

Revisiting non-parting verbal particles in Hungarian

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- 1 Introduction
- 2 Hungarian verbal particles
- 3 Infinitival clause
- 4 Derived particle verbs
- 5 Frequentative particle reduplication
- 6 Complex verb (im)mobility
- 7 Analysis
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Introduction

In this talk, I will

- re-examine three cases of non-parting verbal particles:
 - 1) infinitival clause; 2) derived particle verb; 3) frequentative particle reduplication
- try to provide a unified analysis

Framework

Phase Theory (Chomsky 2008, Marantz 2013) + Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993 et seq.)

Key word

Recategorization

Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Hungarian verbal particles**
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Hungarian verbal particles: Basic facts

- Form a complex predicate with the verb
- An indispensable part of the verbal meaning
- e.g. *hív* “call”, *fel-hív* “call (by phone)”, *meg-hív* “invite”
- Affect argument structure
- e.g. *olvas* “read” (vt./vi.) **vs.** *el-olvas* “read through” (only vt.)
- Two positions wrt the verb depending on clause type:
- preverbal – neutral **vs.** postverbal – non-neutral ([+foc], [+neg], [+wh])

- (1)
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | János el-olvasta | a | könyvet. | neutral |
| | John | away-read.3SG | the book.ACC | |
| | “John read through the book.” | | | |
| b. | János nem olvasta | el | a könyvet. | negative |
| | John | not read.3SG | away the book.ACC | |
| | “John did not read through the book.” | | | |
| c. | Ki olvasta | el | a könyvet? | interrogative |
| | who | read.3SG | away the book.ACC | |
| | “Who read through the book?” | | | |

Generally movement-based – two main approaches (Hegedűs 2013):

- the PredP approach (Csirmaz 2004, É. Kiss 2006)
- the φ -agreement approach (Broekhuis & Hegedűs 2009).

Both approaches let the particle and the verb be base-generated independently in the predicate domain.

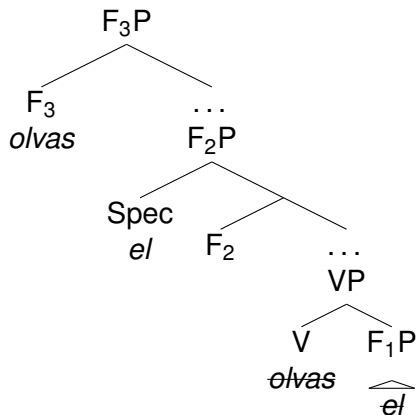
Generally movement-based – two main approaches (Hegedűs 2013):

- the PredP approach (Csirmaz 2004, É. Kiss 2006)
- the φ -agreement approach (Broekhuis & Hegedűs 2009).

It is not my aim to evaluate the two approaches. For now I use the PredP approach because it is more decisive for non-neutral clauses.

The PredP approach

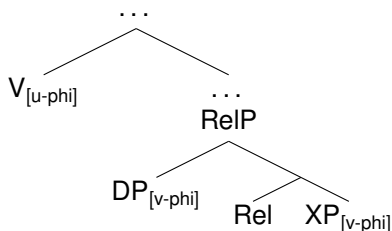
The particle always moves up – word order varies due to different height of verb/particle movement.



- F_2 responsible for neutral order
- F_3 responsible for non-neutral order
- | | É. Kiss (2002) | É. Kiss (2006) |
|--------|----------------|----------------|
| $F_2=$ | Asp | Pred |
| $F_3=$ | Foc | NN |
- Preverbal particle in non-neutral clause
→ **verb movement is blocked** (F_3 cannot function on V)

The ϕ -agreement approach ▸

Particle can stay in situ – several constraints together derive surface order



- neutral – $[u-phi]$ on V attracts DP or XP to its locality
- non-neutral – some $[+NN]$ item must be fronted to bear stress (NO-STRESS- V_{FIN})
- hard to test whether particle moves or not (free postverbal order)
- Preverbal particle in non-neutral clause → **predicate movement somehow motivated**

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Infinitival clause: Basic contrast

The peculiarity of infinitive particle verbs is well noticed, e.g. É. Kiss (1987, 2002, 2008), Brody (1990, 1995), Koopman & Szabolcsi (2000).

(2) [+foc]

- a. János meg-beszélte az ügyet Marival.
John TEL-spoke.3SG the matter.ACC Mary.with
“John discussed the matter with Mary.”
- b. János **csak Marival** beszélte meg az ügyet.
John only Mary.with spoke.3SG TEL the matter.ACC
“John only discussed the matter with Mary.”
- c. János szeretné **csak Marival** meg-beszélni/beszélni meg az
John would love.3SG only Mary.with TEL-speak.INF the
ügyet.
matter.ACC
“John would love to discuss the matter only with Mary.”

(cf. É. Kiss 1987: 234-5)

(3) [+wh]

a. Meg-hívtam a barátaimat.
TEL-invited.1SG my friends.ACC
“I invited my friends.”

b. Kit hívtál meg?
whom invited.2SG TEL
“Who did you invite?”

c. Nem tudtam kit meg-hívni/?hívni meg.
not knew.1SG whom TEL-invite.INF
“I did not know whom to invite.”

(cf. É. Kiss 2002: 202)

Infinitival clause: Basic contrast

(4) [+neg]

a. Meg-buktam.

TEL-failed.1SG

“I failed the exam.”

b. Nem buktam meg.

not failed.1SG TEL

“I didn't fail the exam.”

c. Szeretnék nem meg-bukni/?bukni meg.

would love.1SG not TEL-fail.INF the

“I would love not to fail the exam.”

(cf. É. Kiss 2002: 203)

Three main previous accounts:

- optional V movement (Brody 1990, 1995, É. Kiss 2008)
- PF phenomenon (Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000)
- feature specification of infinitive *-ni* (É. Kiss 1987, 2002)

- **Brody (1990, 1995)**: optional V-to-T < varying [V] strength on $T_{[-tense]}$
- **É. Kiss (2008)**: optional V-to-NN < existence/absence of NNP

Both are compatible with a PredP approach to particle verb formation.

The stranding of monosyllabic verbal modifiers is significantly worse than that of heavier ones in infinitival clauses, i.e. the optionality of verb movement in infinitival clause is phonologically conditioned.

- (5) a. Jobb lenne **csak kedden** haza-menni/menni haza.
better would be.3SG only Tuesday.on home-go.INF
“It would be better to go home only on Tuesday.”
- b. **Én** fogok **csak később** el-menni/*menni el.
I will.1SG only later away-go.INF
“It is me who will leave only later.” (cf. Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000: 202-3)

Similar things happen with more complex infinitival constructions.

- (6) a. **Én** fogok **csak később** akarni haza-menni/?haza-menni akarni.
I will.1SG only later want.INF home-go.INF
“I am the one who will want to go home only later.”
- b. **Én** fogok **csak később** kezdeni akarni haza-menni/*haz...ak...kez...
I will.1SG only later begin.INF want.INF home-go.INF
“I am the one who will begin to want to go home only later.”
(cf. Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000: 203)

K&Sz: PF factor at work!

The featural makeup of the infinitive suffix *-ni*:

- both [V] and [N], with varying salience
- [V]-salient → inverting **vs.** [N]-salient → non-inverting

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- both [V] and [N], with varying salience
- [V]-salient → inverting **vs.** [N]-salient → non-inverting

This is more in line with the minimalist tenet.

Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (Baker 2008: 156)

All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g., the functional heads) in the lexicon.

Probably all three factors (i.e. lexical, syntactic, PF) are relevant.

Dual categorial feature: More support

1 Strong non-neutral context

- Inversion more acceptable in strongly non-neutral context (cues [V]⁺).

(7) a. Szeretnék nem **meg-bukni/?bukni meg**.

would love.1SG not TEL-fail.INF

“I would love not to fail.”

b. Szeretnék **most az egyszer** nem **meg-bukni/bukni meg**.

would love.1SG now the once not TEL-fail.INF

“I would love not to fail for this once.”

(8) a. János szeretné **csak Marival** meg-beszélni az ügyet.

John would love.3SG only Mary.with TEL-speak.INF the matter.ACC

“John would love to only discuss the matter with Mary.” (*szeretné* > *csak*)

b. János szeretné **csak Marival** beszélni meg az ügyet.

John would love.3SG only Mary.with speak.INF TEL the matter.ACC

“John would love to discuss the matter only with Mary.” (*csak* > *szeretné*)

Dual categorial feature: More support

② Other non-finite verb forms

- That the unusual order is a peculiarity of infinitive morphology is also evidenced by the normal inversion in other non-finite verb forms.

(9) Adjectival participle

- a. Nem tudtam, hogy ez a fiú feltétlenül meg-hívandó.
not knew.1SG that this boy unconditionally TEL-to be invited
“I did not know that this boy was to be unconditionally invited.”
- b. Nem tudtam ki hívandó meg/*meg-hívandó.
not knew.1SG who to be invited TEL
“I did not know who was to be invited.”
- c. Nem tudtam ki nem hívandó meg/*meg-hívandó.
not knew.1SG who not to be invited TEL
“I did not know who was not to be invited.”
- d. Nem tudtam, hogy **ez a fiú** hívandó meg/*meg-hívandó.
not knew.1SG that this boy to be invited TEL
“I did not know that it was this boy that was to be invited.”

(10) Adverbial participle

- a. Marit meg-híva János sok pénzt költött.
Mary.ACC TEL-inviting John much money.ACC spent.3SG
“John spent much money inviting Mary.”
- b. Kit híva meg/*meg-híva költött János sok pénzt?
whom inviting TEL spent.3SG John much money.ACC
“Inviting whom did John spend much money?”
- c. Marit nem híva meg/?meg-híva János kevesebb pénzt költött.
Mary not inviting TEL John less money spent.3SG
“Not inviting Mary, John spent less money.”
- d. **Marit** híva meg/??meg-híva János sok pénzt költött.
Mary.ACC inviting TEL John much money.ACC spent.3SG
“Inviting Mary, John spent much money.”

- When [N] is less salient or absent, the unusual word order disappears
- → we face not only a lexical-featural issue, but more exactly one of [N]

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Dékány & Hegedűs (2015) observe a similar non-inversion phenomenon in derived particle verbs.

- (11) a. János fel-vételizett az egyetemre.
John up-took entrance exam.3SG the university.to
“John took a university entrance exam.”
- b. János nem fel-vételizett/*vételizett fel az egyetemre.
John not up-took entrance exam.3SG the university.to
“John did not take an entrance exam.”
- c. **János** fel-vételizett/*vételizett fel az egyetemre.
John up-took entrance exam.3SG the university.to
“It was John that took an entrance exam.”

(cf. Dékány & Hegedűs 2015: 2–3)

Characteristics:

- denominal
- particle already there before verbalization

[V [N fel-vételi]-z] “take entrance exam”

[V [N ki-vonat]-ol] “precis”

[V [N ki-vitel]-ez] “carry out”

[V [N szemre-vétel]-ez] “inspect”

[V [N ki-fogás]-ol] “take objection to”

[V [N be-folyás]-ol] “influence”

[V [N ki-vétel]-ez] “show a favor towards”

[V [N után-vétel]-ez] “collect upon delivery”

Derived particle verbs: Dékány & Hegedűs (2015)

- compatible with another particle (12)
- compatible with preverbal resultative (13)

- (12) a. Mára ki-fel-vételiztem magam.
today out-up-took entrance exam.1SG myself
“I got exhausted with entrance exams for the day.”
- b. Szét-fel-vételiztem az agyam.
apart-up-took entrance exam.1SG my brain
“I got exhausted with taking entrance exams.”
- c. El-fel-vételiztem az időt.
away-up-took entrance exam.1SG the time.ACC
“I spent all the available time with tanking entrance exams.”

- (13) Betegre fel-vételiztem magam.
sick.to up-took entrance exam.1SG myself
“I got myself sick by taking entrance exams.”

(cf. Dékány & Hegedűs 2015: 5–6)

D&H: the extra verbalizer is a phase head!

They further distinguish two types of particles: one can co-occur with such derived particle verbs, the other cannot.

(14) a. El-fel-vételiztem az időt.
away-up-took entrance exam.1SG the time.ACC
“I spent all the available time with tanking entrance exams.”

b. *A cég el-ki-vitelezte a tervet.
the firm away-out-carried.3SG the plan.ACC
“The firm carried out the plan.”

(15) a. Betegre fel-vételiztem magam.
sick.to up-took entrance exam.1SG myself
“I got myself sick by taking entrance exams.”

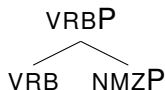
b. *A cég készre ki-vitelezte a tervet.
the firm ready.to out-carried.3SG the plan.ACC
“The firm carried out the plan.”

(ibid.)

D&H's explanation: two merging positions for verbal particles:

- Resultative particles merge at V-comp
- “To full degree” particles (e.g. exhaustive *ki-/szét-*, durative *el-/át-*) merge at Spec-PredP

Argument: the complement position of the extra verbalizer is occupied.



For now: D&H's observations are real and have to do with an extra categorial feature, just like in É. Kiss's analysis of infinitive *-ni*.

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Frequentative particle reduplication

No particle verb inversion in frequentative reduplication (Piñon 1991, Ackerman & LeSourd 1997).

- (16) a. A tigris neki-neki-rohant a ketrec rácsának.
the tiger toward-toward-rushed.3SG the cage bar.3SG.DAT
“The tiger kept rushing at the bars of the cage.”
- b. *A tigris nem rohant neki-neki a ketrec rácsának.
the tiger not rushed.3SG toward-toward the cage bar.3SG.DAT
“The tiger kept rushing at the bars of the cage.”
(cf. Ackerman & LeSourd 1997)

Frequentative particle reduplication

No particle verb inversion in frequentative reduplication (Piñon 1991, Ackerman & LeSourd 1997).

- (17) a. A kismacskó meg-meg-állt, s körül-nézett.
the little.bear TEL-TEL-stood.3SG and around-looked.3SG
“The little bear stopped occasionally and looked around.”
(cf. Piñon 1991: 4)
- b. *A kismacskó nem állt meg-meg az erdőben.
the little.bear not stood.3SG TEL-TEL the woods.in
“The little bear didn’t stop occasionally in the woods.” (ibid. 7)

Frequentative particle reduplication

No particle verb inversion in frequentative reduplication (Piñon 1991, Ackerman & LeSourd 1997).

- (18) a. *Át-át-lebben* a fórumnyilatkozaton a néma sokaság
across-across-flutters the forum.declaration.on the mute crowd
fogalma.
notion.3SG
“The notion mute crowd keeps fluttering across the forum declaration.”
- b. **Csak a néma sokaság fogalma* *lebben* *át-át* a
only the mute crowd notion.3SG flutters.3SG across-across the
fórumnyilatkozaton.
forum.declaration.on
“Only the notion mute crowd keeps fluttering across the forum declaration.”
(ibid.)

Frequentative particle reduplication

Unlike the cases of infinitival clause and derived particle verb, in frequentative particle reduplication the non-inverted order is also odd.

- (19) János ki-ki-nézett az ablakon.
John out-out-looked.3SG the window.on
“John kept looking out of the window.”
- (20) a. János nem *nézett ki-ki/??ki-ki-nézett az ablakon.
John not looked.3SG out-out the window.on
“John did not keep looking out of the window.”
- b. **János** *nézett ki-ki/??ki-ki-nézett az ablakon.
John looked.3SG out-out the window.on
“It was John that kept looking out of the window.”
- c. Ki *nézett ki-ki/??ki-ki-nézett az ablakon.
who looked.3SG out-out the window.on
“Who kept looking out of the window?”

The oddness can only be saved by paraphrasing.

- (21) a. Nem igaz, hogy János ki-ki-nézett az ablakon.
not true that John out-out-looked.3SG the window.on
“It is not true that John kept looking out of the window.”
- b. **János** volt az, aki ki-ki-nézett az ablakon.
John was that who out-out-looked.3SG the window.on
“It was John that kept looking out of the window.”
- c. Ki volt az, aki ki-ki-nézett az ablakon.
who was that who out-out-looked.3SG the window.on
“Who was it that kept looking out of the window?”

Frequentative particle reduplication: Piñon (1991)

The reduplicated verbal particles do not form a lexical unit.

- they do not change the argument structure of the single-particle verb

(22) *A kutyám rá-rá-ugrott a postára a postára.
the dog.my on.him-on.him-jumped.3SG the postman.on the postman.on
“*My dog kept jumping to the postman to the postman.” (cf. Piñon 1991: 15)

- they cannot serve as positive answer to a question

(23) a. —Ki-ki-nézett Péter az ablakon?
out-out-looked.3SG Peter the window.on
“Did Peter keep looking out of the window?”
b. —*Ki-ki.
out-out

Double-particle verbs in Hungarian

Three types:

- Frequentative reduplication (1 lexical + 1 syntactic)
 - e.g. *ki-ki-néz* “out-out-look”
- Derived particle verb + additional particle (2 lexical but not a unit)
 - e.g. *ki-fel-vételiz* “out-up-take entrance exam”
- Compound particle (2 lexical, a unit)
 - e.g. *ki-be-rakosgat* “out-in-put”

NB compound particles can normally invert.

- (24) a. Mari ki-be-rakosgatja a kismackót a játszótérbe.
Mary out-in-put.3SG the little.bear the playhouse.in
“Mary places the little bear in and out of the playhouse.”

(cf. Piñon 1991: 3)

- b. Ki rakosgatja ki-be a kismackót a játszótérbe?
who put.3SG out-in the little.bear the playhouse.in
“Who is placing the little bear in and out of the playhouse?”

(ibid. 7)

What affects inversion is not the complexity of the particle verb, but **how the complexity is achieved**.

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Complex verb (im)mobility: Hungarian

The three types of non-parting particle verb differ in syntactic mobility:

- infinitival and derived particle verbs are mobile as a whole (25)
- reduplication particle verbs are immobile (26)

(25) a. János **fel-hívni** szeretné Marit. focalization
John up-call.INF would like.3SG Mary.ACC
“John would love to CALL Mary.” (cf. É. Kiss 1987: 241)

b. Fel-vételizz az egyetemre! V-to-C
up-take entrance exam.IMPE.2SG the university.to
“Take an entrance exam!” (cf. Dékány & Hegedűs 2015: 3)

(26) *Ki-ki-nézz az ablakon!
out-out-look.IMPE.2SG the window.on
“Keep looking out of the window!”

Reduplication particle verbs are only well-formed in situ.

Complex verb (im)mobility: German

A similar contrast in German (Vikner 2005, Haider 2010, Ahlers 2010):

- Immobile verb: only well-formed in verb-final clause
- Two subtypes:
 - Complex-noun-derived: a quasi-preverb + a verb
 - e.g. *bauch-reden* ‘belly-talk; ventriloquize’, *bau-sparen* ‘building-save’
 - Double-particle: perhaps also denominal but two particles + an verb
 - e.g. *vor-an-melden* ‘pre-on-register’, *vor-an-kündigen* ‘pre-on-announce’

- (27) a. *Bau-spart er/*spart er bau?
 building-save.3SG he
 “Does he building-save?”
- b. Er bau-spart / ... weil er bau-spart.
 he building-save.3SG because he building-save.3SG
 “He building-saves/... because he building-saves.” (cf. Vikner 2005: 9)

Complex verb (im)mobility: German

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- Immobile verb: only well-formed in verb-final clause
- Two subtypes:
 - Complex-noun-derived: **a quasi-preverb + a verb**
 - e.g. *bauch-reden* ‘belly-talk; ventriloquize’, *bau-sparen* ‘building-save’
 - Double-particle: perhaps also denominal but **two particles + an verb**
 - e.g. *vor-an-melden* ‘pre-on-register’, *vor-an-kündigen* ‘pre-on-announce’

(28) a. *Du meldest uns vor-an/*an-meldest uns vor/*voranmeldest uns.
you register.2SG us pre-on
“You preregister us.”

b. ...wenn du uns vor-an-meldest.
if you us pre-on-register.2SG
“...if you preregister us.”

(cf. Haider 2010: 60)

Complex verb (im)mobility: German

- Mobile-as-a-whole verb: inseparable but mobile
- Two subtypes:
 - inseparable-prefixed (the common type)
 - e.g. *ver-ärgern* “vex”, *er-schlagen* “slay”
 - complex-noun-derived: a quasi-preverb + a non-verb
 - e.g. *buch-stabieren* “book-staff; spell”, *ohr-feigen* “ear-fig; slap”

- (29) a. Wir dürfen die Kundschaft nicht ver-ärgern.
we may the customer not TEL-vex
“We may not vex the customers.”
- b. Laute Musik in der Nacht ver-ärgert die Bewohner der Stadt.
loud music at night TEL-vex.3SG the inhabitants the.GEN city
“Loud music at night annoys the town’s inhabitants.”

Complex verb (im)mobility: German

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- Two subtypes:
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 - complex-noun-derived: a quasi-preverb + a non-verb
 - e.g. *buch-stabieren* “book-staff; spell”, *ohr-feigen* “ear-fig; slap”

- (30) a. Erna ohr-feigte Emil/*feigte Emil ohr.
Erna ear-fig.PST.3SG Emil
“Erna slapped Emil.”
- b. Die Kinder buch-stabierten das Wort/*stabierten das Wort buch.
the children book-staff.PST.3PL the word
“The children spelled the word.”
- (cf. Ahlers 2010: 49)

Complex verb (im)mobility: Hungarian vs. German

	Hungarian	Example	German	Example
Immobile	reduplication	<i>ki-ki-néz</i>	double-particle denominal ₁	<i>vor-an-melden</i> <i>bau-sparen</i>
Mobile-as-a-whole	denominal infinitival	<i>fel-vételiz(ik)</i> <i>meg-hívni</i>	denominal ₂	<i>ohr-feigen</i>

As the focus of this talk is Hungarian, I leave German denominal₁ aside.

Parallelism:

- HUN reduplication = GER double-particle = [Prt- [Prt-V]]
- HUN denominal = GER denominal₂ = [V [N Prt-X]-v]

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In Song (2016), I gave an analysis for the German (im)mobile complex verbs with the notion of **recategorization**.

- i.e. merging an extra categorizer to a categorized syntactic object.

The idea is similar to that in É. Kiss (1987, 2002) and Dékány & Hegedűs (2015).

The gist: a distinction in the timing of recategorization.

- Double-particle verb: reverbaler merged before outer particle (31a)
- Mobile denominal verb: reverbaler merged after everything else (31b)

(31) (Adapted to the model here)

- [XP_2 Prt_2 ... [v v [XP_1 Prt_1 ... V ...]]...]
- [v v [...]]

Two types of recategorization

Complementation vs. adjunction

- Categorizer phase as complementation: like other spine phases (e.g. Voice, C)
 - i.e. by the time the next phase head is merged in, the previous phase domain is no longer accessible
- Categorizer phase as adjunction: does not count as a spine phase
 - ... because there is no phase domain to begin with

Adjunction is the default scenario of initial categorization (Marantz 2013).

(32) $\text{cat} = [_{\text{N}} n \sqrt{\text{CAT}}]$, $\text{eat} = [_{\text{V}} v \sqrt{\text{EAT}}]$

Combining (32) with the PredP model of particle verb formation, we get (33).

- (33) a. $[_{\text{Pred}_2\text{P}} \text{Prt}_2 [_{\text{Pred}_2'} [_{\text{Pred}_2} \text{V}_2\text{-Pred}_2] [_{\text{V}_2\text{P}} [_{\text{V}_2} v [_{\text{Pred}_1\text{P}} \text{Prt}_1 [_{\text{Pred}_1'} [_{\text{Pred}_1} \text{V}_1\text{-Pred}_1 [_{\text{V}_1\text{P}} [_{\text{V}_1} v \checkmark] [_{\text{SC}_1} \text{Prt}_1]]]]]] [_{\text{SC}_2} \text{Prt}_2]]]]]$
- b. $[v \ v \ [\dots]]$

In (33a) (complementation): recategorization is a derivational by-product

- In the PredP approach, V-to-Pred and [Comp, V]-to-[Spec, PredP] movements are both necessary
- To initiate the second cycle of particle verb formation (Pred₂P), the output of the first cycle (Pred₁P) must be converted into a V⁰
- Recategorization does this job (NB *v* and V are different heads!)

By the time C is merged in, Pred₁P is already inaccessible. Although C may still attract V₂-Pred₂, the movement would be null and have no PF effect.

Combining (32) with the PredP model of particle verb formation, we get (33).

- (33) a. $[_{\text{Pred}_2\text{P}} \text{Prt}_2 [_{\text{Pred}_2'} [_{\text{Pred}_2} \text{V}_2\text{-Pred}_2] [_{\text{V}_2\text{P}} [_{\text{V}_2} \text{v}] [_{\text{Pred}_1\text{P}} \text{Prt}_1 [_{\text{Pred}_1'} [_{\text{Pred}_1} \text{V}_1\text{-Pred}_1] [_{\text{V}_1\text{P}} [_{\text{V}_1} \text{v}] [_{\text{SC}_1} \text{Prt}_1]]]]]] [_{\text{SC}_2} \text{Prt}_2]]]]]$
- b. $[_{\text{V}} \text{v} [\dots]]]$

In (33b) (adjunction): recategorization is for its own sake

- \approx initial categorization
- When C attracts V, the “root” adjunct is pied-piped, creating the desired PF effect.

① Frequentative reduplication

Recall the German-Hungarian parallelism:

- (34) a. German: [vor-[an-[melden]]], [vor-[an-[kündigen]]]
b. Hungarian: [neki-[neki-[rohan]]], [meg-[meg-[áll]]], [ki-[ki-[néz]]]

One difference between the two languages is how the outer particle is derived:

- German: via a second cycle of particle verb formation
- Hungarian: via frequentative aspect inflection (35)

- (35) [_{AspFREQ}P Prt₂ [_{AspFREQ} · Asp_{FREQ} PredP]]

NB

- to get Asp inflection, the **event denoting constituent** should move to Asp
- this is the **entire particle verb** (PredP)
- so we need recategorization

- (36) a. $[_{\text{Asp}_{\text{FREQ}}\text{P}} \text{Prt}_2 [_{\text{Asp}_{\text{FREQ}}'} \text{Asp}_{\text{FREQ}} [_{\text{V}} \text{v PredP}]]] \rightarrow$
b. $[_{\text{Asp}_{\text{FREQ}}\text{P}} \text{Prt}_2 [_{\text{Asp}_{\text{FREQ}}'} [_{\text{Asp}_{\text{FREQ}}} \text{V-Asp}_{\text{FREQ}}] [_{\text{V}} \text{v PredP}]]]$

Recategorization as complementation blocks PredP in *v*-phase. Further verb movement is PF-vacuous; the particle verb ends up being immobile.

② Infinitival and denominal particle verb

Remember the shared reason for the two cases is a recategorizer:

- [N]-salient infinitive: [_N *n* PredP] (renominalizer)
- Denominal: [_V *v* [_N *n* PredP]] (reverbaler)

Both structures create atomic lexical heads (N/V) for the clausal spine.

Back to non-parting verbal particles...

In sum

<i>kikinéz</i>	[_{Asp_{FREQ}P} <i>ki</i> [_{Asp_{FREQ}} ' [_{Asp_{FREQ}} <i>kinéz-Asp_{FREQ}</i>] [_V <i>v</i> [_{PredP} <i>ki-néz</i>]]]]
<i>felhívni</i> [_N] ₊	[_N <i>n-ni</i> [_{PredP} <i>fel-hív</i>]]
<i>felvételiz(ik)</i>	[_V <i>v-z</i> [_N <i>n-tel</i> [_{PredP} <i>fel-vezs</i>]]]

Outline

- 1 Introduction
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- 3 Infinitival clause
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- 5 Frequentative particle reduplication
- 6 Complex verb (im)mobility
- 7 Analysis
- 8 Summary**

The three types of non-parting verbal particles and their (im)mobility can be explained by the **freezing effect of the categorizer phase**.

Two types of recategorization and their **spine effects**:

- Complementation: creates immobile zone
- Adjunction: creates simple word

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Word-internal syntax has important external consequences!

Köszönöm!



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