

COWPER

Proceedings of the 1995
Annual Conference of the
Canadian Linguistic Association

editor/rédacteur

Päivi Koskinen

Actes du
Congrès annuel de
l'Association canadienne de linguistique
1995

Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics
Linguistic Graduate Course Union
Department of Linguistics
University of Toronto
M5S 1A1
© 1995

speakers have some difficulty in shifting from non-standard to standard relative clause: they must learn to make a longer movement of extraction. In the strategy without the preposition, the position of extraction is local, the topic being adjacent to the sentence. As Kato (1993) says, extraction from the dislocated position is the shorter and therefore a more economical derivation.

In conclusion, the factors that induce the speakers to use the preposition in the Relative Clauses in Brazilian Portuguese are of social, stylistic and linguistic order: only people that attended school are able to use the preposition productively, and they do this more in formal situations, when the function to be relativized is the adverbial adjunct, and when the preposition of the antecedent is different from the preposition of the relative clause. If one of these conditions is missing, it is most likely that no preposition will be used in the Relative Clauses.

REFERENCES

- Cohen, M.A. (1986/89) *Syntactic Change in Portuguese Relative Clauses and the Adjective in the Noun Phrase*. Unicamp. tese de doutorado.
- Chomsky, N. 1977. On Wh-Movement. In P. Culicover and T. Wason (eds), *Formal Syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Kato, M.A. (1993). Recontando a História das Relativas em uma Perspectiva Paramétrica". In I. Roberts & M. Kato (orgs.), *Português Brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica: homenagem a Fernando Tarallo*. Campinas, SP: Editora da Unicamp.
- Lemle, M. (1978). Heterogeneidade Dialetoal: um apelo à pesquisa. In *Linguística e Ensino do Vernáculo*. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo.
- Li, C.N. & Thompson, S. Subject and topic: a new typology of languages. In C.N. Li (org.), *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Mollica, (1977) *Estudo da Cópia nas construções relativas em português*. PUC-Rio de Janeiro. MA thesis.
- Rand, D. & Sankoff, D. (1990) *GoldVarb. A variable rule application for the Macintosh*. Montreal, Canada: Centre de recherches mathématiques. Université de Montréal.
- Sankoff, D. & Laberge, S. (1978). The linguistic market and the statistical explanation of variability. In D. Sankoff (ed.), *Linguistic variation: Models and Methods*. New York: Academic Press. 239-250
- Tarallo, F. (1983) *Relativization Strategies in Brazilian Portuguese*. University of Pennsylvania. Ph.D. dissertation.

A UNIFIED ACCOUNT OF HUNGARIAN -VA/VE PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS*

Elizabeth A. Cowper
University of Toronto

1. Introduction and Theoretical Background

In Hungarian, there are five distinct participial suffixes. These are listed in (1):¹

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------|---------|------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | -va | dobva | 'throwing, thrown' |
| | b. | -ván | dobván | 'on throwing, having thrown' |
| | c. | -andó | dobandó | 'about to throw/be thrown' |
| | d. | -ó | dobó | 'throwing' |
| | e. | -tt | dobott | 'thrown' |

This paper focusses on the first of these. Like the English participle in *-en*, which has both active and passive uses, the *-va* participle appears in both active and passive constructions, as shown in (2):

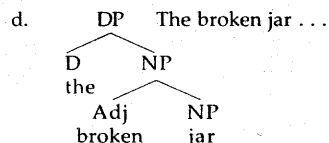
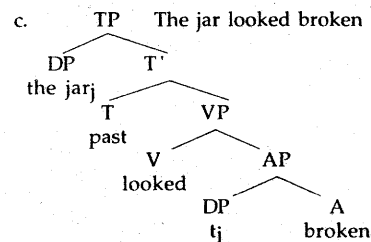
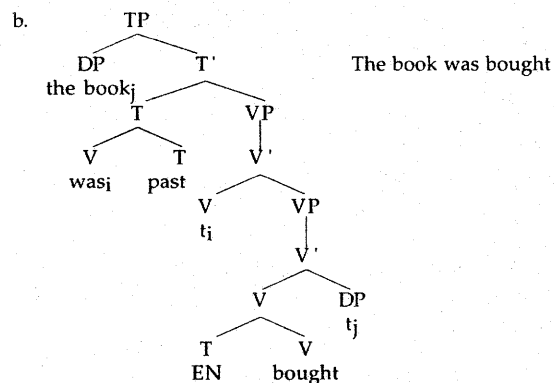
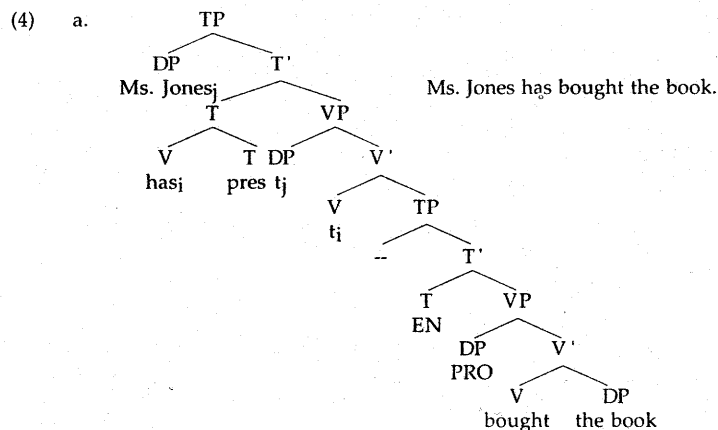
- | | | |
|-----|----|--|
| (2) | a. | PRO a labdát dobálva, a gyerek kiment |
| | | PRO the ball.acc toss.VA the boy out.go.pst.3sg |
| | | 'Tossing the ball, the boy went out.' |
| | b. | A tolvaj ötkor el lett engedve |
| | | The thief 5.at away be.inch.pst.3sg let.VA |
| | | 'The thief was released at five o'clock.' |
| | c. | A tolvaj el van engedve és a jelentés meg van írva |
| | | The thief away be.pr.3sg let.VA and the report PERF be.pr.3sg write.VA |
| | | 'The thief is released and the report is written.' (The officer can go home) |

I take as a starting point the analysis of participial constructions presented in Cowper (1995). There, I argue for an abstract inflectional head EN, which is checked at LF against the verbal affix *-en*. When EN projects, it appears in the perfect construction. When it does not project, it appears as the incorporated argument of a verb, giving the passive. When only the affix *-en* appears, derivationally attached to a verb, it forms an adjective. The lexical entries for EN and *-en* are given in (3) and the structures they appear in are shown in (4).

* This research has been supported by SSHRCC Research Grant number 410-94-1093. I am grateful to Alana Johns, Regine Moorcroft, Jila Ghomeshi, Elaine Gold, Päivi Koskinen, Zhang Ning, Jun Mo Cho, and Hitay Yükeker for helpful discussion. I am also grateful to Michael Szamosi for both data and discussion.

¹ Here and elsewhere, I ignore questions of vowel harmony.

- (3) a. EN: $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \text{past} \end{bmatrix}$ b. *-en* $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \text{past} \\ [V_] \end{bmatrix}$



Cowper (1995) argues for a distinction between derivational and inflectional affixation. Under derivational affixation, the features of the affix become part of the meaning and the category signature of the derived word. Under inflectional affixation, the features of the affix remain separate from those of the host, and must be licensed by checking in the syntax. Generally, checking takes place between the affix and an abstract functional morpheme. This abstract morpheme may head a full functional projection, as in (4a), or it may not project, as in (4b). Inflectional elements thus quite often consist of pairs of morphemes, one affixal and the other abstract, which enter into a checking relationship.

The difference between inflectional and derivation affixation is part of the computational system of the grammar. A given affix may, in principle, be attached to its host either inflectionally or derivationally.

I adopt both the One Form/One Meaning Principle (Johns 1992), and the Strong Monosemy Principle (Cowper 1995).

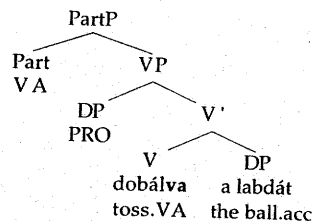
- (5) One Form/One Meaning Principle:
Where morphemes are identical or similar in phonological properties, in the unmarked case, they are identical or similar in all lexical properties.
- (6) Strong Monosemy Principle:
The conceptual structure of a lexical entry may contain no disjunctions and no optional elements. If the conceptual structures of two uses of a lexical item cannot be unified through underspecification, then they must be treated as distinct lexical entries.

2. The Active VA-construction

Let us now turn to Hungarian. It will be shown that the various manifestations of the *-va* participle can be accounted for with a single inflectional head *VA*, checked by a single affix *-va*. The differences among the constructions in (2) follow directly from the structures in which *VA/-va* can appear.

First, consider the properties of a sentence containing a fully projecting instance of *VA*. The label *Part* is used for convenience, avoiding for the moment a consideration of the categorial identity of *VA*.

If *VA* projects, it will take a maximal projection as its complement. Since *VA* must be licensed by checking against the verbal affix *-va*, let us assume that *VA* will take a VP as its complement. This gives the structure shown in (7).



Here we see that the verb's Case and θ -marking properties are retained, in that the direct object, *a labdát*, is accusative, and the verb has two arguments. This structure is very similar to what we find in the English perfect construction, but there are two important differences. First, this participial phrase never appears as the internal argument of a verb, whereas EN phrases always do. In contrast, the projected VA-phrase appears as a temporal adjunct, as in (2a). The second difference between VA-phrases and EN-phrases lies in their temporal interpretation. Whereas VA-phrases receive an anterior interpretation, in which the event in the EN phrase is backshifted with respect to the time of the higher verb, the Hungarian VA-phrase receives a coincident interpretation. In other words, the event in the VA-phrase is interpreted as simultaneous to the event in the clause to which the VA-phrase is adjoined.

The lexical entry proposed in Cowper (1995) for EN is given in (8).

- (8) EN: $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \text{[past]} \end{bmatrix}$

The feature $[+N]$ expresses the fact that EN requires a Case and a θ -role, and the feature $[\text{past}]$ gives the anterior interpretation of the EN-phrase with respect to its governing verb. Since VA-phrases are coincident rather than anterior, it is plausible to say that VA is $[\text{present}]$.²

As for the categorial status of VA, I propose that it is $[-V]$. Initially this proposal is motivated by the fact that VA-phrases, like prepositional phrases, typically appear as adjuncts. Further support for this proposal can be found in an examination of the other structures in which VA appears.

So far, there are two lexical representations for VA consistent with the data. These are given in (9).

- (9) a. VA: $\begin{bmatrix} -V \\ -N \\ \text{[present]} \end{bmatrix}$ b. VA: $\begin{bmatrix} -V \\ \text{[present]} \end{bmatrix}$

The representation in (a) stipulates directly that VA is categorially identical to the prepositions, and predicts that it will always bear the features $[-V, -N]$, no matter what structure it appears in. The representation in (b) claims that VA is categorially underspecified, and predicts that its categorial manifestation may vary depending on other properties of the structure in which it appears. Under (b) it is also necessary to explain how projected VA-phrases come to be specified as $[-N]$.

3. The Verbal Passive with VA

Without deciding between the two lexical entries in (9), let us turn to the second manifestation of VA, illustrated in (10). We are dealing in this section only with the eventive, or verbal, passive, leaving the stative passive for section 4.

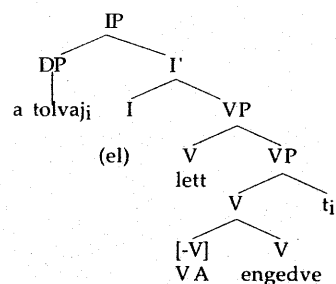
- (10) A tolvaj ötkor el lett engedve
 The thief(nom) 5-at away be.inch.pst.3sg let.VA
 The thief was released at 5 o'clock.

Here we see that, as in English passive sentences, the Case and θ -marking properties of the verb marked with *-va* have been altered. Specifically, the object Case and the subject θ -role have been suppressed.

A standard treatment of the English passive involves claiming that the functional element EN itself receives, or absorbs, the external θ -role and the object Case from the verb.³ Let us pursue the possibility that something similar is going on in Hungarian. This would give the structure in (11).

² I use the term $[\text{present}]$ for convenience; it might be $[-\text{past}]$ or unspecified, and spelled out by some default rule. I am not concerned here with exactly how to express the semantic content of $[\text{present}]$ and $[\text{past}]$.

³ See Jaeggli (1986), Baker, Johnston and Roberts (1989), and Cowper (1995), among others.



It should be noted at this point that there is much to be said about Hungarian word order, all of which lies outside the scope of this paper. In particular, Hungarian has a preverbal focus position, which attracts one of the following elements: the negative morpheme, a separable prefix such as *el* in (11), or a focussed constituent. Under certain circumstances, one of these elements may have been raised from a lower clause. For example, in (11), *el* originates with the verb *engedve*.

In the data presented here, SVO order is used wherever possible, although in some cases this gives rise to a marked interpretation. However, questions of clausal word order have no bearing on any of the points to be made in this paper.

In (11) it can be seen that VA appears as an incorporated argument of the verb, and like EN in English, is assigned a case and a θ -role. This leaves the object noun phrase without Case, forcing it to move to subject position so as to receive nominative case from the matrix inflection.

Let us now consider whether this analysis of VA-passives is compatible with either or both of the lexical representations proposed for VA in (9). An immediate problem arises with the lexical entry in (9a). Elements specified as $[-N, -V]$ should not be able to receive either a Case or a θ -role. The underspecified entry in (9b), on the other hand, would allow Case- and θ -marking, under reasonable assumptions about non-distinctness.

For example, one might claim that $[+N, -V]$ elements require a Case and a θ -role, while $[-N]$ elements cannot be assigned a Case or a θ -role. An element unspecified for $[\pm N]$ would therefore allow, but would not require, Case- and θ -marking.

I therefore adopt the representation in (9b) as the lexical entry for VA. This lexical entry necessitates an account of how the projected VA-phrase in (7) comes to be specified as $[-V, -N]$. Such an account is straightforward if two assumptions are made. First, suppose that all maximal projections must have fully specified category signatures. Thus if VA projects, its underspecified category signature must be spelled out. Second, assume that the unmarked, or default, values for $[\pm N]$ and $[\pm V]$ are

$[-N]$ and $[-V]$. I will not argue for these assumptions here, although it is⁹¹ certainly the case that both of them need to be tested crosslinguistically, and argued for.

Now, what about the specification of VA as $[\text{present}]$? In Cowper (1995), I suggest that the sense of completion associated with the passive might be derived from the $[\text{past}]$ feature of EN. The Hungarian VA-passive also carries a sense of completion, but VA has no $[\text{past}]$ feature. Interestingly, however, the VA passive construction is only possible with perfective verbs. The particle *el* in (2b) is one of a set of detachable prefixes that appear with verbs. Some of the verb-particle combinations are lexicalized and others are productively formed. Most of the particles have a directional meaning, whereas one, *-meg*, does not. What all of the particles have in common is that they at least permit, and in the case of *-meg*, force, a perfective interpretation of the verb phrase they appear in. We might postulate, then, that the sense of completion associated with the passive follows from the perfectivity of the passive VP. Such a proposal suggests that the English passive should also be reconsidered, to see whether a similar account is possible. Preliminary work suggests that it is, but a detailed discussion lies outside the scope of today's talk.

4. The Stative Passive with *-va*

I turn now to the third construction involving the Hungarian *-va*-participle. This is the stative passive, illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. A jelentés meg van írva
 the report PERF be.pr.3sg write.VA
 The report is written.
- b. A hátsó ajtó nyitva van
 the back door open.VA be.pr.3sg
 The back door is open.

It might seem initially that the differences between the stative and the eventive passive could be made to follow entirely from the choice of auxiliary verb. The eventive passive takes an inchoative copular auxiliary (*lett*), while the stative takes the simple copula (*van/volt*). However, there is another important difference between the constructions. In the eventive passive, the suppressed external argument is still syntactically active, as shown in (13), where it controls PRO in a purpose adjunct.

- (13) PRO a kapitányt kielégítendő, a tolvaj el lett engedve
 PRO the captain.acc satisfy.PART the thief away be.inch.pst.3sg let.VA
 In order to satisfy the captain, the thief was released.

In the stative passive, however, the external argument is syntactically inert, as we see from the ungrammaticality of (14).

- 92 (14) *PRO a kapitányt kielégítendő, a tolvaj el volt engedve
 PRO the captain.acc satisfy.PART the thief away be.pst.3sg let.VA

Thus it seems that, as in English, Hungarian has two superficially similar, but syntactically distinct, passive constructions. I propose to account for the two Hungarian constructions as I did for the two English constructions, as follows:

The eventive, or verbal, passive, involves a non-projecting functional element (EN, VA) which appears as the incorporated argument of a verb. It absorbs a Case and a θ -role from the verb, and is licensed by checking against the participial affix (-en, -va), on the verb.

The stative passive does not involve an abstract functional head. In contrast, here there is only the affix, attached derivationally to the verb. The [\pm N, \pm V] features of the affix, as is normal in derivational morphology, become part of the category signature of the derived word, and are not subject to checking in the syntax. It is the functional head (EN, VA) with its Case and θ -role, that is syntactically active. The affix -en/-va is a purely morphological object, playing no independent role in the syntax.

The Hungarian stative passive thus bears a strong but superficial resemblance to the English adjectival passive, and one might be tempted to assume that *írva* and *nyitva* in (12) were adjectives. I will argue, however, that they are not adjectives, but rather they bear the features [-N, -V], and are most similar to a locative PP.

The first piece of evidence that words like *írva* and *nyitva* are not adjectives is the fact that they never appear as prenominal modifiers. Thus (15a) is impossible. A different participle is used, as shown in (15b).

- (15) a. *A nyitva ajtó b. A nyitott ajtó
 The open.VA door The open.TT door

Attributive adjectives in Hungarian are typically prenominal, as shown in (16).

- (16) a. a fekete kutya b. egy kis gyerek
 the black dog a small child

The second argument against adjectival status for -va-words has to do with the behaviour of the Hungarian copular verb. In present tense sentences with third person singular or plural subjects, the copula, whose third person forms are *van* (sg.)/*vannak* (pl.), appears only under certain circumstances. Specifically, if the predicate is nominal or adjectival, as shown in (17), the copula must not appear.

- (17) a. János az elnök. / *János van az elnök
 John the president / John be.pr.3sg. president
 John is the president.

- b. A kutyák nagyok. / *A kutyák vannak nagyok
 the dog.pl big.pl / the dog.pl be.pr.3pl big.pl
 The dogs are big.

In contrast, when the predicate is locative, the copula is obligatory, as shown in (18).

- (18) a. János van a moziban / *János a moziban
 John be.pr.3sg the movie.iness. / John the movie.iness.
 John is at the movies
 b. A kutyák vannak a tetőn / *A kutyák a tetőn
 the dog.pl be.pr.3pl the roof.superess. / the dog.pl the roof.superess.
 The dogs are on the roof.

If we now look at (12), and the similar sentences given in (19), we see that *van* is obligatory when the predicate is a -va-word.

- (19) a. A buza le van aratva / *A buza le aratva
 The wheat down be.pr.3sg harvest.VA / the wheat down harvest.VA
 The wheat is harvested
 b. A vacsora már meg van főzve / *A vacsora már meg főzve
 the dinner already PERF be.pr.3s cook.VA / the dinner already PERF cook.VA
 Dinner is already cooked

I therefore conclude that -va-words are not adjectival, but rather bear the features [-N, -V], as locatives do. This is consistent with the adjunct-like behaviour of the active VA construction we saw earlier. If, as suggested above, -va bears the feature [-V], the derivation of a [-N, -V] word from a verb in the derivational morphology is entirely straightforward. [-V], being a head feature, will override the [+V] feature on the verb. Since -va is unspecified for [\pm N], by di Sciullo and Williams' (1987) Related Head Principle, the feature [-N] will percolate from the verb.

This completes the analysis of the Hungarian VA participle. I have claimed that there are two morphemes involved, whose lexical entries are given in (20).

- (20) a. VA [-V]]
 [present]
 b. -va [-V]]
 [present]
 [[-V]]

These morphemes together give three structures, depending on whether the suffix -va appears alone or with the functional element VA, and on whether the functional element VA projects. These possibilities are summarized in (21).

- 94 (21) a. *-va* alone: derivational affixation, giving a locative element (so-called stative passive)
- b. *-va* and unprojected VA: eventive passive
- c. *-va* and projected VA: coincident temporal modifier (so-called progressive participle)

The analysis developed here raises a number of questions about the theory of morphology, the theory of syntactic categories and the theory of phrase structure. First, I have claimed, here as elsewhere, that the same affix can attach to the same host in two different ways (inflectionally and derivationally), giving two different outputs. The question remains as to how many affixes actually behave in this way, and if some do not, what prevents them from doing so. Yüксеk (in progress) has found some evidence that the Turkish plural suffix may exhibit both inflectional and derivational behaviour, depending on whether it attaches to nouns or to verbs. One of the other Hungarian participial affixes, the adjectival past participle *-tt*, is always phonologically identical to the 3rd person singular indefinite finite past tense form. An obvious possibility here is that the adjective involves the derivational attachment of the same affix which appears inflectionally in the finite past tense.

A rather technical question raised by this analysis has to do with projection. I suggested earlier that when VA projects, its category signature must be fully specified. Since VA itself bears only the feature [-V], I assumed that a default rule would fill in the specification [-N]. If the default specifications for these features are [-N] and [-V], then this assumption predicts that in English, when EN projects, it takes on the feature [-V] in addition to its lexically specified [+N]. Consequently, the projected EN phrase in English would be nominal. This prediction seems to be consistent with the properties of the English perfect construction, but more crosslinguistic investigation of such categorially underspecified inflectional elements is required before full confidence can be placed in this line of thinking.

Finally, this paper raises questions about the categorial status of functional elements. EN and VA are superficially very similar elements: They both appear in both active and passive constructions, and in both eventive and stative passive constructions. The verbal forms they license are both traditionally known as participles. But EN and VA have not one syntactic feature in common. While it is true that both contain a specification for tense, one is [+N] and the other is [-V]. Note also that the English progressive participial element ING can be argued to be [+N,+V], while the nominal ING is [+N,-V] (Cowper 1995). This suggests that there might be participial elements with all of the logically possible combinations of [\pm N] and [\pm V]. The fact that there are still four Hungarian participles to

95
be examined makes such a result not implausible. If something like that turns out to be true, then it will be necessary to take a very careful look at inflectional elements in general. If a single class of inflectional elements is cross-classified by the features which determine the lexical categories, then what features, if any, define the functional categories?

Finally, the conclusion to be drawn from this study is that, even for the most ordinary-looking inflectional elements, close investigation on a micro-syntactic level can reveal significant cross-linguistic lexical differences between apparently corresponding morphemes, and that these differences can have sometimes striking consequences for the syntax of the language.

References

- Baker, Mark, Kyle Johnson and Ian Roberts. 1989. 'Passive Arguments Raised.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:219-252.
- Cowper, Elizabeth. 1995. 'English Participle Constructions.' *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 40:1-38.
- di Sciullo, Anna-Maria, and Edwin Williams. 1987. *On the Definition of Word*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1986. 'Passive.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 17:587-622.
- Johns, Alana. 1992. 'Deriving Ergativity.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 23:57-87.
- Yükseker, Hitay. (in progress) Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto.