

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

Introduction (cont.)

- The verbs under consideration are: (i) result verbs and (ii) denominal/deadjectival verbs
- Claims:
 - Typical result verbs (eg. *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.

Outline

- ① Resultative constructions
- ② Result in the verb
 - Result verbs
 - Deadjectival verbs
 - Denominal verbs
- ③ Lexicalizing the result: proposal
- ④ Telicity without overt P
- ⑤ Conclusions

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Resultative secondary predicates

- 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.'

Resultative secondary predicates (cont.)

- Alternatively, some verbs take a secondary predicate marked with the translative suffix as their complement.
- *válik/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.’

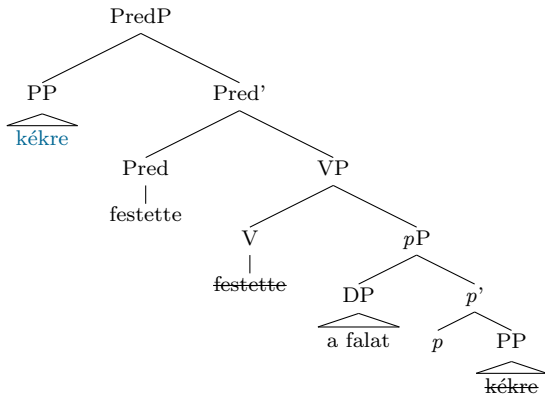
The syntax of resultatives

- These sentences express complex events, they are all telic sentences with the particle or the PP expressing the result/endpoint.
- Secondary predicates need to be preverbal in neutral sentences. (More generally true of VMs: Komlósy 1992, 1994, Kenesei et al. 1998, É. Kiss 2002, 2006 etc).
 - 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).

(3)



(Hegedűs 2013; following recent syntactic literature on decomposed argument structure, Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002, Borer 2005, Ramchand 2008, Mateu 2012 a.o., as well as PP-structure, Van Riemsdijk 1990, Svenonius 2006, Koopman 2000/2010, den Dikken 2010, a.o.)

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.
one hour under cracks originated the wall-SUP
'Cracks appeared on the wall in an hour.'

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

(9) Egy hét alatt **zenekar** alakult az osztály-ban.
one week under band formed the class-INE
'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) por-talan-ít; lég-telen-ít; hatás-talan-ít
 dust-CAR-VRB air-CAR-VRB effect-CAR-VRB
 ‘dust off; deaerate; deactivate’

(17) A szakértő 10 perc alatt
 the expert 10 minute under
 hatás-talan-ít-otta a bombá-t.
 effect-CAR-VRB-PAST.DEFO.3SG the bomb-ACC
 ‘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/*p*Ps; 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?

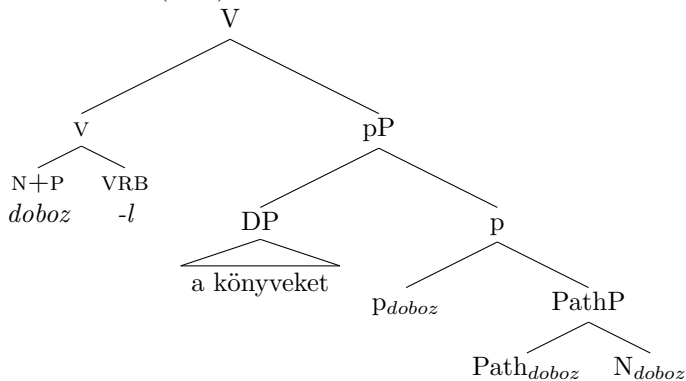
Lexicalizing result

- 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

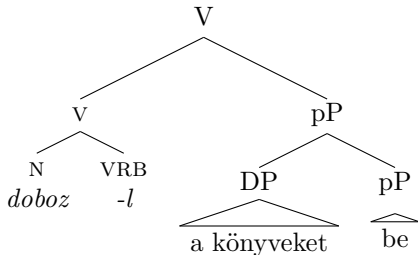
(22) $[_{VP} [V [_{pP} \text{INT-ARG} [p [_{PP} P N]]]]]$

- 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)



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



- 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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