

Across the river and into the syntactic trees*

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CGRH meeting

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1 Naked Ps are true adpositions

Hungarian has two kinds of postpositions: so-called “dressed” Ps take morphologically unmarked complements, while so-called “naked” Ps take oblique complements.

naked P

- (1) a híd-on át
the bridge via
across the bridge

dressed P

- (2) a híd mellett
the bridge next.to
next to the bridge

On these two classes, see Marác (1986, 1989); É. Kiss (1999); Asbury et al. (2007); Hegedűs (2006); Asbury (2008); Dékány (2011); Hegedűs (2013).

In this talk, we are interested in the distribution of “naked” Ps only. We assume the following structure:

- (3) [_{PP} naked P [_{PP} complement]]

postposition	meaning	case	agreement with pronouns
<i>alul</i>	below	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun
<i>belül</i>	inside of	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun
<i>felül</i>	over	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun
<i>innen</i>	on this side of	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun

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<i>kívül-re</i>	outside-to, beside-to	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun
<i>kívül-ről</i>	outside-from	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun
<i>túl-ra</i>	beyond-to	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun
<i>túl-ról</i>	beyond-from	superessive	doesn't co-occur with a pronoun
<i>át</i>	through, across, via	superessive	yes, on the case-marker
<i>együtt</i>	together	instrumental	yes, on the case-marker
<i>keresztül</i>	through, across, via	superessive	yes, on the case-marker
<i>kívül</i>	outside, beside	superessive	yes, on the case-marker
<i>közel</i>	close to	allative	yes, on the case-marker
<i>szembe</i>	opposite.to	instrumental	yes, on the case-marker
<i>szemben</i>	opposite.at	instrumental	yes, on the case-marker
<i>szemből</i>	opposite.from	instrumental	yes, on the case-marker
<i>szemközt</i>	opposite.at	instrumental	yes, on the case-marker
<i>túl</i>	beyond	superessive	yes, on the case-marker
<i>végig</i>	(along) to the end of	superessive	yes, on the case-marker

Table 1: Naked postpositions

Why naked Ps? The literature claims that these Ps are rather freely separable from their complement. In previous work, we have noticed that separability is, in fact, restricted.

Aim: test separability P by P, to discover if there are any patterns, and if so, explain them.

2 The literature's claims regarding naked Ps

- Complementation

- Case-marking of the complement is oblique

(4) a fal-on át
the wall-sup through
through the wall

- Can be used without an overt complement

(5) János át-jött/ment.
John through-come.past.3sg/go.past.3sg
John came/went over.

- Agreement

- No agreement with the complement

(6) rajt-am át-*(am)
 sup-1sg through-1sg
 through me

– No demonstrative concord

(7) *ez-en át a fal-on át
 this-sup through the fall-sup through
 through this wall

- Word order effects within the PP

– May precede their complement

(8) át a fal-on
 through the wall-sup
 through the wall

– Separable from their complement by degree modifiers

(9) a ház-on teljesen kívül
 the house-sup entirely outside.of
 entirely outside of the house

- Separability in the clause

– Wh-movement with P-stranding

(10) Mi-n ment át?
 what-sup go.past.3sg through?
 What did he go through?

– Preverbal position, acting as a verbal particle

(11) János át-ment a híd-on.
 John through-went the bridge-on
 John crossed the bridge/walked across the bridge.

3 The constituency of the PP

Several (lexicalist) syntactic and formal semantic analyses take the position that a naked P acting as a verbal particle has never formed a constituent with the DP (Laczkó and Rákosi, 2011). In this view, the P is merged with the verb directly, therefore (11) does not involve movement and is irrelevant for separability. We argue that the P of (11) is merged with the DP in an extended PP, and it reaches the surface position via movement.

(12) [_{TopP} János [_{PreDP} át [_{PreP} ment [_{vP} János ment [_{PP} át a híd-on]]]]]

first one, where *kívül* has an unmarked complement, disappeared.

Conclusion: The literature is right in claiming that naked Ps bear no agreement and do not participate in demonstrative concord.

5 Differences bw. naked Ps: no overt complement

5.1 The data

Grammatical

- | | |
|---|--|
| (21) A táská-d alul van
the bag-poss.2sg below be.3sg
Your bag is down there. | (22) A táská-d belül van
the bag-poss.2sg inside be.3sg
Your bag is inside. |
| (23) A táská-d fölül van
the bag-poss.2sg above be.3sg
Your bag is up there. | (24) A szék-ek kívül vannak.
The chair-pl outside be.3pl
The chairs are outside. |
| (25) A labda kívül-re es-ett.
the ball outside.to fall-past.3sg
The ball landed outside. | (26) A hang kívül-ről jött.
the sound outside.from came.3sg
The sound came from outside. |
| (27) János át-jött.
John through-came.3sg
John came over. | (28) együtt van-nak/*van
together be-3pl/be.3sg
they are together/he is together |
| (29) A posta közel van
the post.office close.to be.3sg
The post office is close by/to here. | (30) A lövés-ek szemből jött-ek.
the shot-pl opposite.from came-3pl
The shots came from the opposite side. |
| (31) A posta szemben van.
the post.office opposite be.3sg
The post office is opposite (to us/here). | (32) Éppen szembe-jött, amikor
just opposite-came.3sg when
He was coming towards me when |

Not perfect

- | | |
|--|---|
| (33) (?)túl ment.
beyond went.3sg
It went too far. | (34) ??A posta szemközt van.
the post.office opposite be.3sg
The post office is opposite. |
|--|---|

Ungrammatical

- | | |
|--|--|
| (35) *János túl-ra megy
John beyond-to go
John goes beyond | (36) *János túl-ről jön
John beyond-from come
John comes from beyond |
|--|--|

(37) *A táská innen van
 the bag this.side.of be.3sg
 The bag is on this side.

(38) *János végig sétál-t
 John along.to.end walk-past.3sg
 John walked to the end
 NB: ok iff *végig* is a temporal adv.

(39) János keresztül *lovagol-t/?*ment
 John through ride-past.3sg/went.3sg

Conclusion: not all naked Ps can appear without an overt complement.

5.2 Analysis

We suggest that there is a neat pattern behind the grammatical / not perfect / ungrammatical divide above.

Grammatical:

The Figure is interpreted wrt an implicit ground *here/there*, the spatial center of deixis of the discourse. We suggest that "no overt complement" means the presence of an implicit complement rather than a genuine intransitive P.

(40) [_{PP} naked P [_{PP} (~~here/there~~)]]

Not perfect: *túl* "beyond" and *szemközt* "opposite"

The Ground cannot be interpreted as *here/there*, the spatial center of deixis of the discourse. These data require a strong context, whereby a specific Ground is recoverable from the speech situation. We suggest that these are elliptical structures.

(41) Túl-ment-ünk a sark-on
 beyond-went-1pl the corner-sup
 We went beyond the corner.

(42) Túl-ment-ünk
 beyond-went-1pl
 We went beyond.

Structure for (42):

(43) [_{PP} túl [_{PP} ~~a sark-on~~]]

Ungrammatical: *túl-ra* "beyond-to", *túl-ról* "beyond-from", *innen* "on this side of", *végig* "along to the end", *keresztül* "via"

The meaning of these Ps is such that they require a Ground different from *here/there*. As only *here/there* can be implicit, these Ps have an overt complement. Further question: why don't they allow ellipsis?

Conclusion: naked Ps cannot be intransitive, but their complement *here/there* can appear with a zero phonological form.

6 Differences bw. naked Ps: PP-internal orderings

Most neutral position: postpositional, immediately behind the complement.

Other possible PP-internal positions: i) DP > degree expression > P, and ii) prepositional.

Empirical question: is one of these orders systematically available to more Ps than the other?

We expect that if any of the orders is easier to get, it is the DP > degree expression > P order, because it is still postpositional.

Degree modifier intervention

P > DP order

Both grammatical

(44) a fal-on teljesen át
the wall-sup wholly through
entirely through the wall

(45) át a fal-on
through the wall-sup
through the wall

(46) a ház-hoz egészen közel
the house-all completely close
very close to the house

(47) közel a ház-hoz
close the house-all
close to the house

(48) a ház-zal közvetlenül szemben
the house-ins immediately opposite.at
right opposite the house

(49) szemben a ház-zal
opposite.at the house-ins
opposite the house

(50) a folyó-n teljesen túl
the river-sup completely beyond
completely beyond the river

(51) túl a folyó-n
beyond the river-sup
beyond the river

(52) a folyó-n teljesen végig
the river-sup completely end.to
all along the river

(53) végig a folyó-n
end.to the river-sup
all along the river

Asymmetry I.

(54) a folyó-n teljesen keresztül
the river-sup completely through
completely across the river

(55) ?keresztül a folyó-n
through the river-sup
across the river

Asymmetry II.

(56) a ház-on teljesen belül
the house-sup completely inside
completely inside the house

(57) *belül a ház-on
inside the house-sup
inside the house

(58) a csapat-tal teljesen együtt
the team-ins completely together
completely together with the team

(59) *együtt Mari-val
together Mary-ins
together with Mary

- | | |
|---|--|
| (60) a ház-on közvetlenül kívül
the house-sup immediately outside
right outside the house | (61) *kívül a ház-on
outside the house
outside of the house |
| (62) a ház-zal egyenesen szembe
the house-ins straight opposite.to
straight opposite to the house | (63) *szembe a ház-zal
opposite.to the house-ins
opposite to the house |
| (64) a ház-zal majdnem szemközt
the house-ins almost opposite.at
almost opposite to the house | (65) *szemközt a ház-zal
opposite.at the house-ins
opposite to the house |
| (66) vel-ünk egyenesen szemből
ins-1pl straight opposite.from
(from) right opposite to us | (67) *szemből vel-ünk
opposite.from ins-1pl
(from) opposite to us |

Asymmetry III.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (68) ?a vonal-on közvetlenül alul
the line-sup immediately under
right under the line | (69) *alul a vonal-on
under the line-sup
under the line |
| (70) ?a folyó-n teljesen innen
the river-sup immediately this.side
right this side of the river | (71) *innen a folyó-n
this.side the river-sup
on this side of the river |
| (72) ??a vonal-on közvetlenül felül
the line-sup immediately above
right above the line | (73) *felül a vonal-on
over the line-sup
above the line |

Discussion:

- 1) most naked Ps can be separated from the complement by a degree modifier, this order does not yield severe ungrammaticality with any naked P.
- 2) the prepositional order is much more restricted, some naked Ps reject it entirely
- 3) correlation bw. the 2 orders: the prepositional order is as good or worse than the separated postpositional

Conclusion: i) the literature is not right in claiming that naked Ps can generally be prepositional, ii) the prepositional order is never better than the one with degree modifier intervention.

7 Differences bw. naked Ps: separability in the clause

Separability in two ways: i) P is immediately preverbal (particle), DP is postverbal, and ii) Wh-movement of DP with P-stranding.

Empirical question: is one of these orders systematically easier to get than the other?

We expect that if any of these orders is easier to get, it is the one with the preverbal P, as P-stranding

is a cross-linguistically marked structure (Van Riemsdijk 1978). We also expect that the opposite (i.e. P-stranding is easier than P as a particle) may possibly be attested with source Ps, as these never serve as verbal particles in Hungarian (É. Kiss, 2002; Surányi, 2009)

Acting as a verbal particle
P > V > DP+case

Wh-movement, P-stranding
DP+case > V > P

Both grammatical

(74) János át-ment a híd-on
 John through-went the bridge-sup
 John crossed the bridge.

(75) Mi-n ment át János?
 what-sup went through John
 What did John cross?

(76) Együtt vacsoráz-ott Mari-val.
 together done-past.3sg Mary-with
 He dined together with Mary.

(77) Ki-vel vacsoráz-ott együtt?
 Who-with dine-past.3sg together
 Who did he dine with?

(78) János keresztül-ment a híd-on
 John across-went the bridge-sup
 John crossed the bridge.

(79) Melyik híd-on ment keresztül János?
 which bridge-sup went through John
 Which bridge did John go through?

(80) A posta közel van a
 the post.office close.to be.3sg the
 híd-hoz.
 bridge-allat
 The post office is close to the bridge.

(81) Mi-hez van közel a posta?
 what-allat be-3sg close.to the post.office
 What is the post office close to?

(82) János szem-be jött Mari-val.
 John opposite-to came Mary-with
 John and Mary walked towards each other.

(83) Ki-vel jött szembe János?
 who-with came opposite.to John
 Who did John walk towards?

(84) János végig-sétál-t az híd-on.
 John along-walk-past.3sg the bridge-sup
 John walked along the bridge.

(85) Melyik híd-on sétál-t végig?
 which bridge-sup walk-past.3sg along
 Which bridge did he walk across?

Asymmetry

(86) A játékos belül volt a vonal-on.
 the player inside was the line-sup
 The player was inside the line

(87) ?Melyik vonal-n volt belül a labda?
 which line-sup was inside the ball
 Which line was the ball inside?

(88) A fa szemben van a híd-dal.
 the tree opposite be.3sg the bridge-with
 The tree is opposite the bridge.

(89) ?Mi-vel van szemben a fa?
 what-with be.3sg opposite the tree
 What is the tree opposite to?

Both ungrammatical

- (90) ??/*A kórház szemközt van a
The hospital opposite be.3sg the
postá-val
post.office-ins
The hospital is opposite the post office.
- (91) ??Mi-vel van szemközt a posta?
what-with be opposite the post.office
What is the post office opposite to?
- (92) *Az almát alul ad-ta az
the apple-acc below give-past.3sg the
ár-on
price-sup
He sold the apple cheaper than expected.
- (93) *Mi-n ütött alul?
what-sup hit-past.3sg below
What did he hit below?
- (94) *a kép felül van a kandalló-n
the picture above be.3sg the fireplace-sup
The picture is above the fireplace.
- (95) *Mi-n van feül a kép?
what-sup be.3sg above the picture
What is the picture above?
- (96) *A ház innen van a fá-k-on.
the house this.side be.3sg the tree-pl-sup
The house is between us and the trees.
- (97) *Mi-n van innen a ház?
what-sup be.3sg this.side the house
The house is on this side of what?
- (98) *A labda kívül-re es-ett a
the ball outside-to fall-past.3sg the
vonalon.
line-sup
The fall outside of the area enclosed by the
line.
- (99) *Mi-n es-ett kívül-re a
What-sup fall-past.3sg outside-to the
labda?
ball
What did the ball fall outside of?
- (100) *A labda túl-ra es-ett a
the ball beyond-to fall-past.3sg the
vonalon.
line-sup
The ball landed on the other side of the
line.
- (101) *Mi-n es-ett túl-ra a
what-sup fall-past.3sg beyond-to the
labda?
ball
What did the ball fall beyond?
- (102) *Az utazó túl-ról jött a
the traveller beyond-from came the
hegy-en.
mountain-on
The traveller came from beyond the moun-
tain.
- (103) *Mi-n jött túl-ról János?
what-sup came beyond-from John
What did John come from beyond?
- (104) *A labda kívül van a vonalon.
the ball outside be.3sg the line-sup
The ball is outside of the line.
- (105) *Mi-n es-ett kívül a labda?
what-sup fall-past outside.of the ball
What did the ball fall outside of?

(106) *A ház túl van a folyó-n.
the house over be.3sg the river-sup
The house is over the river.

(107) *Mi-n van túl a híd?
what-sup be beyond the bridge
What is the bridge beyond?

Source (Ablative) Ps:

(108) *A hang kívül-ről jött a
the sound outside-from came the
ház-on.
house-sup

The sound came from outside the house.

(109) *Mi-n jött kívül-ről a hang?
what-sup came outside-from the sound
What did the sound come outside of?

(110) *A lövés-ek szem-ből jött-ek a
the shot-pl opposite-from came-3pl the
postá-val.
post.office-with
The shots came from opposite the post office.

(111) *Mi-vel jött-ek szem-ből a
what-with came-3pl opposite-from the
lövés-ek?
shot-pl
What did the shots come opposite from?

Discussion:

- 1) not every naked P is equally separable from the complement in the clause
- 2) there is no significant asymmetry bw. the two kinds of separability
- 3) SourcePs, which may potentially show an asymmetry (might separate by P-stranding only), are inseparable

Conclusion: the literature is not right in claiming that naked Ps can be generally separated from their complement in the clause.

8 Interim summary

Naked Ps behave alike wrt to the type of complement they take and their agreement properties. However, not all of them can appear in positions other than immediately behind the complement.

Some naked Ps require an overt complement. “No overt complement” means an implicit *here/there* complement. The availability of this complement depends on the meaning of the naked P.

Within the PP, most can be separated from the complement if postpositional. The prepositional order, however, is not available to all naked Ps.

In the clause, not every P is separable from the complement. Separability by verbal particle movement and by P-stranding for the same P are roughly equally possible.

Being “naked” is a necessary but not sufficient condition for separability from the complement.

The separability of individual naked Ps from their complement is best characterized by a scale: route naked Ps (*át* ‘via/across/through’, *keresztül* ‘via/across/through’, *végig* ‘along to the end of’) are the

most separable, and *innen* ‘on this side of’ and *kívül* ‘outside of’ are the least separable.

Interestingly, there is an almost complete correlation between a P having a prepositional order as well and being able to strand its complement.

9 Different readings of the same P

9.1 Locative vs. more abstract readings

New observation: sometimes naked Ps are more easily separable on abstract readings than on spatial readings.

- (112) a. *A labda kívül van a vonal-on.
the ball outside be.3sg the line-sup
The ball is outside of the line.
b. Ez kívül van a hatáskör-é-n.
this outside be.3sg the purview-poss-sup
This is out of his line.
- (113) a. *Mi-n es-ett kívül a labda?
what-sup fall-past outside.of the ball
What did the ball fall outside of?
b. Melyik bírónak a hatáskörén es-ett kívül?
which judge-dat the jurisdiction-poss-sup fall-past.3sg outside.of
Which judge’s jurisdiction did it fall outside of?
- (114) a. *A ház túl van a folyón.
the house over be.3sg the river-sup
The house is over the river.
b. Mari túl van a vizsgán.
Mary over be.3sg the exam-sup
Mary has taken the exam.
- (115) a. *Mi-n van túl a híd?
what-sup be beyond the bridge
What is the bridge beyond?
b. Hány vizsgán van túl Mari?
how.many exam-sup be beyond Mary
How many exams did Mary already take?

9.2 Locative vs. temporal readings

postposition	meaning	temporal	reading
<i>át</i>	through, across	yes	through
<i>belül</i>	inside of	yes	within
<i>keresztül</i>	through	yes	through
<i>túl</i>	beyond	yes, but restricted	beyond

Table 2: Naked Ps allowing a temporal reading

Old observation: Even if a naked P is separable from the complement on a locative reading, it is never separable from it in the temporal reading (Marác, 1984; Asbury, 2008; Surányi, 2009).¹

- *át*

– prepositional order

(116) a híd-on át
the bridge-sup through
through/via the bridge

(117) át a híd-on
through the bridge-sup
through the bridge.

(118) három nap-on át
three day-sup through
through three days

(119) *át három nap-on
through three day-sup
through three days

– verbal particle

(120) Mari át-ment a híd-on.
Mary through-go.past.3sg the bridge-sup
Mary went through the bridge.

(121) *Mari át-dolgozott három nap-on.
Mary through-worked three day-sup
Mary worked through three days.

¹*Belül* "inside of" isn't separable from the complement on the locative reading either.

(i) a doboz-on belül
the box-sup inside.of
inside the box

(ii) *belül a doboz-on
inside.of the box-sup
inside the box

- *keresztül* can precede the complement as a locative.

– prepositional order

(122) az út-on keresztül
the road-sup across
across the road

(123) keresztül az út-on
across the road-sup
across the road.

(124) három hét-en keresztül
three week-on across
through three weeks

(125) *keresztül három hét-en
through three week-sup
through three weeks

– verbal particle

(126) Mindenki keresztül-ment az út-on
everyone across-go.past.3sg the road-sup
Everyone went across the road.

(127) *Mindenki keresztül-dolgoz-ott három hét-en.
everyone across-work-past.3sg three week-sup
Everyone worked through three weeks.

- *túl* can precede the complement as a locative.

– prepositional order

(128) a folyó-n túl
the river-sup beyond
beyond the river

(129) túl a folyó-n
beyond the river-sup
beyond the river

(130) 8 nap-on túl
8 day-sup beyond
beyond 8 days

(131) *túl 8 nap-on
beyond 8 day-sup
beyond 8 days

– verbal particle

(132) A festék túl-ment a vonal-on.
the paint beyond-went the line-sup
The paint went beyond the line.

(133) *A sérülés túl-gyógyul-t 8 nap-on.
the injury beyond-heal-past.3sg 8 day-sup
It took the injury more than 8 days to heal.

Cf.:

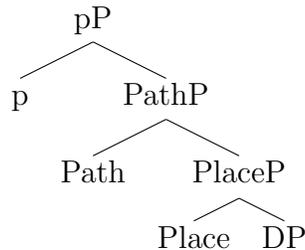
(134) A gyógyulás [8 nap-on túl is] el-tart-hat.
the healing 8 day-sup beyond too away-last-possib
It may take the injury more than 3 days to heal.

How to explain these data? We can think of four solutions, but we don't like them.

1. The structure of temporal PPs is not the same as locative PPs

But: nobody believes this, the structure of temporal, locative and causal PPs all involve a static projection (PlaceP: at in space, at in time) over a dynamic projection (PathP: to/from in space, until/from in time) (Roy and Svenonius, 2009), with the figure introduced in pP.

(135)



2. The landing site of temporal Ps is different from the landing site of locative Ps

But: not a credible idea, completely ad-hoc, explains nothing

3. some people have argued that lexical items may come with built-in linearization instructions (Bye and Svenonius, in press)

But: this is proposed as a solution for a different phenomenon (morphemes showing up where syntax could not have placed them), plus the problem is not with the position of the lexical item itself but the position of a lexical item on a particular reading

4. some people have argued that when a lexical item has two different readings, and these readings show up in different surface positions, this is a way of language trying to disambiguate (Biberauer et al., 2007)

But: naked Ps don't have to be separated from the complement on the locative reading either, so a DP > naked P sequence is ambiguous bw. a locative and temporal reading, without causing any problems

9.3 Fake objects with temporal readings

We have seen that naked Ps are inseparable on a temporal reading.

(136) dolgoz-ik [egy hét-en át]
 work-3sg a week-sup through
 He works through a week.

(137) *át_i-dolgoz-ik [egy hét-en t_i]
 through-work-3sg a week-sup
 He works through a week.

However, separation is OK if the complement bears accusative case. The complement is a fake object then.

(138) át-dolgoz-ik egy het-et
 through-work-3sg a week-acc
 He works through a week.

The fake object is obligatory.

- (139) *át-dolgoz-ik
through-work-3sg

Why? We have seen that *át* does not require an overt complement (140), and *dolgozik* “work” is not obligatory transitive (141).

- (140) át-jött
through-come.past.3sg
He came over.

- (141) a. Most is dolgoz-ik.
now too work-3sg
He is working right now, too.
b. Még egy het-et dolgoz-ik, azután szabadság-ra megy.
yet one week-acc work-3sg then holiday-onto go
He works one more week, then he goes on holiday.

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