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Another look at the syntax of Hungarian verbal particles

The Hungarian verbal particle, this tiny function (grammatical) word causes a lot of headache to linguists to this day. One of the most difficult questions refers to its structural position. The most recent syntactic analysis (É. Kiss 2006, 2008) assumes that the Hungarian verbal particle is inserted in postverbal argument (complement) position because its role is similar to that of the resultative phrases, i.e. sublative case-marked NPs. This approach however, fails to explain sentences containing both verbal particles and case-marked NPs, which is a significant failure. For that very reason I argue against inserting the verbal particle in the above-mentioned position and present an alternative syntactic analysis which is able to account for sentences containing verbal particle and NP_{Case}.

Key words: syntax; Hungarian; verbal particle; delimiter; modifier; predicational domain; functional domain.

1. Introduction

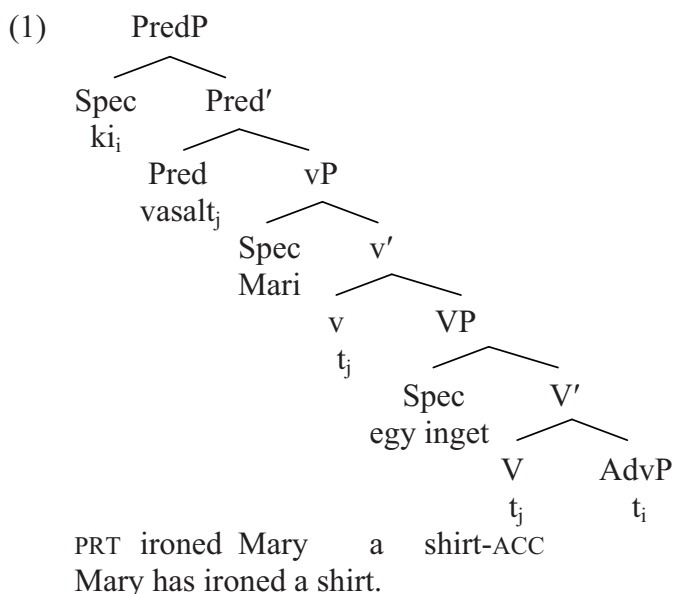
One of the most difficult questions to answer when it comes to the verbal particle in Hungarian regards to its structural position, or to be more precise to dilemma should it be inserted in postverbal argument position, or in a preverbal modifier position? According to the most recent analysis of Hungarian verbal particles presented in É. Kiss (2006, 2008) the verbal particle enters the syntactic structure through postverbal argument (complement) position, as sister of lexical verb. In my paper I am showing that this approach is tenable only with difficulty. For that reason by virtue of syntactic and functional (semantic) properties of aforesaid function (grammatical) words I am arguing for inserting the

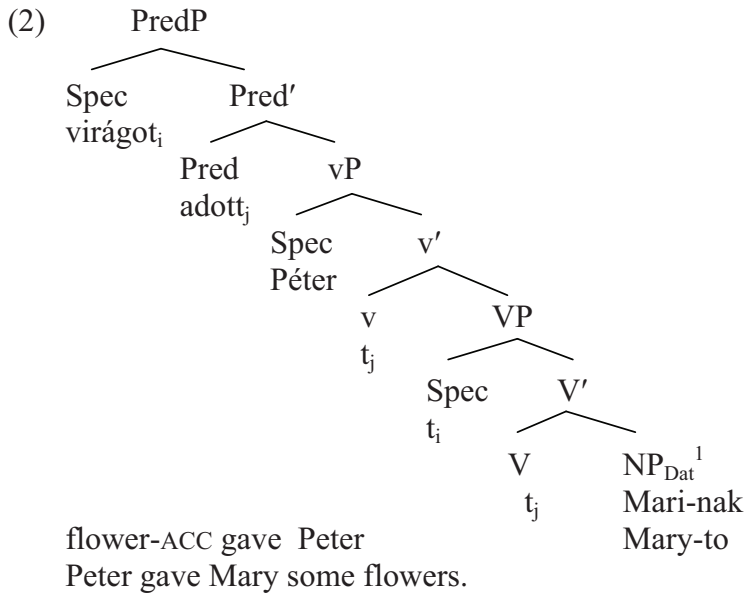
verbal particle in preverbal modifier position, to be more precise, in Spec,PredP position.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 is the summary of the problem occurring in the newest syntactic analysis of verbal particle. Section 3 presents evidence against treating the verbal particle as secondary predicate, but in favor of analyzing it as mere delimiter. Section 4 is about locating the verbal particle in Hungarian sentence structure: I argue for inserting the verbal particle in a particular functional position instead of postverbal argument (complement) position. Section 5 is the exposition of an alternative syntactic analysis of the verbal particle.

2. Presenting the problem

As has been demonstrated (Laczkó 1995, Alberti 1997, Bene 2005) the unaccusative-unergative division of intransitive verbs is present in contemporary Hungarian language and has important syntactic and morphosyntactic consequences. In the light of this finding É. Kiss assumes that, in point of syntax, the extended verbal projection in Hungarian always involves a VP, a vP, a PredP, and a TP (É. Kiss 2008). According to her analysis the specifier of the PredP-projection is the landing site of the predicative complement of the verb, represented by verbal particle in delimited (telic) sentence (1), and by case-marked NP in undelimited (atelic) sentence (2) (É. Kiss 2006). The verb always raises to Pred, whether or not Spec,PredP is filled:





In this analysis PredP is the maximal lexically extended verb phrase. This phrase is extended further into TP: the verb is raised from Pred to T, and the filler of Spec, PredP is moved to Spec, TP. Once the verb is raised, the silent lower copies of the verb and their projections are deleted, which results in flattening of lexical domain of Hungarian sentence – it is this flattening that allows the linearization of sister constituents in free order.

Although É. Kiss gives a thorough and conclusive argumentation in favor of analyzing the verbal particle as a phrase (an AdvP) consisting of a mere head, she fails to account for the following curiosity: both the verbal particle and the case-marked NP are inserted in the same postverbal argument (complement) position (compare (1) and (2)). Why is this important? Foremost, if this approach were correct, the grammatical sentences in (3), containing both verbal particle and case-marked NP would not be generated. Namely, such sentences would first of all violate the Binary Branching Constraint (Kayne 1984), given that the case-marked NP (*Mari-nak* ‘Mary-to’, *Péter-nek* ‘Peter-to’, respectively), as well as the verbal particle (*ki*, *oda*, respectively) are immediate constituents, consequently each should get inserted in the postverbal argument (complement) position of the verb. In other words, generating sentences similar to those under (3) in É. Kiss’s framework would require duplication of postverbal argument (complement) position.

¹ Abbreviations used for cases in Hungarian: Nom=Nominative, Acc=Accusative, Dat=Dative, Inst=Instrumental, Subl=Sublative, El=Elative, Del=Delative, Caus=Causalis.

- (3) (a) Mari ki-vasalt² egy inget [NPDat Péter-nek].
 Mary PRT-ironed a shirt-ACC Peter-to
 ‘Mary has ironed a shirt for Peter’
- (b) Péter oda-adta a virágot [NPDat Mari-nak]
 Peter PRT-gave the flower-ACC Mary-to
 ‘Peter has given flowers to Mary’

There are additional reasons why the syntactic analysis of the verbal particle in Hungarian presented in É. Kiss (2006, 2008) is questionable, e.g.:

- i. In these papers the author argues for treating the verbal particle as secondary predicate predicated of the theme argument (hereafter underlying direct internal argument). Nonetheless, this claim cannot be sustained, consequently the syntactic analysis assigned to it cannot be maintained either.
- ii. The verbal particle is a function (grammatical) word, and as such cannot be inserted in the predicational domain of the Hungarian sentence.

In the course of my analysis I will set the verbal particle against the resultative phrase, a sublative case-marked adjective or sometimes sublative-case-marked NP, which contrary to verbal particle shows properties indicative of predication. In this wise I will be able not only to present evidence against analyzing the verbal particle as secondary predicate, but in favor of inserting the verbal particle and the resultative phrase in significantly different syntactic positions. Then I show that due to distinctness relative to (in)capability of expressing predication the verbal particle and the case-marked NP are inserted in different syntactic positions: the verbal particle enters the syntactic structure fairly high, in the specifier position of PredP-projection, whilst the case-marked NP is inserted in postverbal argument (complement) position. Finally I present an alternative syntactic analysis of the Hungarian sentence which accounts for existent functional differences between two constituents in question.

3. The verbal particle is not a secondary predicate

In point of function É. Kiss’s analysis treats the verbal particle as a secondary predicate. Built upon sentence-pairs similar to those under (4) her claim is that (i) the function of the verbal particle *fel* in (1a) is similar to that of the resultative

² I separate the verbal particle from the verb for explanatory purposes only.

phrase (sublative case-marked adjective or sometimes sublative-case-marked NP) *szelet-re* ‘slice-to’ in (4b): it shows that the cake has been cut into pieces:

- (4) (a) Mari fel-szeletelte a tortát.
Mary PRT-cut the cake-ACC
‘Mary has cut up the cake’
- (b) Mari tíz [NPSubl szelet-re] vágta a tortát.
Mary ten slice-to cut the cake-ACC
‘Mary cut the cake into ten pieces’

I will show that this particular claim should be revisited. To do so, I will look into the nature of the verbal particle and the resultative phrase in relation to secondary predication; that is I am checking some relevant constructions against the semantic definition of secondary predication:

Une phrase P contient une predication secondaire si elle peut être paraphrasée par deux predications P1 et P2 telle que la seconde predication P2 exprime une predication qui est indépendante de la predication de la première P1. (Gouesse and Kiefer (2010), following Goddard 2006)

If we apply this definition on Hungarian examples with verbal particles and constructions with resultative phrases, we immediately see that É. Kiss’s theory is not working properly.

First, let us look at some examples with verbal particles. While observing, keep in mind that according to the definition (5) a phrase P encloses secondary predication iff rephrasing the phrase P into predication P1 and P2 is possible.

If this definition is true (and we have no reason to question it), then the event expressed by examples (5) and (7) should be composed of two subevents, among which the subevent P2 is supposed to be the secondary resultative predication. However, in these cases is it not possible to formulate these necessary predications. To be more precise, it is not possible to determine the secondary resultative predications (P2), despite the fact that both constructions in question contain verbal particles.

- (5) Az igazgató meg-hallgatta a jelöltet.
the principal PRT-heard the candidate-ACC
‘The principal has heard the candidate’
- (6) (a) P1: Az igazgató meg-hallgatta a jelöltet.
‘The principal has heard the candidate’

(b) P2: ///

(7) A korus el-énekelte a dalt.
the choir PRT-sang the song-ACC
'The choir has sung the song'

(8) (a) P1: A korus el-énekelte a dalt.
The choir has sung the song.

(b) P2: ///

Thus, we can state that these examples with verbal particles heavily weaken the assumption that the verbal particle is a secondary predicate.

Next I examine whether the definition of secondary predication holds for constructions with resultative phrases. To specify, I want to see if it is possible to rephrase a construction with resultative phrase (equal phrase P) into predications P1 and P2. Consider:

(9) János [_{APSubl} száraz-ra] törölte az asztalt.
John dry-to wiped the table-ACC
'John wiped the table dry'

(10) Az aranyműves [_{APSubl} fényes-re] csiszolta a gyűrűt.
the goldsmith shiny-to polished the ring-ACC
'The goldsmith polished the ring shiny'

Example (9) expresses an event which is composed from two subevents: the first (primary predication) is expressed by the verb, and is formulated in P1 (11a), whilst the second is expressed by the case-marked adjective (secondary predication), and is formulated in P2 (11b). As can be seen, the predication P2 expresses the new state (dryness) of the table, which arose from the event of wiping (P1) expressed by the verb:

(11) (a) P1: János törölte az asztalt.
John wiped the table.

(b) P2: Az asztal száraz.
The table is dry.

Example (10) can be rephrased in similar manner, therefore we can say that examples (9-10) are cases of secondary predication, or to be even more precise, they are cases of secondary resultative predication.

There is an additional distinctive semantic feature which also accounts for the claim that contrary to resultative phrases, verbal particles cannot be treated as secondary predicates.

Secondary predicates always introduce some kind of eventuality (Rothstein 2004): a possible occurrence or result. É. Kiss (2006) says that verbal particles are elements with “no (or little) descriptive content in themselves,” (É. Kiss 2006: 20). If, as she says, verbal particles have no (or little) descriptive content, they cannot introduce a new eventuality; for that very reason they cannot be regarded as secondary predicates. At the same time the assumption that secondary predicates introduce some kind of eventuality is true for Hungarian resultative phrases, because they express the new end state of the patient-like argument which arises when this particular argument is entirely affected.

The analysis presented above proves that the syntactic analysis of É. Kiss (2006) which treats the verbal particle as secondary predicate is not tenable, because the constructions with verbal particles and constructions with resultative phrases behave differently regarding the definition of secondary predication above: while previous cannot be rephrased, latter can be (Bene 2009). On the basis of these results I argue against recognizing the verbal particle as secondary predicate. At the same time the Hungarian resultative phrase is indeed a secondary predicate; the fact that constructions with resultative phrases can be rephrased in accordance with secondary predication definition supports this.

At this point there is one more question to answer. This question refers to the role of the verbal particle: if not a secondary predicate, what is then the verbal particle? If we look closer at following examples and compare their meanings, we see that the sentence with bare verb express continuous event: (12a) describes an action (cutting) continued in the past period of time; contrarily, the sentence with [verbal particle + V] complex express merely an action or process that has been completed with respect to the present: (12b) expresses that the action of cutting came to an end.

(12) (a) Mari szeletelte a tortát.
Mary cut the cake-ACC
'Mary was cutting the cake'

(b) Mari fel-szeletelte a tortát. (=4a)
Mary PRT-cut the cake-ACC
'Mary has cut the cake'

Differences between these and other examples cited (e.g. (3), (4a), (5), (7)) stem from the presence or absence of verbal particles; for this reason I claim that the function assigned to the verbal particles is marking the mere endpoint of the event and refer to verbal particles as mere delimiters.

Before I continue with my argumentation, I would like to touch upon some comments made by one of my anonymous reviewers, whose inspiring suggestions are greatly acknowledged. This reviewer pointed out that verbs expressing accomplishments and achievements require no delimitation, yet such verbs in Hungarian may combine with verbal particles, classified by Bene (2009) as mere delimiters. Despite the fact that this is a paper on syntax, not on semantics of Hungarian verbal particles, I am going to discuss this issue briefly.

The claim that some Hungarian verbal particles fail to turn process verbs into accomplishment predicates is illustrated with following examples: *el-iszogat* ‘bib’, *fel-olvas* ‘read to’, *bent-tart* ‘keep inside.’ At first sight, these verbs really oppose my view on shifting processes into accomplishments (Bene 2009), because bare verbs like *iszogat* ‘bib’, *olvas* ‘read’, *tart* ‘keep, hold’ are undoubtedly process verbs. However they refer to events conceptualized as having endpoints (Ramchand 2008), and for that very reason they are able to merge with verbal particles. To be more precise, the cited verbs describe events tending towards an endpoint or goal; this particular endpoint or goal is envisaged as realized in past tense, but as contingent in present tense. For example the verb *iszogat* ‘bib’ in present tense (*iszogat-Ø_{Present}*) expresses the mere process of drinking. If the speaker wants to declare the endpoint of this process, s/he must use the past tense: *iszogat-o-tt_{Past}* ‘had bided.’ I assume that in such cases verbal particles are used if the endpoint of the event expressed by the verb for some reason must be overtly denoted.

The anonymous reviewer also assumes, I believe following the authors of chapters in É. Kiss (2006, 2009), that neither Hungarian accomplishment verbs (e.g. *fel-ugrik* ‘spring up,’ *be-megy* ‘go in,’ *meg-eszik* ‘eat up,’ *meg-iszik* ‘drink’), nor achievement verbs (e.g. *fel-kiált* ‘call out,’ *meg-pattan* ‘crack,’ *meg-nyer* ‘win, pull of’) require delimitation, still such verbs occasionally combine with verbal particles, thus it is doubtful that verbal particles are mere delimiters.

Accomplishment verbs similar to *ugrik* ‘jump, spring,’ *megy* ‘go,’ *eszik* ‘eat’ express events with apparent endpoints, therefore if for instance the discourse requires unambiguous delimitation of the event they may well merge with verbal particles – the existent verb forms *fel-ugrik* ‘spring up,’ *be-megy* ‘go in,’ *meg-eszik* ‘eat up’ confirm this.

In case of achievement verbs, if the assumption that these verbs need no delimitation were correct, verbs like *kiált* ‘call, shout,’ *pattan* ‘crack,’ *nyer* ‘win, score’ would never merge with verbal particles. My hypothesis is that every event expressed by verbs begins and ends at some point (except, perhaps, some states). This holds for achievement verbs as well: the events expressed by such verbs are momentaneous (punctual) though, yet such events have endpoints too – the fact that even verbs expressing extremely short-period events may well merge with verbal particles supports my theory.

4. Setting the verbal particle into the sentence structure

In this section I investigate the role of verbal particle in syntax. In particular, I shall examine where the verbal particle enters the extended verbal projection of the Hungarian sentence.

As has been showed, the verbal particle is a component with clear functional (semantic) property of mere delimitation, which is one of the reasons why the theory of introduction of verbal particle in postverbal argument position (É. Kiss 2008) is not defensible. The other reason has to do with the syntactic role assigned to it: in syntax the verbal particle behaves as a modifier, a grammatical element which modifies another element or phrase, in our case the whole predicate. The verbal particle can modify the predicate in more than one way: for example, it can modify the argument structure of the verb by expanding, that is to say by inserting an additional argument (13), or by means of changing the syntactic role of a particular argument (14-15). Further, the verbal particle can change the property of transitivity given that it has the ability to modify the valency of verbs (16).

- (13) (a) János [_{PredP} [_{Pred'} futott]].
 John ran
 ‘John ran’
- (b) János [_{PredP} át [_{Pred'} futott az út-on]].
 John PRT ran the road-on
 ‘John has run over the road’
- (c) János [_{PredP} be [_{Pred'} futott a szobá-ba]].
 John PRT ran the room-in
 ‘John has run into the room’

- (14) (a) A bíróság [_{PredP} [_{Pred'} döntött az ügy-ben]].
 the courthouse ruled the case-in
 'The courthouse ruled in re'
- (b) A bíróság [_{PredP} el [_{Pred'} döntötte az ügyet]].
 the courthouse PRT ruled the case-ACC
 'The courthouse had ruled in re'
- (15) (a) János [_{PredP} [_{Pred'} rakta a tűzifát a kocsira]].
 John stacked the firewood-ACC the cart-on
 'John stacked the firewood on the cart'
- (b) János [_{PredP} meg [_{Pred'} rakta a kocsit tűzifával]].
 John PRT stacked the cart-ACC firewood-with
 'John has loaded up the cart with firewood'
- (16) (a) Nő a baba.
 grows the baby
 'The baby is growing'
- (b) A baba ki-nötte a ruháit.
 the baby PRT-grew the clothes-ACC
 'The baby had outgrown her/his clothes'

These features are strong indicative of insertion of verbal particle in preverbal modifier position. Consequently, for the reason that it is characterized by functional property of mere delimitation and by syntactic property of modification of another element or phrase, I assume that contrary to the established fact, the verbal particle is inserted not in the complement position of VP, but in a specifier position of a particular functional projection. This particular functional projection is the specifier position of PredP-projection.

Based on the fact that the verbal particle enters the sentence structure in preverbal modifier position, I claim that the Hungarian sentence structure is dividable into two domains: the lower, predicational and the upper, functional domain. The predicational domain is the smallest domain sufficient for processing of lexically listed, adjacency preferring combinations and dependencies (Hawkins 2004), and it is defined by a head, Pred, thus Pred is the boundary between functional and predicational domain (Chomsky 2001).

As for Hungarian, the Pred head represents the upper end of the predicational domain of the sentence, because this particular position is the highest lexical po-

sition that has to be filled in order to achieve the free postverbal order. Namely, the obligatory rising of the verb from the head of VP- or vP-projection to Pred head (17) triggers the flattening of verb phrase (18), as well as reordering of sister constituents in the flattened domain (É. Kiss 2008); this flattening, in turn, generates the free postverbal word order (19):

(17) (a) [_{VP} János [_{V'} OKOZ [_{VP} Pétert [_{V'} ütötte egy bot-tal]]]]
John CAUSE Peter-ACC beat a stick-with

(b) [_{PredP} meg [_{Pred'} ütötte_i [_{VP} János [_{V'} t_i [_{VP} Pétert
PRT beat John Peter-ACC

[_{V'} t_i egy bot-tal]]]]]]
a stick-with

(18)

(19) (a) Meg [_{Pred'} ütötte János Pétert egy bottal].
PRT beaten John Peter-ACC a stick-with
'John has beaten Peter with a stick'

(b) Meg [_{Pred'} ütötte Pétert János egy bottal].
PRT beaten Peter-ACC John a stick-with

(c) János_i meg [_{Pred'} ütötte Pétert t_i egy bottal].
John PRT beaten Peter-ACC a stick-with

(d) János_i meg [_{Pred'} ütötte egy bottal t_i Pétert].
John PRT beaten a stick-with Peter-ACC

Above Pred, starting with Spec, PredP is the functional domain of the Hungarian sentence with a series of functional projections (20); I am ignoring them as they can be disregarded in the discussion of the syntax of the verbal particle.

(20) (a) [_{TopP} Mari [_{NegP} *nem* [_{PredP} [_{Pred'} énekel]]]].
Mary not sings

‘Mary is not singing’

(b) [_{TopP} Péter [_{FP} EL [_{F'} aludt]]].

Peter PRT slept

‘Peter has fell asleep’

(c) [_{QP} Péter is [_{PredP} le [_{Pred'} rajzolt egy autót]]].

Peter also PRT drew a car-ACC

‘Also Peter has drawn a car’

To summarize: up to now I had proven that the functional role assigned to the verbal particle is mere delimitation of the event expressed by the verb. Delimitation is a purely functional role, which means that insertion of verbal particle in postverbal argument (complement) position advocated by É. Kiss (2008) is not justified. I had also showed that there is another property of verbal particle, which also refutes the cited theory: in syntax the verbal particle behaves as a modifier. These two significant features imply that the verbal particle is inserted not in the postverbal area of the predicative domain, but in the preverbal modifier position of the functional domain of the Hungarian sentence, that is, in Spec,PredP.

5. An alternative syntactic analysis of Hungarian verbal particle

I demonstrated earlier in this paper that the Hungarian verbal particle is a mere delimiter, as the role assigned to it is purely functional: marking the mere endpoint of the event. On the grounds of this property, and those presented in É. Kiss (2008) regarding build-up of Hungarian sentence, I will propose a syntactic analysis of Hungarian verbal particle which depicts the following properties:

- i. In respect of syntax, the verbal particle is a modifier, and due to this particular property requires insertion in specifier position, instead of postverbal argument (complement) position (É. Kiss 2008).
- ii. In terms of semantics, the verbal particle is a function (grammatical) word, therefore it is actually inserted in Spec,PredP under hypothesis that Spec,PredP is the lowest position in the functional domain of the Hungarian sentence.
- iii. The verbal particle itself is inserted only if the sentence is delimited (telic), since it is the verbal particle that delimits (telicizes) the event expressed by the verb. If the sentence is undelimited (atelic), the specifier position of PredP-projection remains empty: this way it becomes a poten-

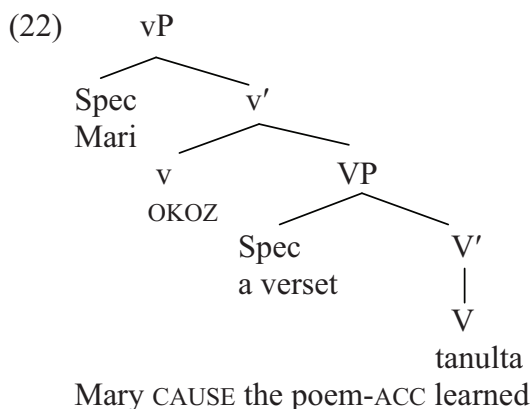
tial landing site of the underlying direct internal argument or the complement of V.

- iv. As the verb has [+pred] feature by default, it will obligatorily move to Pred to check it against [predicative] feature of Pred; in other words, checking [+pred] triggers the V-to-Pred movement.

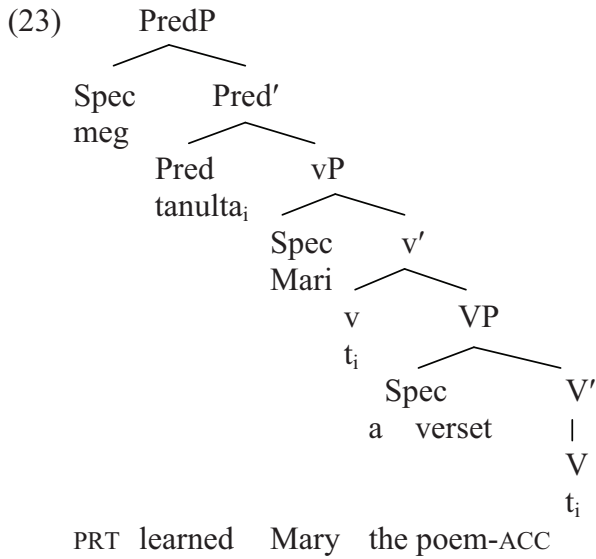
Hereinafter I shall bring forward an alternative syntactic analysis of the Hungarian verbal particle; for the sake of simplicity and distinctness, I will explicate it by way of generating both delimited and undelimited sentences.

Foremost, I shall look into the derivation of delimited (telic) sentences. There are two ways of delimiting (telicizing) in Hungarian: by means of verbal particles and by case-marked NPs or case-marked adjectives. When the event expressed by the verb is to be delimited by the means of verbal particle, the verb phrase projects first; given that the chosen delimited sentence in (21) contains a transitive verb, a layered verb phrase will be projected (22):

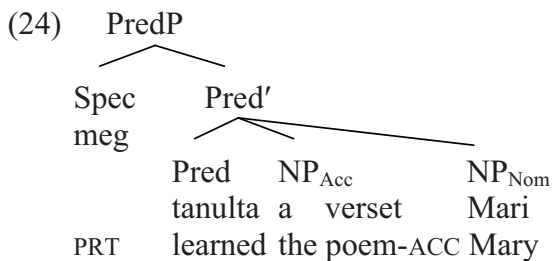
- (21) Mari meg-tanulta a verset.
Mary PRT-learnt the poem-ACC
'Mary had learned the poem'



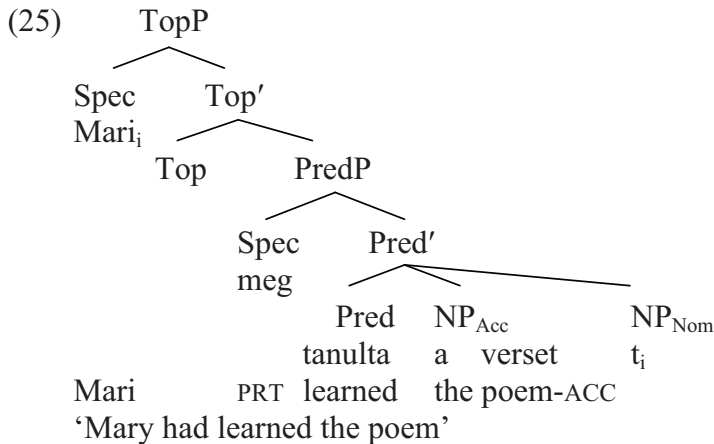
This vP-projection extends further into PredP. This expansion is crucial in more than one way: the Pred head defines the predicational domain, whilst the specifier position of PredP is the lowest position of the functional domain of the Hungarian sentence; additionally, Spec,PredP is the position through which the verbal particle enters the syntactic structure. After expansion the verb *tanulta* 'learned' obligatorily moves via head of vP-projection to Pred head in order to check its [predicative] feature. In addition, the V-to-Pred movement assures the formation of [verbal particle +V] string, which is the assumed default order.



The structure in (23) represents the maximal lexically extended verb phrase and shows the word order in which a verb and its arguments are stored in the mental lexicon of native speakers of Hungarian. However, it is not the final structure of Hungarian sentence. As the verb had left its original position, the vP-projection flattens:



The final structure of sentence (21) will come into existence after the underlying external argument (*Mari*) moves from the semi-flattened syntactic structure in (24) and rises to Spec,TopP; in other words, it moves from predicational domain to functional domain. Notice, for the reason that the verb *tanulta* ‘learned’ remains in Pred head no further flattening takes place.



The verbal particle can, if necessary, move even further: if focused, it moves up to the specifier position of FP. In this case the verb will rise to F head, given that in Hungarian the adjacency of the focused constituent and the verb is required (26a). Notice, as the verb leaves the head of PredP-projection, this projection flattens as well, hereby creating the focused sentence (26b):

(26) (a) [_{TopP} Mari_k [_{Top'} [_{FP} MEG_i [_{F'} tanulta_j [_{PredP} t_i [_{Pred'} t_j a verset t_k]]]]]]]]

(b) [_{TopP} Mari_k [_{Top'} [_{FP} MEG_i [_{F'} tanulta_j a verset t_k]]]]]]

As already mentioned, aside from verbal particles, delimiting (telicizing) in Hungarian can be achieved by means of case-marked NPs too. Hereinafter I am demonstrating this process on two sorts of sentences, one with an NP_{Dat} complement, and another with a resultative phrase, i.e. sublative case-marked adjective.

First let us examine an example with NP_{Dat}:

(27) Péter virágot adott [_{NPDat} Mari-nak].
Peter flower-ACC gave Mary-to
'Peter gave Mary some flowers'

In syntax, the dative case-marked NP *Mari-nak* 'Mary-to' is inserted in postverbal argument (complement) position, as a sister of V, because the transitive verb *ad* 'give' is a multiple complement verb: it selects an underlying external argument (*Péter* 'Peter') which is introduced as the specifier of the light verb, and two complements: an underlying direct internal argument (*virágot* 'flower-ACC'), which is the specifier of VP, and an NP_{Dat} (*Mari-nak* 'Mary-to') in the complement position (28a).

- (28) (a) [_{VP} Péter [_{V'} TESZ [_{VP} virágot [_{V'} adott Mari-nak]]]]
 Péter DO flower-ACC gave Mary-to
- (b) [_{Spec,PredP} virágot_i [_{Pred'} adott_j [_{VP} Péter [_{V'} t_j [_{VP} t_i [_{V'} t_j Mari-nak]]]]]]]]
- (c) [_{TopP} Péter_j [_{Spec,PredP} virágot_i [_{Pred'} adott t_i t_j Mari-nak]]] (=28)
 Peter flower-ACC gave Mary-to
 ‘Peter gave Mary some flowers’

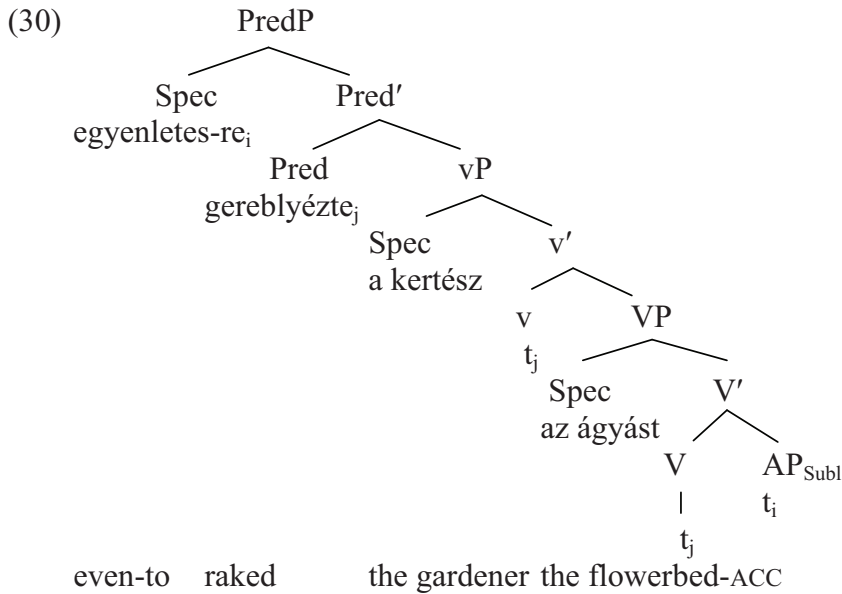
In the course of derivation the underlying direct internal argument moves to the empty specifier position of PredP, whilst the verb rises via head of vP-projection to Pred head (28b); the latter movement causes the flattening of vP-projection. After flattening the underlying external argument topicalizes (28c); this preposing generates the neutral sentence cited under (27). In this case the dative case-marked NP *Mari-nak* ‘Mary-to’ delimits (telicizes) the event expressed by the verb *ad* ‘give’ in such a way that it marks overtly the endpoint of the inherently directed motion (Levin and Rappaport 1995) expressed by the verb. However, the dative case-marked NP is not a delimiter, therefore instead of moving higher to the Spec,PredP, remains in situ (29c). (It should be noted though, that in non-neutral sentences it can ascend to a particular functional position.)

Next we examine the behavior of resultative phrases, another delimiting (telicizing) tool in Hungarian:

- (29) A kertész [_{AP_SSubl} egyenletes-re] gereblyézte az ágyást.
 the gardener even-to raked the flowerbed-ACC
 ‘The gardener raked the flowerbed even’

Here it is the resultative phrase *egyenletes-re* ‘even-to’ that behaves as delimiter: it expresses the new end state in which the underlying direct internal argument (*ágyást* ‘the flowerbed-ACC’) gets into when the event expressed by the verb is accomplished. This in effect indicates that resultative phrases in Hungarian are delimiters by nature, i.e. they are inherent delimiters (Bene 2009). Because of this, they rise to Spec,PredP, which I claim is a functional position. Notice, sentence (29) contains no verbal particle, thus the specifier position of PredP is available as a landing site.

The resultative phrase enters the syntactic structure through the postverbal lexical position, as a sister of V, from where it rises to Spec,PredP:



Once the verb *gereblyézte* ‘raked’ had left the vP-projection, the projection becomes empty and flattens. With this the underlying external argument (*kertész* ‘gardener’) moves from PredP, whereby the sentence (29), that is, the surface structure of this particular delimited sentence comes into being:

- (31) [_{TopP} A kertész_i [_{PredP} egyenletes-re [_{Pred'} gereblyézte
the gardener even-to raked

t_i az ágyást]]] (=29)
the flowerbed-ACC
‘The gardener raked the flowerbed even’

For completeness’ sake, let us now examine how undelimited (atelic) sentence are generated in the syntactic analysis of verbal particles I am putting forward in this paper.

As I stated earlier, if undelimited (atelic) sentences are generated in Hungarian, the specifier position of PredP-projection remains empty and is available as a landing site, seeing that neither verbal particle, nor case-marked NP or case-marked adjective is inserted in the syntactic structure. Pursuant to the facts explicated earlier in this paper, the undelimited sentence in (32) generates in following way: after the verb phrase comes off (33a), the verb *tanulta* ‘learned’ moves to the head of vP-projection, and then to the Pred head (33b): in this manner the V head falls vacant; this, in turn, provokes the verb phrase to flatten

(32c). Finally, the underlying external argument (*Mari*) topicalizes (33d) generating in this wise the sentence in (32).

(32) *Mari tanulta a verset.*
 Mary learned the poem-ACC
 ‘Mary was learning the poem’

(33) (a) [_{VP} *Mari* [_{V'} OKOZ [_{VP} *a verset* [_{V'} *tanulta*]]]]
 Mary CAUSE the poem-ACC learned

(b) [_{PredP} [_{Pred'} *tanulta*_i [_{VP} *Mari* [_{V'} *t_i* [_{VP} *a verset* [_{V'} *t_i*]]]]]]]
 learned Mary the poem-ACC

(c) [_{PredP} [_{Pred'} *tanulta Mari a verset*]]

(d) [_{TopP} *Mari*_i [_{PredP} [_{Pred'} *tanulta t_i a verset*]]]
 Mary learned the poem-ACC
 ‘Mary was learning the poem’

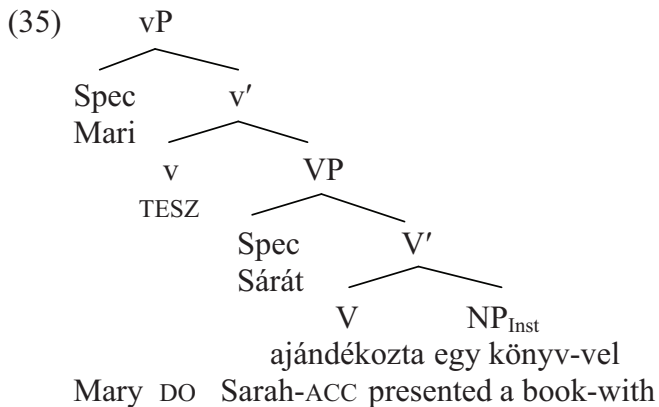
I shall end this section showing that my proposed syntactic analysis, contrary to the one presented in É. Kiss (2008), is able to treat syntactic structures with both verbal particles and NP_{Case} complements (3), (34), in such a way that it does not violate the Binary Branching Constraint, perhaps the single most important constraint limiting the complexity of the grammar. Namely, the claim that the function of the verbal particle and the function of the NP_{Case} is similar, would inevitably force us to violate the above-mentioned restriction, if we tried to generate such sentences in É. Kiss (2008) sense, for the reason that both components would be inserted in the very same postverbal argument (complement) position (1-2). However, if we generate these sentences in the proposed analysis, such violation will not occur. To prove this I am demonstrating the derivation of one of the sentences quoted in (35), all containing both verbal particles and case-marked NPs.

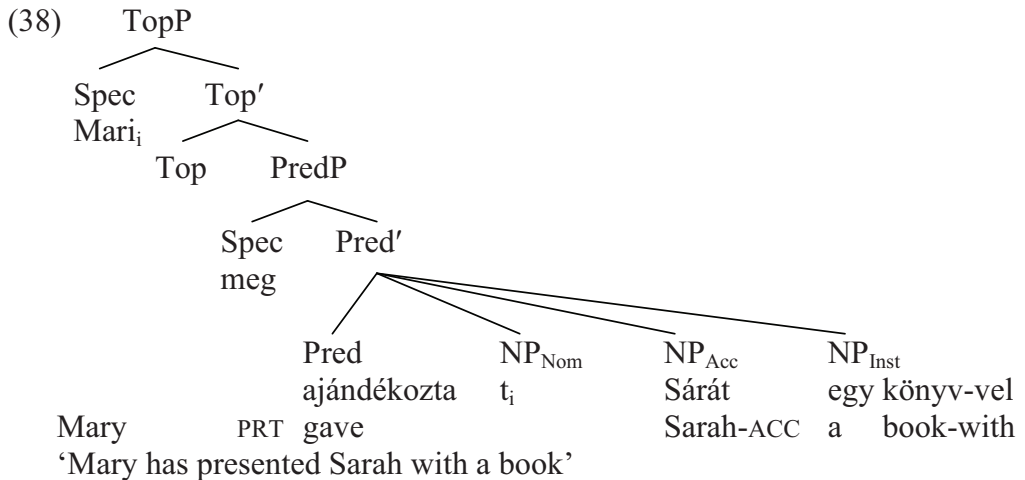
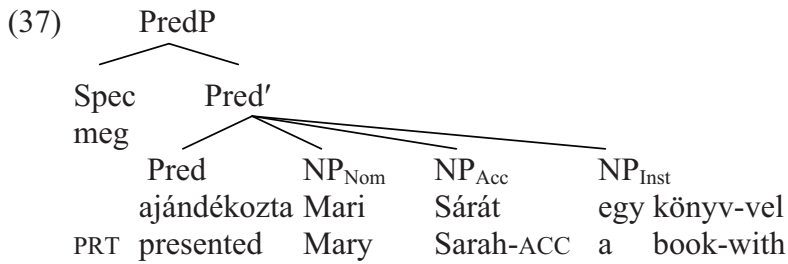
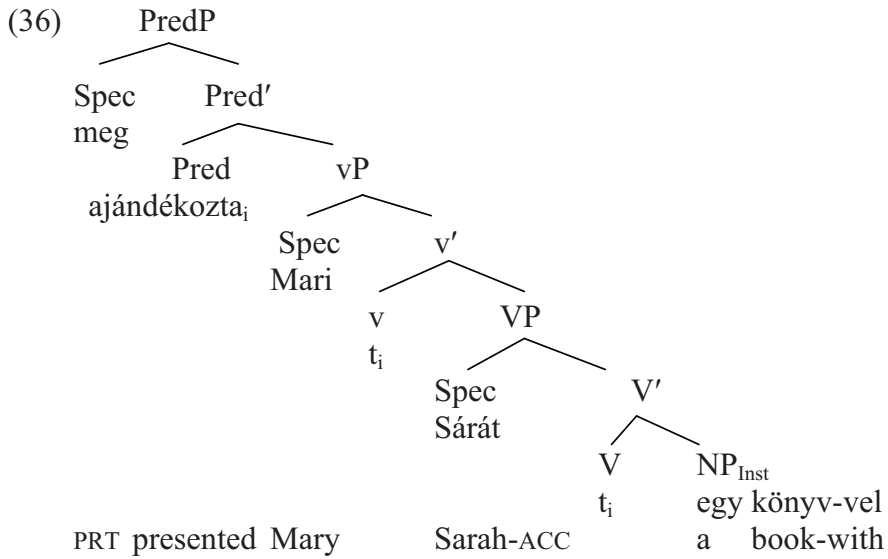
(34) (a) *Mari meg-ajándékozta Sárát egy [NP_{Inst} könyv-vel].*
 Mary PRT-presented Sarah-ACC a book-with
 ‘Mary has presented Sarah with a book’

(b) *Mari át-festette az ajtót [NP_{Subl} fehér-re].*
 Mary PRT-painted the door-ACC white-to
 ‘Mary has repainted the door white’

- (c) A könyvtáros le-vette a könyvet a [NP_{Del} polc-ról].
the librarian PRT-took the book-ACC the shelf-of
'The librarian has taken off the book from the shelf'
- (d) Mari ki-vette az ollót a [NP_{EI} fiók-ból].
Mary PRT-took the scissors-ACC the drawer-out of
'Mary has taken the scissors out of the drawer'
- (e) János el-küldte Sárát [NP_{Caus} kenyér-ért].
John PRT-sent Sarah-ACC bread-for
'John has sent Sarah for bread'

Generating for example the sentence (34a) would begin with projection of a layered verb phrase (36) the verb *ajándékoz* 'present' being transitive. Then vP extends into PredP: the verbal particle *meg* enters the syntactic structure, the verb rises to Pred head (36), whereupon the vP-projection flattens (37). Finally, the underlying external argument (*Sára*) topicalizes (38) creating the cited example.





As can be seen, in the proposed framework grammatical sentences with verbal particles and case-marked NPs can be easily derived without violating any rule of generative grammar. This is a significant improvement over against the framework proposed by É. Kiss (2008).

6. Conclusion

The main goal of this paper was to show, that the newest syntactic analysis of Hungarian verbal particles should be revisited. Namely, the analysis presented in É. Kiss (2006) treats the verbal particle as secondary predicate, and inserts it in postverbal argument position (É. Kiss 2008), that is, in the same position in which case-marked NPs or case-marked adjectives are inserted. Such approach, however, is problematical:

- First of all, the Hungarian verbal particle is not a secondary predicate, but a mere delimiter. In other words, it has a clear functional property, which by itself refutes the assumption that this constituent is introduced to the syntactic structure via postverbal argument position.
- The syntactic role assigned to the verbal particle weakens even more the theory of introduction in postverbal position: in syntax the Hungarian verbal particle modifies the whole predicate, which means that it is more likely that it enters the syntactic structure through particular preverbal modifier position.
- The analysis presented in É. Kiss (2008) fails to account for sentences containing both verbal particles and case-marked NPs (3), (35) without violating the Binary Branching Constraint, which is significant deficiency.

Under the assumption that the Hungarian sentence consists of two domains, a predicational and a functional, and that the higher, predicational domain starts with preverbal modifier position, i.e. Spec,PredP, my main claim is that the verbal particle, being function (grammatical) word, is inserted in this particular position. Following this, I have presented a syntactic analysis that accounts for every syntactic, as well as functional (semantic) property of verbal particles without violating syntactic rules.

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POGLED U SINTAKSU MAĐARSKIH GLAGOLSKIH ČESTICA

Mađarski glagolski prefiksi, male funkcionalne (gramatičke) riječi, zadaju dosta glavobolje lingvistima. Jedno od najtežih pitanja tiče se njihovoga strukturnog mjesta. U najnovijoj sintaktičkoj analizi (É. Kiss 2006, 2008) pretpostavlja se da se mađarske glagolske prefikse umeće na mjesto argumenta koji dolazi poslije glagola (dopuna) jer je njegova uloga slična ulozi rezultativnih izraza, t.j. sublativnih padežno obilježenih imenskih izraza. Taj pristup, međutim, ne može objasniti strukture koje sadrže i glagoske prefikse i padežno obilježene imenske izraze, što je ozbiljan nedostatak. Zbog toga predlažem alternativnu sintaktičku analizu koja može objasniti istovremeno pojavljivanje prefiksa i padežno obilježenog imenskog izraza.

Ključne riječi: sintaksa; mađarski, glagolski prefiksi; glagolska čestica; delimitator; modifikator; domena predikacije; funkcionalna domena.