

Preverb stranding in Hungarian: the role of accents

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Topic

- verb-stranding type ellipsis in Hungarian and its subtypes

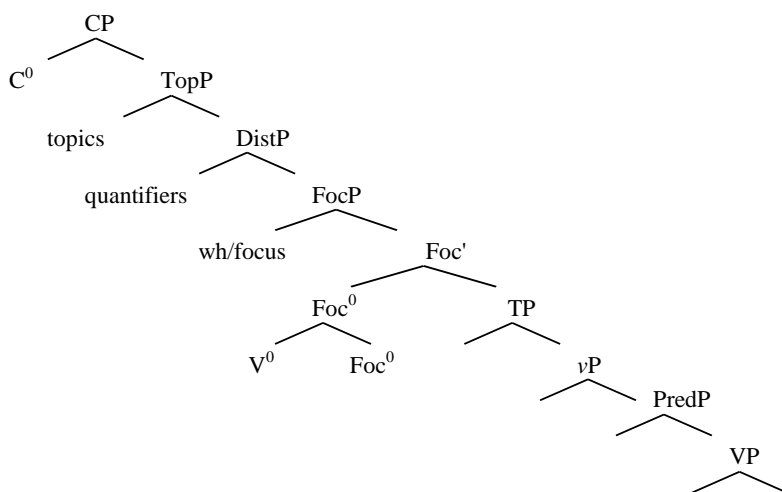
Main claims

- verb-stranding has two types: one that strands the full verb, and one that strands only the so-called preverb
- the pattern of preverb-stranding is sensitive to accentuation and parallelism effects and interacts with some morphological processes

1. Clause structure in Hungarian

- Hungarian is an SVO language, with relatively free word order, which is due to
 - free scrambling of arguments (Surányi 2006b)
 - discourse configurability, an articulated left periphery housing focus/topics/quantificational material and negation lined up to reflect their scope (É. Kiss 1994)
 - free order in the postverbal field (É. Kiss 2008)

(1) clause structure



(2) János **be** mutatta Marit Annának a moziban. [neutral]
 J. PREVERB introduced Mari.A Anna.DAT the cinema.IN
 ‘János introduced Mari to Anna in the cinema.’

(3) János **MARIT** mutatta **be** Annának a moziban. [focused]
 J. Mari.A introduced PV Anna.DAT the cinema.IN
 ‘János introduced MARI to Anna in the cinema.’

PREVERBS (PV, aka preverbal particles, prefixes) are a subset of verbal modifiers

- comprise resultative particles, terminative particles, locative particles (P, PP, Adv)
- determine lexical/situation aspect: normally, they telicize the event (É. Kiss 2006c)

list of all preverbs in Kiefer & Ladányi (2000)

tovább (on), *újra* (again), *végig* (through), *vissza* (back), *alá* (under), *elé* (before), *főlé* (above), *mellé* (next), *mögé* (behind), *utána* (after), *át* (across), *keresztül* (across), *túl* (beyond), *hozzá* (towards), *neki* (to), *rá* (onto), *be* (in/into), *bele* (in/into), *elő* (fore), *fel* (up), *félre* (aside), *hátra* (to the back), *ide* (here), *ki* (out), *körül* (around), *le* (down), *oda* (there), *össze* (inwards), *szét* (outwards), *agyon* (on the brain), *meg* (PRF), *tönkre* (bust)

preverb + V ~ lexical compound, with lexical stress on the preverb

- (4) a. 'fel⁰ áll
PV(up) stand 'stand up'
b. 'meg⁰ hív
PV(PRF) call 'invite'

◦ PREVERB and verb are syntactically autonomous

- (5) a. János **meg** hívott valakit. *neutral clause*
J. PV invited someone.A *PV V adjacent order*
'János invited someone.'
b. János nem hívott **meg** senkit. *clause with negative polarity:*
J. not invited PV no-one.A *V... PV order*
'János did not invite anyone.'
c. JÁNOS hívott **meg** valakit. *clause with focus:*
J. invited PV someone.A *V... PV order*
'It was János who invited someone.'

Syntactic accounts posit that:

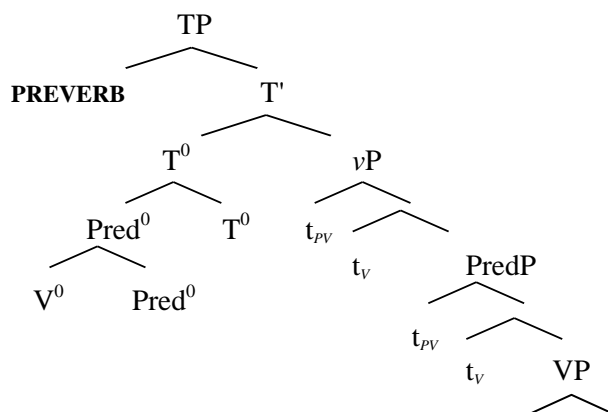
◦ PREVERBS are phrasal constituents in specifier position (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Den Dikken 2004, Surányi 2009a,b)

- (6) **Fel**_i akarsz, hogy _{t_i} mondjak? (fel mond = resign)
PV want.2Sg that resign.SUBJ.1SG
'Do you want me to resign?'

◦ PREVERBS are base-generated inside the VP or in PredP (Csirmaz 2004, É. Kiss 2005, 2006c) (called AspP in some works)

◦ in neutral clauses, their surface position is Sp,TP (Olsvay 2000, 2002, Surányi 2009a) and the verb undergoes overt movement to T (Brody 1990a, Kenesei 1998, Surányi 2009a)

- (7) *TP structure acc. to Surányi (2009a)*



2. V-stranding ellipsis

V-stranding ellipsis is attested in contexts with emphatic positive polarity.

- the polarity of assertions can be confirmed or disconfirmed (reversed, Farkas 2009)

(8) A: János **meg** *hívta* a szomszédokat. *polarity confirmation*
J. PV invited the neighbours.A
'János invited the neighbours.'

B: (Igen), **meg** *hívta*.
yes PV invited
'Yes, he did.'

(9) A: János *nem látta* a szomszédokat ma. *polarity reversal*
J. not saw the neighbours.A today
'János did not see the neighbours today.'

B: De, *látta*.
DE saw
'That's not right, he did.'

- yes/no question — replies (responsive ellipsis, verbal reply)

(10) Q: János **meg** *hívta* a szomszédokat?
J. PV invited the neighbours.A
'Did János invite the neighbours?'

A: (Igen), **meg** *hívta*.
yes PV invited
'Yes, he did.'

Seven arguments for ellipsis / against argument drop

- ① CONTEXTS WHERE OMITTED OBJECT CANNOT BE *pro*

Objects (animate and non-animate) can be dropped only in the singular, V-stranding nevertheless allows for missing plural objects.

(11) János *látta* a szomszédokat. Köszöntötte * (öket).
J. saw the neighbours.A greeted them
'János saw the neighbours. He greeted them.'

(12) Q: *Látta* János a szomszédokat?
saw J. the neighbours.A
'Did János see the neighbours?'

A: Igen, *látta*.
yes saw
'Yes, he did.'

- ② CONTEXTS WHERE OMITTED SUBJECT CANNOT BE *pro*

Coordinated singular subjects, while semantically plural, trigger *singular* syntactic agreement. *Pro* with singular agreement can only have singular reference.

(13) Q: *Találkozott* [&P János és Mari]?
met.3SG János and Mari
'Did János and Mari meet?'

A: *Találkozott*. *singular form, plural reference*
met.3SG
'They did.'

(14) Q: Do you have any news concerning János and Mari?

- A: a. # Találkozott *pro*_{SG}. met.3SG 'He/she met.' (singular reference)
b. ✓ Találkoztak *pro*_{PL}. met.3PL 'They met.' (plural reference)

③ DISJUNCTIVE OMISSIONS (cf. Gribanova 2013)

Disjunctors or other functional items without pronominal variants can be missing.

- (15) A: *Láttad* a szomszédokat a házavatón *vagy* a házmestert az utcabálon?
see.2SG the neighbours.A the h.warming.ON or the janitor the streetparty.on
'Did you see the neighbours at the housewarming or the janitor in the streetparty?'
- B: *Láttam*.
saw.1SG
'I did.' (= see the neighbours at the housewarming *or* the janitor in the streetparty)

④ PARTIAL OMISSION IS BANNED (Kenesei et al 1998)

If the missing material contains multiple constituents, they all have to be missing.

- (16) A: **Meg** *hívta* János a szomszédokat a házavatóra?
PV invited J. the neighbours.A the housewarming.ONTO
'Did János invite the neighbours to the housewarming?'
- B1: * **Meg** *hívta* János.
PV invited J.
- B2: * **Meg** *hívta* a házavatóra.
PV invited the housewarming.ONTO
- B3: **Meg** *hívta*.
PV invited

⑤ ADJUNCTS ARE CONSTRUED AS PART OF THE MISSING MATERIAL

Temporal and manner adverbials are standardly construed as part of the ellipsis site.

- (17) A: János nem *nézte meg* alaposan a fotókat.
J. not viewed PV thoroughly the photos
'János did not view the photos thoroughly.'
- B: De, **meg** *nézte*.
DE PV viewed
'No, he did.' (=view them thoroughly).'

⑥ SLOPPY IDENTITY

Overt and pro-dropped object pronouns allow for strict readings only; our contexts can have a sloppy reading, too (but see the limitations of this argument in Hoji 1998).

- (18) Mari *látta* az anyját. Péter *köszöntötte* (öt). [✓strict, *sloppy]
M. saw the mother.POSS3SG.A Péter greeted 3SG.A
'Mari saw her mother. Péter greeted her.' (= Mari's mother)
- (19) Mari nem *látta* az anyját, de Péter *látta*. [✓strict, ✓sloppy]
M. not saw the mother.POSS3SG.A DE Péter saw
'Mari didn't see her mother, but Péter saw her.' (= Mari's mother / Péter's mother)

- tests ①-⑥ indicate that the missing material does not correspond to individual null arguments/adjuncts, but the ellipsis of a constituent *containing* these arguments/adjuncts
→ this is an instance of a *V-stranding ellipsis*

Hebrew (Doron 1990, Goldberg 2005), Irish (McCloskey 1991, 2010), Scottish Gaelic (Thoms 2012), Swahili (Ngonyani 1996), Finnish (Holmberg 2001), Portuguese (Martins 1994, Cyrino & Matos 2002, Santos 2009, Costa et al 2012), Russian (Gribanova 2013)

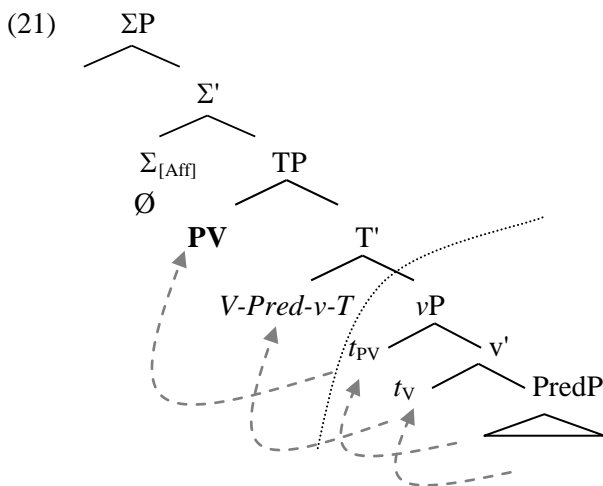
⑦ LEXICAL IDENTITY condition

The stranded verb has to be lexically identical to its antecedent; inflectional morphology can vary.

- (20) Q: *Kedveled* a szomszédokat? [near equivalence: *kedvel* vs. *szeret* ‘like’]
 like₁.2SG the neighbours.A`
 ‘Do you like the neighbours?’
 A: *Kedvelem.* / * *Szeretem.*
 like₁.1SG like₂.1SG
 ‘I do.’

THE SYNTACTIC CONFIGURATION

- all examples involve the polarity projection ΣP
- PREVERB+verb strand in TP and vP elides (Lipták 2013, see also É. Kiss 2006c, Surányi 2009a)



$\Sigma_{[Aff]}$ does not attract the verb; $\Sigma_{[Aff]}$ has no morphological spell-out, unless the TP is elided (see Lipták 2013 for discussion)

- (22) János nem hívta meg a szomszédokat. Mari igen. stripping
 J. not invited PV the neighbours.A Mari yes(AFF)
 ‘János did not invite the neighbours. Mari did.’

3. Another 'stranding'-type ellipsis: preverb stranding

If the verb has a preverb, it is possible to strand only the preverb. The discourse contexts are the same as with V-stranding.

- polarity can be confirmed

- (23) A: János meg hívta a szomszédokat a házavatóra.
 J. PV invited the neighbours.A the housewarming.TO
 ‘János invited the neighbours to the housewarming.’

B: (Igen), **meg**.
 yes PV
 'He did.'

◦ yes/no question — replies (responsive ellipsis)

(24) Q: János **meg** *hívta* a szomszédokat a házavatóra?
 J. PV invited the neighbours.A the housewarming.TO
 'Did János invite the neighbours to the housewarming?'

A: **Meg**.
 PV
 'He did.'

(25) Q: **Fel_i** akarod, hogy *t_i* *mondjak*?
 PV want.2SG that resign.SUBJ.1SG
 'Do you want me to resign?'

A: **Fel**.
 PV
 'I do.' (=I want you to resign).'

Table 1. *Arguments for ellipsis*

	V-stranding	preverb-stranding
CONTEXTS WHERE OMITTED OBJECT CANNOT BE <i>pro</i>	✓	✓
PARTIAL OMISSION IS BANNED	✓	✓
ADJUNCTS AS PART OF THE MISSING MATERIAL	✓	✓
DISJUNCTIVE OMISSIONS	✓	✓
SLOPPY IDENTITY	possible	possible

LEXICAL IDENTITY condition (Lipták 2012)

◦ lexical differences between antecedent and stranded preverb are not tolerated

(26) A: **Össze** *törte* János a poharakat? [identical with *break: össze / szét*]
 PV₁ broke János the glasses.A
 'Did János break the glasses?'

B1: **Össze**. B2: * **Szét**.
 PV₁ PV₂
 'He did.'

◦ inflectional differences between antecedent and stranded preverb are tolerated

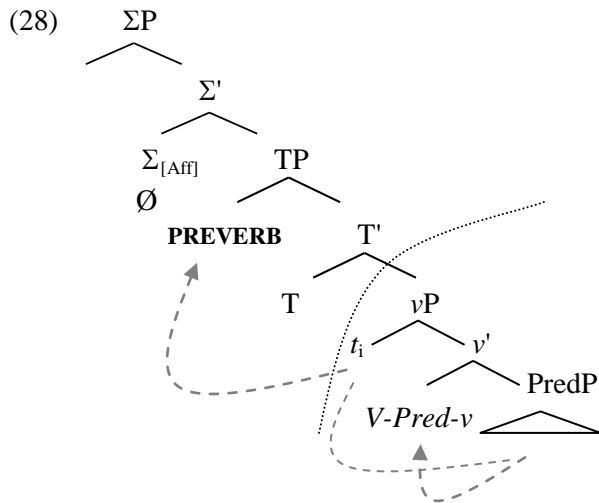
(27) A: **Rá-d** *nézett* János?
 ONTO-2SG looked.3SG J.
 'Did János look at you?'

B: **Rá-m**.
 ONTO-1SG
 'He did.'

→ preverb stranding is the result of an elliptical operation, just like V-stranding

THE SYNTACTIC CONFIGURATION: FIRST TRY

- PREVERB-stranding differs from V-stranding in that ellipsis bleeds V-movement out of the vP (see van Craenenbroeck & Lipták 2008 for other cases of bleeding)



- this might explain the functional equivalence of V-stranding and PV-stranding patterns (they express the same meaning in the same contexts)

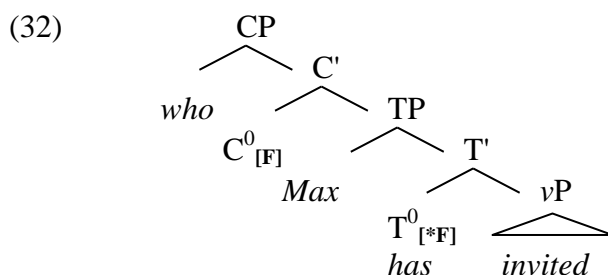
(29) A: János **meg** hívta a szomszédokat a házavatóra?
 J. PV invited the neighbours.A the housewarming.TO
 ‘Did János invite the neighbours?’
 B: **Meg** hívta. B': **Meg**.
 PV invited PV
 ‘He did.’ ‘He did.’

- problem with the 'bleeding' analysis: bleeding of verb movement is normally not optional, but obligatory (or impossible). Cf. sluicing obligatorily bleeds T-to-C-movement:

(30) A: Max has invited someone.
 B: Who (*has)?
 B': Who has Max invited? [CP Who [C' has [TP Max [T' t_{has} invited]]]?]

- current proposals for English (Lasnik 1999, see also Merchant 2001, Boeckx & Stjepanović 2001)

- (31) a. Ellipsis is PF deletion.
 b. An unchecked strong feature causes a PF crash.
 c. In bleeding configurations, the relevant strong feature resides in the item that moves, rather than in the target.



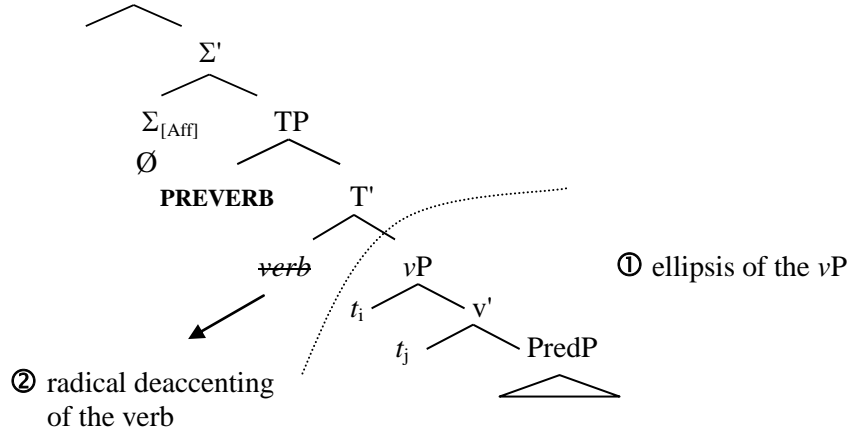
- (i) contexts where the TP gets spelled out (no ellipsis): [*F] on T⁰ results in a PF crash, i.e. movement to C⁰ is obligatory
- (ii) contexts where the TP does not get spelled out (TP ellipsis): [*F] gets deleted and there is no crash; movement to C⁰ does not take place due to computational economy

→ not clear how to transfer Lasnik's solution to Hungarian such that we derive optionality

THE SYNTACTIC CONFIGURATION: SECOND TRY

- another possibility is to say that PV-stranding does not bleed verb movement: the verb *is* outside the vP, but it gets elided on its own right
- in other words, there are two elliptical operations: ellipsis of the vP and non-pronunciation of the verbal head

(33) ΣP *a two component analysis of ellipsis in PV-stranding*



- PREVERBS bear lexical stress in PREVERB-V combinations, while the verb is completely stressless

- (34) a. 'fel ⁰áll
 PV stand 'stand up'
 b. 'meg ⁰hív
 PV call 'invite'

→ the verb is elided due to the fact that it is stressless and given (has identical antecedent)

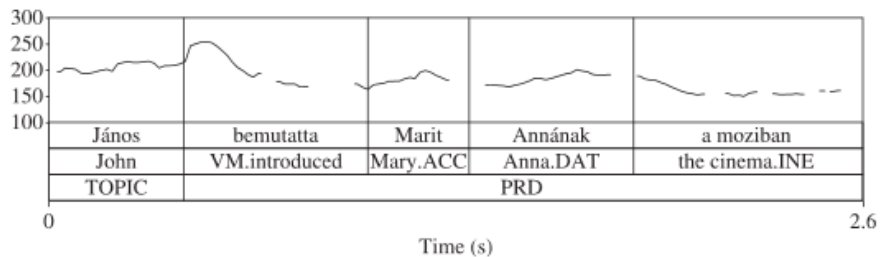
- PREVERBS bear nuclear / sentence stress — according to theories that subscribe to the view that Hungarian has a single main stress in the clause (Varga 1998, Szendrői 2001, É. Kiss 2002, contra Kálmán 1986, Varga 2002): main prominence falls on the left edge of the komment (komment = TP in neutral clauses and FocP in clauses with focus)

position of nuclear stress

- (35) [_{topic} János] [_{komment} **be** mutatta Marit Annának a moziban].
 J. PV introduced Mari.A Anna.DAT the cinema.INE
 'János introduced Mari to Anna in the cinema.'
- (36) [_{topic} János] [_{komment} **MARIT** mutatta **be** Annának a moziban].
 J. Mari.A introduced PV Anna.DAT the cinema.INE
 'János introduced MARI to Anna in the cinema.'

illustration: Mycock (2010), her ex. (19)

(19) János be-mutat-t-a Mari-t Anná-nak a
John.NOM VM-introduce-PAST-DEFO.3SG Mary-ACC Anna-DAT the
 mozi-ban.
cinema-INE
 ‘John introduced Mary to Anna at the cinema.’



Proposal:

PREVERB-stranding

- involves PREVERB + verb movement out of an elided vP
- verb is elided as it has no prominence
- PREVERB is pronounced as the syntactic constituent with main prominence

(37) A: *
 * * * *
 (t (φ (ω be) (ω mutatta)) (φ (ω Marit)) (φ (ω Annának)) (φ (ω a mozi-ban)))

B: (t (φ (ω **be**) (ω mutatta)) [vP Marit Annának a mozi-ban])

ellipsis defined over a *phonological* domain ellipsis defined over a *syntactic* domain

USEFUL CONSEQUENCES

Treating PV-stranding as an elliptical process that is licensed by a particular prominence on the stranded element is advantageous in some ways.

- (i) Capitalizing on main prominence in defining preverb stranding, we can transfer this account to focal fragments in confirmations / yes-no replies.

(38) A: [_{topic} János] [_{komment} **MARIT** mutatta **be** Annának a mozi-ban].
 János Mari.A introduced PV Anna.DAT the cinema.INE
 ‘János introduced MARI to Anna in the cinema.’

B: (Igen), MARIT.
 yes Mari.A
 ‘Yes, (it was) Mari.’

Compare English: fragments of this sort are degraded

(39) A: Did John introduce MARY to Anne in the cinema?
 B: (?) Yes, MARY.

- (ii) We better understand why in preverb stranding, there is no evident semantic/syntactic link between what is expressed (positive polarity) and what is pronounced: the preverb surfaces because it *happens to be* in the right prosodic environment.
- (iii) We can place Hungarian among the languages that do something comparable in the same contexts (polarity / verum focus): they can strand items that do not possess morpho-syntactic (and semantic) features corresponding to polarity or focus.

Slovenian (Dvořák 2007): stressed object clitic as answer to polarity question

(40) Q: A ga poznaš? A: GA.
 Q CL(him) know.2SG CL(him)
 'Do you know him?' 'I do.'

Irish (Elfner et al 2015): stressed (V+)subject in responsive ellipsis

(41) A: An ngéillfidh siad?
 Q yield.fut they
 'Will they yield on this?'
 B: Caithfidh SIAD.
 must they
 'They HAVE to.'

→ What we see in Slovenian/Irish/Hungarian: clitic / subject / preverb survive responsive ellipsis & necessarily carry accent.

6. Further restrictions on preverb stranding: parallelism

PREVERB-stranding is further restricted by a strong PARALLELISM requirement: it is well-formed iff it is anteceded by a preverb in parallel position. V-stranding does not need to be parallel in the same way.

- parallelism rules out cases in which there is no preverb in the antecedent

(42) A: *Mondtad* Péternek, hogy nem megyünk?
 say.PST.2SG Péter.DAT that not go.1PL
 'Did you tell Péter we are not going?'
 B1: **Meg** *mondtam* Péternek, ~~hogy nem megyünk.~~ *V-stranding*
 PV say.PST.1SG Péter.DAT that not go.1PL
 B2: ***Meg** *mondtam* Péternek, ~~hogy nem megyünk.~~ *PV-stranding*
 PV say.PST.1SG Péter.DAT that not go.1PL
 'I did.'

- parallelism rules out PV-stranding responses to questions/statements in which the preverb is not preverbal: progressives (*V... PV* order) or existentials (*V... PV* order)

(43) A: Épp *mentél fel* a lépcsőn, amikor hívtalak?
 just go.PST.2SG PV the stairs.SUB when call.PST.1SG
 'Were you going up the stairs when I called?'
 B1: *Épp **fel.** B2: Épp *mentem.*
 just PV just go.PST.1SG
 'I was.' 'I was.'

- (44) A: *Mentek már fel ezen a lépcsőn mások is.*
 go.PST.3PL already PV this the stairs.SUB others too
 ‘There have been others going up these stairs.’
 B1: * (Igen,) **fel.** B2: Igen, *mentek.*
 yes PV yes go.PST.3PL
 ‘Yes, there were.’

◦ parallelism rules out cases where the antecedent has *negative* polarity (either with the inner or outer reading of negation); negative clauses have a *nem V ... PV* order

- (45) A: János **meg** *hívta* a szomszédokat? *positive question*
 J. PV invited the neighbours.A
 ‘Did János invite the neighbours?’
 B1: **Meg** *hívta.* *V-stranding*
 PV invited
 ‘He did.’
 B2: **Meg.** *PV-stranding*
 PV
 ‘He did.’

- (46) A: János *nem* *hívta* **meg** a szomszédokat? *negative question*
 J. not invited PV the neighbours.A
 ‘Did János not invite the neighbours?’
 B1: (De), **meg** *hívta.* *V-stranding*
 DE PV invited
 ‘That’s not right, he did.’
 B2: * (De), **meg.** *PV-stranding*
 DE PV
 ‘That’s not right, he did.’

SYNTACTIC PARALLELISM OR PARALLELISM OF ACCENT PLACEMENT?

◦ the fact that parallelism does not affect the V-stranding pattern, only the PREVERB-stranding one, might lead us to conclude that this type of parallelism is specific to the elliptical mechanism eliminating the verb and leaving behind the most prominent item

- (47) A: *
*
 (1 (φ (ω be)) (ω mutatta)) (φ (ω Marit)) (φ (ω Annának)) (φ (ω a moziban)))
 *
 *
 B: (1 (φ (ω **be**)) (ω mutatta)) [L_{VP} Marit Annának a moziban]
↓ ↓
 ellipsis defined over a *phonological* domain ellipsis defined over a *syntactic* domain

7. Preverb stranding & reduplication

Hungarian preverbs can be reduplicated. This kind of reduplication indicates plurality of punctual events, iterative/erratic aspect (Pinon 1991, Kiefer 1995/1996). Reduplication is fully productive.

- (48) a. Peti be-be kukkant a nagyszülőkhöz.
 Peti PV-PV peeps the grandparents.TO
 'Peti visits his grandparents from time to time.'
 b. Peti bele-bele nézett a könyvbe.
 Peti PV-PV looked the book.IN
 'Peti looked into the book from time to time.'

◦ PREVERB-stranding is ungrammatical with reduplicated preverbs.

- (49) A. **Be-be** kukkant a nagyszülőkhöz Peti?
 PV-PV peeps the grandparents.TO Peti
 'Does Peti visit his grandparents from time to time?'
 B. * **Be-be.** *mean judgement (N=13, 1-to-5 scale): 1.77*
 B'. * **Be.** *mean judgement: 2.54*

- (50) A. **Bele-bele** nézett a könyvbe?
 PV-PV looked the book.IN
 'Did he look into the book from time to time?'
 B. * **Bele-bele.** *mean judgement: 2.00*
 B'. * **Bele.** *mean judgement: 2.92*

◦ V-stranding is grammatical with reduplicated preverbs.

- (51) A. **Be-be** kukkant a nagyszülőkhöz Peti?
 PV-PV peeps the grandparents.TO Peti
 'Does Peti visit his grandparents from time to time?'
 B. **Be-be** kukkant.
 PV-PV peeps
 'He does.'

- (52) A. **Bele-bele** nézett a könyvbe?
 PV-PV looked the book.IN
 'Did he look into the book from time to time?'
 B. **Bele-bele** nézett.
 PV-PV looked
 'He did.'

◦ Reduplicated adverbs can be used in focal fragments.

- (53) A. Peti csak EGYSZER-EGYSZER kukkant be a nagyszülőkhöz.
 Peti only once-once peeps PV the grandparents.TO
 'Peti only visits his grandparents once in a while.'
 B: (Igen), csak EGYSZER-EGYSZER.
 yes only once-once
 'Yeah, only once in a while.'

FIRST TRY: PHONOLOGICAL WEIGHT / LENGTH?

The ban on reduplicated preverbs is not due to PREVERB-length. PREVERB-stranding is sensitive to length, but only when the preverb is longer than 2 syllables.

Table 2.

	example	Mean judgement N=13, scale 1-5
1-syllabic preverb <i>át</i> = across	Q: Át <i>gázolt</i> a mocsáron? PV waded.3sg the swamp.SUP 'Did he wade across the swamp?' A: Át. PV 'He did.'	4.31
2-syllabic preverb <i>végig</i> = through	Q: Végig <i>gázolt</i> a mocsáron? PV waded.3sg the swamp.SUP 'Did he wade through the swamp?' A: Végig. PV 'He did.'	4.23
3-syllabic preverb <i>keresztül</i> = across	Q: Keresztül <i>gázolt</i> a mocsáron? PV waded.3sg the swamp.SUP 'Did he wade across the swamp?' A: Keresztül. PV 'He did.'	3.15

- since mono-syllabic and bi-syllabic preverbs are judged grammatical, reduplicated mono-syllabic preverbs are fine when it comes to length, yet they are out

- (54) A. **Be-be** *kukkant* a nagyszülőkhöz Peti?
PV-PV peeps the grandparents.TO Peti
'Does Peti visit his grandparents from time to time?'
B. * **Be-be.** *mean judgement 1.77*
PV-PV

- since 3-syllabic preverbs score lower than 1/2-syllabic ones in Table 2, we expect that 4-syllabic *bele-bele* should be worse than *be-be*; this is not borne out

- (55) A. **Bele-bele** *nézett* a könyvbe?
PV-PV looked the book.INE
'Did he look into the book from time to time?'
B. * **Bele-bele.** *mean judgement: 2.00*
PV-PV

→ preverb stranding with reduplication is not ungrammatical due to length

SECOND TRY: SOMETHING INHERENT TO REDUPLICATION?

Reduplicated preverbs are not as autonomous as simplex preverbs: they must always be followed by the verb (Pinon 1991, Kiefer 1995/1996)

- (56) a. * PETI *nézett* **bele-bele** a könyvbe. *focus*
Peti looked PV-PV the book.IN
'It was Peti who looked into the book from time to time.'
b. * PETI nem *nézett* **bele-bele** a könyvbe. *negation*
Peti not looked PV-PV the book.IN
'Peti did not look into the book from time to time.'

- c. * **Bele-bele**_i akarod, hogy t_i nézzek a könyvbe? *long mvt*
 PV-PV want.2sg that look.1sg the book.IN
 'Do you want me to look into the book from time to time?'
- d. Peti **bele-bele** nézett a könyvbe. *PV V order*
 Peti PV-PV looked the book.IN
 'Peti looked into the book from time to time.'

→ preverb stranding is impossible with reduplication because it separates the reduplicated preverbs from the verb

→ verb stranding is possible because it does not involve separation of the preverbs and verb

- possibly, *adjacency* between the reduplicant and the verb reflects the fact that reduplication applies to the entire event (denoted by preverb + verb) / has semantic scope over the preverb + verb complex, not just the preverb

- this is typical of *affix reduplication* (Inkelas and Zoll 2005, Downing and Inkelas 2015):

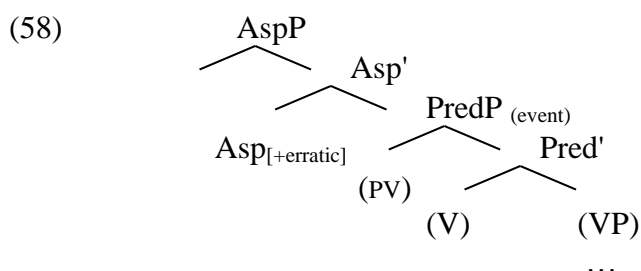
- (57) a. **meg hív** invite
 PRF call
- b. **meg-meg hív** invite from time to time
 PRF- PRF call
- correct bracketing: meg- [meg hív]

- possible formalization (Haugen 2008, Haugen & Harley 2015)

- the preverb+verb complex for semantic interpretation is formed in PredP (Surányi 2009)

- erratic aspect selects PredP and is represented by a syntactic Asp head; Asp is realized as an affixal reduplicative morpheme RED upon vocabulary insertion (Asp_[+err] ↔ RED)

- the adjacency requirement on reduplication can be defined as an specific alignment rule on RED



- (i) [Asp [preverb verb ...]] output of syntax
- (ii) [RED [**meg hív** ...]] insertion of vocabulary items
- (iii) RED < **meg** < hív < ... linearization
- (iv) RED < **meg-hív** < ... item sensitive alignment rule on **meg**: if adjacent to verb → [+affixal]
- (v) **meg** < **meg-hív** < ... item sensitive alignment rule on RED: copy affix if adjacent to verb

→ if on the right track, we can conclude that ellipsis must happen before step (v), because it blocks reduplication

8. Conclusions

- Preverb stranding is a fascinating topic. It keeps one busy for years.
- Preverb stranding is like verb stranding, except the verb is silenced due to the fact that it is completely stressless. The preverb is stranded as it has main prominence.
- Silencing the verb blocks reduplication, suggesting that this kind of ellipsis takes place before the preverb undergoes reduplication in the PF-component.

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