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Marie Laurence KNITTEL

Université de Lorraine & UMR 7118-ATILF

PREVERBS, ASPECT AND NOMINALIZATION IN HUNGARIAN¹

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the realization of aspect in Hungarian eventive nominalizations. In the verbal domain, aspect is expressed by preverbs, which act as boundedness markers; they indicate telicity, and, when occurring in telic environments, perfectivity. Eventive nominals morphologically derived from verbs can also be associated with preverbs. In this case, the preverbs maintain the same values as with verbs. This leads to the conclusion that, in Hungarian, grammatical aspect is valid category in the nominal domain, as has recently been shown for various other languages. The paper also provides a syntactic approach of the organization of the aspectual projections with verbs and deverbal nominals, which accounts for the fact that preverbs cannot be separated from nominals, whereas they can when occurring with verbs.

KEYWORDS

Hungarian, preverbs, aspect, telicity, perfectivity, verbs, event nominals.

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1. Introduction

The study aims at examining the relationship between nominalization and aspect in Hungarian. In this language, aspect in the verbal domain is mostly expressed by the means of preverbs, a class of preverbal detachable particles. As we will see, preverbs are maintained in eventive derived nominals. Consequently, we examine and compare their syntactic and semantic behavior in verbal and nominal contexts. We show, after Knittel & Forintos-Kosten (2002), that preverbs are markers of boundedness, both for inner/lexical and outer/grammatical aspect. At the level of lexical aspect, they indicate a bound in the process, and appear as telicity markers; when modifying grammatical aspect, they mark perfectivity. We show that these values are maintained in case of nominalization. Consequently, derived event nominals in Hungarian keep the aspectual properties of the corresponding verbs, for inner as well as outer aspect, thus corroborating the idea, put forward by several authors (Engelhardt 2000; Alexiadou, Iordachioaia & Soare 2010; Iordachioaia & Soare 2008, 2009; Knittel 2011) that outer aspect is a valid category for event nominals.

This article is organized as follows. In section 2, we examine preverbs in the verbal domain. We first discuss their aspectual values; then we describe their syntactic behavior and we provide a syntactic analysis accounting for it. Section 3 is dedicated to nominalizations. We present first the syntactic peculiarities of event nominals in Hungarian, and, turning to the study of preverbs in deverbal nominals, we show that their aspectual properties parallel those observed in verbal environments. Consequently, we suggest syntactic analyses accounting for the various cases observed.

2. Preverbs in Hungarian

2.1. Status and value of Hungarian preverbs

Preverbs are a class of preverbal elements that differ from prefixes by their detachability. Examples of sentences containing preverbs are given in (1-4):

- (1) Péter át-men-t- \emptyset^2 a híd-on.
 Peter across-go-Past-3sgI the bridge-Sup
 ‘Peter went across the bridge.’

2. List of abbreviations : art.def.: definite article; Nom: nominative case; Acc: accusative case; Dat: dative case; Abl: ablative case; Sup: superessive case; Del: delative case; Term: terminative case; Sub: sublative case; Poss: possessive marker; Agr: possessive agreement; Nz: nominalizing suffix; Pv: preverb; Past: past tense; Prs: present tense; sg: singular; pl: plural; D: definite conjugation; I: indefinite conjugation.

- (2) Péter el-alud-t.
Péter away-sleep-Past-3sgI
'Péter fell asleep.'
- (3) Meg-főztem
pv-cook-Past-1sgI
'I cooked (the meal).'
- (4) Péter be-csomagol-t-a az ajándék-ot.
Peter into-wrap -Past-3sgD the gift-Acc
'Peter wrapped the gift.'

As shown by their translations in the above examples, the initial value of the preverbs *át*, *el* and *be* (*vs meg* (3)) is directional or locative. However, they interfere in the sentence in various ways. In (1), the preverb is responsible for a change in the argument structure, since it forces the presence of the locative complement *a hídon* 'the bridge'; the same holds for examples (5), where *be* enables the presence of an accusative object (Nyéki, 1988: 144). In (2), the preverb *el* changes the verb meaning: whereas *alszik* means 'to sleep', *elalszik* is 'to fall asleep'. Another case of meaning change is illustrated in (6).

- (5) a. Járt (az erdő-ben)
walk-Past-3sgI the forest-Inessive
'He walked (in the forest).'
- b. Be-járta az erdő-t
Pv-walk-Past-3sgD the forest-Acc
'He roamed the forest.'
- (6) a. *fest* to paint
b. *ki-fest* to apply make up

Contrary to the other examples, the preverbs in (3-4) have only an aspectual value, and are respectively a telicity (3) and a perfectivity (4) marker.

In what follows, we will focus on the aspectual role of preverbs. A more complete description can be found in Kiefer (1994).

According to Knittel & Forintos-Kosten (2002), preverbs can influence both inner aspect (*i.e.* lexical aspect or *Aktionsart*) and outer aspect, that is, grammatical aspect, or viewpoint in Smith's (1991) terms. When modifying inner aspect, preverbs act as boundedness markers. They influence the verb meaning in introducing a bound in its aspectual structure. This is the case, for example, for the pair *alszik* 'to sleep'/'*elalszik* 'to fall asleep' (2). Whereas the simple form (that is, without preverb) is an activity (in Vendler's 1967 sense), the preverbed form (2) is inchoative: it refers to the achievement constituting the initial bound of the activity. In the following examples, from Nyéki (1988: 139-140), the simple forms describe states; when preverbs are added, the sentences become inceptive; that is, they describe the telic events at the origin

of the stative situations. Consequently, dynamic adverbs such as *egyszer csak* ‘suddenly’ (7) and *lassan* ‘slowly’ (8) become available only in the presence of a preverb.

- (7) a. János gugol-t (*egyszer csak).
 John crouch-Past-3sgI (suddenly)
 ‘John was crouched (*suddenly).’
 b. János le-gugol-t (egyszer csak).
 John pv-crouch-Past-3sgI (suddenly)
 ‘John crouched (suddenly).’
- (8) a. Állt a vonat az állomás-on (*lassan).
 stop-Past-3sgI the train-Nom the station-Sup (slowly)
 ‘The train is at stop at the station (*slowly).’
 b. Meg-állt a vonat az állomás-on (lassan).
 stop-Past-3sgI the train-Nom the station-Sup (slowly)
 ‘The train has stopped at the station (slowly).’

In the above examples, the preverbs indicate the presence of an initial bound. In other cases, they also enable reference to events with a final bound. This is shown in (9-12): the acceptability of *át* ‘for’ in the absence of a preverb and that of *belül* ‘in’ with a preverbed form indicates that the preverb acts as a telicity marker here.

- (9)³ a. Főzött egy óra-n {*belül/át}.
 cook-Past-3sgI one hour-Sup {*in/for}
 ‘{He/she} cooked the meal {in/for} one hour.’
 b. Meg-főzött egy óra-n {belül/*át}.
 pv-cook-Past-3sgI one hour-Sup {in/*for}
 ‘{He/she} cooked the meal {in/*for} one hour.’
- (10) a. Dolgoztam egy óra-n {*belül/át}.
 work-Past-1sgI one hour-Sup {*in/for}
 ‘I worked {in/for} one hour.’
 b. Meg-dolgoztam egy óra-n {belül/*át}.
 pv-work-Past-1sgI one hour-Sup {in/*for}
 ‘I did my work {in/*for} one hour.’
- (11) a. A almá-k ért-ek egy hónap-on {*belül/át}.
 the apple-Pl ripen-Past.3plI one month-Sup {*in/for}
 ‘The apples have ripened {in/for} one month.’

3. The (b) examples in (9-10) are not cases of verb transitivization, as shown by the presence of the indefinite conjugation with both the simple and the preverbed forms, that indicates intransitivity here. Such cases are thus different from (5), where the verb becomes transitive in the presence of a preverb.

- b. A almák meg-ért-ek egy hónap-on {belül/*át}.
 the apple-Pl ripen-Past.3plI one month-Sup {in/*for}
 ‘The apples became ripe {in/*for} one month.’
- (12) a. A benzin fogy-ott egy fél óra-n {*belül/át}.
 the gas to get low-Past.3sgI one half hour-Sup {*in/for}
 ‘The gas (level) has lowered {*in/for} half an hour.’
- b. A benzin el-fogy-ott egy fél óra-n {belül/*át}.
 the gas Pv-to get low-Past.3sgI one half hour-Sup {in/*for}
 ‘The gas ran out {in/*for} half an hour.’

The examples in (9-10) differ from those in (11-12) in that they have agentive subjects. Conversely, the verbs *érik* (11) and *fogy* (12) are strictly anticausative. They cannot be construed with an ‘active’ subject, *i.e.* a cause or an agent. If a cause is to be introduced with these verbs, it is only as an ablative K(ase)P. Only their causative counterparts (*meg*)*érel* ‘to make ripe’ and (*el*)*fogyaszt* ‘to consume’ can support a cause subject. This is exemplified for *megérik* / *megérel* in (13):

- (13) a. A gyümölcs meg-érett a nap-tól [megérik]
 the fruit pv-ripen-Past.3plI the sun-Abl
 ‘The fruits were ripened by the sun.’
- b. A nap meg-érel-te a gyümölcs-öt [megérel]
 the sun pv-ripen-Past.3sgD the fruit-Acc
 ‘The sun ripened the fruits.’

As we will see in 2.3. *érik*, as well as *áll* ‘to be at stop; to stand’ display anticausative and unaccusative properties respectively.

Knittel & Forintos-Kosten (2002) analyze the forms without preverbs in (11-12) as gradual completion verbs (Bertinetto & Squartini 1995); as shown by the (b) examples, the preverbs convey telicity, and introduce the idea that the events display a final endpoint, whereas no such endpoint is implied in (a). This contrast accounts for the distribution of *át* ‘for’ (a) and *belül* ‘in’ (b). Now, an alternative description can be put forward, taking into account Hay, Kenny & Levin’s (1999) analysis. According to these authors, degree achievements can be telic as well as atelic depending on the presence of a bound in the change of state of their affected argument. In other words, the change in the state of the argument of *érik* ‘to ripen’ and of *fogy* ‘to run out’, when simple, is unbounded, as shown by the following examples:

- (14) a. Ér-tek az almák, de nem ért-ek meg.
 ripen-Past.3plI the apple-Pl, but Neg ripen-Past-3plI Pv
 ‘The apples were ripening, but were not ripe.’
- b. Fogy-ott a benzin, de nem fogy-ott el.
 decrease-Past.3sgI the gas, but Neg decrease-Past.3sgI Pv
 ‘The gas went lower, but did not ran out.’

The examples in (14) show that no final bound is implied when the preverb is absent⁴.

As mentioned above, preverbs can also modify outer aspect, and turn imperfective sentences into perfective. Whereas telicity markers reflect the presence of a natural final endpoint to the process, perfectivity presents the situation as a whole, into which both the initial and final endpoints are included. The difference between telicity and perfectivity, then, lies in the fact that telicity implies a final bound (*cf.* (b) in (7-12)), whereas perfectivity conveys the idea that this final bound has been reached. This is the case in the accomplishment sentences in (15):

- (15) a. Mari ett-e az almá-t_i {*egy órá-n át/*egy órá-n belül}.
 Mary eat.Past-3sgD the apple-Acc {*one hour-Sup for/one hour-Sup in}
 ‘Mary has eaten the apple {for one hour/in one hour}.’
- b. Mari meg-ett-e az almá-t_i egy órá-n belül.
 Mary Pv-eat-Past-3sgD the apple-Acc one hour-Sup in
 ‘Mary ate the apple in one hour.’
- c. Mari {ette / *meg-ett-e} az almá-t_i
 Mary {eat-Past-3sgD / Pv-eat-Past-3sgD the apple-Acc
 (és még mindig esz-i *pro*),
 (and still always eat-Prs.3sgD it)
 ‘Mary {was eating/*ate} the apple (and she is still eating it).’

Since it contains a quantized object, *eszik az almát* ‘eat the apple’ is an accomplishment. However, the expected postposition *belül* ‘in’ is impossible here since it would imply that the event reached its end (15a), an interpretation prevented by the imperfective. For *belül* to be possible, a preverb indicating perfectivity has to be used in the sentence, as in (15b). The perfective value of the preverb is confirmed in (15c). The preverbed form is indeed incompatible with a description of the event as still going on, showing that it is necessarily presented as a whole, including its final endpoint, which corresponds to the perfective viewpoint (Smith 1991). In the absence of the preverb, however, the continuation of the event is not excluded, due to the imperfective viewpoint.

In the following examples, it is the postposition *át* ‘across’ (*cf.* (16a)) that is used as a preverb with the verb *megy* ‘to go, to walk’. It thus changes both the argument structure (from intransitive to transitive with a PP complement) and the aspect (from atelic to telic) of the initial verb, as shown by the contrast between (16b) and (16c). As in (15c), the preverbal position of the preverb expresses the perfective viewpoint. This is shown in (16d), where the second

4. The perfectivity of the complex forms is due to the past tense; in the present, the final bound is not presented as having been reached:

(i) A benzin elfogy. *A benzin tartó üres.
 The gas is running out. *The gas tank is empty.

event (*amikor delet harangoztak* ‘when noon rang’) can only be understood as following the first (see also (20)), and not as occurring during it, which would be the case with the imperfective.

- (16) a. a híd-on át
 the bridge-Super across
 ‘across the bridge’
- b. Péter men-t (a híd-on) öt perc-en {*belül/át}.
 Peter go-Past-3sgI the bridge-Super five minute-Sup {*in/for }
 ‘Péter went (on the bridge) {for/*in} five minutes.’
- c. Péter át-men-t a híd-on öt perc-en {belül/*át}.
 Peter across-go-Past.3sgI the bridge-Super five minute-Sup {in/*for }
 ‘Péter crossed the bridge {for/in} five minutes. (lit.: P.went across the bridge)’
- d. Péter (már) át-men-t a híd-on, amikor
 Peter (already) across-go-Past.3sgI the bridge-Super when
 del-et harangoz-t-ak.
 noon-Acc ring-Past-3plI
 ‘Peter had already crossed the bridge when noon rang. (lit.: when they rang noon)’
 ≠ ‘Peter was crossing the bridge when noon rang.’

We will come back to these data in the following sections.

2.2. The behavior of preverbs

As the above examples show, preverbs normally appear as verbal prefixes; yet, contrary to prefixes, they can be detached from the verb, in which case they appear immediately after it:

- (17) Ki (*be)csomagol-t-a be az ajándék-ot?
 Who (*Pv)wrap -Past-3sgD Pv the gift-Acc
 ‘Who did wrap the gift?’
- (18) Péter nem (*be)csomagol-t-a be az ajándék-ot.
 Péter Neg (*Pv)wrap -Past-3sgD Pv the gift-Acc
 ‘Peter did not wrap the gift.’
- (19) a. PÉTER (*be)csomagol-t-a be az ajándék-ot.
 Péter (*Pv)wrap -Past-3sgD Pv the gift-Acc
 ‘It was Peter who wrapped the gift.’
 b. Péter AZ AJÁNDÉK-OT (*be)csomagol-t-a be.
 Péter the gift-Acc (*Pv)wrap -Past-3sgD Pv
 ‘It was the gift that Peter wrapped.’

- (20) Péter (éppen) men-t át a híd-on, amikor
 Peter (just) go-Past-3sgI across the bridge-Sup when
 del-et harangoz-t-ak.
 noon-Acc rang-Past-3plI
 ‘Peter was just crossing the bridge when noon rang.’ (lit. : when they rang noon)

The postverbal position of preverbs relies on various factors. It can be due to the interrogative (17) and negative (18) structure of the sentence. In (19) it is forced by the focalization of a constituent, subject in (a), object in (b). Finally, in (20), in combination with a temporal subordinate clause, the postverbal placement of the preverb expresses the progressive aspect; the event described in the subordinate clause is understood as occurring during the process described in the main clause (see (16d) for a comparison).

In the following section, we present a syntactic analysis of preverbs in verbal contexts based on the observations put forward by Knittel and Forintos-Kosten (2002).

2.3. A syntactic analysis of preverbs

In their analysis of preverbs, Knittel and Forintos-Kosten (2002) suggest that the various influences that these elements can have on aspect and on argument structure is determined by the positions where they merge.

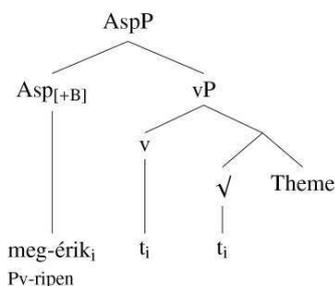
According to these authors, preverbs have a bounding effect on verbal predicates (see section 2.1.). Yet, as we saw above, depending on the original (a)telicity of the verb, this bounding effect can affect either inner (*i.e.* lexical) or outer (*i.e.* grammatical) aspect.

Recall first from examples (7-8) and (2) that preverbs can occur with stative verbs and activities, both event types being atelic (Vendler 1967, Smith 1991), that is, unbounded with respect to inner aspect. In such cases, the preverbs introduce inner boundedness, since they transform activities and statives into achievements with an inceptive or inchoative value. In these cases, the preverbs induce the presence of an initial bound. In other cases, including agentive intransitive and gradual predicates, it is the final bound which is introduced by the preverb, *cf.* (9-12).

To account for this use, Knittel and Forintos-Kosten (2002) suggest, following a proposal by Egerland (1998), after Borer (1993), that the preverbs merge as heads of an aspectual projection between VP and vP, whose head encodes a [+B(OUNDED)] feature (see also Borer 2005, Travis 2009 for similar analyses). In more recent approaches, such as those developed by Harley (2009), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2009), Alexiadou, Iordachioaia & Soare (2010), where the verbal head is analyzed as an unspecified root \checkmark associated with an eventive component vP, the representation in (21) can be suggested.

The root incorporates *v* and the preverb in the course of its movement towards the higher inflectional projections.

(21)



The structure [*v* [root Theme]]_{v,p} has been proposed by Landau (2010) for unaccusative verbs. In fact, verbs such as *érik/megérik* ‘to ripen’ or *áll/megáll* ‘to stand; to be at stop’/‘to stop’ react positively to the unaccusativity tests proposed for Hungarian in Halm (2012), namely the presence of incorporated subjects (Marác 1989, Kiss 2002) (22) and the impossibility of inserting *egyed* ‘once’ (Kiefer 1992, Pinon 2001) in the sentences (23):

(22) a. Vonat állt a fa alatt.
train stop-Past-3sgI a tree under
‘Some train was at stop under the tree.’

b. Almák értek akkor
apples ripe-Past-3pl then
‘Apples were ripening then.’

vs: c. *Gyerek dolgozik
child work-Pst3sgI

(23) a. Az almák értek (*egyed)
the apples ripe-Past-3pl (*once)

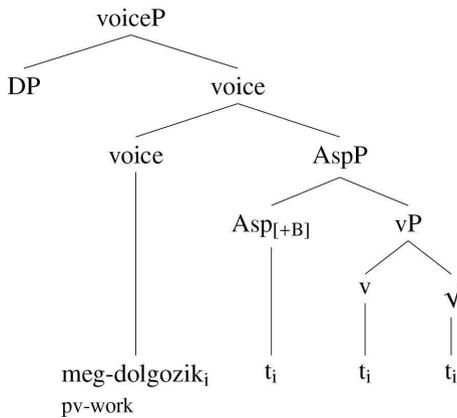
b. Állt a gyerek (*egyed)
stand-Past-3sgI the child (*once)

vs: c. A gyerek futott egyed
the child ran-Past-3sgI once
‘The child had a run.’ (Lit.: ‘The child ran once.’)

When there is no preverb, the verb appears unbounded. Consequently, AspP is not projected. By contrast with (21), transitive and unergative verbs, that display agentive subjects, are characterized by the presence of a voiceP component, introducing the Agent argument (Kratzer 1996).

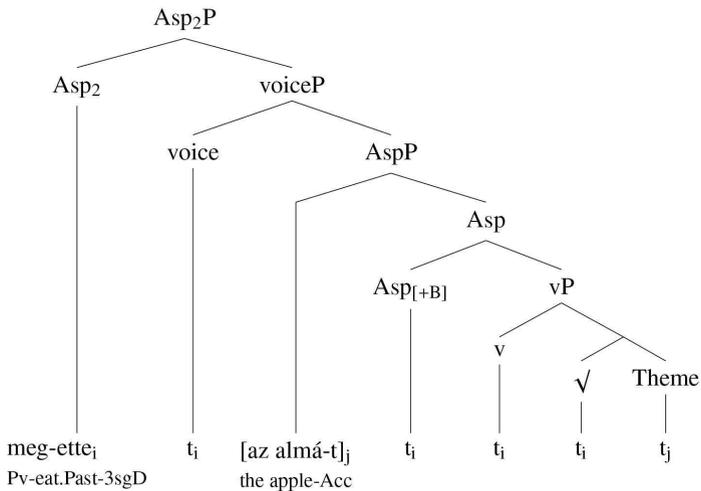
Consequently, a verb such as *megdolgozik* ‘to work_[+Telic]’ (10) will receive the analysis in (24):

(24)



When preverbs act as perfectivity markers, as in (15), they also encode boundedness. However, in this case, boundedness applies to outer aspect, internal boundedness (*i.e.* telicity) being due here to the presence of a quantized direct object. Knittel and Forintos-Kosten (2002) propose to represent preverbs marking perfectivity as heads of a second aspectual projection, inflectional in nature, and dominating the agentive voiceP, as in (25) (= (15)):

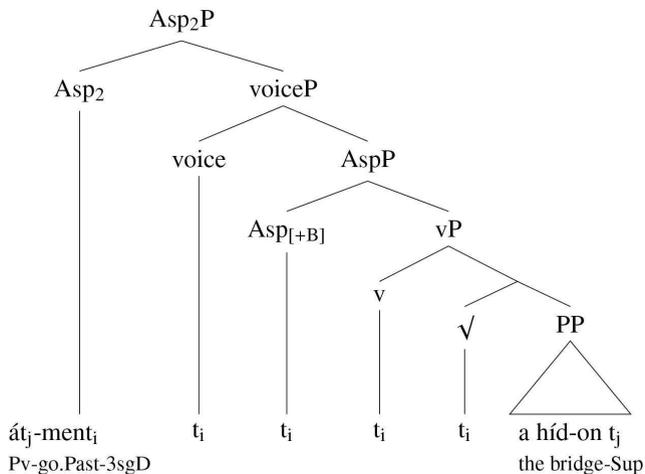
(25)



Since telicity is due to the object, we consider, with Knittel & Forintos-Kosten (2002), that Asp_[+B]P is projected, and hosts *az almát* ‘the apple’ in its specifier.

Finally, when the preverb is originally a postposition, but acts also as a telicity and a perfectivity marker, as in (16), the following representation can be suggested, after Knittel & Forintos-Kosten (2002):

(26)



Here, the postposition incorporates into $\sqrt{\quad}$, then moves with it to the upper verbal and aspectual heads.

To sum up, Hungarian preverbs, depending on their merging position, can perform two different roles with regards to boundedness. When merging (or moving if they are originally postpositions) above vP, they act as telicity (*i.e.* inner boundedness) markers, whereas they are perfectivity (*i.e.* outer boundedness) markers when merging or moving above voiceP. Consequently, according to the present analysis, Hungarian does only display one class of preverbs, and not two, as postulated by Svenonius (2004) for Slavic or Germanic.

After the examination of preverbs at the verbal level, we now turn towards their study as parts of nominalized verbs.

3. Nominalization

In this section, we present first the general properties of nominalization in Hungarian. Then we turn towards the examination of the syntactic and semantic behavior of preverbs in nominalizations.

3.1. Nominalization in Hungarian

According to Laczkó (1985) and Szabolcsi (1994), the only productive, and most common manner of deriving event nominals from verbs in Hungarian is by the means of the suffix *ás/és*⁵, as shown in (27):

- (27) a. (be)csomagol: to pack / (be)csomagol-ás: packing
 b. (meg)varr: to sew / (meg)varr-ás: sewing
 c. tud: to know / tud-ás: knowledge

Yet, as is often the case across languages, *-ás/-és* nominals can refer either to event nominals or to result nominals. Now, the distinction between events and results is crucial since, as shown by Grimshaw (1990), only event nominals can keep the argument structure of the verb they are built on. According to Szabolcsi, however, the dependencies of nominalized verbs provide a clue as to the eventive vs resultative nature of the nominalization. This is illustrated in the following examples, from Szabolcsi's (1994) examples (14a-b):

- (28) a. Péter- \emptyset [ebéd után-i] felszólal-ás-a értelmetlen volt.
 Peter-Nom lunch after-Adj speak-Nz-Poss3sg nonsensical was
 (i) 'Peter's speaking after lunch was nonsensical.'
 (ii) 'Peter's speech after lunch was nonsensical.'
- b. Péter- \emptyset [ebéd után való] felszólal-ás-a értelmetlen volt.
 Peter-Nom lunch after Adj speak-Nz-Poss3sg nonsensical was
 (i) 'Peter's speaking after lunch was nonsensical.'
 (ii) *'Peter's speech after lunch was nonsensical.'

In Hungarian, noun dependencies must be adjectivized. In other words, no PP or KP can appear in a structure whose head is a noun, independently of its nature (*i.e.* simple or derived). If it should be the case, the PP has to be adjectivized. This can be done in two ways. First, the adjectival suffix *-i* can be added as an affix on the PP⁶, as in (28a) *ebéd után-i* 'after lunch-Adj'; second, the PP can be adjectivized by *való* (lit. 'being'), a former present participle of 'to be'.⁷ As noted by Szabolcsi (1990, 1994), the use of *való* is possible only if the deverbal nominal has an event reading, as shown in (28b), where 'speaking' is the only possible translation of *felszólalás*. If the suffix *-i* is used,

5. The difference between *ás* and *és* is due to vowel harmony.

6. The form *-i* is considered a suffix by Szabolcsi. However, since it adjectivizes whole PPs and occurs in final position, a better description would be to consider it as a clitic rather than a suffix.

7. *Való* is the only possible adjectivizing form for case-marked nouns (**Mari-hoz-i* / *Mari-hoz való*: towards Mary) and when postpositions are inflected (**után-a*_{Poss.3sg} *-i* / *után-a*_{Poss.3sg} *való*: 'after him/her'). The *való* test consequently applies only when the two adjectivizers are possible.

the ambiguity between the eventive and the resultative readings remains (28a). Consequently, if the adjectivization of the dependencies is made by the means of *való*, the eventive reading is ensured.

The examples in (28) also show that nominalizations syntactically behave like possessive DPs, and display the structure in (29):

- (29) a. (D) DP_{Nom} N_{Poss-Agr}
 b. (A) Péter- \emptyset ház-a- \emptyset
 (def.art.) Peter-Nom house-Poss-3sg
 Lit.: ‘(The) Peter’s house’

The Possessee is characterized by a Possessive marker (Knittel 1998), followed by an agreement marker whose person and number features reflect those of the Possessor, which appears at its left as a nominative DP (see Szabolcsi 1983, 1994).

If the nominalized verb is transitive, the nominative case is generally assigned to the object, and the subject, if present, is realized by the means of a (adjectivized) PP with *által* ‘by’:

- (30) a. A könyv- \emptyset Péter által való olvas-ás-a
 the book-Nom Peter by Adj read-Nz-Poss.3sg
 ‘The reading of the book by Peter’
 b. A kép- \emptyset Mari által való fest-és-e
 the picture-Nom Mari by Adj painting-Nz-Poss.3sg
 ‘The painting of the picture by Mary’

As noted by Szabolcsi, Hungarian nominalizations qualify as ‘true nouns’, not as (verbal) gerunds. If they were verbal gerunds, they would keep the verbal property of assigning accusative to their direct object, and, since they would be modified by adverbs instead of adjectives, they would not display the adjectivization processes just described.

3.2. Preverbs in nominalizations

In this section, we examine the behavior of preverbs in deverbal nominals, beginning with those that mark inner boundedness.

3.2.1. Preverbs as internal bounds

As discussed in section 2.1, preverbs can indicate that an event is bounded, by designating either its initial or final point. In such cases, nominalization by the means of *ás/és* is generally possible for both the simple and the preverbed form. The nominals describe the same events as the verbal forms.

Consider first the examples in (31), where the simple form is a state, the preverbed form being the achievement leading to it:

- (31) a. *áll*: to stand, to stay
 b. *állás*: the standing (position)
 c. *fel-áll*: to rise (on one's feet)
 d. *fel-állás*: the rising (on one's feet)

In these examples, only the preverbed forms, whether verbal or nominal, are dynamic. This distinction is reflected by the fact that durative PPs have to be introduced by *belül* 'in' instead of *át* 'for' in the presence of the preverb (32). In the same manner, dynamic adverbs and adjectives are possible only in the presence of the preverb (33), see also (8):

- (32) a. Péter all-t egy perc-en {*át*/**belül*}.
 Peter-Nom stand-Past.3sgI one minute-Sup {for/*in}
 'Peter was standing {for/*in} one minute.'
 b. A Péter egy perc-en {*át*/**belül*} való állás-a
 the Peter-Nom one minute-Sup {for/*in Adj standingPoss.3sg
 'Peter's standing {for/*in} one minute'
 c. Péter fel-all-t egy perc-en {**át*/*belül*}.
 Peter-Nom Pv-stand-Past.3sgI one minute-Sup {*for/in}
 'Peter rose {*for/in} one minute.'
 d. A Péter egy perc-en {**át*/*belül*} való fel-állás-a
 the Peter-Nom one minute-Sup {*for/in} Adj Pv-standingPoss.3sg
 'Peter's rising {*for/in} one minute'
- (33) a. Péter (**lassan*) áll-t.
 Peter-Nom (*slowly) stand-Past.3sgI
 'Peter was standing (*slowly).'
 b. A Péter (**lassú*) állás-a
 the Peter-Nom (*slow) standing-Poss.3Sg
 lit.: 'Peter's slow standing'
 c. Péter *lassan* fel-áll-t.
 Peter-Nom (slowly) Pv-rise-Past.3sgI
 'Peter rose slowly.'
 d. A Péter *lassú* fel-állás-a
 the Peter-Nom slow Pv-standing-Poss.3Sg
 'Peter's slow rising'

Yet, as noted by Maeinborn (2005, 2007), after Kratzer (1996), statives do not constitute a uniform class. Some of them display a Davidsonian argument, and, as such, qualify as events. If this is the case, the event component enables modifiers such as *ein bisschen* (German) 'a little bit', to get a temporal reading instead of a simple degree reading. The following example show that *egy kis* 'a little' (literally 'one little') has indeed a temporal reading when modifying *állás*:

- (34) A Péter egy kis állás-a
 the Peter-Nom one little standing-Poss.3sg
 ‘Peter’s little standing’ (*i.e.* Peter’s short standing)

Consequently, we are dealing here with a stative eventive nominal. Yet, eventivity is not a sufficient condition for the presence of argument structure. In other words, the complex *vs* simple nature of the event nominal remains to be determined. If we consider, with Grimshaw (1990), that the arguments are obligatory with complex events, the grammaticality of the following example, where no argument is realized, shows that *állás* is a simple event:

- (35) Az állás nehéz-em-re es-ik.
 the standing-Nom difficult-Poss1sg-Sub fall-Prs.3sg
 ‘Standing is difficult for me.’

Note that the potential argument of *állás* is realized as a first person singular agreement marker on the adjective, showing that it is here an argument of the adjective, not of the noun, which would be the case if the suffix appeared on it, as in *állás-am*_{Poss.1sg}, lit. ‘my standing’.

The nominalization of the simple verb being a simple event, it is expected that it is also the case for that of the complex verb, since the preverb has no influence on the argument structure here. Consequently, *felállás* ‘the rising’ should be able to occur in the same context as *állás* in (35), which is indeed the case:

- (36) A fel-állás nehéz-em-re es-ik.
 the Pv-standing-Nom difficult-Poss1sg-Sub fall-Prs.3sg
 ‘Rising is difficult for me.’

Parallel to *áll(ás)/feláll(ás)* are the cases of *gugol(ás)* ‘to be crouched’, ‘crouching position’/*le-gugol(ás)* ‘to crouch’/‘the crouching’ and *ül(és)* ‘to be seated’, ‘sitting position’/*fel-ül(és)* ‘to sit’, ‘the sitting’:

- (37) a. A Mari két perc-en {át/*belül} való gugolás-a
 the Mary-Nom two minute-Sup {for/*in} Adj crouching-Poss.3sg
 ‘Mary’s being crouched {for/*in} one minute.’
 b. A Mari két perc-en {*át/belül} való le-gugolás-a
 the Mary-Nom two minute-Sup {*for/in} Adj Pv-crouching-Poss.3sg
 ‘Mary’s crouching {*for/in} one minute.’
 c. A Mari (*gyors) gugolás-a
 the Mary-Nom (*quick) crouching-Poss.3sg
 Lit.: ‘Mary’s quick crouching position’
 d. A Mari (gyors) le-gugolás-a
 the Mary-Nom (quick) Pv-crouching-Poss.3sg
 ‘Mary’s quick crouching’

- e. A Mari egy kis gugolás-a
 the Mary-Nom one little crouching-Poss.3sg
 ‘Mary’s little crouching’ (*i.e.* Mary’s short crouching)
- f. {A gugolás/ a le-gugolás}
 {the crouching-Nom (position)/ the Pv-crouching-Nom}
 nehéz-em-re es-ik.
 difficult-Poss1sg-Sub fall-Prs.3sg
 ‘{Crouching/the crouching position} is difficult for me.’
- (38) a. A fiú két perc-en {át/*belül} való ülés-e
 the boy-Nom two minute-Sup {for/*in} Adj sitting-Poss.3sg
 ‘The boy’s being seated {for/*in} one minute.’
- b. A fiú két perc-en {*át/belül} való fel-ülés-e
 the boy-Nom two minute-Sup {*for/in} Adj Pv-sitting-Poss.3sg
 ‘The boy’s sitting {*for/in} one minute.’
- c. A fiú (*gyors) ülés-e
 the boy-Nom (*quick) sitting-Poss.3sg
 lit.: ‘The boy’s quick sitting position’
- d. A fiú (gyors) fel-ülés-e
 the boy-Nom (quick) Pv-sitting-Poss.3sg
 ‘The boy’s quick sitting.’
- e. A fiú egy kis ülés-e
 the boy-Nom one little sitting-Poss.3sg
 ‘The boy’s little sitting’ (*i.e.* the boy’s short sitting)
- f. {Az ülés/ a fel-ülés}
 {the sitting-Nom (position)/ the Pv-sitting-Nom}
 nehéz-em-re es-ik.
 difficult-Poss1sg-Sub fall-Prs.3sg
 ‘{Sitting/the sitting position} is difficult for me.’

Let us now turn towards telicity markers, that is, preverbs that indicate the presence of a final bound to the event.

First, agentive intransitive verbs, such as *(meg)dolgozik* (10) or *(meg)főz* (9) do not produce eventive nominalizations, as shown by their impossibility to combine with *át* or *belül* adjectivized PPs (see also Szabolcsi 1994):

- (39) a. *Mari (meg)főzés-e egy óran {át/belül} való
 Mary (pv)cooking-Poss.3sg one hour {for/in} Adj
- b. *Mari (meg)dolgozás-a egy óran {át/belül} való
 Mary (pv)working-Poss.3sg one hour {for/in} Adj

We saw in (16) the opposition between the atelicity of *megy (a hídon)* ‘to go (on the bridge)’, and the telicity of *átmegy a hídon* ‘to cross the bridge’. The examples in (40) show that this opposition is maintained in the corresponding nominalizations:

- (40) a. A híd öt perc-en {át/*belül} való menés-e
 the bridge-Nom five minute-Sup {for/*in} Adj going-Poss.3sg
 ‘The walk on the bridge {for/*in} five minutes’ (lit.: the going on the bridge)
- b. A híd öt perc-en {*át/belül} való át-menés-e
 the bridge-Nom five minute-Sup {*for/in} Adj Pv-going-Poss.3sg
 ‘The crossing of the bridge {*for / in} five minutes.’

The possible presence of the agent in a PP headed by *által* shows that both *menés* and *átmenés* keep the agentive argument structure of the verb, and are thus complex events.

- (41) a. A híd Péter által való menés-e
 the bridge-Nom Peter by Adj going-Poss.3sg
 ‘Peter’s walking on the bridge’
- b. A híd Péter által való át-menés-e
 the bridge-Nom Peter by Adj Pv-going-Poss.3sg
 ‘Peter’s crossing the bridge’

Consider finally the case of degree predicates, whose telicity depends on the preverb, cf. *érik/megérik* ‘to ripen’ (11); *fogy/elfogy* ‘to run out’ (12). Both the simple and the complex verbs can be nominalized by the means of *-ás/-és*:

- (42) a. Az alma {érés-e / meg-érés-e}
 the apple-Nom {ripening-Poss.3sg / Pv-ripening-Poss.3sg}
 ‘The apple’s {ripening/becoming ripe}’
- b. A benzin {fogyás-a/ el-fogyás-a}
 the gas-Nom {lowering-Poss.3sg Pv-lowering-Poss.3sg}
 ‘The gas’ {lowering/running out}’

As expected from the above examples, the initial (a)telicity value is maintained in the nominalization.

- (43) a. Az alma egy hónap-on {*belül/át} való érés-e
 the apple-Nom one month-Sup {*in/for} Adj ripening-Poss.3sg
 ‘The apple’s ripening for one month.’
- b. Az alma egy hónap-on {belül/*át} való meg-érés-e
 the apple-Nom one month-Sup {in/*for} Adj Pv-ripening-Poss.3sg
 ‘The apple’s becoming ripe in one month.’
- (44) a. A benzin egy fel óra-n {*belül/át} való fogyás-a
 the gas-Nom one half hour-Sup {*in/for} Adj lowering-Poss.3sg
 ‘The gas’ lowering for half an hour.’
- b. A benzin egy fel óra-n {belül/*át} való el-fogyás-a
 the gas-Nom one half hour-Sup {in/*for} Adj Pv-lowering-Poss.3sg
 ‘The gas’ running out in half an hour.’

Since these nominals are events, as shown by the fact that they display aspectual distinction, the question of their argument structure has to be raised. The examples in (45–46) show that, contrary to *állítás/felállítás*, *fogyás/elfogyás* and *érés/megérés* cannot give rise to well-formed sentences if deprived of their argument.

- (45) ?? A {fogyás/el-fogyás} bosszant-ott engem.
 The {lowering/Pv-lowering} bothe-.Past.3sg pro1sg-Acc
 ‘The {lowering/running out} bothered me.’
- (46) ?? Örül-ök {az érés-nek/ a meg-érés-nek}.
 rejoice-Pst-1sg {the ripening-Dat/ the Pv-ripening-Dat}
 ‘The {ripening/becoming ripe} makes me glad.’

Consequently, they can be analyzed as exhibiting an argument structure.

Let us now summarize our observations on preverbs influencing lexical aspect. Three cases have been examined successively:

- (i) simple form: stative
 preverb form: inchoative achievement;
- (ii) simple form: dynamic atelic (activity)
 preverbed form: dynamic telic (accomplishment);
- (iii) simple form: gradual atelic (activity)
 preverbed form: gradual telic (accomplishment).

With the exception of unergative verbs, that do not give eventive nominalizations (39), the meaning and the lexical aspect of both simple and preverbed verbs are fully inherited by the derived nominals. Since the nominalization process does not modify inner aspect, it appears as a simple category change. As for the argument structure, two cases can be distinguished.

For transitive structures of type (ii), the arguments are maintained in the nominalization process. This is not the case for (i): although eventive, the nominalizations are simple events. Conversely, the verbs in (iii) maintain their unique argument when nominalized. Recall from section 2.3. that verbs of both (i) and (iii) can be characterized as unaccusative. However, as was shown in (13a), only the verbs of class (iii) admit the insertion of ablative KP expressing the cause. This consequently leads to distinguish between anticausatives (iii), which admit cause KPs and keep their argument when nominalized, and “plain” unaccusatives, which do not.

3.2.2. *Perfectivity markers*

Recall from examples in (15) that preverbs act as perfectivity markers when combined with telic VPs. In this section, we examine their behavior in nominalizations.

Consider the examples in (47-48):

- (47) a. Péter csomagol-t-a az ajándék-ot.
Péter-Nom wrap-Past-3sgD the gift-Acc
'Peter has wrapped the gift.'
- b. Péter be-csomagol-t-a az ajándék-ot.
Péter-Nom Pv-wrap-Past-3sgD the gift-Acc
'Peter wrapped the gift.'
- c. Az ajándék Péter által való csomagolás-a
the gift-Nom Peter by Adj wrapping-Poss.3sg
'The wrapping of the gift by Peter'
- d. Az ajándék Péter által való be-csomagolás-a
the gift-Nom Peter by Adj Pv-wrapping-Poss.3sg
'The wrapping of the gift by Peter'
- (48) a. Péter olvas-t-a a könyv-et.
Peter-Nom read-Past-3sgD the book-Acc
'Péter has read the book.'
- b. Péter el-olvas-ta a könyv-et.
Peter-Nom Pv-read-Past-3SgD the book-Acc
'Péter read the book.'
- c. A könyv Péter által való olvasás-a
the book-Nom Peter by Adj reading-Poss.3sg
'The reading of the book by Peter'
- d. A könyv Péter által való el-olvas-ás-a
the book-Nom Peter by Adj Pv-reading-Poss.3sg
'The reading of the book by Peter'

The examples in (a-b) show simple (a) and preverbed (b) verbs. As described in 2.1. above, these sentences differ in their outer aspect, with the preverb conveying perfectivity. As can be seen from examples (c-d), the corresponding nominalizations can also occur with (d) or without (c) preverbs.

Since preverbs keep the same aspectual value with verbs and nouns when they modify inner aspect (*cf.* 3.2.1.), the question that arises now is whether the same phenomenon is observed for perfective preverbs. In other words, do perfective sentences produce perfective nominalizations in Hungarian? This question in turn leads to that of the presence of outer aspect in DPs whose heads result from a nominalization process, a hypothesis suggested by various authors for other languages (Engelhardt 2000; Alexiadou, Iordachioaia & Soare 2010; Iordachioaia & Soare 2008, 2009; Knittel 2011).

On this issue, various observations have been put forward that evidence the perfective/imperfective distinction in nominalizations, and can prove useful to answer the above question.

A first series of observations is due to Iordachioaia & Soare (2008, 2009). These authors observe that Romanian argument-taking nominalization

can be built up by the means of two suffixes, namely the supine, which conveys imperfectivity, and the infinitive, which brings about perfective nominals. Supine nominals are characterized by a pluractional value (Lasersohn 1995, Van Geenhoven 2004, Laca 2006a,b); they can refer to a plurality of events without exhibiting plural marking.

The following examples show that in Hungarian, the pluractional reading is available only for nominalizations of imperfective sentences, and cannot appear if a preverb is present:

- (49) a. A kacsá-k (Péter által való) ölés-e
 the duck-Pl-Nom (Peter by Adj) killing-Poss.3sg
 ‘The killing of ducks (by Peter)’ (*i.e.* Peter’s habit of killing ducks)
- b. A kacsá-k (Péter által való) meg-ölés-e
 the duck-Pl-Nom (Peter by Adj) Pv-killing-Poss.3sg
 ‘The killing of the ducks (by Peter)’
- (50) a. A könyv (egy év-en át való) olvasás-a
 the book-Nom (one hour-Sub for Adj) reading-Poss.3sg
 ‘The (regular) reading of the book (for one hour)’
- b. A könyv (egy év-en {*át / belül} való) el-olvasás-a
 the book-Nom (one hour-Sub {*for / in} Adj) Pv-reading-Poss.3sg
 ‘The reading of the book (in one hour)’

Example (49a) describes a situation where Peter usually kills ducks, or is in the habit of doing so. Observe here that no frequency adverb is needed to refer to a plurality of events, thus revealing that pluractionality is readily available without any overt marking. Conversely, only one killing event is referred to when the preverb is used (49b). The same contrast holds for (50): in the (a) example, the situation described is one where, for example, children at school regularly read in a book for one hour each time. In (b), the adjectivized PP *egy éven át való* ‘for one hour’ is unavailable, and has to be replaced by *egy éven belül való* ‘in one hour’ for the sentence to be well-formed. In this case, the adjectivized PP corresponds to the time needed to read the whole book. As in (49b), the sentence describes a single event.

Consequently, one can conclude that the pluractionality effects displayed by simple nominalizations is a reflect of their imperfectivity, as is the case in Romanian.

Now, it has been observed by Smith (1991) that achievement sentences do not admit the imperfective viewpoint. This incompatibility is due to the fact that the imperfective focuses on the internal stages of processes. Since achievements are punctual, and are deprived of duration, they do not have internal stages for the imperfective to focus on. If nominalizations without preverbs are indeed imperfective, they should be ungrammatical with achievements too. The unacceptability of (51a) shows that this is indeed the case:

- (51) a. *A kacsá (Péter által való) ölés-e
 the duck-Nom (Peter by Adj) killing-Poss.3sg
 ‘The killing of the duck (by Peter)’
 vs: b. A kacsá (Péter által való) meg-ölés-e
 the duck-Nom (Peter by Adj) Pv-killing-Poss.3sg
 ‘The killing of the duck (by Peter)’

The killing of a duck is an achievement situation. As expected, its punctual character makes it unavailable for the imperfective. Note that, in such a case, no iterative reading can appear since killing a duck is a once-only event. In fact, the only possible reading of this example is one where the killing has taken some time; in other words, for the imperfective viewpoint to be possible, the event has to be construed as an accomplishment, instead of an achievement. No such derived reading is necessary if a preverb is present, as in (b), due to the fact that the perfective viewpoint is unproblematic with achievements.

Consider finally the examples in (52) and (53). The questions in (52a) and (53a) contain nominalization of complex verbs. Consequently, if the perfective viewpoint is indeed conveyed here, a positive answer should express the fact that the event has been fully completed; conversely, the answer should be negative if the event has not reached its natural endpoint. The examples in (b) and (c) show that this prediction is indeed borne out:

- (52) a. Ott voltál a hordó el-készítés-e alatt?
 here be-Past-2sgI the barrel-Nom Pv-making-Poss.3sg under
 ‘Did you attend to the making of the barrel?’
 b. Nem, csak láttam hogy készíté-tt-e.
 no, only see-Past-1sgD that make-Past-3sgD
 ‘No, I only saw it being made.’
 c. Igen, és láttam hogy el-készíté-tt-e.
 yes and see-Past-1sgD that Pv-make-Past-3sgD
 ‘Yes, I even saw that it was completed.’
- (53) a. Ott voltál a ruha meg-varr-ás-a alatt?
 here be-Past-2sgI the dress-Nom Pv-making-Poss.3sg under
 ‘Did you attend to the sewing of the dress?’
 b. Nem, csak lát-tam hogy varr-t-a.
 no, only see-Past-1sgD that sew-Past-3sgD
 ‘No, I only saw that it was being sewed.’
 c. Igen, és meg-vár-t-am a meg-varrás-á-t is.
 yes and Pv-wait-Past-1sgD the Pv-sewing-Poss.3sg-Acc also
 ‘Yes, I even waited for its complete sewing.’

Since the questions contain perfective nominalizations, the answer has to convey the idea that the event has reached its final point to be positive.

We can then conclude that when a preverb indicates perfectivity at the sentence level, it keeps the same value in case of nominalization. More

generally, the examples provided in sections 3.2.1. and 3.2.2. show that the influence of the preverbs when combined with verbs does not vary when the verbs are nominalized. As we saw in 3.2.1. preverbs modify inner aspect in the same manner for verbs and the corresponding nominalizations, when they are possible. This observation is also true for outer aspect: when a preverb is a perfective marker in a verbal environment, it acts as such in the corresponding DP. We conclude consequently that (im)perfectivity is a feature appropriate for the description of Hungarian event nominals.

In the following section, we put forward a syntactic analysis of preverbs in nominalizations.

3.3. A syntactic approach to nominalizations

As we have just seen, the use of preverbs and the operation of nominalization do not influence each other. In other words, except for unergatives, the nominalization process does not modify the aspectual properties of the original verb, be it simple or complex. To account for this fact, a possible hypothesis is that the nominalization process takes place after the aspectual component has merged.

As discussed above, preverbs encode both inner and outer aspect. In section 2.3, we suggested, after Forintos-Kosten & Knittel (2002), that preverbs are heads of Aspectual projections. The projection of inner aspect dominates the eventive projection vP (*cf.* (21)), that of outer aspect, (Asp₂), stands above VoiceP (25, 26).

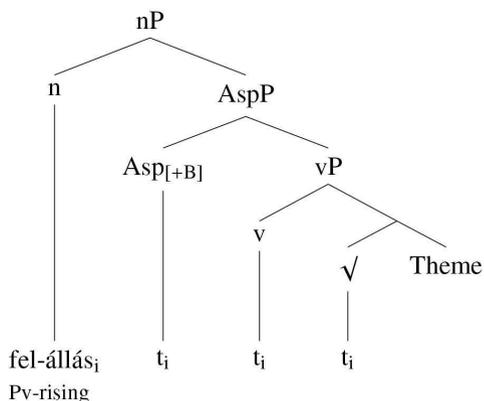
Consider first nominalizations of the structures where the preverb modifies inner aspect. In section 3.2.1, we distinguished different cases, recalled in Table (54):

(54)

Simple form	Preverbed form	Value of the preverb	Pv+verb type	Event structure	Examples
state	achievement (inchoative)	initial bound	unaccusative	yes	<i>állás/felállás</i> (standing/rising) <i>gugolás/legugolás</i> (being crouched/crouching) <i>ülés/felülés</i> (being seated/sitting)
activity	accomplishment	final bound	transitive	yes	<i>menés/átmenés</i> (going/crossing)
activity	accomplishment	final bound	unergative	no	<i>főzés/megfőzés</i> (cooking)
scalar activity	scalar accomplishment	final bound	anticausative	yes	<i>fogyás/elfogyás</i> (lowering/running out) <i>érés/mégérés</i> (ripening/becoming ripe)

For the first case, it can be suggested that the nominal layer nP, whose head hosts the suffix *ás/és*, dominates the event projection vP (Alexiadou 2009):

(55)



Since these structures are nominalizations of unaccusatives (2.3.), voiceP is never projected.

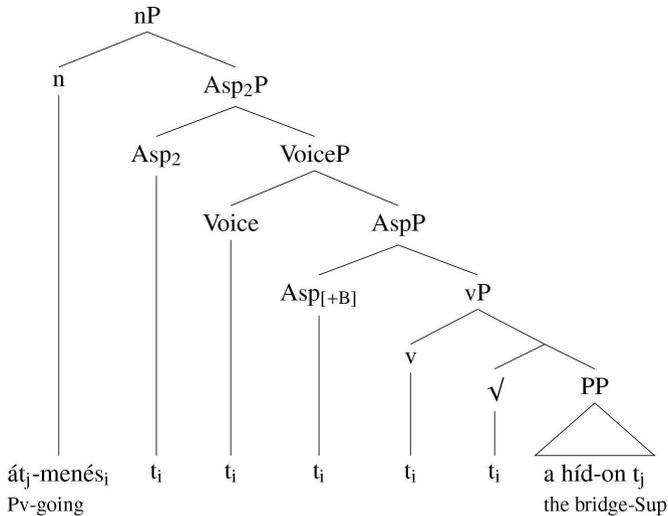
As we saw in 2.1. and 3.2.1. there is another verb class that displays the same structure as unaccusatives, namely that of anticausatives (e.g. *érés/mégérés* ‘ripening’). Consequently, the same representation can be suggested.

However, anticausatives, contrary to unaccusatives, admit ablative KPs expressing the cause. To account for this difference, we admit with Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2009), that the vP of anticausatives contain a Causative feature, able to legitimate such a KP.

As is the case for verbs, AspP is not projected in unbounded forms such as *allás*.

Let us now consider the case of *átmenés* ‘crossing’. Three further points have to be taken into consideration. First, the preverb is originally a postposition (16); second, the nominal retains the agent of the verb (41). Third, the preverb acts also as a perfectivity marker (26). Consequently, both VoiceP (Alexiadou 2009) and Asp₂P have to be projected, as is the case for the corresponding verbal structure, the nominalization layer standing above it.

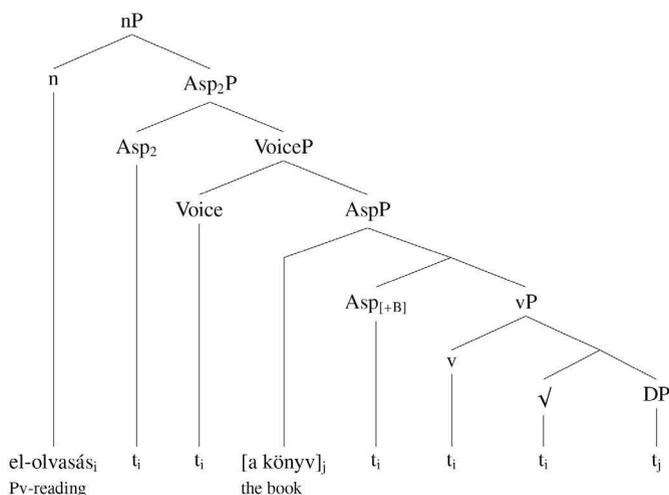
(56)



Consequently, the deverbal nominal has the same argument structure as the base verb.

The same projections can be postulated for preverbs modifying outer aspect of transitive verbs (*becsomagol* (47) ‘to pack’, *elolvás* ‘to read’ (48d)). In (57), as in (56), nP, the higher layer of the structure, is placed above Asp₂P. Since it is the object that is responsible for the telicity of *elolvasás*, it moves to Spec.Asp_[+B]P (cf. (25)).

(57)



Despite all the parallelisms observed above, there is a major difference between the syntactic behavior of the preverbs in sentences and in nominalizations, which is predicted by our analysis. Recall indeed from examples (17-20) that preverbs must appear in postverbal position under certain conditions (focalization, negation, interrogation). However, such a phenomenon is never observed for preverbs in nominalizations. In other words, whereas a sequence such as (58a) is possible, (58b) is not. This is illustrated in (59).

- (58) a.V Pv....
 b. *...[V-és/-ás]_N Pv....

- (59) a. Nem vár-t-ám meg a ruha meg-varrás-át.
 Neg wait-Past-1sgD Pv the dress-Nom Pv-sewing-Poss.3sg-Acc
 'I didn't wait for the sewing of the dress.'
 b. Nem a ruha meg-varrásá-t vár-t-ám meg
 Neg the dress-Nom Pv-sewing-Poss.3sg-Acc wait-Past-1sgD Pv
 'It is not the sewing of the dress I waited for.'
 c. *Nem a ruha varrását meg
 Neg the dress-Nom sewing-Poss.3sg-Acc Pv
 {megvár-t-ám / vár-t-ám meg}
 {Pv-wait-Past-1sgD / wait-Past-1sgD Pv}

In the presence of negation, the preverb must appear after the verb ((59a), see also (18)). If the negation scopes on a DP containing a preverbed deverbal nominal as its head, as in (59b), the preverb must remain in its usual prefixal position. As shown by (c), it cannot appear after the derived noun.

This variation between the verb and the noun is expected if we consider that the nominalization suffix creates a new lexical item, whose category is n instead of v/Voice. As a consequence, preverb extraction, which is a syntactic process, is blocked from under nP level.

The impossibility of detaching the preverb from its host in case of nominalization also signals that TenseP is absent from nominal structures in Hungarian, contrary to what is suggested by Lecarme (2012) for various languages. As shown by the following examples, the detachment of preverbs such as *át* in *átmegy* ‘to cross’ indicates outer aspect variation.

- (60) a. Péter ment át a híd-on.
 Peter go-Past.3sgI across the bridge-Super
 ‘Peter was crossing the bridge.’
 b. Péter át-ment a híd-on. [= (16d)]
 Peter across-go-Past.3sgI the bridge-Super
 ‘Peter had crossed the bridge.’

Knittel & Forintos-Kosten (2002) consider that, in Hungarian, Tense is imperfective; perfectivity is conveyed only in the presence of Asp₂. The pv-V order results from a movement of the complex verb to Tense from Asp₂ position. When the preverb appears at the right of the verb (60a), they consider that the verb alone has moved to Tense, leaving the excorporated preverb behind. This analysis also accounts for the perfectivity ambiguity observed in (61):

- (61) János dolgozott
 John {worked / has worked}
 a. Imperfective:
 $[_{\text{TenseP}} \text{dolgozott}_i [_{\text{vP}} t_i]]$
 cf.: $[_{\text{TenseP}} \text{ment}_i [_{\text{vP}} \text{át-t}_i]]$ [= (60a)]
 b. Perfective:
 $[_{\text{TenseP}} \text{dolgozott}_i [_{\text{Asp2}} t_i [_{\text{vP}} t_i]]]$
 cf.: $[_{\text{TenseP}} \text{átment}_i [_{\text{Asp2}} t_i [_{\text{vP}} t_i]]]$ [= (58b)]

Knittel & Forintos-Kosten, 2002: (67-68).

Contrary to what happens for *dolgozott* in (61), nominalizations are never ambiguous for outer aspect; it is the presence of the preverb alone that determines perfectivity. Moreover, as we saw in (58-59), a nominal such as *átmennés* cannot display a detached preverb. Since no interaction between Tense and perfectivity can be evidenced in the case of nominalizations, there is no argument in favor of a nominal Tense in Hungarian.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we discussed and compared preverbs in the verbal domain and in deverbal eventive nominals. We showed, following Knittel & Forintos-Kosten (2002), that preverbs are markers of telicity, and also of perfectivity when they occur in telic environments. They can thus be described as boundedness markers. As we have shown, these observations also appropriately describe the role of preverbs in nominalizations. Consequently, it can be concluded that preverbs do not exhibit nor entail any variation when combined with verbs or deverbal nominals. To account for this behavior, we have suggested that the syntactic projection responsible for the nominalization process stands above those encoding inner and outer aspect. This relative positioning explains why preverbs cannot be separated from nominals, even though they admit postverbal placement in sentences.

An important observation that has been made here is that Hungarian deverbal nominals can display perfective as well as imperfective aspect, further supporting the hypothesis that outer aspect can be present in derived event nominals. If our analysis is correct, Hungarian expresses perfectivity in the same manner for verbs and deverbal nominals, *i.e.* by the means of preverbs. This language thus differs from Russian, where verbal prefixes, although present in the nominal structure, are deprived of their perfective value (Tatevosov 2013), but also from French (Knittel 2011) and Romanian (Iordachioaia & Soare 2008, 2009), languages where the expression of outer aspect is conveyed by the means of the mass/count distinction. Thus, another indirect consequence of our analysis is that it explains why Hungarian deverbal *-ás/-és* nominals never pluralize (Szabolcsi 1994; Kenesei 2005); since the availability of number inflection in event nominals conveys perfectivity in a number of languages, it is expected not to be observed if this value is expressed by other means, such as preverbs.

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article examine la distribution et le rôle des préverbes vis-à-vis des verbes et des noms d'événements qui en sont dérivés en hongrois. Nous montrons que les préverbes marquent le caractère borné d'un procès. Le préverbe rend télique un verbe originellement atélique. Si l'environnement dans lequel il apparaît est déjà télique, le préverbe est alors interprété comme un marqueur de perfectivité. Ces valeurs sont maintenues lorsque le verbe est nominalisé, ce qui révèle que l'aspect grammatical est bien une catégorie valide pour les noms en hongrois, comme c'est aussi le cas dans d'autres langues. Nous développons également une approche syntaxique du phénomène, proposant une représentation parallèle des projections aspectuelles dans les domaines verbal et nominal, tout en rendant compte de la détachabilité des préverbes d'avec les verbes, qui n'est pas observée avec les noms.

MOTS-CLÉS

Hongrois, préverbes, aspect télicité, perfectivité, nominalisation.