

Variation in the lexicalization of adpositions in complex events*

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Morphosyntactic Variation in Adpositions

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1 Introduction

Background

- study of the synchronic and diachronic properties of PPs in Hungarian (word order variation, grammaticalization)
 - secondary predication and motion events
- ⇒ some synchronic variation in the use of particles/directional PPs may be accounted for assuming an extended PP structure and grammaticalization processes

Aims and claims

- Hungarian is a strict/strong satellite-framed language (see also Acedo-Matellán 2016): the result/end-point of an event is always encoded by an adposition, which does not incorporate into V
- in an extended PP structure, a *p* or a Path head has to be lexicalized
- variation may occur in the optionality of *p* when the Path is filled – this variation is related to movement to *p* and possible grammaticalization (merger in the higher head)

Outline

- quick overview of Hungarian adpositions, with special focus on particles
- particles—or P in general—in complex events
- analysis: Hungarian complex events always have a P head: either *p* (i.e. particle) or Path (postpositional in Hungarian) has to be filled, no incorporation into V head; surface word order is phrasal movement to a slightly higher position (cf. É. Kiss 2006)
- variation: *p* may be filled via movement from Path (under certain circumstances), particles may grammaticalize this way

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2 Cross-linguistic background and Hungarian data

2.1 Satellite-framed languages

Typology

- verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (e.g. Talmy 2000)
- furthermore: weak s-framed vs. strong s-framed languages (Acedo-Matellán 2016)

Mapping it onto syntactic structure

- decomposing argument structure below V (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Ramchand 2008 etc.)
- Does P incorporate into V? (Mateu 2012)
- N to P to V incorporation is also possible (not necessarily via movement)

(1) [VP [V [PP INT-ARG [P [N]]]]]

2.2 Hungarian PPs and complex events

2.2.1 Hungarian PPs

Hungarian has:

- two types of postpositions

– case-like

(2) a híd alatt
the bridge under.at
'under the bridge'

(3) (én) alatt-am
I under.at-1SG
'under me'

– case-assigning

(4) a fá-*(hoz) közel
the tree-ALL close.to
'close to the tree'

(5) (én) hozz-ám közel
I ALL-1SG close.to
'close to me'

- oblique case suffixes

(6) spatial

- a. a ház-ban
the house-INE
'in the house'
- b. a ház-ba
the house-ILL
'into the house'
- c. a ház-ból
the house-ELA
'out of the house'

- (7) other
 a. Mari-val
 Mary-INS
 ‘with Mary’

- particles

- (8) a. A labda be-gurult az ágy alá.
 the ball into-rolled the bed under.to
 ‘The ball rolled under the bed.’
 b. János meg-találta a labdá-t.
 John MEG-found the ball-ACC
 ‘John found the ball.’

- (9) Mari át-jött.
 Mary over-came
 ‘Mary came over (to our place).’

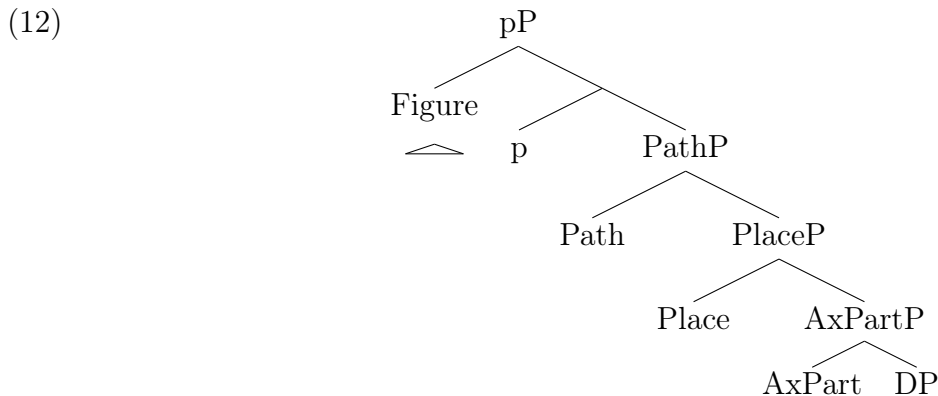
- adverbs

- (10) A labda bent van (a kapu-ban).
 the ball inside is (the goal-INE)
 ‘The ball is in (the goal).’

- particles are “separable”, they are immediately preverbal in so-called neutral sentences, but are generally postverbal otherwise, or may be e.g. contrastively topicalized
- particles are inserted in a PP, they move to the preverbal position via a phrasal movement to create complex predicates (e.g. É. Kiss 2006), this may be disrupted by further movements

- (11) János nem találta meg a labdá-t.
 John not found MEG the ball-ACC
 ‘John didn’t find the ball.’

- I assume the following structure for PPs (see also Van Riemsdijk 1990; Svenonius 2003, 2010; Koopman 2000; Den Dikken 2010 etc.; about Hungarian: Asbury 2008, Asbury et al 2007; Dékány 2011; Hegedűs 2013, Dékány & Hegedűs 2015 a.o.¹)



¹Dékány & Hegedűs (2015) actually assume a slightly larger structure with an additional functional layer for an ‘escape hatch’ on the top in order to derive all word order variation and extraction possibilities. For present purposes, it is not necessary to posit more structure.

2.2.2 PPs in event structure

Secondary predicates

- particles can license internal arguments

(13) Jutka át-úszta a folyó-t.
Judith across-swam the river-ACC
'Judith swam across the river.'

- secondary predicates are all expressed with an adpositional element: subla-
tive/translative suffix; adverbial suffix; dative suffix

(14) a. János zöld-re festette az ajtó-t.
John green-SUB painted the door-ACC
'John painted the door green.'

b. János le-festette az ajtó-t.
John down-painted the door-ACC
'John painted the door.'

(15) A vihar ijesztő-vé vált.
the storm scary-TRANS turn
'The storm turned scary.'

(16) János FEKETÉ-N issza a kávé-t.
John black-ADV drink the coffee-ACC
'John drinks coffee black.'

(17) Péter okos-nak tartja Marit.
Peter clever-DAT consider Mary.ACC
'Peter considers Mary clever.'

Hungarian is a strong s-framed language

- a more strictly satellite-framed language than English in that incorporation of result does not seem to be an option at all
- this inability for verbs to express result/goal has been formulated by É. Kiss (2006) as a lexical/semantic property of Hungarian verbs, which are said to be inherently atelic and in need of another telicizer to express events that have an end-point
- no N to P to V incorporation either: denominal verbs, e.g. (18)-(19), always require a particle in their telic uses; although the object is licensed without there being a particle, the event is just atelic in those cases

(18) fel-nyerg-el-i a lov-at
up-saddle-VRB-3SG.DEF the horse-ACC
'saddle the horse'

(19) be-doboz-ol-ja a könyv-ek-et
into-box-VRB-3SG.DEF the book-PL-ACC
'box the books'

(20) Mari könyv-ek-et dobozol.
Mary book-PL-ACC box-VRB.3SG
'Mary is boxing books.'

- the nominal root in the denominal verbs is inserted via conflation (e.g. Haugen 2009, Mateu 2008, 2012): the simple root is adjoined to the verbalizer
- Hungarian always lexicalizes the result component as a particle (which is preverbal in neutral sentences) with this class of verbs
- regular directional PPs may also express end-point, e.g. with motion verbs, where we find examples with a particle and without one as well
- manner of motion verbs seem worse without the particle; the sentence is definitely not neutral (a systematic study is still missing)

- (21) a. János el-ment a bolt-ba
 John away-went the shop-ILL
 ‘John went to the shop’
 b. János a bolt-ba ment.
 John the shop-ILL went
 ‘John went to the shop.’
- (22) a. János el-vánszorgott a bolt-ba
 John away-crawled the shop-ILL
 ‘John crawled to the shop’
 b. (??)János a bolt-ba vánszorgott.
 John the shop-ILL crawled
 ‘John crawled to the shop.’

3 Analysis

- the variation in the encoding of result/goal in complex events is fully structural

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

- and a parametric variation in the lexicalization of P in a decomposed argument structure (e.g. Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Borer 2005; Mateu 2012, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2014) can account for the cross-linguistic variation
- Hungarian never incorporates P into the V head; it has to be lexicalized separately in complex events. There is no N into P into V incorporation with denominal verbs (Hale & Keyser 2002) either, distinguishing it e.g. from English, as well.

Lexicalizing *pP*

- decomposing the PP in the complement of V, makes it possible to further distinguish particles (*p*) and other P heads structurally (namely, at least Path and Place heads, Koopman 2000)

(24) $[_{VP} [V [_{pP} \text{INT-ARG} [p [_{PathP} \text{Path PlaceP}]]]]]]$

- the internal argument is introduced in the specifier position of the complement *pP* (Svenonius 2003 etc.), where *p* is the syntactic position of particles

- directional/goal-denoting adpositions can fill the Path head (those may telicize an event)
- Hungarian telic predicates always lexicalize *p* or Path, that is, there is always an adposition in the argument structure (in fact all secondary predicates are adpositional categorially, Hegedűs 2013)

Source of variation

- In various cases, a PP without a particle can provide a (bounded) goal reading for the complex event,
- however, a particle often seems necessary where the complex event either needs a directed motion that has an explicit bounded goal, or if the event just needs a clear boundary even if it has no spatial semantics.

Lack of incorporation vs predicate movement

- incorporation into the V head differs from having particles and other predicates in the preverbal position in overt syntax
- predicate movement as phrasal movement, contrary to incorporation in the present sense, “incorporation” in the present sense is not even necessarily movement
- incorporation of bare singular and plural object nominals in the sense of Farkas and de Swart (2003) would also be related to particle/predicate movement
- predicate movement is into a Spec position above VP (PredP in É. Kiss 2006 and later works; or AspP according to Csirmaz 2004)

4 Variation

- intra-linguistic variation as to the presence of a particle: a group of directional case suffixes may be “reduplicated” by a morphologically corresponding particle (see Surányi 2009 a.o)²
- In many cases, the directional PP seems to freely alternate with a particle + directional PP

(25) Péter bele-ugrott a tó-ba.
Peter into-jumped.3SG the lake-ILL
‘Peter jumped into the lake.’

(26) Péter a tó-ba ugrott.
Peter the lake-ILL jumped
‘Peter jumped into the lake.’

(27) Valaki rá-lépett a lábam-ra.
someone onto-stepped.3SG the foot.1SG-SUB
‘Someone stepped on my foot.’

²This seems to me to be different from Romance *en-carcela en Sing Sing* ‘imprison in Sing Sing’, since it is the particle that is optional in many cases, and the particle is separable from the verb, just like other particles (it is even more complex morphologically than other particles).

- (28) Valaki a láb-am-ra lépett.
 someone the foot-1SG-SUB stepped
 ‘Someone stepped on my foot.’
- (29) A sofőr neki-hajtott a kerítés-nek.
 the driver to-drove.3SG the fence-DAT
 ‘The driver drove (in)to the fence.’
- (30) A sofőr a kerítés-nek hajtott .
 the driver the fence-DAT drove.3SG
 ‘The driver drove (in)to the fence.’
- (31) A mai számlát hozzá-adtam a tegnapi-hoz.
 the today.MOD bill.ACC to-added.1SG the yesterday-ALL
 ‘I added today’s bill to yesterday’s.’
- (32) ?A mai számlá-t a tegnapi-hoz adtam.
 the today bill-ACC the yesterday-ALL added.1SG
 ‘I added today’s bill to yesterday’s.’

- furthermore: in some uses, the particle seems obligatory, e.g. (34) needs the particle to refer to the medical examination of the eye and not just simple eye contact.

- (33) János a szem-em-be nézett.
 John the eye-POSS.1SG-ILL looked
 ‘John looked into my eyes.’
- (34) Az orvos bele-nézett a szem-em-be.
 the doctor into-looked the eye-POSS.1SG-ILL
 ‘The doctor looked into my eyes.’

Previous accounts

- the particle forms a lexical unit with the verb, and it is the complex that takes an oblique case marked DP (Kálmán & Trón 2000; Laczkó & rákosi 2011)
 - we have two co-indexed PPs in the sentence, with the particle being an argument PP and the other PP a co-indexed adjunct; co-indexing the particle (the preverbal PP) with the postverbal PP mirrors an agreement relation between the two, this is how the almost identical morphological forms are accounted for (É. Kiss 2002)
 - movement account: the preverbal particle is the spell-out of the formal features of the postverbal PP (Ürögdi 2003); the particle is identical in form with the suffix in the PP, because they spell out the same features (Surányi 2009)
- ↔ variation (both the optionaliy and the obligatoriness insome cases) is a problem even for the copy-account

My proposal

- there is movement, but it is within the extended PP: Path moves into p, but has to spell out more features due to its quasi-affixal status (hence the agreement feature)

- the variation in the reduplicating pattern seems to go together with a diachronic change in the increasing use of particles throughout the written history of Hungarian in the past c. 800 years and with the grammaticalization of new particles, providing new, semantically less bleached *ps*, for e.g. spatially oriented events
- these adpositions are in the process of grammaticalization, which in syntactic terms means that they can fill the *p* head in the structure of the complex event
- they are to some extent undergoing morphological and semantic bleaching (no full agreement in most cases)

5 Conclusions

- Hungarian is a strict/strong s-framed language, which means that result/goal in complex events is lexicalized separately from the verb
- result/goal is always lexicalized by a P head
- it may be *p* or Path, with some variation allowed between the two

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