Across the river and into the syntactic trees*

Veronika Hegedűs and Éva Dékány

CGRH meeting
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1 Naked Ps are true adpositions

Hungarian has two kinds of postpositions: so-called “dressed” Ps take morphologically unmarked complements, while so-called “naked” Ps take oblique complements.

naked P

(1) a híd-on át
    the bridge via
    across the bridge

dressed P

(2) a híd mellett
    the bridge next.to
    next to the bridge

On these two classes, see Marácz (1986, 1989); É. Kiss (1999); Asbury et al. (2007); Hegedűs (2006); Asbury (2008); Dékány (2011); Hegedűs (2013).

In this talk, we are interested in the distribution of ”naked” Ps only. We assume the following structure:

(3) \([P_P \text{naked } P \ [P_P \text{complement }]]\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>postposition</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>case</th>
<th>agreement with pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alul</td>
<td>below</td>
<td>superessive</td>
<td>doesn’t co-occur with a pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belül</td>
<td>inside of</td>
<td>superessive</td>
<td>doesn’t co-occur with a pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>felül</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>superessive</td>
<td>doesn’t co-occur with a pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>innen</td>
<td>on this side of</td>
<td>superessive</td>
<td>doesn’t co-occur with a pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The research presented here is supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA NK 100804).
Why naked Ps? The literature claims that these Ps are rather freely separable from their complement. In previous work, we have noticed that separability is, in fact, restricted.

Aim: test separability P by P, to discover if there are any patterns, and if so, explain them.

2 The literature’s claims regarding naked Ps

- Complementation
  - Case-marking of the complement is oblique

\[(4) \quad \text{a} \ fal\text{-on} \ át
\]
\[\quad \text{the wall-sup through}
\]
\[\quad \text{through the wall}
\]

  - Can be used without an overt complement

\[(5) \quad \text{János át-jött/ment.}
\]
\[\quad \text{John through-come.past.3sg/go.past.3sg}
\]
\[\quad \text{John came/went over.}
\]

- Agreement
  - No agreement with the complement
3 The constituency of the PP

Several (lexicalist) syntactic and formal semantic analyses take the position that a naked P acting as a verbal particle has never formed a constituent with the DP (Laczkó and Rákosi, 2011). In this view, the P is merged with the verb directly, therefore (11) does not involve movement and is irrelevant for separability. We argue that the P of (11) is merged with the DP in an extended PP, and it reaches the surface position via movement.

(12) \([\text{Top}P \ \text{János} [\text{PredP át} [\text{PredP ment} [vP János ment [PP át a híd-on ]]]]]\)
Focusing in *csak*-phrase

(13) A vár-ba [ csak a híd-on át / keresztül ] lehet be-jutni.
the fort-ill only the bridge-sup over / across may in-get.inf
One may only get in the castle over the bridge.

(14) A rabló-t [ csak a határ-on túl / innen ] keresik.
the robber-acc only the border-sup beyond / this.side search
They are only looking for the robber across the border / on this side of the border.

Contrastive Topic

(15) [A ház-zal szemben], a JÁTSZÓTÉR van.
the house-ins opposite the playground is
The playground is opposite the house.

(16) [A folyó-n túl], a VÁROST lehet látni.
the river-sup over the city.acc can see.inf
Across the river, the city can be seen.

PP-with-DP

(17) [Át a folyó-n] a lovak-kal!
across the river-sup the horses-ins
Across the river with the horses.

Therefore even if the naked P acts as a verbal particle, the underlying structure is:

(18) \[ V P \[ V [PP \text{naked} P [PP \text{complement}]] \] \]

4 Naked Ps behave alike wrt agreement

No agreement on the P: all well-behaved except for *kívül* ‘outside of’.

(19) a. rajt-am kívül
sup-1sg outside.of
apart from me

b. %kívül-em
outside.of-1sg
apart from me

No demonstrative concord: all well-behaved, except for *kívül* on a special reading.

(20) ez-en kívül a ház-on kívül
this-sup outside.of the house-sup outside.of
apart from this house (NOT outside of this house)

Why is *kívül* “outside of” exceptional?
Because of its historical origin. It has two sources: (i) possessive (like most of the “dressed” Ps; also cf. e-kívül ‘lit. this-outside’, rend-kívül ‘extraordinarily’), and (ii) appositive next to a superessive PP.
first one, where kívül has an unmarked complement, disappeared.

**Conclusion:** The literature is right in claiming that naked Ps bear no agreement and do not participate in demonstrative concord.

## 5 Differences bw. naked Ps: no overt complement

### 5.1 The data

#### Grammatical

(21) A táská-d alul van
the bag-poss.2sg below be.3sg
Your bag is down there.

(22) A táská-d belül van
the bag-poss.2sg inside be.3sg
Your bag is inside.

(23) A táská-d fölül van
the bag-poss.2sg above be.3sg
Your bag is up there.

(24) A szék-ek kívül vannak.
The chair-pl outside be.3pl
The chairs are outside.

(25) A labda kívül-re es-ett.
the ball outside.to fall-past.3sg
The ball landed outside.

(26) A hang kívül-ról jött.
the sound outside.from came.3sg
The sound came from outside.

(27) János át-jött.
John through-came.3sg
John came over.

(28) együtt van-nak/*van
together be-3pl/be.3sg
they are together/he is together

(29) A posta közel van
the post.office close.to be.3sg
The post office is close by/to here.

(30) A lövés-ek szemből jött-ek.
the shot-pl opposite.from came-3pl
The shots came from the opposite side.

(31) A posta szemben van.
the post.office opposite be.3sg
The post office is opposite (to us/here).

(32) Éppen szembe-jött, amikor
just opposite-came.3sg when
He was coming towards me when

Not perfect

(33) (?)túl ment.
beyond went.3sg
It went too far.

(34) ??A posta szemközt van.
the post.office opposite be.3sg
The post office is opposite.

Ungrammatical

(35) *János túl-ra megy
John beyond-to go
John goes beyond

(36) *János túl-ról jön
John beyond-from come
John comes from beyond
The bag is on this side.

John walked to the end

NB: ok iff végig is a temporal adv.

Conclusion: not all naked Ps can appear without an overt complement.

### 5.2 Analysis

We suggest that there is a neat pattern behind the grammatical / not perfect / ungrammatical divide above.

**Grammatical:**
The Figure is interpreted wrt an implicit ground here/there, the spatial center of deixis of the discourse. We suggest that ”no overt complement” means the presence of an implicit complement rather than a genuine intransitive P.

(40) $[PP \text{ naked } P [PP \text{ (here/there)}]]$

Not perfect: túl “beyond” and szemközt “opposite”
The Ground cannot be interpreted as here/there, the spatial center of deixis of the discourse. The these data require a strong context, whereby a specific Ground is recoverable from the speech situation. We suggest that these are elliptical structures.

(41) Túl-ment-ünk a sark-on
    beyond-went-1pl the corner-sup
    We went beyond the corner.

(42) Túl-ment-ünk
    beyond-went-1pl
    We went beyond.

Structure for (42):

(43) $[PP \text{ túl } [PP \text{ a sark-on }]]$

Ungrammatical: túl-ra “beyond-to”, túl-ról “beyond-from”, innen “on this side of”, végig “along to the end”, keresztül “via”
The meaning of these Ps is such that they require a Ground different from here/there. As only here/there can be implicit, these Ps have an overt complement. Further question: why don’t they allow ellipsis?

**Conclusion:** naked Ps cannot be intransitive, but their complement here/there can appear with a zero phonological form.
6 Differences bw. naked Ps: PP-internal orderings

Most neutral position: postpositional, immediately behind the complement. Other possible PP-internal positions: i) DP > degree expression > P, and ii) prepositional. Empirical question: is one of these orders systematically available to more Ps than the other? We expect that if any of the orders is easier to get, it is the DP > degree expression > P order, because it is still postpositional.

Degree modifier intervention

Both grammatical

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>44</th>
<th>a fal-on teljesen át</th>
<th>45</th>
<th>át a fal-on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the wall-sup wholly through</td>
<td></td>
<td>through the wall-sup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>entirely through the wall</td>
<td></td>
<td>through the wall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46</th>
<th>a ház-hoz egészen közel</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>közel a ház-hoz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the house-all completely close</td>
<td></td>
<td>close the house-all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>very close to the house</td>
<td></td>
<td>close to the house</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>48</th>
<th>a ház-zal közvetlenül szemben</th>
<th>49</th>
<th>szemben a ház-zal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the house-ins immediately opposite.at</td>
<td></td>
<td>opposite.at the house-ins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>right opposite the house</td>
<td></td>
<td>opposite the house</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>50</th>
<th>a folyó-n teljesen túl</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>túl a folyó-n</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the river-sup completely beyond</td>
<td></td>
<td>beyond the river-sup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>completely beyond the river</td>
<td></td>
<td>beyond the river</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>52</th>
<th>a folyó-n teljesen végig</th>
<th>53</th>
<th>végig a folyó-n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the river-sup completely end.to</td>
<td></td>
<td>end.to the river-sup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>all along the river</td>
<td></td>
<td>all along the river</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asymmetry I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>54</th>
<th>a folyó-n teljesen keresztül</th>
<th>55</th>
<th>?keresztül a folyó-n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the river-sup completely through</td>
<td></td>
<td>through the river-sup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>completely across the river</td>
<td></td>
<td>across the river</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asymmetry II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>56</th>
<th>a ház-on teljesen belüli</th>
<th>57</th>
<th>*belüli a ház-on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the house-sup completely inside</td>
<td></td>
<td>inside the house-sup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>completely inside the house</td>
<td></td>
<td>inside the house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>58</th>
<th>a csapat-tal teljesen együtt</th>
<th>59</th>
<th>*együtt Mari-val</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the team-ins completely together</td>
<td></td>
<td>together Mary-ins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>completely together with the team</td>
<td></td>
<td>together with Mary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Asymmetry III.

Discussion:
1) most naked Ps can be separated from the complement by a degree modifier, this order does not yield severe ungrammaticality with any naked P.
2) the prepositional order is much more restricted, some naked Ps reject it entirely 
3) correlation bw. the 2 orders: the prepositional order is as good or worse than the separated postpositional

Conclusion: i) the literature is not right in claiming that naked Ps can generally be prepositional, ii) the prepositional order is never better than the one with degree modifier intervention.

7 Differences bw. naked Ps: separability in the clause

Separability in two ways: i) P is immediately preverbal (particle), DP is postverbal, and ii) Wh-movement of DP with P-stranding.
Empirical question: is one of these orders systematically easier to get than the other?
We expect that if any of these orders is easier to get, it is the one with the preverbal P, as P-stranding
Acting as a verbal particle

P > V > DP+case

Both grammatical

(74) János át-ment a híd-on
John throught-went the bridge-sup
John crossed the bridge.

(76) Együtt vacsoráz-ott Mari-val.
together done-past.3sg Mary-with
He dined together with Mary.

(78) János keresztül-ment a híd-on
John across-went the bridge-sup
John crossed the bridge.

Wh-movement, P-stranding

DP+case > V > P

(75) Mi-n ment át János?
what-sup went through John
What did John cross?

(77) Ki-vel vacsoráz-ott együtt?
Who-with dine-past.3sg together
Who did he dine with?

(79) Melyik híd-on ment keresztül János?
which bridge-sup went through John
Which bridge did John go through?

(81) Mi-hez van közel a posta?
what-allat be-3sg close.to the post.office
What is the post office close to?

Asymmetry

(83) Ki-vel jött szembe János?
who-with came opposite.to John
Who did John walk towards?

(85) Melyik híd-on sétál-t végig?
which bridge-sup walk-past.3sg along
Which bridge did he walk across?

(87) ?Melyik vonal-n volt belül a labda?
which line-sup was inside the ball
Which line was the ball inside?

(89) ?Mi-vel van szemben a fa?
what-with be.3sg opposite the tree
What is the tree opposite to?
Both ungrammatical

90) ??/*A kórház szemközt van a hospital opposite be.3sg the postá-val post.office-ins The hospital is opposite the post office.

91) ??Mi-vel van szemközt a posta? what-with be opposite the post.office What is the post office opposite to?

92) *Az almá-t alul ad-ta az the apple-acc below give past.3sg the ár-on price-sup He sold the apple cheaper than expected.

93) *Mi-n üt-ött alul? what-sup hit past.3sg below What did he hit below?

94) *a kép felüül van a kandalló-n the picture abov be.3sg the fireplace-sup The picture is above the fireplace.

95) *Mi-n van feül a kép? what-sup be.3sg above the picture What is the picture above?

96) *A ház innen van a fá-k-on. the house this.side be.3sg the tree-pl-sup The house is between us and the trees.

97) *Mi-n van innen a ház? what-sup be.3sg this.side the house The house is on this side of what?

98) *A labda kívül-re es-ett a the ball outside-to fall past.3sg the vonal-on. line-sup The fall outside of the area enclosed by the line.

99) *Mi-n es-ett kívül-re a What-sup fall past.3sg outside-to the labda? ball What did the ball fall outside of?

100) *A labda túl-ra es-ett a the ball beyond-to fall past.3sg the vonal-on. line-sup The ball landed on the other side of the line.

101) *Mi-n es-ett túl-ra a what-sup fall past.3sg beyond-to the labda? ball What did the ball fall beyond?

102) *Az utazó túl-ról jött a the traveller beyond-from came the hegy-en. mountain-on The traveller came from beyond the mountain.

103) *Mi-n jött túl-ról János? what-sup came beyond-from John What did John come from beyond?

104) *A labda kívül van a vonal-on. the ball outside be.3sg the line-sup The ball is outside of the line.

105) *Mi-n es-ett kívül a labda? what-sup fall past outside.of the ball What did the ball fall outside of?
(106) *A ház túl van a folyó-n.  
the house over be.3sg the river-sup  
The house is over the river.

(107) *Mi-n van túl a híd?  
what-sup be  beyond the bridge  
What is the bridge beyond?

Source (Ablative) Ps:

(108) *A hang kívül-ről jött a  
the sound outside-from came the  
ház-on.  
house-sup  
The sound came from outside the house.

(109) *Mi-n jött kívül-ről a hang?  
what-sup came outside-from the sound  
What did the sound come outside of?

(110) *A lövés-ek szem-ből jött-ek a  
the shot-pl opposite-from came-3pl the  
postá-val.  
post.office-with  
The shots came from opposite the post-office.

(111) *Mi-vel jött-ek szem-ből a  
what-with came-3pl opposite-from the  
lővés-ek?  
shot-pl  
What did the shots come opposite from?

Discussion:
1) not every naked P is equally separable from the complement in the clause
2) there is no significant asymmetry bw. the two kinds of separability
3) SourcePs, which may potentially show an asymmetry (might separate by P-stranding only), are inseparable

Conclusion: the literature is not right in claiming that naked Ps can be generally separated from their complement in the clause.

8 Interim summary

Naked Ps behave alike wrt to the type of complement they take and their agreement properties. However, not all of them can appear in positions other than immediately behind the complement.

Some naked Ps require an overt complement. “No overt complement” means an implicit here/there complement. The availability of this complement depends on the meaning of the naked P.

Within the PP, most can be separated from the complement if postpositional. The prepositional order, however, is not available to all naked Ps.

In the clause, not every P is separable from the complement. Separability by verbal particle movement and by P-stranding for the same P are roughly equally possible.

Being “naked” is a necessary but not sufficient condition for separability from the complement.

The separability of individual naked Ps from their complement is best characterized by a scale: route naked Ps (át ‘via/across/through’, keresztül ‘via/across/through’, végig ‘along to the end of’) are the
most separable, and *innen ‘on this side of’ and *kívül ‘outside of’ are the least separable.

Interestingly, there is an almost complete correlation between a P having a prepositional order as well and being able to strand its complement.

9 Different readings of the same P

9.1 Locative vs. more abstract readings

New observation: sometimes naked Ps are more easily separable on abstract readings than on spatial readings.

(112)  

a. *A labda kívül van a vonal-on.  
   the ball outside be.3sg the line-sup  
   The ball is outside of the line.

b. Ez kívül van a hatáskör-é-n.  
   this outside be.3sg the purview-poss-sup  
   This is out of his line.

(113)  

a. *Mi-n es-ett kívül a labda?  
   what-sup fall-past outside.of the ball  
   What did the ball fall outside of?

b. Melyik bíró-nak a háztáskörén es-ett kívül?  
   which judge-dat the jurisdiction-poss-sup fall-past.3sg outside.of  
   Which judge’s jurisdiction did it fall outside of?

(114)  

a. *A ház túl van a folyó-n.  
   the house over be.3sg the river-sup  
   The house is over the river.

b. Mari túl van a vizsgál-n.  
   Mary over be.3sg the exam-sup  
   Mary has taken the exam.

(115)  

a. *Mi-n van túl a híd?  
   what-sup be beyond the bridge  
   What is the bridge beyond?

b. Hány vizsg-án van túl Mari?  
   how.many exam-sup be beyond Mary  
   How many exams did Mary already take?
9.2 Locative vs. temporal readings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>postposition</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>temporal</th>
<th>reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>át</td>
<td>through, across</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belül</td>
<td>inside of</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>within</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keresztül</td>
<td>through</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túl</td>
<td>beyond</td>
<td>yes, but restricted</td>
<td>beyond</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Naked Ps allowing a temporal reading

Old observation: Even if a naked P is separable from the complement on a locative reading, it is never separable from it in the temporal reading (Marácz, 1984; Asbury, 2008; Surányi, 2009).\(^1\)

- át
  - prepositional order
    
    (116) a híd-on át
    
    the bridge-sup through
    
    through/via the bridge
    
    (117) át a híd-on
    
    through the bridge-sup
    
    through the bridge.
    
    (118) három nap-on át
    
    three day-sup through
    
    through three days
    
    (119) *át három nap-on
    
    through three day-sup
    
    through three days
  - verbal particle
    
    (120) Mari át-ment a híd-on.
    
    Mary through-go.past.3sg the bridge-sup
    
    Mary went through the bridge.
    
    (121) *Mari át-dolgozott három nap-on.
    
    Mary through-worked three day-sup
    
    Mary worked through three days.

\(^1\)Belül ”inside of” isn’t separable from the complement on the locative reading either.

(i) a doboz-on belül

the box-sup inside.of

inside the box

(ii) *belül a doboz-on

inside.of the box-sup

inside the box
• _keresztül_ can precede the complement as a locative.

  – prepositional order

  (122) az út-on keresztül
      the road-sup across
      across the road

  (123) keresztül az út-on
      across the road-sup
      across the road.

  (124) három hét-en keresztül
      three week-on across
      through three weeks

  (125) *keresztül három hét-en
      through three week-sup
      through three weeks

  – verbal particle

  (126) Mindenki keresztül-ment az út-on
      everyone across-go.past.3sg the road-sup
      Everyone went across the road.

      everyone across-work-past.3sg three week-sup
      Everyone worked through three weeks.

• _túl_ can precede the complement as a locative.

  – prepositional order

  (128) a folyó-n túl
      the river-sup beyond
      beyond the river

  (129) túl a folyó-n
      beyond the river-sup
      beyond the river

  (130) 8 nap-on túl
      8 day-sup beyond
      beyond 8 days

  (131) *túl 8 nap-on
      beyond 8 day-sup
      beyond 8 days

  – verbal particle

  (132) A festék túl-ment a vonal-on.
      the paint beyond-went the line-sup
      The paint went beyond the line.

  (133) *A sérülés túl-gyógyul-t 8 nap-on.
      the injury beyond-heal-past.3sg 8 day-sup
      It took the injury more than 8 days to heal.

  Cf.:

  (134) A gyógyulás [8 nap-on túl is] el-tart-hat.
      the healing 8 day-sup beyond too away-last-possib
      It may take the injury more than 3 days to heal.
How to explain these data? We can think of four solutions, but we don’t like them.

1. The structure of temporal PPs is not the same as locative PPs
   But: nobody believes this, the structure of temporal, locative and causal PPs all involve a static projection (PlaceP: at in space, at in time) over a dynamic projection (PathP: to/from in space, until/from in time) (Roy and Svenonius, 2009), with the figure introduced in pP.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
pP \\
p \\
\text{PathP} \\
\text{Path} \\
\text{Place} \\
\text{DP}
\end{array}
\]

2. The landing site of temporal Ps is different from the landing site of locative Ps
   But: not a credible idea, completely ad-hoc, explains nothing

3. some people have argued that lexical items may come with built-in linearization instructions (Bye and Svenonius, in press)
   But: this is proposed as a solution for a different phenomenon (morphemes showing up where syntax could not have placed them), plus the problem is not with the position of the lexical item itself but the position of a lexical item on a particular reading

4. some people have argued that when a lexical item has two different readings, and these readings show up in different surface positions, this is a way of language trying to disambiguate (Biberauer et al., 2007)
   But: naked Ps don’t have to be separated from the complement on the locative reading either, so a DP > naked P sequence is ambiguous bw. a locative and temporal reading, without causing any problems

### 9.3 Fake objects with temporal readings

We have seen that naked Ps are inseparable on a temporal reading.

(136) dolgoz-ik [egy hét-en át]
work-3sg a week-sup through
He works through a week.

(137) *áti-dolgoz-ik [egy hét-en t_i]
through-work-3sg a week-sup
He works through a week.

However, separation is OK if the complement bears accusative case. The complement is a fake object then.

(138) át-dolgoz-ik egy het-et
through-work-3sg a week-acc
He works through a week.
The fake object is obligatory.

(139) *á-t-dolgoz-ik  
through-work-3sg

Why? We have seen that á-t does not require an overt complement (140), and dolgozik “work” is not obligatory transitive (141).

(140) á-t-jött  
throught-come.past.3sg  
He came over.

(141) a. Most is dolgoz-ik.  
now too work-3sg  
He is working right now, too.

b. Még egy het-et dolgoz-ik, azután szabadság-ra megy.  
yet one week-acc work-3sg then holiday-onto go  
He works one more week, then he goes on holiday.

References


