# The paths that lead to verbal particles: Evidence from Hungarian

Verbal particles (a.k.a. preverbs) grammaticalize from pre-/postpositions or adverbs, they are adpositional in category. It has been established in various places that there is a straightforward path from a pre-/postposition to a separable particle/preverb and then possibly to an inseparable prefix via grammaticalization (e.g. Los et al. 2012), which involves the loss of lexical meaning (i.e., becoming functional) and gaining productivity with a wide variety of verbs. This talk provides evidence from recent and on-going grammaticalization processes in Hungarian that there are at least two quite different grammaticalization paths. In one process, a Path-denoting postposition becomes a functional head in the extended adpositional phrase (*p*P), facilitated by the status of the phrase as a verb modifier. In the other process, a resultative predicate grammaticalizes into a predicative verb modifier, which will be argued to take place in the specifier of a functional projection where resultative phrases form a complex predicate with the verb in syntax. The two kinds of particles will be shown to originate and spread in different lexical and syntactic contexts, but both are characterized by the preverbal position of the developing particle in neutral sentences. Hungarian particles are separable, they remain phrasal and syntactically independent (É. Kiss 2002).

**1. Grammaticalization of directional Ps**: Assuming an extended projection for complex adpositional phrases (following Van Riemsdijk 1990, Den Dikken 1995, 2010, Svenonius 2006, 2010 in cross-linguistic studies; and also Dékány 2012, Hegedűs 2013, Dékány & Hegedűs 2015 for Hungarian), a Path head may be reanalyzed as a more functional head by losing some of its lexical content and as a result becoming productively used with various verbs. All the oldest Hungarian particles can be analyzed as having followed this pattern but mostly on the basis of reconstruction of old forms; however, several relatively new particles have been undergoing this process documented in written texts. The examples in (1) illustrate the three important stages. In (1a), we clearly have a postposition, in (1b) we have a particle in preverbal position and its complement is on the left-periphery, separated from it. In (1c) there is no selected locative complement, however, the particle is needed as a telicizer.

(1) a. mint egy hétig sipolva járnak **a kertyé-n keresztül**
  like one week.TER whistling go.3PL the garden-SUP across
  'for about a week they go across her garden, whistling' (Witch trial 303; 1717)

  b. ott **annak határi-n** kedvek szerént való
  there that.DAt boundary.POSSPL-SUP liking.POSS.3PL according.to being
  hozott ítéletekkel **keresztül**-lépének
  brought judgments.INST across-step.PST.3PL
  '[on judges] there, they stepped over its boundaries, with judgments made according to their liking' (J. Laczkovics 1791)

  c. béjön, és **keresztül**-döfi Tóth-ot
  into.come.3SG and across-pierce.DEFOBJ.3SG Tóth-ACC
  'he comes in, and pierces (through) Tóth' (J. Katona 1812)

Elements such as *keresztül* 'across, through, via' grammaticalize from Path heads into *p* heads in a two-step process. Initially, when they are postpositions, they cannot be separated from their complements; as particles, they are preverbal on their own, providing evidence that we are dealing with a different syntactic structure (see also Dékány & Hegedűs 2015 on word order variation). In the first step of the change, they move from Path to *p* in syntax. At this stage there is a selectional relation between items such as *keresztül* and their complement, a superessive marked phrase in (2). Later, they are inserted into the structure in *p*, the base position of grammaticalized particles.

(2) [$_{p}$P [$_{Path}$P [$_{Place}$P a kertyé-**n**$_{Place}$ ] **keresztül**$_{Path}$ ]] (from (1a)) →

  [$_{p}$P [$_{Path}$P [$_{Place}$P annak határi-**n**$_{Place}$ ] ~~keresztül~~$_{Path}$ ] **keresztül**$_{p}$ ] (from (1b))

It will be argued that the grammaticalization is complete when (i) the particle is productively used, not only with motion verbs but with other verb classes as well, and (ii) there is no formal selectional relation between the particle and a locative phrase. Some of the relatively recently developing directional particles are already in the final stage (*át* 'over, through'), some are not completely in that stage yet (*túl* 'beyond, over'), but all of them are directional.

**2. Resultatives becoming particles**: In this class we find grammaticalized resultative phrases. Hungarian secondary predicates are case-marked, the sublative case is the most productive resultative marker. There are a few newly developing verbal particles that carry this case-marker, most notably, the particle counterpart of the generally used repetitive/restitutive adverb *újra* 'again' (cf. Csirmaz 2015). The form is morphologically transparently bi-morphemic (*új-ra* 'new-SUB'), although semantically it is not transparent for speakers. The particle *újra*, which is essentially the equivalent of the English *re-* prefix, will be argued to have grammaticalized, at the same time as the adverb, developing from a resultative secondary predicate, due to the fact that secondary predicates are immediately preverbal in neutral sentences. The first data for the newly developing particle/adverb are from the first half of the 18$^{th}$ century where the preverbal element is structurally and semantically ambiguous, as in (3a). (3b) is likely to be a case where we have a particle, semantically belonging to the infinitival verb *kezd* 'begin' in a verb cluster, having climbed up to the matrix modal verb *kell* 'must' (É. Kiss 2002). In (3c), we clearly have a verbal particle and not an adverb as it licenses an object with a generally intransitive verb *él* 'live'.

(3) a. melly    sinlődésibül           **ujra**       gyogyitatván
      which    ailment.POSS3SG.ELA   new.SUB   heal.PASS.PTCP
      'from which ailment of hers she has been healed again'      (Witch trial 404, 1756)

   b. mert       mindenüt    **ujra**   kell    kezdenem
      because   everywhere   again   must   start.INF.1SG
      'because I must start again everywhere' (Kár 77. 1705)

   c. S     vágyom   **újra**-élni     a      mult / Kedves, édes   perczeit
      and   long.1SG   again-live.INF the   past   nice      sweet   minute.POSS.PL.ACC
      'and I long to re-live the nice, sweet minutes of the past'     (Mihály Tompa 1863)

Hungarian derives complex predicates in syntax by moving particles, resultatives and other predicative complements to a functional position above VP, which I assume to be a Predicative Phrase (Zwart 1993 and Koster 1994 for Dutch; adopted for Hungarian by É. Kiss 2006, Surányi 2009 a.o.). The grammaticalization of the verb modifier happens in its surface position pre-verbally, and results in a telicizing verbal particle; the change is schematized in (4). However, as is also the case with the other particles, they can undergo phrasal movement in syntax, they are in Spec,PredP and are not reanalyzed as part of the verbal head. Verbal particles developing this way are not directional, and, thus, their productive use does not start out with motion verbs. *Újra* as a particle was first used most frequently with the unaccusative verbs *születik* 'be born', *alakul* 'be formed', as well as *kezd/kezdődik* 'begin$_{tr}$/begin$_{unacc}$' (3b).

(4)    [$_{PredP}$ **újra** Pred+V [$_{VP}$ ~~V~~ [$_{SC}$ DP$_{int.arg}$    ~~újra~~]    → [$_{PredP}$ **újra** Pred+V [$_{VP}$ ~~V~~ DP$_{int.arg}$]

**Conclusion**: While the most common source of particles is the grammaticalization of directional elements into functional predicative heads in *p*P, in a language where secondary predicates bear oblique case and form a complex predicate with the verb in overt syntax, resultative/telicizing particles may grammaticalize following an alternative path as well. The output of the change is still a verbal particle, but its complementation properties, as well as its typical semantic contribution are different. Hungarian particles reanalyzed as predicative modifiers introduced in Spec,PredP typically express telicity by referring to full or extreme degree, as opposed to those that lexically refer to spatial end-points.