Chapter 2

The function and the syntax of the verbal particle

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1. Introduction

Perhaps the hardest descriptive problem of Hungarian syntax is how to analyze the verbal particle. Is it a head or a phrase? What structural position does it occupy? Does it form a constituent with the V? Is its default preverbal position a base-generated or a derived position? Is its complementary distribution with the focus in the preverbal slot real or apparent? Does the reverse, V–particle order of negated sentences result from V-movement across the particle, or from the blocking of particle movement? How is the interaction of particle position and aspectual interpretation to be represented? Many of these questions also arise in the better known Indo-European languages – e.g. in the Germanic languages (even if they are exempt from the problem of the interaction of the particle with focussing), or in the Slavic languages (even if the Slavic equivalents of the Hungarian verbal particles are non-separable verbal prefixes, raising less word order problems). The questions arising have been given many different answers in the literature, and the proposed analyses seem to represent similar levels of descriptive adequacy, and seem to rely on principles of Universal Grammar to similar extents. The work summarized in this chapter has been motivated by the Minimalist assumption that the understanding of the role that the verbal particle plays in the conceptual-intentional interpretation of the sentence and in its prosodic realization may facilitate the selection of the most adequate syntactic representation.

As will be demonstrated, the presence or absence, the type, and the position of the Hungarian verbal particle is related to the aspectual interpretation of the sentence. The view that the verbal particle denotes perfective aspect, however, cannot be true, as not all perfective sentences involve a verbal particle, and not all sentences containing a particle are perfective. Particles contribute to aspectual interpretation by indicating situation aspect. Verbal particles will be shown to fall into three main classes. Resultative particles mark telic sentences describing an inherently delimited change of state, by denoting the resultant state of the individual undergoing the change. Terminative particles mark telic sentences describing an inherently delimited change of location, by denoting the end location of the moving individual. Locative particles appear in atelic sentences expressing existence or spatial configuration; they denote the location of the argument whose existence or spatial configuration is asserted.

The clarification of the functions of the verbal particle leads to a syntactic analysis which treats the particle as a secondary predicate predicated of the theme argument, and identifies its canonical preverbal position as the specifier of a PredP projection. The proposed syntactic analysis correctly predicts that particles accompany only transitive and unaccusative verbs; unergatives can accept a particle only if they are complemented by a pseudo-theme. It also falls out that telic predicates expressing the creation, or the coming into being, of their theme can involve no particle – because their [–specific] theme cannot function as the subject of predication. The particle in Spec,PredP will be analyzed as information focus, and its movement to Spec,PredP will be claimed to be movement for stress. The consequences of the proposal for the analysis of identificational focus and for the analysis of negation will be taken up in chapter 9.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 examines the distribution of verbal particles across situation types, as well as their functions and their syntactic licencing conditions. The three main types of verbal particles identified will be discussed in separate subsections. The resultative particles of telic change-of-state sentences are analyzed in section 2.1., and the terminative particles of telic change-of-location sentences are examined in section 2.2. Section 2.3. discusses why telic sentences expressing creation or coming into being – unlike those expressing a change of state or a change of location – involve no verbal particle. The locative particles of atelic sentences expressing existence or spatial configuration in a particular location are investigated in section 2.4. Section 3 is devoted to the question whether resultative and terminative particles mark viewpoint aspect or situation aspect. Section 4 discusses the syntax of the verbal particle.

2. Types of verbal particles and situation types

As will be argued below, the presence or absence, and the type of the Hungarian verbal particle is determined by the type of the situation described in the given sentence.[1] The classification of situations that underlies the distribution of verbal particles is a version of the typology of situations emerging from the work of Vendler (1967), Dowty (1991), Smith (1991), Tenny (1994), and others. The primary criterion of the classification of situations – and of the sentences describing them – is (a)telicity. Telic situations contain a change with a conclusion, an outcome, and, accordingly, telic sentences describe a process leading to a result. Whereas the traditional classification of telic sentences into accomplishments and achievements is based on the [+/-durative] feature of the event (see Smith 1991:30), the classification to be adopted here, following Tenny (1994) in crucial respects, is based on the

quality of the change denoted. Three types of telic sentences are distinguished: those describing a change of state, those describing a change of location, and those describing creation or coming into being. As will turn out, sentences describing a change of state or a change of location contain a resultative or a terminative verbal particle, respectively; those describing creation or coming into being, on the other hand, necessarily lack a particle. A third type of verbal particles marks a subtype of atelic sentences: those expressing existence or spatial configuration in a location.

2.1. Resultative particles in telic change-of-state sentences

Telic change-of-state sentences describe a change of their theme argument which leads to its new state. The resulting state of the theme is sometimes expressed by an adjective phrase or a noun phrase – see (1a-c); in most cases, however, the resultative element is a verbal particle with little or no descriptive content – see (2a-c).

(1)a. Éva **szőkére** festette a haját.
Eve blond-to dyed her hair
'Eve dyed her hair blond.'

b. Eszter **tíz szeletre** vágta a tortát.
Esther ten slices-into cut the cake
'Esther cut the cake into ten slices.'

c. A hús **puhára** főtt.
the meat cooked tender

(2)a. Éva **be**-festette a haját.
Eve in dyed her hair
'Eve has dyed her hair.'

b. Eszter **fel**-vágta a tortát.
Esther up cut the cake
'Esther (has) cut up the cake.'

c. A hús **meg**-főtt.

the meat PRT cooked

'The meat (has) cooked.'

(The resultative or terminative verbal particle plus V complex is spelled as one word. For expository purposes, I separate them by a hyphen.) The particle *be* 'in' in (2a) plays the same role as *szőkére* 'blond-to' in (1a); it expresses that the object of dying, Eve's hair, has assumed a new color as a result of the dying process. The function of the particle *fel* 'up' in (2b) is also similar to that of the noun phrase *tíz szeletre* 'ten slices-into' in (1b); it shows that the cake, originally undivided, has been cut into pieces. The particle *meg* in (2c), too, has essentially the same function as the case-marked adjective in (1c): it means that the meat has attained the required (tender) state as a consequence of cooking.[2] What the particles differ in from their phrasal counterparts is that they lack a descriptive content; they merely mean that the individual affected by the given change has been totally affected, and it has attained the new state following from the given change. Both the sentences in (1a-c) and those in (2a-c) express that the events described have been completed; however, the completion is not marked by a particular tense of the verb (Hungarian has only two tenses: a past and a present) but by the resultative element predicating the resultant state of the theme.

In the case of accomplishment predicates, the verb and the resultative element clearly correspond to the process component and the resultant state component of the complex event, respectively.[3] Thus in (2a,b), *festette* 'dyed', *vágta* 'cut', and *főtt* 'cooked' denote homogeneous processes affecting the theme; *be* 'in', *fel* 'up', and *meg*, on the other hand, denote the totally changed, new state attained by the theme after it has been affected by the given process in its entirety. Although the particles have no (or little) descriptive content in themselves, their meanings can be reconstructed from the meanings of their verbs. Each particle refers to the particular state resulting from the process specified by the given verb. (Although without its verb, a given particle usually gives no information on the quality of the result state it denotes, its choice is not completely idiosynchratic. *Be* 'in', *fel* 'up', and the most unmarked *meg* denote different kinds of complete affectedness; however, the examination of the semantic differences of the various verbal particles is beyond the scope of this paper.[4]) The omission of the particle yields a regular process sentence:

(3)a. Éva festette a haját.

Eve dyed her hair

'Eve was dying her hair.'

b. Eszter vágta a tortát.
Esther cut the cake
'Esther was cutting the cake.'

c. A hús főtt.
the meat cooked
'The meat was cooking.'

In the case of achievement predicates, the two components of the event are practically simultaneous, inseparable, therefore, the correspondence between the verb and the process phase, and between the resultative particle and the resultant state is less transparent. Observe:

(4)a. János **meg**-találta a gyűrűt.
John PRT found the ring
'John (has) found the ring.'

b. Éva **fel**-ébredt.
Eve up woke
'Eve woke up/has woken up.'

c. Zoltán **el** -érte a csúcsot.
Zoltan PRT reached the top
'Zoltan has reached the top.'

The verbs *talál* 'find', *ébred* 'wake', and *ér* 'reach' denote momentary changes affecting the theme, and the particles *meg, fel* 'up', and *el* 'off' refer to the resultant states of the theme. (4a,b) imply the resultant states asserted in (5a,b). ((4c) seems more idiosyncratic; the result state meaning component of *el-ér* 'reach' cannot be lexicalized separately.)

(5)a. A gyűrű **meg**-van.
the ring PRT is
'The ring is here.'

b. Éva **fent** van.
Eve up is
'Eve is up.'

Nevertheless, the removal of the particle from an achievement predicate usually does not yield an acceptable semelfactive predicate expressing a momentary process:

(6)a.*János 'találta a 'gyűrűt.[5]
John found the ring

b.*Éva 'ébredt.
Eve woke

c.*Zoltán 'érte a 'csúcsot.
Zoltan reached the top

In (1a-c), the resultative phrases clearly represent secondary predicates predicated of the theme argument. Because of the similar role of the resultative particles in (2a-c), there is good reason to assume that they also function as secondary predicates predicated of the theme. The implication relations between (4a) and (5a), and between (4b) and (5b) suggest that this analysis can also be extended to achievement predicates – even if we also have to allow for non-transparent cases, in which the meaning of the particle plus verb complex cannot be divided into separate 'momentary process' and 'result state' components. Incidentally, the secondary predicate analysis of verbal particles also represents a main stream in the study of Indo-European verbal particles – see e.g. Kayne (1985), Larson (1988b), and Winkler (1996).

The assumption that the verbal particle is predicated of the theme argument is supported by the fact that the theme in a telic change-of-state sentence must be [+specific] – whether the resultant state is expressed by a resultative phrase or by a particle. First let us consider some evidence that the theme argument of a resultative construction can only be [+specific]. In Hungarian, there are two types of noun phrases that can only have a non-specific reading: bare singulars and bare plurals. Neither of them can represent the theme of a resultative construction:[6]

(7)a.*Éva tíz szeletre vágott tortát. / *Éva fel-vágott tortát.

Eve ten slices-into cut cake Eve up cut cake

b.*Puhára főtt tyúk. / *Meg-főtt tyúk.
tender cooked hen PRT cooked hen

c.*János meg-talált gyűrűket.
John PRT found rings

d.*Fel-ébredtek lányok.[7]
up woke girls

The indefinite article, numeral determiners, or *néhány* 'some, a few' can, in principle, have either a specific or a non-specific reading. According to Enç (1991), a test of the specificity of an indefinite noun phrase is if it is interpreted as referring to a subset of a previously introduced set. Indefinite theme arguments in a resultative construction elicit this reading. If the resultative element is dropped, the 'subset' reading is also lost. Compare:

(8)a. Az állásra két diák jelentkezett.
'To the job, two students applied.'
Tegnap **be**-hívtunk egy lányt interjúra.
yesterday in called-we a girl-ACC interview-for
'Yesterday, we called in a girl for an interview.'

b. Az állásra két diák jelentkezett.
'To the job, two students applied.'
Tegnap hívtunk egy lányt interjúra.
yesterday called-we a girl-ACC interview-for
'Yesterday, we called a girl for an interview.'

(9)a. Péter több osztálytársával is beszélni akart.
'Peter wanted to talk with several of his classmates.'
Meg-várt néhány lányt.
PRT waited some girls-ACC
'He waited for some girls.'

b. Péter több osztálytársával is beszélni akart.
Peter wanted to talk with several of his classmates.'
Várt néhány lányt.
waited some girls
'He awaited some girls.'

In the (a) cases, the object of the second sentence is understood to refer to a subset of the set mentioned in the first sentence. In the (b) cases, this reading is unlikely; in fact, the two sentences do not even seem to constitute a coherent text.[8]

The specificity requirement on themes functioning as subjects of resultative predicates is reminiscent of the specificity requirement on topics, and it may have the same source: both of them function as logical subjects of predication. Various descriptions of the logical subject–logical predicate relation share a version or other of the assumption that a logical subject must be associated with an existential presuppositon (cf. e.g.Strawson (1971), Kuroda (1972), Erteschik-Shir (1997).

Verbs denoting a change of state can be complemented with a non-specific theme argument, as well; in this case, however, they do not take a verbal particle. For example:

(10)a. Péter **fát** vágott.
Peter wood-ACC cut
'Peter cut (some) wood.'

b. **Tyúk** főtt a fazékban.
hen cooked the pot-in
'A hen cooked in the pot.'

Notice that the sentences in (10) do not express accomplishments, i.e., inherently delimited, telic processes; they merely denote processes, which can be interpreted either imperfectively (with the initial point and end point of the process outside the event), as in (11a), or perfectively (with the initial point and end point of the process included in the event), as in (11b).

(11)a.Péter órák hosszat **fát** vágott.

Peter hours long wood-ACC cut
'Peter was cutting wood for hours.'

b. Péter **fát** vágott a tábortűzhöz.
Peter wood-ACC cut the camp-fire-to
'Peter cut some wood for the camp-fire.'

(12)a. **Tyúk** fő a fazékban.
hen cooks the pot-in
'A hen is cooking in the pot.'

b. Ebédre **tyúk** főtt.
lunch-to hen cooked
'A hen (has) cooked for lunch.'

In the case of verbs denoting a momentary process, the 'non-specific NP plus V' combination is more likely to be interpreted perfectively:

(13)a. A repülőgép **földet** ért.
the airplane ground-ACC touched
'The airplane touched ground.'

b. A medve **embert** ölt.
the bear man-ACC killed
'The bear killed a man.'

c. István **kezet** rázott Péterrel.
Stephen hand-ACC shook Peter-with
'Stephen shook hands with Peter.'

According to Krifka (1992) and Tenny (1994), the fact that the internal argument of telic sentences cannot be represented by a bare nominal has a different reason; the internal argument serves to measure out, i.e., to delimit, the change described by the verb, and only a delimited, quantized noun phrase can function as a delimiter. We discard this explanation

because locative particles, restricted to atelic sentences, also impose a specificity requirement on their logical subject.

Returning to change-of-state sentences with a resultative particle, if the resultative particle is a secondary predicate predicated of the theme, then unergative verbs, i.e., intransitive verbs with an agent argument, are predicted not to have any verbal particle. This prediction is essentially borne out – cf.

(14)a. János (***el**) énekelt.
John PRT sang

b. Éva (***el**) olvasott.
Eve PRT read

cf.

(15)a. János **el** -énekelte az áriát.
John PRT sang the aria
'John sang/has sung the aria.'

b. Éva **el** -olvasta a cikket.[9]
Eve PRT read the article
'Eve (has) read the article.'

Verbs like *nyer* 'win' and *győz* 'win' are also optionally transitive. As expected, they take a verbal particle only in their transitive use:

(16) László nyert/győzött.
John won /won

(17)a. László **meg**-nyerte a mérkőzést.
László PRT won the match
'László (has) won the match.'

b. Lékó **le** -győzte Kramnyikot.
Lékó PRT defeated Kramnik
'Lékó (has) defeated Kramnik.'

An unergative verb can only be ‘telicized’, i.e., enabled to express an inherently delimited change, if it is supplied with both a pseudo-object and a resultative element – see in detail in chapter 8. The unmarked pseudo-object is the reflexive pronoun. The construction in (18a) expresses that the agent has attained a new state as a result of her own action. In certain idiomatic cases the pseudo-object is a body-part of the agent - see (18b-c).

(18)a. Éva **ki**-dolgozta **magát**.
Eve out worked herself
‘Eve worked herself tired.’

b. Zsuzsa **ki**-sírta **a szemét**.
Susan out cried her eye
‘Susan cried her eyes out.’

c. János **le** -járta **a lábát**.
John down walked his foot
‘John walked his feet sore.’

If we omit either the pseudo-object or the resultative particle, the sentences become sharply ungrammatical:

(19)a.*Éva **ki** -dolgozott.
Eve out worked

b.*Éva dolgozta **magát**.
Eve worked herself

Unergatives may also allow a temporal pseudo-object, for example:

(20)a. Péter **át** -aludta **a délutánt**.
Peter through slept the afternoon-ACC
‘Peter slept through the afternoon.’

b. Rozi **el** -beszélgette **az időt**.
Rosy away talked the time-ACC
'Rose talked away the time.'

c. Imre **el**-borozgatott **két órát**.
Imre away wined two hours-ACC
'Imre spent two hours drinking wine.'

In a type of sentence the argument undergoing a delimited change of state is the experiencer. These sentences – to be discussed in detail in chapter 3 – also involve a verbal particle:

(21)a. Ágnes **meg**-szerette Józsefet.
Agnes PRT loved Joseph-ACC
'Agnes came to love Joseph.'

b. József **meg** -utálta a főnökét.
Joseph PRT hated his boss
'Joseph came to hate his boss.'

In such sentences, it is not the particle but the verb that denotes the resultant state of the experiencer. The particle merely serves to indicate that the state of the experiencer is a resultant state. In this sentence type, it is the experiencer-subject that must be specific – see (22a). A non-specific theme object sounds somewhat more acceptable in this context – see (22b).

(22)a.?*A tanárt **meg**-szerették diákok.
the teacher-ACC PRT loved students
'(Some) students came to like the teacher.'

b.??A tanár **meg**-szeretett diákokat.
the teacher PRT liked students
'The teacher came to like (some) students.'

2.2. Terminative particles in change-of-location sentences

A subset of telic sentences express a delimited change of location. In such cases, the culmination – and completion – of the event is the attainment of the end location; the resultant state of the moving individual is its static end position. The end position attained is sometimes expressed by a preverbal noun phrase or postpositional phrase – see (23a-c), but in most cases, it is denoted by a verbal particle of a terminative role, i.e., an adverb with little descriptive content, as in (24a-c). The noun phrase or PP specifying the end location can optionally also be spelled out in the presence of a terminative verbal particle – see (25a-c). In such cases, the particle functions as a proadverbial double of the terminative noun phrase.

(23)a. János **az ablakhoz** vitte a távcsövet.
John the window-to took the telescope
'John took/has taken the telescope to the window.'

b. Zsuzsa **a szobába** szaladt.
Susan the room-into ran
'Susan ran/has run into the room.'

c. István **az asztalra** tette a könyvet.
Stephen the table-on put the book
'Stephen (has) put the book on the table.'

(24)a. János **oda** -vitte a távcsövet.
John there took the telescope
'John took/has taken the telescope there.'

b. Zsuzsa **be**-szaladt.
Susan in ran
'Susan ran/has run in.'

c. István **le** -tette a könyvet.
Stephen down put the book-ACC
'Stephen (has) put down the book.'

(25)a. János **oda** -vitte a távcsövet **az ablakhoz**.

John there took the telescope the window-to
'John took/has taken the telescope to the window.'

b. Zsuzsa **be**-szaladt **a szobába**.
Susan in ran the room-in
'Susan ran/has run into the room.'

c. István **le** tette a könyvet **az asztalra**.
Stephen down put the book the table-on
'Stephen (has) put down the book on the table.'

In this type of sentence, too, the verb, and the terminative particle (or particle plus NP/PP complex) correspond to the two components of the complex event: the verb denotes the movement, and the terminative element denotes the resulting location of the moving theme. The adverbs *oda* 'there-to', *be* 'into', and *le* 'down-to' express that the end location of the moving individual is there, in, and down, respectively. (Actually, these adverbs look directional rather than locational, because in addition to an obsolete stem, they also contain an obsolate lative case suffix (even if sometimes the case ending has already worn off, as in the case of *fel* 'up'). In fact, however, this suffix merely serves to convey the 'terminus' theta-role assigned to the locative element by the verb. That is, just as in the case of *piros-ra fest* 'red-to paint', *piros* 'red' denotes the end state of the object, and *-ra* 'to' marks that this end state is in a resultative relation to the verb, in the case of *az asztal-ra tesz* 'the table-on put', or *rá-tesz* 'onto put', *az asztal* 'the room', and the obsolete stem of *rá* 'on' denote the end location of the moving individual, and the *-ra* 'to' suffix of *asztal*, and the *-á* 'to' suffix implicit in *rá* express that this end location is in a terminative relation to the verb.)

The omission of the terminative element from an accomplishment predicate yields an atelic sentence denoting a process:

(26)a. János vitte a távcsövet.
John took the telescope
'John was taking the telescope.'

b. Zsuzsa szaladt.
Susan ran

'Susan was running.'

In the case of achievement predicates denoting a change of location, the momentary motion process and the attainment of the end location are practically simultaneous; hence cutting off the end location is usually impossible:

(27) *István tette a könyvet.
Stephen put the book

Some approaches, e.g. Larson (1988a,b) and Winkler (1996), analyze the terminative element of change-of-location sentences as a resultative secondary predicate. In Hungarian, too, the syntactic behavior of terminative particles is comparable to that of resultative particles. Thus terminative particles also require the presence of a [+specific] theme, which is evidence of their status as secondary predicates predicated of the theme argument. A verb with a non-specific theme cannot be associated with a particle:

(28)a.?*István **le** -tett **könyveket** az asztalra.
Stephen down put books the table-on

cf. b. István **könyveket** tett az asztalra.[10]
Stephen books-ACC put the table-on
'Stephen put (some) books on the table.'

In (29a) below, the indefinite noun phrase *egy kislányt* 'a little girl-ACC' is non-specific in the sense of Enç (1991); it can only marginally refer to a member of the previously introduced set. In (29b), which also contains a verbal particle, the specific reading is the primary one.

(29)a. A gyerekek szétszéledtek.
'The children dispersed.'
Hívtunk **egy kislányt**.
called-we a little.girl-ACC
'We called a little girl.'

b. A gyerekek szétszéledtek.

'The children dispersed.'

Oda-hívtunk **egy kislányt**.

PRT called-we a little.girl-ACC

'We called in a little girl [of them].'

Verbs of movement in the case of which the causer and the affected theme are represented by the same individual are claimed by Levin and Rappaport (1994) to be unaccusative when expressing directed motion, and to be unergative when expressing a manner of motion. This claim is also supported by facts of Hungarian. When combined with a goal/terminus argument, Hungarian verbs of motion take a verbal particle – see (30), which is evidence of their unaccusativity, i.e., their subject functioning as a theme with the terminus predicated of it.

(30) Zsolt **el**-futott/el-sétált a boltba.[11]

Zsolt off ran /off walked the store-to

'Zsolt (has) ran/walked off to the store.'

As manner-of-motion verbs, on the other hand, these verbs take no particle, unless they are supplemented with a pseudo-object, as in (31b) – that is, they display the behavior of unergative verbs, illustrated above under (14)-(19).

(31)a. Zsolt futott/sétált.

Zsolt ran/walked

'Zsolt was running/walking.'

b. Zsolt **ki**-futotta/**ki**-sétálta **magát**.

Zsolt out-ran /out-walked himself

'Zsolt ran/walked himself tired.'

A pseudo-object and a terminus exclude each other. This falls out from the theory of Levin and Rappaport (1991); recall that in the presence of a terminus, the subject functions as the theme, i.e., there is no room for a pseudo-theme, as well:

(32)*Zsolt **el**-futotta/**el**-sétálta **magát** a boltba.

Zsolt off ran /**off** walked himself the store-to

Many motion verbs can also take a „route" or „path" pseudo-object, which, naturally, also licences a verbal particle:

(33)a. Csaba **le** -futotta a marathoni távot.
Csaba down ran the Marathon distance-ACC
'Csaba (has) run the Marathon distance."

b. Péter **be**-járta a várost.
Peter in walked the city-ACC
'Peter (has) walked the city.'

Unexpectedly, the verbal particle also accompanies certain verbs which apparently lack a theme argument. For example:

(34)a. Zoltán **rá**-vágott az asztalra.
Zoltan on struck the table-on
'Zoltan (has) struck on the table.'

b. Béla **bele-**rúgott az ajtóba.
Bela into kicked the door-into
'Bela (has) kicked into the door.'

(35)a. A sofőr **rá**-kiabált a gyalogosra.
the driver at shouted the pedestrian-at
'The drived (has) shouted at the pedestrian.'

b. Sára **rá** nézett a gyerekekre.
Sarah at looked the children-at
'Sarah (has) looked at the children.'

A way of analyzing these sentences is to claim that they contain an implicit theme. In (34a,b), it is easy to recover the theme: in (34a), it is Zoltán's fist, and in (34b), it is Béla's foot.

(Interestingly, if it is made explicit, it appears in the instrumental case: *Zoltán rá-vágott az öklével az asztalra* 'Zoltan struck with his fist on the table'*; Béla belerúgott a lábával az ajtóba* 'Bela kicked with his foot into the door'.) In (35a,b), it must be angry words or looks that are passed on by Sára to the children. Alternatively, we could claim that these particles represent a different type: they are directional particles rather than secondary predicates predicating the end location of the theme.

Summarizing sections 2.1. and 2.2.: Telic predicates expressing a bounded change of state or a bounded change of location involve complex events consisting of a (durative or momentary) process and a resultant state/resultant location. Whereas the process is denoted by a verbal predicate, the resultant state or resultant location is denoted by a resultative or terminative verbal particle, respectively. Alternatively, the resultative or terminative element can also be expressed by a preverbal AdjP, NP/DP, or PP. (In the case of change-of-location sentences, the terminus can be denoted both by a particle marking the attainment of the resulting location, and a noun phrase specifying the resulting location.) The particle functions as a secondary predicate predicated of the theme; hence it is licensed only in the presence of a [+specific] theme argument.

2.3. Why sentences expressing creation or coming into being contain no particle

Besides sentences involving a theme undergoing a delimited change of state, and sentences involving a theme undergoing a delimited change of location, there is also a third major type of telic sentences: those expressing the creation/obtainment, or the coming into being/appearance of their theme. It is this type of theme that I will call 'incremental theme' – somewhat narrowing down the usage of this term known from the literature. Whereas in change-of-state and change-of-location sentences, the state or location of an already existing theme changes until a new state or new location is attained, in creation/coming-into-being sentences the change is from non-existence to existence, or from absence to presence. Events of this type are completed when the referent of their theme appears in its entirety; the result is the theme itself. For example:

(36)a. János készített egy repülőgépmodellt.
John prepared an airplane-model

b. Éva hozott süteményeket.
Eve brought cookies

(37)a. Született egy gyerek.
was.born a child
'A child was born.'

b. Vendégek érkeztek.
guests arrived

The set of verbs capable of expressing creation/obtainment or coming into being/appearance, and thereby occurring in the syntactic structure illustrated in (35)-(36) is not a closed set. Interestingly, in addition to verbs like *szerez* 'obtain', *vesz* 'buy', *kap* 'receive', *alakul* 'form$_{intransitive}$', *sül* 'bake$_{intransitive}$', *süt* 'bake$_{transitive}$', also the verbs *eszik* 'eat', *iszik* 'drink', and *fogyaszt* 'consume' display the syntactic behavior of this verb class. Perhaps it is the meaning component that they share with the verbs *szerez* 'obtain' and *kap* 'receive' that allows them to occur in this pattern. Some analyses, e.g. Tenny (1994), claim that these verbs are 'reverse' incremental theme verbs, expressing the reverse appearance, i.e., the disappearance, of their theme. However, other verbs expressing disappearance, e.g. *meg-semmisít* 'annihilate', *el-tüntet* 'cause to disappear', *el-tűnik* 'disappear', *fel-robbant* 'explode$_{transitive}$', *felrobban* 'explode$_{intransitive}$', *le-bont* 'dismantle', *szétszed* 'take apart', *össze-tép* 'tear up', cannot appear in this syntactic structure. Compare:

(38) Éva evett egy almát.
Eve ate an apple

(39)a.*Éva semmisített egy fényképet.
Eve annihilated a photo

cf. b. Éva **meg** semmisített egy fényképet.
Eve PRT annihilated a photo

(40)a.*Péter tépett egy levelet.
Peter tore a letter

cf. b. Péter **össze** tépett egy levelet.

Peter up tore a letter
'Peter tore up a letter.'

According to Szabolcsi (1986), verbs belonging to the creation/coming into being class all have an 'exist' component in the core of their meaning; they assert that their theme has come to exist or will come to exist in the domain of discourse. As Szabolcsi (1986) observes, since they assert the coming into being of their theme, they cannot at the same time also presuppose its existence, i.e., they cannot have it realized as a definite or a [+specific] indefinite noun phrase, associated with an existential presupposition. (For a somewhat different view, see chapters 4 and 5 of this book, dealing with this verb class.)

Indeed, a verb of the creation/coming into being class is either ungrammatical with a definite or a [+specific] indefinite theme argument (see (41a,b)), or it only has a process reading, denoting a change affecting an already existing individual (see (42)):

(41)a.*János 'készítette 'mindegyik 'repülőgépmodellt.[12]
John prepared every airplane-model

b. *'Született a 'gyerek.
was.born the child

(42)a. Éva fél óra hosszat ette az almát.
Eve half hour long ate the apple
'Eve was eating the apple for half an hour.'

b.*Éva fél óra alatt ette az almát.
Eve half hour within ate the apple

If creation/coming into being sentences have a non-specific theme, and, if a verbal particle functions as a predicate predicated of a specific theme, then creation/coming into being sentences are predicted to involve no verbal particle. As the above examples show, this prediction is borne out.

Actually, all the above verbs can also occur with a particle and a [+specific] theme; however, the particle + V combinations express a change of state or a change of location affecting a referent which is presupposed to exist in some form. Compare:

(43)a. János készített egy repülőgépmodellt.
John prepared an airplane-model
'John (has) prepared an airplane model.'

b. János **el** -készítette a repülőgépmodellt.
John PRT prepared the airplane-model
'John (has) prepared the airplane model.'

c. János **el** -készített egy repülőgépmodellt.
John PRT prepared an airplane-model
'John (has) prepared one of the airplane models.'

(44)a. Éva talált egy gyűrűt.
Eve found a ring
'John (has) found a ring.'

b. Éva **meg** találta a gyűrűt.
Eve PRT found the ring
'Eve (has) found the ring.'

c. Éva **meg** talált egy gyűrűt.
Eve PRT found a ring
'Eve (has) found one of the rings.'

(45)a. Sára hozott süteményt.
Sarah brought cake
'Sarah (has) brought some cake.'

b. Sára **meg-**hozta a süteményt.
Sarah PRT bought the cake
'Sarah (has) brought the cake.'

c. Sára **meg-**hozott egy süteményt.

Sarah PRT brought a cake
'Sarah (has) brought one of the cakes.'

The (b) and (c) sentences all involve a theme argument whose referent has existed in some form previous to the event. In the case of (43c), *egy repülőgépmodell* corresponds to 'one of the airplane models in question'. (44c) means that Eve has found one of the rings lost, and (45c) expresses that Sarah has brought one of the cakes previously agreed on. The meaning difference between (46a,b) is more subtle, and has been the topic of much discussion:

(46)a. Gyula írt egy verset.
Julian wrote a poem

b. Gyula **meg-**írt egy verset.
Julian PRT wrote a poem

According to the literature, e.g. Kálmán (1995) and Bende-Farkas (1995), (2001), and according to my own judgment, (46b) cannot be the opening sentence of a discourse. It is felicitous if the previous discussion has already involved prospective poems, or poems in preparation, or at least reference to some writing activity, from which poems can be inferred.

Chapters 4 and 5 of this book provide a detailed semantic and syntactic analysis of sentences expressing creation and coming into being. What is relevant from the present perspective is that the type of telic sentence they represent involves no verbal particle, because its necessarily non-specific theme does not licence one. A verb of creation/coming into being combined with a verbal particle undergoes a „type-shift"; instead of creation or coming into being, it denotes a delimited change of state or a delimited change of location.

2.4. Locative particles in sentences denoting existence or spatial configuration in a given location

In the lexical semantic theory of Talmy (1985), predicates expressing a state of locatedness are analyzed as a subset of Motion predicates. Motion predicates are made up of the set of translational Move predicates and the set of locational Be predicates. Talmy claims that a state of locatedness is universally conceived and subdivided into components in the same way as an event of translational movement. Hungarian supports this claim. Just as a predicate denoting translational movement to a terminus is preceded by a terminative verbal particle, a

predicate denoting existence or spatial configuration in a location is preceded by a locative particle (see Deme (1959)). Even the stems of the particles are often identical, only the endings are different; locational particles often contain an obsolate locative case suffix, instead of the ancient translational case suffix of terminative particles. Compare:

(47)a. János **ki** -állt (az utcára).
John out stood the street-to
'John (has) stood out into the street.'

b. János **kint** áll (az utcán).
John outside stands the street-on
'John is standing outside in the street.'

(48)a. A birkózó **le** -feküdt (a földre).
the wrestler down lay the ground-on
'The wrestler lay/has lain down onto the ground.'

b. A birkózó **lent** fekszik (a földön).
the wrestler down lies the ground-on
'The wrestler is lying on the ground.'

(49)a. **Rá** -léptél (a lábamra).
onto stepped-you my foot-onto
'You (have) stepped on my foot.'

b. **Rajta** állsz (a lábamon).
on stand-you my foot-on
'You are standing on my foot.'

(50)a. Éva **ide** -jött (az ablakhoz).
Eve hereto came (the window-to)
'Eve has come here to the window.'

b. Éva **itt** van (az ablaknál).

Eve here is (the window-at)
'Eve is here at the window.'

(51)a. A hiba **be**-került (a programba).
the mistake in got the program-in
'The mistake has got into the program.'

b. A hiba **bent** maradt (a programban).
the mistake in remained the program-in
'The mistake has remained in the program.'

The locative particle also accompanies transitive verbs meaning 'cause something to exist in a given location', for example:

(52)a. Péter **bent** hagyott egy hibát (a programban).
Peter in left a mistake the program-in
'Peter (has) left a mistake in the program.'

b. Éva **ott** tartja az iratait (a páncélszekrényben).
Eve there keeps her papers the safe-in
'Eve keeps her papers in the safe.'

As is clear from these examples, the locative particle – similar to the terminative one – can function as the proadverbial double of a locative noun phrase. The locative noun phrase can also replace the locative particle in its canonical, preverbal position:

(53)a. A birkózó **a földön** fekszik.
the wrestler the ground-on lies
'The wrestler is lying on the ground.'

b. **A lábamon** állsz.
my foot-on stand-you
'You are standing on my foot.'

c. Éva **az ablaknál** van.
Eve the window-at is
'Eve is at the window.'

d. A hiba **a programban** maradt.
the mistake the program-in remained
'The mistake remained in the program.'

The sentences in (47)-(52) describe complex situations, similar to telic sentences involving a resultative or terminative element; however, in their case, the two components of the situation are of similar types (both are states), and they take place simultaneously rather then consecutively. Thus, whereas in the change-of-location sentences in (47a), (48a), and (49a), the V denotes the movement of the subject, and the particle denotes its resultant location, in the (b) sentences, the V expresses the position/static configuration of the subject, and the particle denotes its location. These sentences comprise two predications: e.g. (47b) says that John is standing, and he is outside in the street; or the transitive (52a) expresses that Peter left a mistake, and the mistake is in the program (or perhaps: 'Peter allowed there to be a mistake, and the mistake is in the program').

The verbs prototypically appearing in this construction are verbs of position or spatial configuration. At the same time, process verbs expressing the activity of an agent can also combine with a locative particle:

(54)a. János **fent** dolgozik (az emeleten).
John up works the first.floor-on
'John is upstairs working.'

b. János **kint** nyírja a füvet (az udvaron).
John outside cuts the grass (the courtyard-in)
'John is outside (in the couryard) cutting the grass.'

These sentences combine the statements 'John is upstairs; he is working', and 'John is outside; he is cutting the grass', respectively. The addition of the locative particle makes the activities denoted by *dolgozik* 'is working' and *nyírja a füvet* 'is cutting the grass' state-like; these sentences would be most felicitous as answers to the question 'Where is John?'. At the

same time, these sentences represent exceptions to the claim that the verbal particle is always predicated of the theme argument. We might conclude that locative particles do not share all the relevant syntactic properties of resultative and terminative particles, after all. Or else (54a,b) should not be analyzed as particle constructions. *Fent* and *kint* – unlike e.g. *el* or *meg* – are free morphemes; perhaps they function as focussed adverbial adjuncts in (54).

If the locative particle is combined with a verb denoting a position or spatial configuration, the verb constitutes a possible predicate also without the locative element:

(55)a. János áll (az utcán).
John stands (the street-on)
'John is standing (in the street).'

b. Péter fekszik (a földön).
Peter lies the ground-on
'Peter is lying on the ground.'

If the locative noun phrase is spelled out postverbally without a proadverb double, it functions as a mere adjunct; it does not represent the main assertion.

Verbs denoting nothing more, or little more, than existence, like *van* 'be', *marad* 'remain', or *hagy* 'let', are not substantial enough semantically to represent the predicate in themselves. They form a complex predicate either with the locative element (56), or with the theme represented by a bare nominal (57):

(56)a. A kép **ott** van a falon.
the picture there is the wall-on
'The picture is on the wall.'

b. A pénz **ott** maradt a fiókban.
the money there remained the drawer-in
'The money remained in the drawer.'

c. János **ott** hagyta az iratokat az íróasztalon.
John there left the papers the desk-on
'John left the papers on the desk.'

(57)a. A falon **kép** van.
the wall-on picture is
'There is a picture on the wall.'

b. A fiókban **pénz** maradt.
the drawer-in money remained
'There remained money in the drawer.'

c. János **iratokat** hagyott az íróasztalon.
John papers left the desk-on
'John left papers on the desk.'

Locative particles share the syntactic behaviour of resultative and terminative particles; they are predicates predicated of a [+specific] theme argument. (In examples (54a,b), their theme argument is at the same time also the agent of the verbal predicate.) A theme represented by a non-specific indefinite noun phrase does not licence a verbal particle. The following examples are ungrammatical as neutral sentences, with all major constituents but the V stressed:

(58)a.*'**Ott** hever 'kutya a 'küszöb előtt.
there lies dog the threshold before

b.*'**Itt** állnak 'mellettem 'szónokok.
here stand near.me speakers

cf.

(59)a. A kutya **ott** hever a küszöb előtt.
the dog there lies the threshold before
'The dog is lying in front of the threshold.'

b. A szónokok **itt** állnak mellettem.[13]
the speakers here stand near.me
'The speakers are standing near me.'

In the presence of a non-specific theme, the particle must be absent:

(60)a. A kirakatban 'képek vannak.
the shopwindow-in pictures are
'In the shop-window there are pictures.'

b. A küszöbön 'kutya hever.
the threshold-on dog lies
'On the threshold, there is a dog lying.'

The specificity of the theme in constructions involving a locative verbal particle can be made clear by the following minimal pair:

(61)a. Az író szeret az állatairól írni.
'The writer likes to write about his animals.'
A legújabb regényében is van két kutya.
his latest novel-in too are two dog
'There are two dogs also in his latest novel.'

b. Az író szeret az állatairól írni.
'The writer likes to write about his animals.'
A legújabb regényében is **benne**-van két kutya.
his latest novel-in too in are two dog
'There are two dogs (of his animals) also in his latest novel.'

Két kutya can be identified as representing a subset of the set denoted by *az állatai* 'his animals' only in the presence of the verbal particle in (61b).

Summarizing section 2: the three major types of verbal particles are associated with three major types of situations. Locative particles appear in sentences describing existence or spatial configuration in a given location, resultative particles appear in sentences describing a delimited change of state, and terminative particles appear in sentences describing a delimited change of location. A resultative or terminative particle turns a process predicate into an accomplishment.

3. Verbal particles and aspect

It has been known for a long time that verbal particles contribute to the aspectual interpretation of sentences (cf. e.g. Perrot (1966), Wacha (1976, 1989), É. Kiss (1987), Kiefer (1992, 1994), Kiefer and Ladányi (2000). Assuming the two-component aspectual theory of Smith (1991), the question is if verbal particles play a role in determining situation aspect or viewpoint aspect. The conclusion at the end of section 2 suggested that the occurrence of various types of verbal particles is limited to particular types of situations. This section aims to examine whether the attested association of types of particles with types of situations means a direct correlation between them, or is merely an epiphenomenon derivable from of the viewpoint-aspect marking function of particles. In other words, it aims to ascertain if the different types of particles indeed mark the + or – value of the feature 'telic', rather than the + or – value of the feature 'perfective'.

The sentences with a resultative or terminative particle analyzed in sections 2.1. and 2.2. were both telic and perfective. Observe again some examples:

(62)a. Éva **fel** vágta a tortát.
Eve up cut the cake
'Eve cut up the cake.'

b. Júlia **fel** ébredt
Eve up woke
'Eve woke up.'

(63)a. Péter **ki** tolta a biciklit az utcára.
Peter out pushed the bicycle the street-to
'Peter pushed out the bicycle into the street.'

b. Az alma **le** esett a földre.
the apple down fell the ground-to
'The apple fell down onto the ground.'

These sentences are telic because they describe an inherently delimited change, and they are perfective because they represent an event with its initial point and its end point included. The question is which of these two properties is the direct consequence of the presence of the particle.

Whereas a preverbal resultative particle always yields a perfective interpretation – see (62a,b), a postverbal resultative particle elicits an imperfective reading. Compare:

(64)a. Amikor a vendégek megérkeztek, Éva éppen vágta **fel** a tortát.
when the guests arrived Eve just cut up the cake
'When the guests arrived, Eve was just cutting up the cake.'

b. Amikor a vendégek megérkeztek, Éva éppen **fel** vágta a tortát.
when the guests arrived Eve just up cut the cake
'When the guests arrived, Eve had just cut up the cake.'

c.*Miután a vendégek megérkeztek, Éva 'vágta **fel** a tortát.
after the guests arrived Eve cut up the cake
'After the guests arrived, Eve was just cutting up the cake.'

The main clause of (64a), displaying a 'V particle' order, describes an activity in progress, without its initial and end points; i.e., the viewpoint of the clause is imperfective. This is in contrast to (64b), which is perfective, with the activity understood to be completed by the time referred to by the temporal clause. A complex sentence containing an *after*-clause requires the consecutive interpretation of the events described by the temporal clause and the main clause. (64c) is ungrammatical because the main clause is imperfective, describing an event in progress, i.e., the consecutive interpretation of the two events is impossible.

The sentence type represented by the main clause of (64a) describes a telic situation with an inherent endpoint. The Hungarian equivalent of *cut* denotes a change affecting the object, and the Hungarian equivalent of the particle *up* expresses its total affectedness,which makes the continuation of the cutting process impossible. The endpoint of the situation, i.e., the attainment of the total affectedness of the cake, however, is outside the viewpoint of the given sentence. It is precisely this sentence type that is analyzed as telic imperfective by Smith (1991). If the postverbal particle is omitted, the resulting sentence will lack the feature [+telic]; (65) means almost the same as the main clause of (64a) – except that it does not imply that Eve was in the process of cutting up the whole cake; it allows the interpretation that she just cut into it, or cut one piece from it:

(65) Éva éppen 'vágta a 'tortát.

Eve just cut the cake
'Eve was just cutting the cake.'

The comparison of (64a) and (65) suggests that what the presence of a resultative particle adds to the sentence is the feature [+telic].

Sentences involving a movement verb and a terminative particle display the same word order variants associated with the same types of aspectual interpretation as sentences involving a change-of-state verb and a resultative particle. For example:

(66)a. Amikor észrevettem, János éppen tolta **ki** a biciklit (az utcára).
when noticed-I John just pushed out the bicycle the street-to
'When I noticed him, John was just pushing out the bicycle into the street.'

b. Amikor észrevettem, János éppen **ki** tolta a biciklit (az utcára).
when noticed-I John just out pushed the bicycle the street-to
'When I noticed him, John had just pushed out the bicycle into the street.'

c. Amikor észrevettem, János éppen tolta a biciklit.
when noticed-I John just pushed the bicycle
'When I noticed him, John was just pushing the bicycle.'

The 'V particle' order in (66a) denotes an action being in progress at the time referred to by the temporal clause, whereas the 'particle V' order in (66b) denotes an action completed by the time referred to by the temporal clause. Although both (66a) and (66c) describe situations from an imperfective point of view, (66a) remains a delimited telic situation with an inherent end point. Thus in (66a,b) alike, the verbal particle appears to be the carrier of the feature [+telic].

The imperfective interpretation of the 'V particle' order in (64a) and (66a), and the perfective interpretation of the 'particle V' order in (64b) and (66b) raises the possibility of a different analysis, as well. Let us tentatively assume that the resultative or terminative verbal particle is a perfectivity marker; but it functions as such only when it occupies the specifier position of an AspP projection dominating VP, i.e., when it surfaces preverbally (see É. Kiss 1994). Under this analysis, a [+perfective] Asp head requires the presence of a resultative or terminative particle in Spec,AspP, whereas a [–perfective] Asp head allows no other particle

but a locative one there. The execution of this approach, however, would run into difficulties. Given that there are also perfective sentences with no particle – e.g. sentences expressing creation or coming into being, like (67a), or sentences describing processes finished in the past, like (67b), the presence of a resultative or terminative particle in Spec,AspP cannot be a condition of perfective aspect.

(67)a. Éva sütött egy tortát.
Eve baked a cake

b. Éva tegnap főzött, mosott, és nézte a tévét.
Eve yesterday cooked, washed, and watched the TV-ACC
'Yesterday, Eve cooked, washed clothes, and watched TV.'

The events in (67a,b) are represented in their entirety, with their initial and end points included, hence these predicates are perfective, despite the emptiness of Spec,AspP. In sentences containing a resultative or a terminative particle, e.g. in (64b) and (66b), on the other hand, an empty Spec,AspP cannot but yield an imperfective reading.

There is also a further problem. An apparently terminative preverbal particle does not always elicit a perfective interpretation. Compare:

(68)a. A Duna **bele** folyik a Fekete-tengerbe.
the Danube into flows the Black See-into
'The Danube flows into the Black see.'

cf. b. A tinta a tollból **bele** folyt a zsebembe.
the ink the pen-from into flowed my pocket-into
'The ink from the pen flowed into my pocket.'

(69)a. A bokor ágai **ki** hajlanak az utcára.
the bush's branches out lean the street-onto
'The branches of the bush lean out into the street.'

cf. b. Péter **ki** hajolt az autó ablakán.
Peter out leaned the car's window-on

'Peter leaned out of the window of the car.'

In the (b) sentences, the terminative particle denotes the resultant position of the moving theme; i.e., these sentences describe telic situations (accomplishments) looked at from a perfective viewpoint, as expected. In the (a) sentences, on the other hand, the very same verbal particle combined with the very same verb functions as a directional adverb rather than a terminative predicate. Although the movement has a goal in these sentences, as well, the attainment of the goal does not complete the process. In (68a), it is the particular semantics and pragmatics of the given predicate–argument complex that block the terminative reading of the particle, and elicit its directonal interpretation. The verb *hajlik* 'lean' in (69), on the other hand, is ambiguous; it has a primary 'movement' reading, and a secondary 'position' interpretation. The non-human subject of (69a) triggers the latter reading, whereas the human subject of (69b) triggers the former interpretation. Under the 'movement' reading, the particle functions as a terminative secondary predicate, whereas under the 'position' interpretation, it functions as a directional adverb. What these examples suggest is that not even a preverbal resultative or terminative particle expresses a specific, invariant viewpoint aspect. Verbal particles have an (often decisive) role in aspect marking by means of their contribution to the lexical meaning of the predicate. The type of aspect that is determined compositionally by the lexical meanings of sentence constituents is situation aspect.

Whereas resultative and terminative particles express telicity, locative particles, appearing in a type of stative sentences, those expressing existence or spatial configuration in a given location, are associated with atelicity. Whereas sentences containing a resultative or terminative particle are usually perfective, but are also compatible with the imperfective viewpoint, sentences containing a locative particle are usually imperfective, but are also compatible with the perfective viewpoint. Consider:

(70) Piskótát kavartam, meg-sütöttem, öt percig **bent hagytam** a sütőben,
sponge.cake-ACC mixed-I PRT-baked-I-it five minutes-for inside left-I-it the oven-in
majd ketté -vágtam.
then two.into-cut-I-it
'I mixed a sponge-cake, I baked it, I left it in the oven for five minutes, then I cut it into two.'

The complex sentence in (70) describes a series of consecutive situations, which are represented in their entirety, from a perfective viewpoint. The predicate *(a piskótát) bent*

hagytam a sütőben 'I left (the sponge cake) in the oven' , or: 'I let (the sponge cake) be in the oven', involving a locative particle, denotes a state, and as a stage-level stative predicate combined with a time adverbial denoting a time span, it allows a perfective reading.

I conclude that the verbal particle, whether resultative, terminative, or locative, plays a role in determining the situation aspect, i.e., basically, the [+/-telic] nature, of sentences. Resultative and terminative particles have a telicizing effect, whereas locative particles occur in a type of atelic sentence. Telic sentences have a perfective viewpoint aspect in the unmarked case, but they can also be associated with an imperfective viewpoint. In the case of accomplishment predicates, the imperfective reading is elicited by the 'V particle' order. Atelic sentences containing a locative particle are imperfective in the unmarked case, but in appropriate contexts, they also allow a perfective reading.

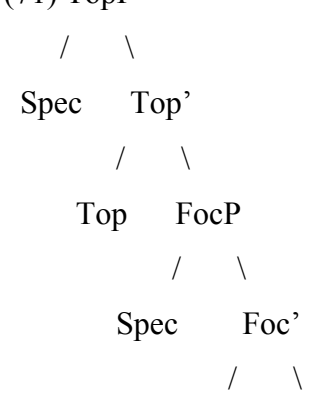
4. The syntax of the verbal particle

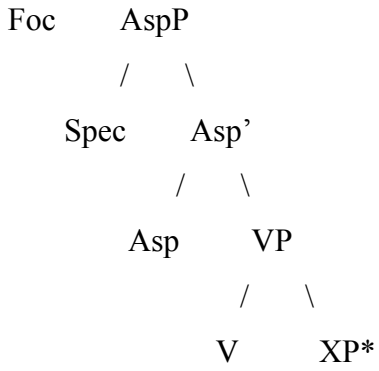
4.1. Against the AspP approach

The discussion of the aspectual role of the verbal particle has led to the conclusion that the verbal particle is not an aspectual operator; it is a secondary predicate, which plays a role in determining the situation aspect of the sentence by adding a resultative, terminative, or locative component to the situation. This conclusion undermines the analysis of the verbal particle as the filler of a Spec,AspP position, proposed e.g. in Piñon (1995), É. Kiss (2002), Alberti (2004), or den Dikken (2004).

A further problem of the AspP approach is that it is also forced to treat the bare nominal complement on a par with the verbal particle – even though the aspectual operator role of bare nominals is even more questionable. Consider the Hungarian sentence structure assumed in this framework (emerging from the work of Brody 1995, Olsvay 2000, É. Kiss 2002, etc.):

(71)





The filling of Spec,AspP triggers V movement to Asp, and the filling of Spec,FocP goes together with further V movement from Asp to Foc. The main stress, indicating the left edge of the predicate phrase, falls on the first major post-topic category. In this structure, a stressed preverbal constituent is either an aspectual operator in Spec,AspP (with the V raised to Asp), or a focus expressing exhaustive identification, sitting in Spec,FocP (with the V raised to Foc).[14] A bare nominal complement, e.g. that in (72b), clearly does not express any exhaustive identification. According to the exhaustivity test of Szabolcsi (1981), if the (b) sentence of the following pair of examples is a logical consequence of the (a) sentence, the preverbal constituents are not exhaustive foci.

(72)a. Barátokat és rokonokat várunk vacsorára.
friends-ACC and relatives-ACC expect-we dinner-for
'We are expecting friends and relatives for dinner.'

b. Barátokat várunk vacsorára.
friends-ACC expect-we dinner-for
'We are expecting friends for dinner.'

(72a) and (72b) can be simultaneously true, hence their preverbal bare nominals cannot sit in Spec,FocP, the position of exhaustive focus. If the Hungarian sentence has the structure in (71), then the bare nominals must occupy Spec,AspP; structure (71) leaves no other position for them. Examining the contribution of the preverbal nominal to aspectual interpretation, we find that if the verb has a durative atelic meaning, the 'bare nominal, V' complex is also durative atelic, and its preferred reading is imperfective:

(73)a. Éva (két óra hosszat) lekvárt kavart az üstben.

Eve two hour long jam-ACC stirred the cauldron-in
'Eve was stirring jam in the cauldron for two hours.'

b. Mihály csomagot cipel.
Michael parcel-ACC carries
'Michael is carrying a parcel.'

If, on the other hand, the verb in the 'bare nominal, verb' complex is [-durative], the preferred reading of the predicate is perfective:

(74)a. Évának (májusra) gyereke születik.
Eve-DAT May-by child is.born
'To Eve, a child will be born by May.'

b. Bence levelet kapott.
Bence letter-ACC got
'Bence got a letter.'

In these sentences, the replacement of the bare nominal with an indefinite noun phrase does not change the aspectual interpretation, e.g.:

(75)a. Éva (fél óra hosszat) olvasott egy verset.
Eve half hour long read a poem
'Eve was reading a poem for half an hour.'

b. Mihály cipel egy csomagot.
Michael carries a parcel
'Michael is carrying a parcel.'

(76)a. Évának (májusra) születik egy gyereke.
Eve-DAT May-by is.born a child
'To Eve, a child is born by May.'

b. Bence kapott egy levelet.

Bence got a letter

As these predicates have the same aspectual interpretation as the corresponding 'bare nominal, V' complexes, the bare nominal cannot be an aspect-marker.

According to Komlósy (1994), a bare nominal like those in (72)-(76) is a predicative element; it is predicated of the internal argument incorporated into the verb. E.g. (74d) can be paraphrased as follows:

(77) Bence received x; x is of the kind 'letter'.

If the bare nominal complement and the verbal particle are indeed alternative fillers of the same syntactic position, then their shared position must be simply a predicative position, because the predicative feature seems to be the only feature that they share. Both are predicates predicated mostly of the theme argument – with the difference that, whereas the verbal particle has an explicit subject, the subject of a bare nominal is an implicit argument .

4.2. Is the particle a head or a phrase?

Before we attempt to identify this predicative position in Hungarian sentence structure, we have to decide if it is a head or a phrase position, and if it is base-generated or derived. These questions have been raised in the literature several times (see e.g. Surányi (2000), Olsvay (2004)); several relevant arguments have been weighed – even if no conclusive answer has been arrived at.

What underlies the head versus phrase question is whether or not the verbal particle or bare nominal complement forms a complex predicate with the verb, as is assumed e.g. in Brody (1990), Piñon (1995), É. Kiss (1998), Ackerman (1984), or Szendrői (2003). The complex predicate analysis is supported by the fact that the particle and the V (and often also the bare nominal and the V) form a lexical unit, the meaning of which is sometimes non-compositional (or only partially compositional) – e.g. *be-rúg* [*lit*. in-kick] 'get drunk', *be-fejez* [*lit.* in-head] 'finish', *bakot lő* [*lit*. buck-ACC shoot] 'make a mistake', *csütörtököt mond* [*lit*. Thursday-ACC say] 'fail'. This argument, however, is non-conclusive; after all, idioms are allowed by Universal Grammar to have simultaneously a non-compositional meaning and a phrasal structure.

The usual syntactic tests of constituent structure argue against the complex predicate analysis of the 'particle/bare nominal, V' complex, and, in general, against the head analysis of the particle and the bare nominal. Namely,

i. The particle can serve as a short answer to a *yes-no* question. E.g.:

(78)a. Meg-etted az ebédet?
PRT ate-you the lunch
'Did you eat the lunch?'
Meg.
PRT
'Yes.'

b. Be-rúgtál?
in kicked-you
'Did you get drunk?'
Be.
in
'Yes.'

Cross-linguistically, only phrasal constituents can function as elliptical sentences. In Hungarian, too, a verb complement or an adjunct can constitute an elliptical sentence; a subconstituent of them, on the other hand, cannot:

(79)a. Magyar mondattani jelenségekről írod a disszertációdat?
Hungarian syntactic phenomena-about write-you your dissertation
'Is it about Hungarian syntactic phenomena that you are writing your dissertation?'
b.*Nem, francia.
no French
c. Nem, franciá-k-ról.
no French-PL-about
'No, about French ones.'

(80)a. Egy fiaira büszke apa mondta ezt?

a his.sons.of proud father said that

'Was it a father proud of his sons who said that?'

b.*Nem, lányaira. /*Nem, lányaira büszke.

no his.daughters.of no his.daughters.of proud

'No, of his daughters.'/ 'No, proud of his daughters.'

c. Nem, egy lányaira büszke apa.

no a his.daughters.of proud father

'No, a father proud of his daughters.'

(81)a. Öt órakor találkozzunk?

five o'clock-at meet-we

'Shall we meet at five o'clock?'

b.*Öt.

five

c. Öt órakor.

five o'clock-at

'At five o'clock.'

In (79), the answer *franciákról* 'about French-PL-ACC' stands for the whole noun phrase, as is shown by the case ending, which can only be attached to the right edge of the noun phrase complementing the verb *ír* 'write'. The missing part of the noun phrase, *mondattani jelenség* 'syntactic phenomenon', is represented by an empty category.

Apparently, a bare verb, or a 'particle, V' complex can also serve as an elliptic answer:

(82)a. Hívtad Pétert korcsolyázni?

called-you Peter-ACC to.skate

'Have you asked Peter to came skating?'

b. Hívtam.

called-I

'I did.'

(83)a. Meg-bízol a munkatársaidban?

PRT trust-you your co-workers-in

'Do you trust youe colleagues?'

b. Meg-bízom.
PRT trust-I
'I do.'

I assume that the answer in (82) is of the category VP, with a *pro* object and an ellipted infinitive. (83) also involves a phrase (to be identified below as a PredP), with the prepositional object deleted.

ii. An indefinite noun phrase can fulfil the same function in preverbal position as a bare nominal. It need not be understood as an exhaustive focus – as is shown by the following exhaustivity test:

(84)a. Péter **egy versen és egy novellán** dolgozik.
Peter a poem-on and a short.story-on works
'Peter is working on a poem and a short story.'

b. Péter **egy versen** dolgozik.
Peter a poem-on works
'Peter is working on a poem.'

(84b) is a logical consequence of (84a) – hence the preverbal indefinite noun phrase of (84a) or (85a) is not a focus. It must be an alternative filler of the position of the bare nominal, therefore, that position cannot be a head position.

iii. A particle can move non-locally, which is typical of phrasal movement:

(85) **Fel** kell, hogy hívjam Marit ma este.
up needs that call-I Mary-ACC this evening
'It is necessary that I call up Mary tonight.'[15]

iv. If the particle is generated as part of a complex predicate, the constructions in which it is separated from the V must involve excorporation, which has a theoretically dubious status. Here are two constructions in which the particle has left the alleged complex predicate:

(86) János **el** akart **menni** a tegnapi előadásra, és **el** is **ment**.
John off wanted to.go the yesterday's performance-to and off also went-he
'John wanted to go to yesterday's performance, and go he did.'

The emphatic *is* always follows the first stressed major constituent of the second conjunct in a coordinated structure. It can follow an argument or an adjunct, but it cannot follow a subconstituent of them:

(87)a. János az **első előadásra** akart menni, és az **első előadásra** **is** ment.
John the first performance-to wanted to.go and the first performance-to also went-he
'John wanted to go to the first performance, and to the first performance he went.'
b.*János az **első** előadásra akart menni, és az **első is** előadásra ment.

c. János **elég korán** akart el -indulni, és **elég korán is** indult el.
John fairly early wanted PRT to.leave and fairly early also left.he PRT
'John wanted to leave fairly early, and fairly early he left.'
d.*János **elég korán** akart elindulni, és **elég is** korán indult el.

The emphatic *is* can follow the verb, but it cannot follow the 'particle, V' complex:

(88)a. János **menni** szándékozott az előadásra, és **ment** **is**.
John to.go wanted the performance-to and went-he also
'John wanted to go to the performance, and go he did.'

b.*János szándékozott **el -menni** az előadásra, és **el-ment** **is**.
John wanted off to.go the performance-to and off went-he also

(87a,c) may involve phrasal movement into the specifier of an *is* projection, and (88a) may involve head (V) adjunction to *is*. One or the other of these two operations has applied to the verbal particle in (88b), as well – i.e., it has been subject either to phrasal movement or to head movement, hence it cannot be part of a complex verb.

v. As is well-known, a particle can undergo focussing and contrastive topicalization, both of which represent phrasal movement:[16]

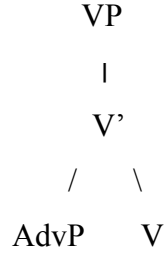
(89)a. A lifttel **LE** -ment János, nem **FEL**.
the elevator-with down went John, not up
'It was down that John went with the elevator, not up.'

b. **Le** JÁNOS ment a lifttel, **fel** pedig PÉTER.
down John went the elevator-with up on.the.other.hand Peter
'Down, it was John who went with the elevator, up, on the other hand, it was Peter.'

I conclude on the basis of the evidence listed in (i)-(v) that the particle is a phrase (an AdvP) consisting of a mere head.

The facts in (i) and (iv) do not support the construction proposed for English particle verbs by Winkler (1996), either. In Winkler's structure, the particle is a phrasal modifier of the V head:

(90)



However, if a modifier attached to a nominal head is not a possible elliptical sentence, as was argued under (i) above, and cannot be followed by an emphatic *is*, as was shown under (iv), it is not clear why a modifier attached to the V should behave differently.

4.3. The PredP hypothesis

If the particle phrase is not adjoined to V, it must be sitting in a specifier position. Then the question is if it occupies Spec,VP, or the specifier of a functional projection. The following coordination facts from É. Kiss (1998) (i.e., the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples) would get a natural explanation if the verbal particle or the bare nominal complement occupied Spec,VP – at least under the assumption that non-maximal projections cannot be coordinated:

(91)a. János [$_{VP}$ MEG [$_{V'}$ ette a pörköltet]] és [$_{VP}$ MEG [$_{V'}$ itta a bort]] –>
John up ate the stew and up drank the wine

'John ate (up) the stew and drank (up) the wine.'

b. *János [$_{VP}$ MEG [$_{V'}$ ette a pörköltet] és [$_{V'}$ itta a bort]]

(92)a. János [$_{VP}$ KEZET [$_{V'}$ fogott Péterrel]] és [$_{VP}$ KEZET [$_{V'}$ rázott Istvánnal]] –>
John hand-ACC clasped Peter-with and hand-ACC shook Stephen-with
'John clasped hands with Peter and shook hands with Stephen.'

b.*János [$_{VP}$ KEZET [$_{V'}$ fogott Péterrel] és [$_{V'}$ rázott Istvánnal]]

However, there is a powerful argument against the Spec,VP-position of particles and bare nominals. The preverbal position of the particle or bare nominal complement is a landing site for long movement; hence it cannot be a base-generated position; it must be in the specifier of a functional head attracting the particle. The particle or bare nominal can undergo long movement (across a non-finite or even a finite clause) if the matrix verb is a modal or aspectual auxiliary or semi-auxiliary, not denoting a separate event.[17]

(93)a. **Be** fogok/akarok/szeretnék /szoktam menni az előadásra.
in will-I/want-I/would.like-I/used-I to.go the show-to
'I will/want/would like/used to go in to the show.'

b. **Be** szabad menned.
in may go-INF-2SG
'You may go in.'

c. János **be** kell, hogy fejezze a munkát.
John PRT needs that finish the job
'John needs to finish the job.'

d. Délre **ebédet** kell, hogy főzzek.
noon-by lunch-ACC needs that cook-I
'By noon, I need to cook lunch.'

The particle plays the same role whether it immediately precedes its lexical verb or a matrix auxiliary, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that it occupies the same position, the specifier of a functional projection, in both cases. Following Koster's analysis of Dutch

(Koster 1994), and adopting a proposal of Csirmaz (2004) concerning Hungarian, I assume that this functional projection is a PredP.

However, if we assign to (91b)-(92b) the structures represented in (94), we lose the explanation of their ungrammaticality.

(94)a.*János [$_{PredP}$ MEG [$_{VP}$ ette a pörköltet] és [$_{VP}$ itta a bort]]
John PRT ate the stew and drank the wine

b. *János [$_{PredP}$ KEZET [$_{VP}$ fogott Péterrel] és [$_{VP}$ rázott Istvánnal]]
John hand-ACC clasped Peter-with and shook Stephen-with

A possible way of resolving the contradiction would be to assume V-to-Pred movement. Then the ungrammatical coordination structures in (91b)-(92b)/(94) could not be derived in any way. If V-to-Pred movement follows coordination, then it violates the coordinate structure constraint in (94). If V-to-Pred movement precedes VP coordination, the resulting V-initial constituent, a Pred', is not a possible target of coordination. The remnant VP, on the other hand, is predicted to undergo coordination, correctly:

(95) János [$_{PredP}$ fel [$_{Pred'}$ ugrott [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ a földről a kerítésre] és [$_{VP}$ a kerítésről
John up jumped the ground-from the fence-on and the fence-from
a tetőre]]
the roof-on
'John jumped up from the ground to the fence, and from the fence to the roof.'

As regards ellipsis, it must be a PF rule (the ellipted material must be visible at LF); hence it can very well be the case that the constraints it is subject to are different from those operative in syntax. Perhaps the string to be elipted must form a constituent, but not necessarily a maximal one. Then the short answer e.g. in (78a), rewritten below as (96), consisting of a mere particle, could be derived by PredP'-deletion.

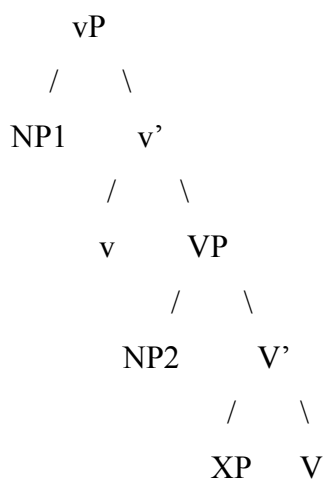
(96) [$_{PredP}$ Meg [$_{Pred'}$ [$_{Pred}$ etted] [$_{VP}$ t az ebédet]]]?
PRT ate-I the lunch
Meg.
PRT

'Yes.'

The elliptical sentence in (83) could be the result of VP-deletion following V-to-Pred movement.

The proposed structure, with the verbal particle occupying Spec,PredP, differs from the structure assigned to English particle verbs by Winkler (1996). In Winkler's structure, the internal argument functioning as the subject of the secondary predicate (NP2) c-commands its predicate (the XP adjoined to V), as required by the predication theory of Williams (1981) and Rothstein (1985):

(97)



I do not exclude the possibility that Hungarian sentences containing a complex predicate also have an underlying structure like (97), which is obliterated by later operations, e.g. by particle movement into Spec,PredP, and V movement into Tense position. In any case, empirical data do not support the argument hierarchy in (97). In É. Kiss (1987) I listed a great number of empirical arguments for a flat VP, in which the subject and the object are sister nodes. I leave it open whether or not structure (97) represents an underlying syntactic representation, or perhaps a structure associated with telic verbs in the lexicon.

4.4. What motivates particle/bare nominal movement to Spec,PredP?

Koster (1994) proposed the following theory about the motivation of particle movement into Spec,PredP. (Similar ideas were put forth independently by Alberti (1997), as well.) The complement of a verb can be licensed in two ways: it can be an argument or part of the predicate. Complements which are of a predicative nature can only be licensed in the latter way; that is, they must check their [+pred] feature in Spec,PredP. This holds for all

predicative complements in a clause. Since the Dutch sentence occasionally contains more than one predicative element, the iteration of Spec,PredP has to be allowed. In the Hungarian sentence, only one predicative element appears in front of the verb; the rest of them, or in certain contexts (e.g. in the presence of a negative particle or a focus constituent, or in an imperfective telic sentence) all of them, surface postverbally. In Alberti's approach, a postverbal predicative element occupies its usual position in the specifier of a possibly iterated AspP/PredP projection; its postverbal position arises as a consequence of V-movement from Pred/Asp into a higher functional head.

(98)a. [$_{NegP}$ nem csukta$_i$ [$_{PredP/Asp}$ be t_i [$_{VP}$ t_i János az ajtót]]
not closed in John-NOM the door-ACC
'John did not close the door.'

b. János [$_{Pred/Asp}$ autóval ment$_i$ [$_{Pred/Asp}$ el t_i [$_{Pred/Asp}$ iskolába t_i]]]
John car-with went off school-to
'John went off to school by car.'

A problem with this approach is that it predicts that the predicative elements are adjacent to the V also postverbally – contrary to fact. In the grammatical (99a) below, the subject intervenes between two alleged PredP (or, according to Alberti (1997), AspP) specifiers. In (99b), an adjunct separates the PredP harboring the verbal particle from the V.

(99)a. Autóval ment **el** *János* **iskolába**.
car-with went off John school-to
'John went off to school by car.'

b. János nem zárta *tegnap este* **be** az ajtót.
John not closed yesterday night in the door
'John did not close the door yesterday night.'

Therefore, it would seem to be a more viable solution to attribute an uninterpretable [+pred] feature, in need of checking, to the head of PredP, which attracts only a single constituent to Spec,PredP. In sentences containing no preverbal predicative element, e.g. in imperfective accomplishment sentences (100a), in sentences expressing coming into being (100b), in atelic

sentences expressing other than existence or spatial configuration in a given location (100c), or in imperative sentences (100d), the [+pred] head of the PredP projection would presumably have to be checked by V-to-Pred movement:

(100)a. János éppen [$_{VP}$ csukta be az ajtót]
John just closed in the door
'John was just closing the door.'

b. János [$_{VP}$ írt egy verset]
John wrote a poem

c. János [$_{VP}$ olvasta az újságot]
John read the newspaper
'John was reading the newspaper.

d. [$_{VP}$ Csukd be az ajtót!]
close in the door
'Close the door!'

(100d) does not represent V-to-C movement, as the imperative V can be preceded by a focus, or even by a verbal particle in the marked case:

(101)a. TE csukd be az ajtót!
you close in the door
'YOU close the door!'

b. **Be** csukd az ajtót!
'Do close in the door!'

However, if V-to-Pred movement, which is always triggered (see the discussion of (94)-(95)), is sufficient to check [+pred], it is unclear why movement to Spec,PredP would also be triggered in some cases.

There is also a third possible explanation of particle and bare nominal movement to Spec,PredP, which seems to raise less problems. This approach adopts ideas of Szendrői

(2003), and Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport (2004). Szendrői (2003) proposes to analyze focus movement into the preverbal position of the Hungarian sentence as movement for stress. Her proposal is based on the assumptions that, on the one hand, the main stress of the Hungarian sentence falls on the leftmost element of the predicate phrase, and, on the other hand, the focus set of a clause consists of the constituents containing the main stress of the clause (see Reinhart 1995). For a constituent to be focussed, it must move to the left edge of the predicate phrase, where it is assigned main stress by the regular stress rule of the language. Szendrői's analysis of focus movement can also be extended to particle and bare nominal movement. The Hungarian VP being verb-initial, the main stress in a predicate phrase consisting of a mere VP falls on the verb. If movement to Spec,PredP takes place, the carrier of main stress, hence the information focus of the sentence, is the constituent moved to Spec,PredP. That is, I propose to assimilate particle movement and bare nominal movement to focus movement. (The question why a preverbal focus other than a verbal particle or a bare nominal complement assumes an exhaustive interpretation in Spec,PredP will be taken up in chapter 9.)

This approach converges with a proposal of Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport (2004) in an interesting way. Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport argue that the meaning components determining the aspectual interpretation of a clause are subject to aspectual focussing. Aspectual focus means the foregrounding, or emphasis, of a particular part of a structure, with the consequent backgrounding, or de-emphasis, of the other parts of that structure (Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport 2004:227). The interpretation of an aspectually ambiguous accomplishment predicate, for example, depends on where the aspectual focus is. In the sentence *The soup cooled (for ten minutes)*, the aspectual focus is on the process denoted by the verb, whereas in the sentence *The soup cooled (in ten minutes)*, the aspectual focus is on the resultant state. The different situation types limit the aspectual focus possibilities: for example, (using standard terms instead of the terminology of Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport) in process sentences describing a change, the manner of the change (denoted by the verb) can be focussed; in achievements, the endpoint.

Adopting Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport's idea to Hungarian, let us identify the aspectual focus of the different sentence types. In stative sentences, the V, or in the case of a nominal/adjectival predicate, the AdjP or NP denoting the state is focussed:

(102)a. János FÉL a tűztől.
John fears the fire-from
'John fears the fire.'

b. János BETEG volt.
John sick was
'John was sick.'

c. János TANÁR lesz.
John teacher becomes
'John becomes a teacher.'

In sentences expressing existence or spatial configuration in a particular location, the aspectual focus is the location of existence/spatial configuration, represented by a locative particle (optionally doubling a lexical locative phrase in postverbal position):

(103)a. A kép KINT van (A KIRAKATBAN).
the picture outside is the shopwindow-in
'The picture is in the shopwindow.'

b. A macska OTT ül (A FOTELBEN).
the cat there sits the armchair-in
'The cat is sitting in the armchair.'

In sentences expressing a delimited change of state or location, the aspectual focus is the element denoting the end state or end location:

(104)a. ÖSSZE-számolták a szavazatokat.
PRT counted-they the votes
'The votes were/have been counted.'

b. János BE futott (A LAKÁSBA).
John in ran the apartment-in
'John ran/has run into the apartment.'

c. János FEL ért (A CSÚCSRA).
John up reached to top-to

'John has reached the top.'

Accomplishments allow the shift of aspectual focus to the V denoting the process part of event, which yields an imperfective telic interpretation:

(105)a. (Tegnap ilyenkor már) SZÁMOLTÁK össze a szavazatokat.
yesterday this-time-at already counted-they PRT the votes
'At this time yesterday, they were already counting the votes.'

b. János épp FUTOTT be a lakásba.
John just ran into the apartment-into
'John was just running into the apartment.'

In the case of sentences expressing the activity of an agent, with a manner, means, or instrument component incorporated into the verb, the aspectual focus is necessarily the carrier of the manner/means/instrument component: the verb itself, e.g.:

(106)a. János ÉNEKEL.
John sings
'John is singing/sings.'

b. János TELEFONÁLT.
John telephoned
'John was telephoning/telephoned.'

In sentences expressing a process affecting a theme, or a process resulting in the coming into being of a theme, there are two possibilities for aspectual focussing: either the V denoting the process, or the argument denoting the theme is focussed:

(107)a. János OLVAS egy könyvet.
John reads a book
'John is reading a book.'

b. Éva ÍRT egy verset.

Eve wrote a poem
'Eve wrote/has written a poem.'

(108)a. János KÖNYVET olvas.
John book reads
'John is reading a book.'

b. Éva VERSET írt.
Eve poem-ACC wrote
'Eve wrote/has written a poem.'

The imperative and the negative operators affect the aspectual interpretation of sentences; therefore, I assume that they are also potential targets of aspectual focussing. Indeed, in the case of imperative verbs, whether telic or atelic, the aspectual focus is on the carrier of the imperative operator, the verb:

(109) SZÁMOLJÁTOK össze a szavazatokat!
count PRT the votes
'Count the votes!'

Similarly, in negated sentences, the aspectual focus is always on the negative operator, more precisely, on the negative particle with the verb cliticized to it. Consequently, no movement into Spec,PredP is triggered:

(110)a. János NEM telefonál.
John not telephoned
'John did not telephone.'

b. János NEM olvas könyvet.
John not reads book-ACC
'John does not read any books.'

c. NEM számolták össze a szavazatokat.
not counted-they PRT the votes

'They did not count the votes.'

d. János NEM futott be a szobába.
John not ran in the room-into
'John did not run into the room.'

e. János NEM volt beteg.
John not was sick
'John wasn't sick.'

h. **Ne** csukd be az ajtót!
not close in the door
'Don't close the door!'

The adoptation of Erteschik-Shir & Rapoport's theory to Hungarian seems to predict correctly when the specifier of a PredP projection dominating VP is needed as a landing site for particle (or bare nominal) movement. I conclude that the Hungarian verbal particle is generated in the VP as a phrasal complement to the V, and it is preposed into Spec,PredP when it represents the aspectual focus of the sentence. Movement to Spec,PredP is triggered by the need of the aspectual focus to assume main stress.

5. Summary

This chapter has argued that the verbal particle, a seemingly idiosyncratic category of the Hungarian sentence, can be given a systematic analysis on the basis of which both its functional and its syntactic properties can be predicted. As regards its function, it has been claimed that it plays a role in determining the situation aspect of sentences. The three major types of verbal particles mark three major types of events. Resultative particles mark telic sentences denoting a delimited change of state, terminative particles mark telic sentences denoting a delimited change of location, whereas locative particles mark sentences denoting existence or spatial configuration in a given location. Contrary to wide-spread assumptions, the verbal particle is not a perfectivizer; it only plays an indirect role in determining viewpoint aspect.

The syntactic analysis of the verbal particle has led to the conclusion that it is a phrasal category (an AdvP consisting of a mere head), occupying the specifier of a PredP projection.

Its movement to Spec,PredP is movement for stress, motivated by the fact that in sentences denoting a delimited change of state or location, as well as in sentences denoting existence or spatial configuration in a given location, the verbal particle represents the aspectual focus in the sense of Erteschik-Shir and Rapoport (2004?).

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Footnotes

1 Precedents for this claim can be found in Kiefer (1992), and Kiefer and Ladányi (2000), who argue that certain types of particles serve to denote particular types of Aktionsart, a notion related to situation aspect.

2 It would also deserve some consideration why resultative adjectives are often case-marked, e.g.: *szőkére fest* 'blond-to dye', *boldoggá tesz* 'happy-to make', *átlátszóvá válik* 'transparent-to become'. If only noun phrases can be case-marked, then these phrases may contain an

empty noun phrase. The case marking seems to suggest that the resultative phrase is theta-marked by the verb - as proposed by Larson (1988b).

3 Non-compositional idioms like *be-rúg* 'get drunk' lit. 'in kick' represent exceptions to this claim.

4 For information on this issue, see Perrot (1966), Szili (2001) etc.

5 The symbol ' marks stress. Stress is indicated so as to ensure a neutral prosody. Some of the sentences in (6) can be grammatical if they contain a focus, e.g.:

(i) 'JÁNOS találta a gyűrűt.
John found the ring
'It was John who found the ring.'

This sentence is a 'creation' sentence, discussed in section 2.3 and in chapters 4-5. The theme of a creation predicate is represented by a non-specific indefinite noun phrase – unless the sentence contains a focus, which renders the theme argument presupposed. For the discussion of a similar construction, see footnote 12.

6 In Hungarian, generic plurals have a definite article – see (i); therefore, bare plurals are not ambiguous between a non-specific and a specific (i.e., generic) reading.

(i) **A gólyák** Afrikában telelnek.
the storks Africa-in spend.winter
'Storks spend the winter in Africa.'

7 Some of these sentences can be saved if the bare nominal is focussed, e.g.:

(i) (What does Peter do for a living?)
Péter TORTÁKAT vág fel szeletekre egy cukrászdában.
Peter tarts-ACC cuts up slices-into a sweet-shop-in

I will claim in chapter 9 that the preverbal focus position of the Hungarian sentence is a predicative position; a focus is predicated of the open sentence represented by the rest of the proposition. Thus the sentence in (i) has the following logical structure:

(ii) [what Peter cuts up into slices in a sweet-shop] are tarts

The bare nominal *tortákat* is licensed in (i) not as a subject of predication but as a predicate.

8 According to Enç (1991), a universally quantified expression is specific. É. Kiss (1993) also argues that a quantified expression counts as specific if it denotes a set whose elements are known. In any case, a verbal particle is compatible with a quantified theme argument, e.g.:

(i) János meg-hívott valakit/mindenkit.
John PRT invited somebody/everybody
'John invited somebody/everybody.'

9 É. Kiss (2004) examines apparent counterexamples to the claim that unergative verbs cannot be associated with a resultative particle, e.g.:

(i) Péter meg-reggelizett.
Peter PRT breakfasted
'Peter had breakfast.'

(ii) Éva ki-takarított/el-mosogatott.
Eve out cleaned/up washed
'Eve did the cleaning/did the washing up.'

(i) is argued to have a theme incorporated into the verb, whereas the predicates in (ii), expressing institutionalized activities, are claimed to have an implicit theme.

10 In fact, the version in (i) is also grammatical:

(i) István KÖNYVEKET tett le az asztalra.
Stephen books-ACC put down the table-on

'It was books that Stephen put on the table.'

In this sentence, *könyveket* is an exhaustive, identificational focus. The reason why a focussed non-specific theme can occur also in the presence of a verbal particle will be explained in chapter 9. Essentially, a structural focus functions as a predicate, i.e., the sentence in (i) has the logical structure 'what John put down on the table was books'. See also note 7.

11 Particles like *el* 'off', *ki* 'out of' often denote the end location of centrifugal motion. In that case, the source of the motion can also be expressed, but the particle invariably doubles the terminus argument – see (i), unless it is replaced by it, as in (ii):

(i) Éva **ki**$_i$ -szaladt a házból (**az utcára**$_i$).
Eve out ran the house-from (the street-into)
'Eve (has) run out of the house (into the street).'
cf.
(ii) Éva **az utcára** szaladt (a házból).

12 A way of neutralizing the non-specificity requirement on the theme is to focus something in the sentence, as a result of which the theme argument becomes presupposed. In this case, it can be represented by a [+specific] noun phrase. Thus, (41a) is acceptable in the following context:

(i) János KÉSZÍTETTE mindegyik repülőgépmodellt, nem VETTE őket.
John PREPARED each air-plaine modell, not BOUGHT them

13 If the locative particle and its associate are focussed, the examples in (59) become acceptable, for example:

(i) OTT hever kutya a KÜSZÖB ELŐTT.
there lies dog the threshold before
'It is in front of the threshold that a dog is lying.'

Chapter 9 will solve the mystery why there is a grammaticality difference between example (58a) and example (i). Essentially, the particle and its associate in (i) are not predicated of the

theme subject; they are focussed, which means that they are predicated of the open sentence represented by the rest of the sentence. That is, (i) expresses the following predication relation:

(ii) [az, ahol kutya hever] [ott, a küszöb előtt van]

14 In fact, there is also a landing site for wide-scope universal quantifiers in the preverbal section of the predicate phrase; this is, however, irrelevant for the discussion.

15 Szendrői (2003) assumes that the particle, generated under a complex predicate, undergoes focus movement to Spec,FocP in such cases.

16 For arguments that focussing cannot take place via head movement, see Horvath (2004).

17 (Semi-)auxiliaries cannot bear main stress (see Szendrői (2003)), i.e., they cannot occupy the most heavily stressed leftmost position of a predicate phrase. A matrix (semi-)auxiliary is only grammatical if it is preceded by a focus, a negative particle or by a verbal particle/bare nominal borrowed from its infinitival complement.