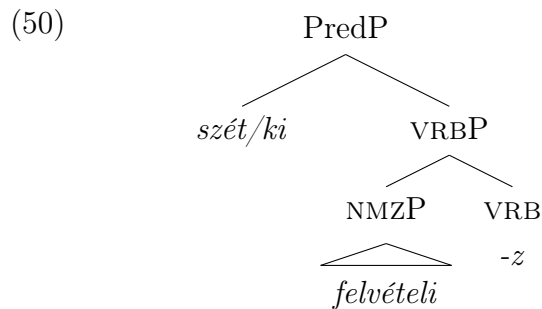
- b. *A cég készre ki-vitelezte a tervet.
 the firm ready.to out-carry.PST.3SG the plan.ACC
 The firm carried out the plan.’ ordinary resultatives

However, co-occurrence is OK with some particles and some resultatives.

- particles: exhaustive *ki*, exhaustive *szét*, durative *el*, and durative *át*
- resultatives: *halálra* ‘to death’, *betegre* ‘sick’

Proposal:

- VMs that inseparable particle verbs can combine with have the semantic component ‘to full degree’ in common
- they are merged as modifiers rather than complements of the verb
- they are merged in spec, PredP, the place of semantic incorporation
- therefore their presence does not depend on the availability of the complement position



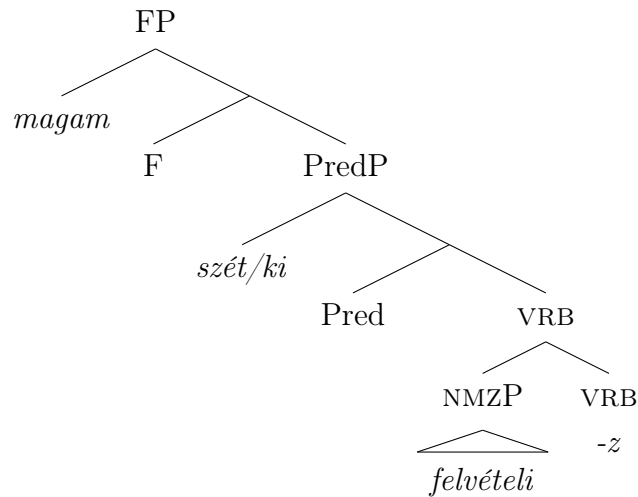
Both the inseparable particle verb *felvételiz* ‘take an entrance exam’ and the VP-modifier particle/resultative introduce an argument → a fake reflexive is obligatory

- (52) **Betegre**/ {**szét**/**ki**} **fel**-vételiztem *(*magam*).
 sick.to/apart/out up-entrance.exam.take-PST.1SG self.1SG
 ‘I got myself sick/exhausted by taking entrance exams.’

Neither *felvételiz* ‘take an entrance exam’ nor the VP-modifier particle/resultative has a complement position available

→ the theme *magam* ‘self-acc’ must be introduced as a specifier

(53)



This theme has the same syntactic and thematic properties as ordinary objects
→ ordinary objects, too, are merged as specifiers (see Bowers, 1993; Hale and Keyser, 1993; and Den Dikken, to appear)

Q: why can't VP-modifier particles/resultatives co-occur with separable particles?
Possible answers: (i) ban on the double delimitation on events; (ii) there is a clash between them in the VM position; (iii) excluded for case-theoretic reasons (The verb and the two particles all introduce an argument of their own. This makes for 3 arguments in total, with only two case assigners available.)

- (54) a. ***Ki el**-futottam magam.
out away-learn.PST.1SG self.1SG
'I got myself exhausted by running away.' directional
- b. ***Ki el**-olvastam magam/a könyvet.
out away-read.PST.1SG self.1SG/the book.ACC
'I got myself exhausted by reading all of the book.' perfectivizing

Q: What about derived verbs that can combine with regular particles?
Answer: These are merged differently: incorporation vs. conflation (cf. Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002 vs. Haugen 2009; Mateu 2012). Simple roots can form a complex head with the verbalizer (by head adjunction), making the structural complement position available for the particle/resultative.

- (55) a. János el-lapát-ol-t-a a havat.
John away-shovel-VRB-PST-3SG the snow.ACC
'John has shoveled the snow away.'
- b. Ma el-email-ez-t-em a választ.
today away-email-VRB-PST-1SG the answer.ACC
'I emailed the answer today.'

7. Variation

In our judgments, about half of the verbs on our list (those in bold) actually feature optionally separable particles. These particle may be separated to some extent, in some contexts.

(56)	- <i>ás_N-ol_V</i>	<i>kifogásol</i> ‘take objection to’ <i>befolyásol</i> ‘influence’
	- <i>at_N-ol_V</i>	<i>kivonatot</i> ‘précis’
	- <i>t_N-el_N-ez_V</i>	<i>feltételez</i> ‘assume’ <i>kivitelez</i> ‘carry out’ <i>kivételez</i> ‘show a favour toward’ <i>bevételez</i> ‘enter as income’ <i>szemrevételez</i> ‘inspect’ <i>utánvételez</i> ‘collect (value) upon delivery’
	- <i>t_N-el_N-i_N-z_V</i> (<i>ik</i>)	<i>felvételizik</i> ‘take an entrance exam’

(57) neutral sentence with verb cluster

- a. János **ki-fogásolni** / **fel-tételezni** akart valamit.
John out-object.INF / up-assume.INF wanted something.ACC
‘John wanted to take objection to / assume something.’
- b. János ***ki** akart **fogásolni** / **fel** akart **tételezni** valamit.
John out wanted object.INF / up wanted assume.INF something.ACC
‘John wanted to take objection to / assume something.’

(58) neutral sentence with verb cluster

- a. János **be-folyásolni** akarta Marit.
John in-influence.INF wanted Mary.ACC
‘John wanted to influence Mary.’
- b. (?/?)János **be** akarta **folyásolni** Marit.
John in wanted influence.INF wanted Mary.ACC
‘John wanted to influence Mary.’

(59) negation

- a. János nem **be-folyásolta** Marit.
John not in-influence.PST.3SG Mary.ACC
‘John did not influence Mary.’
- b. */?János nem **folyásolta** **be** Marit.
John not influence.PST.3SG in Mary.ACC
‘John did not influence Mary.’

(60) narrow focus

- a. JÁNOS **be-folyásolta** Marit
John in-influence.PST.3SG Mary.ACC
‘It was John that influenced Mary.’
- b. ?*JÁNOS **folyásolta** **be** Marit
John influence.PST.3SG in Mary.ACC
‘It was John that influenced Mary.’

(61) imperative

- a. Hát **be-folyásold** Marit!
DISC.PRT in-influence.IMP.2SG Mary.ACC
‘So try to influence Mary!’

b. *?Hát **folyásold** **be** Marit!
 DISC.PRT influence.IMP.2SG in Mary.ACC
 ‘So try to influence Mary!’

Strictly inseparable and optionally inseparable particle verbs have no systematic (morpho)syntactic differences:

- this is not a difference bw. *-t* and *-ás* nominalizations (*kifogásol* ‘take objection to’, *befolyásol* ‘influence’, *kivételez* ‘show a favour toward’, *feltételez* ‘assume’)
- this is not a difference bw. the number of nominalizing affixes (1: *kifogásol* ‘take objection to’, *befolyásol* ‘influence’, 2: *kivételez* ‘show a favour toward’, *feltételez* ‘assume’)
- the same verb+nominalizer+verbalizer sequence may combine with a strictly inseparable particle and an optionally separable particle (*kivételez* ‘show a favour toward’, *bevételez* ‘enter as income’)

Proposal:

- the two orders (separated vs. not separated) correlate with different structures for the particle-verb construction
- not separated use: particle below the outermost nominalization, structure as above
- separated use: analogical reanalysis has taken place, the particle is merged above the outermost nominalization, as the complement (SC predicate of the outermost verb)
- relatively transparent directional meaning tied to the particle helps reanalysis (e.g. *bevételez* vs. *kivételez*)
- morphologically simple verb with identical meaning also helps reanalysis (compare *feltételez* with *feltesz*)

8. Conclusions

We aimed to

- analyze derived particle verbs with inseparable particles;
- account for their dual behavior w.r.t other particles/resultatives;
- show that not all VMs are merged in the same position.

and claimed that

- ⇒ Inseparable particles of derived verbs are (i) inserted into the structure in syntax, and (ii) are inseparable because of a nominalizer in the structure.
- ⇒ Semantically bleached particles/resultatives referring to ‘(full) degree’ are compatible with inseparable particle verbs because they are introduced as specifiers, as opposed to regular particles/resultatives, which are predicates of complement Small Clauses.
- ⇒ Word order variation w.r.t. separability is due to a structural reanalysis of the particle.

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