Ps in Hungarian resultatives and result verbs

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Introduction

• In the argument structure of Hungarian resultative constructions (e.g. paint blue), and typical result verbs (e.g. break), the result component is lexicalized by a ‘satellite’.

• Either a verbal particle or a directional PP expresses the result.

• Aim: I am going to look at some further cases, where there is a result in the argument structure and see how it is lexicalized
The verbs under consideration are: (i) result verbs and (ii) denominal/deadjectival verbs

Claims:

- Typical result verbs (e.g. *tör* ‘break’) need a PP, but some unaccusative verbs can be telic without a PP and in those cases the internal argument forms a complex predicate with the verb.
- Among derived verbs, privative deadjectival verbs and to some extent transitive denominal location verbs can be telic on their own.
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1 Resultative constructions

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Hungarian resultative constructions involve a directional PP marked with the sublative suffix (-ra/re) or a verbal particle, or both:

(1)  a. Anna kék-re festette a fal-at.
     Anna blue-SUB painted the wall-ACC
     ‘Anna painted the wall blue.’

     b. Anna le-festette a fal-at.
     Anna down-painted the wall-ACC
     ‘Anna painted the wall.’

     c. Anna le-festette a fal-at kék-re.
     Anna down-painted the wall-ACC blue-SUB
     ‘Anna painted the wall blue.’
• Alternatively, some verbs take a secondary predicate marked with the translative suffix as their complement.

• válk/változik/változtat(tr) ‘turn into’; alakul/alakít(tr) ‘change’, fejlődik ‘develop’, formál ‘shape, form(at)’, tesz ‘make, put’ etc.

(2) a. A vihar ijesztő-vé vált.
    the storm scary-TRA became
    ‘The storm became scary.’

b. A tésztá-t gombóc-cá formálta.
    the dough-ACC ball-TRA shaped
    ‘She shaped the dough into a ball.’

c. A magyar-t hivatalos nyelv-vé teszi.
    the Hungarian-ACC official language-TRA makes
    ‘It makes Hungarian an official language.’
The syntax of resultatives

- These sentences express complex events, they are all telic sentences with the particle or the PP expressing the result/endpoint.
  - Early analyses base-generated them there as arguments (Horvath 1986; Brody 1990; also: lexicalist proposals, mostly about particles)
  - Later proposals move them there from their base position behind the verb. The category/semantics of the landing position is debated still (Spec,VP; Spec,AspP; Spec,PredP)
Derived complex predicates

- I take the movement of secondary predicates into the preverbal position to be a syntactic complex predicate formation (along with semantic incorporation), following É. Kiss (2006), Surányi’s (2009) two-step derivation, and others.

- The complex predicate is telic with resultative secondary predicates, the verb on its own is atelic.

- Hegedűs (2013): the particle is a functional P head and forms a phrase with the sublative (pP).
Other ways of lexicalizing result?

- Do we have cases when the result is not a separate secondary predicate but part of the verb?
- Do we have telic verbs and if so, what kind of verbs?
- Do we have cases where telicity is not lexicalized by a PP? Some objects seem to confirm a positive answer (e.g. Kardos 2016, Kardos & Farkas’ talk yesterday), but do we find any other groups/patterns?
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Result verbs: English vs Hungarian

- The distinction between manner and result verbs (e.g. *hammer* vs. *break*) has been claimed to be relevant in English (e.g. Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998, 2010).
- Result verbs have been argued to incorporate the result state in English; not the case in Hungarian.
- Result verbs have transitive/causative and intransitive/anticausative forms, both are atelic.
- They are not derived verbs: they conflate a completely acategorial root

(4)  
tör vs. tör-ik;  mozd-ít vs. mozd-ul;  
break break-IK;  move-VRB.TR move-VRB;  
sülly-eszt vs. sülly-ed  
sink-VRB.TR sink-VRB
Telicity with PP

(5)  
   a.  János egy pillanat alatt *(el-)törte az új vázá-t.  
       John one moment under away-broke the new vase-ACC  
       ‘John broke the new vase in a moment.’
   b.  Az új váza egy pillanat alatt *(el-)tört.  
       the new vase one moment under away-broke  
       ‘The new vase broke in a moment.’

(6)  
   a.  A kalóz egy óra alatt *(el-)süllyesztette a  
       the pirate one hour under away-sank the  
       hajó-t.  
       ship-ACC  
       ‘The pirate sank the ship in an hour.’
   b.  A hajó egy óra alatt *(el-)süllyedt.  
       the ship one hour under away-sank  
       ‘The ship sank in an hour.’
Telic unaccusatives

- Some unaccusative (anticausative, reflexive, middle) verbs can be telic.
- They have bare nominal subjects (maybe sometimes indefinite ones), which are preverbal verb modifiers, i.e., they form complex predicates with the verb.

(7) Egy óra alatt repedések keletkeztek a fal-on.
    'Cracks appeared on the wall in an hour.'

(8) Öt perc alatt hatalmas vihar támadt.
    'A huge storm arose in five minutes.'

(9) Egy hét alatt zenekar alakult az osztály-ban.
    'A band was formed in the class in a week.'
Telic unaccusatives (cont.)

- They can have a definite subject when there is a focus in the clause, i.e., they are like Definiteness Effect verbs. Focus neutralizes the DE (Szabolcsi 1986, 1992).

  (10) A legnagyobb repedések EZEN A FALON keletkeztek the largest cracks this.SUP the wall.SUP originated egy óra alatt. one hour under ‘The largest cracks appeared on this wall in an hour.’

- The neutral telic sentences involve a complex predicate of the internal argument and the verb.

- Particles can also appear with these verbs (except for *keletkezik* ‘originate’ perhaps), as a different way of creating a complex event.
Result in the verb: derived verbs

- Sometimes the result is encoded in the verb in a different way. Cross-linguistically, we find various patterns (e.g. Acedo-Matellán 2016 on verb-framed and satellite-framed languages).

- Derived verbs that contain a nominal/adjectival root introducing an endpoint/scalar property can be telic in languages.

- Here there are two syntactic options
  - no movement of result at all: conflation, i.e. base-generation under V (based on Haugen 2009); or
  - head/root movement into V: incorporation (following Hale & Keyser’s 1993, 2002 derivations but using Haugen’s 2009 terminology)
Result in the verb: derived verbs

- Incorporation means that the verbs lexicalizes the result/endpoint of the event, so it provides telicity (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002 etc.).
- Alternatively: V lexicalizes multiple heads without movement, as in nanosyntax (Ramchand 2008)

(11)  

a. The screen *cleared*.  
b. Sam *saddled* the horse.
Deadjectival verbs

(12) Peti egy óra alatt *(fel-)apr-ít-otta a Pete one hour under up-small-VRB-PAST.DEFO.3SG the fá-t. wood-ACC
‘Pete cut the wood into small pieces in an hour.’

(13) A festék két perc alatt *(be-)kék-ít-i az the dye two minute under into-blue-VRB-DEFO.3SG the anyag-ot. fabric-ACC
‘The dyestuff dyes the fabric blue in two minutes.’

(14) Ádám ujja egy pillanat alatt Adam finger.POSS one moment under *(el-)kék-ül-t. away-blue-VRB-PAST.3SG
‘Adam’s finger turned blue in a moment.’
Deadjectival verbs (cont.)

- They need a particle to be telic, even though the adjectival root encodes the result state.
- The verbalizer creates atelic activity verbs.
- To some extent, the transitive form has a telic use, where it is a (quasi-)creation verb with an indefinite object:

  (15) Öt perc alatt fehér-ít-ett egy inget
       five minute under white-VRB-PAST.3SG one shirt.ACC
       (nekem).
       (DAT-1SG)
       ‘She bleached a shirt for me in five minutes.’
Privative deadjectival verbs

- Some privative transitive deadjectival verbs are telic, as was observed by Szabolcsi (1983).
- These are multiply derived verbs, they involve the caritive (privative) adjectival suffix -talan/telen ‘-less’

\[ (16) \text{por-talan-ít; lég-telen-ít; hatás-talan-ít} \]
\[ \text{dust-CAR-VRB air-CAR-VRB effect-CAR-VRB} \]
\[ \text{‘dust off; deaerate; deactivate’} \]

\[ (17) \text{A szakértő 10 perc alatt} \]
\[ \text{the expert 10 minute under} \]
\[ \text{hatás-talan-ít-otta a bombá-t.} \]
\[ \text{effect-CAR-VRB-PAST.DEFO.3SG the bomb-ACC} \]
\[ \text{‘The expert deactivated the bomb in 10 minutes.} \]
Privative deadjectival verbs (cont.)

- With these verbs, the adjectival suffix brings in a scale with an endpoint.
- The privative suffix adds the demantic content ‘devoid of sth, -less’, which is the endpoint of a scale of having a certain property.
- This meaning component is not lost when the verbal suffix is added – the verb can be telic (a change of state with an endpoint of lacking sth).
Denominal verbs

- Denominal verbs are atelic, even though the result state is encoded in the nominal root
- They need a particle or other secondary predicate to be telic

(18) Peti két perc alatt *(fel-)darab-ol-ta
    Pete two minute under up-piece-VRB-PAST.DEFO.3SG
    az anyag-ot.
    the fabric-ACC
    ‘Pete cut the fabric up (into pieces) in two minutes.’

(19) Anna két perc alatt fel-kocká-z-ta
    Anna two minute under up-dice-VRB-PAST.DEFO.3SG
    a paradicsom-ot.
    the tomato-ACC
    ‘Anna diced (up) the tomato in two minutes.’
• A couple of transitive location verbs such as *dobozol* ‘box’ can be telic, but this seems rather marginal, their acceptability varies (Hegedűs 2018)

(20) Egy óra alatt (be-)palack-oz-tuk a bor-t.
    one hour under into-bottle-VRB-PAST.1PL the wine-ACC
    ‘We bottled the wine in an hour.’

(21) Egy óra alatt ?(be-)doboz-ol-tuk a könyv-ek-et.
    one hour under into-box-VRB-PAST.1PL the book-PL-ACC
    ‘We boxed the books in an hour.’

• The nominal root within the verb is the end-location of the movement in the action, i.e. the goal.
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Recap of the data

- Resultative secondary predicates are PPs/pPs; they form a complex predicate with the verb in syntax.
- The verb is only telic without an overt P in some lexically restricted cases:
  - Result verbs are only telic in some cases: unaccusative change-of-state verbs with a bare nominal → The internal argument is preverbal, forms a complex predicate, delimiting the event
  - The result/endpoint in derived verbs can be interpreted as the endpoint of the event (i.e. the verb can be telic): with privative deadjectival verbs and some transitive location verbs → Does this involve syntactic incorporation of result?
Lexicalizing result

- There is a strong syntactic requirement on the lexicalization of the result part of complex events.
- In Hale & Keyser’s (2002) structure, adapted to incorporate a functional layer for particles, the P/p lexicalizes the result/endpoint

\[(22) \quad [VP [V [pP INT-ARG [p [PP P N]]]]]]\]

- There are three options:
  - With regular resultatives, the pP/PP moves to the preverbal position. This is phrasal movement, completely productive.
  - Unaccusative Vs can form a complex predicate with their internal argument, there is no PP in the structure.
  - N/A to P to V incorporation takes place with privative deadjectival verbs and transitive location verbs, to a limited degree. (N to P to V is fully productive in English.)
(23) dobozol ‘box’ (telic)

V

V

N+P VRB

doboz -l

DP

pP

p

a könyveket

p_doboz

Path_doboz

PathP

N_doboz
(24) be-dobozol ‘into-box’ (and all “regular” telic verbs)

V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>VRB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doboz</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a könyveket</th>
</tr>
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pP

| be |

• Here the nominal root is merged under V with conflation (Haugen 2009, Mateu 2012)

• The result is not incorporated, it has to be lexicalized separately by a PP (a satellite in terms of Talmy 2000)
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More on telicity without overt P

There are some more verbs that can optionally get a telic interpretation without a(n overt) P in the sentence:

- Verbs of creation/consumption with a subcategorized indefinite object, e.g. épít egy házat ‘build a house’ (Kardos 2016), verbs with pseudo-objects, e.g. alszik egyet ‘lit. sleep one.acc’ (Kardos & Farkas’ talk yesterday) → The object measures out the event. This is the only productive group.

- There is a handful of semantically similar verbs, e.g. nyer ‘win’, talál ‘find’, listed by Gyuris & Kiefer (2008) → These can be argued to involve an object that measures out the event, as well (can arguably be considered verbs of creation).
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Conclusions

- Telicity without an overt P(P) is only possible to a limited extent in Hungarian and it is never obligatory.
- Contrary to verb-framed and weak satellite-framed languages, Hungarian resultative predicates need a PP, as well, which makes it a strong satellite-framed language (Acedo-Matellán 2016; Hegedűs 2017).
  Furthermore, Hungarian V does not lexicalize the result in the majority of result verbs and derived verbs, either.
- There are two sets of verbs that are exceptional: (i) -talan/telen privative deadjectival verbs productively; (ii) transitive location verbs restrictedly.
Thank you for your attention!

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References