P heads in Hungarian complex events

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The aims of this paper are (i) to add to the discussion on verb-framed/satellite-framed languages (e.g. Talmy 2000) by including data from Hungarian showing that this language always expresses complex events with a separately lexicalized result P, which is either a particle or a postposition; and (ii) to discuss intra-linguistic variation between particles and directional postpositions in the lexicalization of result, which may shed light on the possible difference between their properties in a language that has both of them available lexically.

The distinction between so-called verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages in terms of the expression of complex events has been established relatively well in the literature. It has been mapped onto syntactic structure e.g. in a decomposed argument structure, where the difference between verb-framed Spanish and satellite-framed English is whether P incorporates into V or not (Mateu 2012) or put differently, whether the verb lexicalizes P+V (Ramchand 2008). In some cases, English has also been claimed to have incorporation of P (and N), namely, in the case of denominal verbs like *saddle (the horse), shelve (the books)* (Hale & Keyser 2002, cf. also Haugen 2009). This means that these English transitive verbs can incorporate or lexicalize result as well.

Hungarian exhibits properties which make it a more strictly satellite-framed language than English in that incorporation of result does not seem to be an option at all. Denominal verbs such as the ones in (1)-(2) always require a particle in their telic uses (although the object is licensed without there being a particle, the event is just atelic in those cases). This inability for verbs to express result/goal has been formulated by É. Kiss (2006) as a lexical/semantic property of Hungarian verbs, which are said to be inherently atelic and in need of another telicizer to express events that have an end-point.

(1) fel-nyerg-el-i	a lov-at	(2) be-doboz-ol-ja	a könyv-ek-et
up-saddle-VRB-3SG.DEF	the horse-ACC	into-box-VRB-3SG.DEF	the book-PL-ACC
'saddle the horse'		'box the books'	

I propose that the variation in the encoding of result/goal in complex events is fully structural, and a parametric variation in the lexicalization of P in a decomposed argument structure, (e.g. Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Borer 2005; Mateu 2012, Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2014) can account for the cross-linguistic variation. Hungarian never incorporates P into the V head; it has to be lexicalized separately in complex events. Hungarian always lexicalizes the result component as a particle with this class of denominal verbs.

Regular directional PPs may also express end-point, e.g. with motion verbs, where we find examples with a particle, (3), and without one as well, (4).

(3) János el-ment	a bolt-ba	(4) János a bolt-ba ment.
John away-went	the shop-ILL	John the shop-ILL went
'John went to the shop'		'John went to the shop'

Decomposing the PP in the complement of V, makes it possible to further distinguish particles and other P heads structurally (namely, at least Path and Place heads, Koopman 2000). The internal argument is introduced in the specifier position of the complement pP (Svenonius 2003 etc.), where p is the syntactic position of particles. Directional/goal-denoting adpositions can fill the Path head, relevant in the discussion of telic events.

(5) [VP [V [pP INT-ARG [p [PathP Path PlaceP]]]]]

Hungarian telic predicates always lexicalize p or Path, that is, there is always an adposition in the argument structure. In various cases, a PP without a particle can provide a (bounded) goal reading for the complex event, however, a particle often seems necessary where the complex event either needs a directed motion that has an explicit bounded goal, or if the event just needs a clear boundary even if it has no spatial semantics.

There is an interesting case of intra-linguistic variation as to the presence of a particle: a group of directional case suffixes may be "reduplicated" by a morphologically corresponding particle. The particles that take part in it are all relatively new, and are not even always analyzed as regular

(grammaticalized) particles (e.g. Surányi 2009). Iwill propose that they are on a grammaticalization path, which in syntactic terms means that they can fill the p head in the structure of a complex event.