HATNÉK-nominalization

Two subtypes of a highly verbal
Hungarian deverbal nominalization

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Abstract: The paper discusses two subtypes of a special kind of Hungarian deverbal nominalization, "HATNÉK-nominalization", whose derivational suffix *-hAtnék* coincides with a sequence of the following three verbal suffixes: (i) the permissive modal suffix *-hAt* 'can', (ii) the conditional suffix *-né-,* and (iii) a number-person suffix *-k*. Within the system of Hungarian deverbal nominalizations, a very high degree of verbalness is typical of both HATNÉK-noun subtypes, of which we attribute a Giusti-style split-DP structure to the basic type, while the other, special, subtype is argued to have an exceptional structure with an "unboundedly expandable" (Spec,NP) position, capable of hosting huge verbal "inclusions".

Keywords: deverbal nominals; Hungarian; cartographic generative syntax; split-DP Hypothesis

1. Introduction

This paper is devoted to the discussion of a special kind of deverbal nominalization in Hungarian (discussed scarcely in the literature, see Tompa 1959; 1961), which will be referred to as HATNÉK-nominalization on the basis of the form of its (extremely complex) derivational suffix.

As Alberti and Farkas (2016) expound the characteristic properties of the basic type of HATNÉK-noun construction, including a thorough overview of their verbal and nominal properties, this paper concentrates on a more profound investigation of its crucial verbal properties (section 2), such as having internal information structure and the (limited but not fully

excluded) capability of taking accusative case-marked arguments. We also demonstrate in section 2 an even more verbal extraordinary subtype.

As in the case of any kind of hybrid category, research questions should be answered in the case of the two HATNÉK-noun constructions such as (i) how much verbal structure do they have, and (ii) how much nominal structure builds upon the verbal layers – assuming that a deverbal nominalizer occupies the position of the N head in the center of the deverbal nominal construction and takes a projection containing a VP in its depth (Fu et al. 2001)? The question can also be related to the difference between nominalization and subordination. It is often noted that in many languages, there is a morphosyntactic parallelism between nominalization and subordination (Gildea 2008), and this can also be explained by diachronic facts: Deutscher (2009) argues that nominalization is the origin of subordination. We can consider the two processes as different stages on the continuum of non-finiteness, and nominalization itself can also be divided into several subtypes according to the verbalness of the construction.[1] This paper will show that HATNÉK-nominalization can be characterized by a very high degree of verbalness, but it cannot be interpreted as a subordinate clause within the DP in the sense of Kornfilt & Whitman (2011).

We argue that the general syntactic structure of the basic type of HATNÉK-nouns is the one proposed in Alberti et al. (2016), in which the essentially morphology-based Hungarian traditions (Szabolcsi & Laczkó 1992; Bartos 2000; É. Kiss 2002) are integrated with the cartographic split-DP Hypothesis (Giusti 1996; Ihsane & Puskás 2001), via inserting operator layers within the zone of the nominal layers (Giusti 1996, 126). The structure of the extraordinary type, however, shows the opposite strategy, in which arguments of the embedded verb remain within the zone of the verbal layers encapsulated as a huge verbal structure (including operator layers), which is hosted in (Spec,NP) as a whole. The paper concludes with a short summary (section 4).

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[1] This continuous scale of verbalness of nominalization are thoroughly described in Kornfilt & Whitman (2011). Their analysis of nominalization is based on The Functional Nominalization Thesis which suggests that "Nominal properties of a nominalization are contributed by a nominal functional projection. The nominalization has verbal properties below the nominal functional projection, nominal properties above it" (*ibid.*, 1298). They differentiate four types of nominalization as regards of the functional head below the nominal projections: CP, TP, *v*P or VP-types. In Polish and Greek there exist CP-types, that is, an embedded clause is built below the determiner. However, Hungarian HATNÉK-nominalization does not have a complementizer in the phrase, and does not express tense, therefore we suggest that a *v*P is below the nominal projections.

2. A short characterization of HATNÉK-noun constructions

2.1. HATNÉK-nominalization as a "new" deverbal nominalization in Hungarian

As was pointed out by Tompa (1959), the sequence *-hAtnék* in examples like (1a) below is a fixed inseparable derivational suffix that is attached to a (non-inflected, possibly relative) verb stem. As is shown in (1b), it is not simply the result of the free application of a conversional derivation to arbitrary conditional verb forms, in spite of the fact that this synchronically simplex form coincides with a sequence of the following three verbal suffixes: (i) the permissive modal suffix *-hAt* 'can', (ii) the conditional suffix *-né-*, and (iii) a number-person suffix *-k*, which refers to the first person suffix in present-day Hungarian. It also has an archaic use as a third person suffix in the special group of *-ik*-verbs (1c). According to Tompa (1959, 482), these three elements coalesced into the present-day deverbal nominalizer.

(1)   Introductory illustration of HATNÉK-nominalization

   a. Kibortasz   *az állandó   lottóz-hatnék-od-dal.*
      make_angry-2SG the permanent play_the_lottery-HATNÉK-POSS.2SG-INS
      'You make me angry *with your permanent desire to play the lottery.*'

   b. *Kibortasz   *az állandó   lottóz-hat-ná-l-od-dal.*
      make_angry-2SG the permanent play_the_lottery-MOD-COND-2SG-POSS.2SG-INS
      Intended meaning: 'You make me angry *with your permanent desire to play the lottery.*'

   c. Állandóan   *lottóz-hat-né-k,*
      permanently play_the_lottery-MOD-COND-[1/3]SG

      ha lenne   elég   pénzem.
      if   be-COND-3SG enough money-POSS.1SG
      '*I could play the lottery* permanently if I had enough money.' Archaic reading: '*She/He could play the lottery* permanently if I had enough money.'

We claim, without illustration, that HATNÉK-nominalization is productive (since neologisms and nonsensical verbs can readily serve as input) and the resulting HATNÉK-nouns have (indeed) the external distribution of a noun. This kind of derivation, therefore, belongs to the system of productive Hungarian deverbal nominalizations as a "full member" (Alberti & Farkas to appear).

   The derived HATNÉK-nouns always involve the allomorphs *-hatnék* (1a) or *-hetnék* (2), depending on the rules of vowel harmony, in correspondence with the fact that all HATNÉK-nouns are "on-line created" forms,

that is, no dictionaries contain such forms. In contrast to other deverbal nominalizations in Hungarian, thus, in the case of HATNÉK-nominalization, there are no such alternative lexical(ized) forms as *vadász**at*** 'hunt(ing)' and *oper**áció*** 'operation', for instance, as an alternative to the regularly derived ÁS-nouns *vadász**ás*** 'hunting' and *oper**álás*** 'operating' (also see Broekhuis et al. 2012, 62).

As for the meaning of HATNÉK-nouns, Tompa (1959, 485) establishes that they refer to some kind of a desire to perform the sort of action denoted by their verbal derivational basis; this kind of meaning is exemplified in (1a) above. There is also a group of verbs denoting partially controllable actions, typically bodily/sound emissions, in the case of which the *hAtnék*-nouns refer to some kind of urge (2).

(2)   HATNÉK-nouns denoting some kind of urge

    a.   *Nevet-hetnék-em/   Tüsszent-hetnék-em   van.*
       laugh-NMLZ-POSS.1SG sneeze-NMLZ-POSS.1SG be-3SG
       '*I* have *the urge to laugh/sneeze.*'

    b.   #*Az esőnek   es-hetnék-je   van.*
       the rain-DAT fall-NMLZ-POSS.13SG be-3SG
       '*It* has *the urge to raining.*'

As for potential input argument structures, the crucial factor is that an appropriate one must contain an Agent (like 'you$_{sg}$' in 'you play the lottery' in (1a)) or an Agent-like participant (like the ego in 'I laugh/sneeze' in (2a)), that is, a participant who is capable of actively executing the desired action or, at least to a certain degree, volitionally controlling some kind of urge. From this it follows that these subjects must be animate. Inanimate subjects can only appear in a HATNÉK-construction as a humorous personification (2b) (for further information about the Agent-like argument, see Alberti & Farkas 2016).

2.2. Verbal properties typical of HATNÉK-noun constructions

The first verbal property to discuss is aspect, typically expressed by preverbs in Hungarian.

In the course of HATNÉK-nominalization (just as in the case of all complex-event-related nominalizations, see Laczkó 2000, 315), not only meaningful preverbs are preserved (3a) but also exclusively-perfectivizing ones (3b′). Although the latter constructions are quite marked (3b′) in contrast to the cases presented in (3a–b), they are not unacceptable, pre-

sumably due to the fact that preserving the preverb is the single solution in cases in which the speaker intends to express precisely the accomplishment (and not only the process) of an activity as the object of the desire in question. HATNÉK-noun constructions can therefore be regarded as highly verbal in this respect (compared to nominalization types in other languages which reject aspectual auxiliaries; except for poss/-*ing* gerunds in English (Kornfilt & Whitman 2011, 1299).

(3)   Verbal modifiers in the case of HATNÉK-nouns

    a.^(?)Marira   rátört

      Mari.SUB come_over-PST-3SG

      az ok   nélkül   való   vissza-beszél-hetnék.

      the reason without be-PTCP back-speak-NMLZ

      'Mari was overcome by *the desire to talk back without reasons.*'

    b.^(?)Marira   rátört

      Mari.SUB come_over-PST-3SG

      az óra   alatt való   fésülköd-hetnék.

      the lesson under be-PTCP comb_oneself-NMLZ

      'Mari was overcome by *the desire to comb herself during the lesson.*'

    b.′ [?]Marira   rátört

      Mari. SUB come_over-PST-3SG

      az ebéd előtt való   meg-fésülköd-hetnék.

      the lunch before be-PTCP perf-comb_oneself-NMLZ

      'Mari was overcome by *the desire to do her hair by combing herself before lunch.*'

The next verbal property is the presence and obligatoriness of arguments, that is, the question of argument-structure inheritance.

The basic tendency is that HATNÉK-nouns are highly verbal, since they almost completely inherit the argument structure of the input verb (see Broekhuis et al. 2012, 53).

Oblique case-marked arguments can readily be expressed in HATNÉK-noun constructions both in the postnominal zone and prenominally in a *való*-construction.[2] In the case of two oblique-case-marked arguments (4a), the best strategy to express them is the mixed solution, illustrated in (4a′). If an oblique case-marked argument serves as a verbal modifier in the

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[2] Formally, *való* is the present participial form of *van* 'be'. As for its function in the relevant cases, it serves as an attributivizer whose construction can host oblique-case-marked dependents of the noun head (counterparts of arguments of the verb that the given HATNÉK-noun is derived from), which otherwise could not appear prenominally (within the given noun phrase).

input verbal construction, its output counterpart can readily be hosted in the prenominal argument position of the derived HATNÉK-noun (see the argument *Pécsre* 'Pécs-SUB' in (4b)).

(4)   Expressing oblique-case-marked arguments within HATNÉK-noun constructions

    a. Ili gyakran beszélget Marival   a   politikáról.
      Ili often   talk-3SG Mari-INS the politics-DEL
      'Ili often talks with Mari about politics.'

    a.′ ?Ilire   rájött
      Ili.Sub come_over-PST-3SG

      a   politikáról   való   beszélget-hetnék Marival.
      the politics-DEL be-PTCP talk-NMLZ   Mari-INS
      'Ili was overcome by *the desire to talk with Mari about politics.*'

    b. Elfogott   *a   Pécsre   utaz-hatnék.* (cf. *Pécsre*   utaztam.)
      seize-PST-3SG the Pécs-SUB travel-NMLZ   Pécs-SUB travel-PST-1SG
      'I was seized by *the desire to travel to Pécs.*' 'I traveled to *Pécs.*'

The counterpart of the Agent(-like) input subject is typically expressed, since it basically corresponds to the (output) possessor, which is either explicitly present (see (6) below), or is at least typically reconstructable (4a′–b) in the sense that it must be identified with a certain argument within the clause.

    Let us turn to the other non-oblique case-marked argument, that is, the input object. A definite object (5a) cannot appear in a HATNÉK-noun construction, since it cannot appear as a possessor (5a′) or (either with or without accusative case suffix) in a prenominal argument position of a HATNÉK-noun, either (5a″).

(5)   Expressing (the counterpart of) the input object within HATNÉK-noun constructions

    a. Ili (meg-)simogatja   azt   az oroszlánt.
      Ili (perf-)stroke-DEFOBJ-3SG that-ACC the lion-ACC
      'Ili strokes/is stroking that lion.'

    a.′ *Ilire   rájött
      Ili-SUB come_over-PST-3SG

      annak   az oroszlánnak a   simogat-hatnék-ja.
      that-DAT the lion-DAT   the stroke-NMLZ-POSS.3SG
      Intended meaning: 'Ili was overcome by *the desire to stroke that lion.*'

a.″ *Ilire   rájött
 Ili-SUB come_over-PST-3SG

 az [azt   az oroszlánt]/[az az oroszlán] simogat-hatnék.
 the that-ACC the lion-ACC   that the lion   stroke-NMLZ
 Intended meaning: 'Ili was overcome by *the desire to stroke that lion*'.

b. Ili éppen oroszlán(oka)t/ *?Bömbit   simogat.
 Ili just   lion(-PL)-ACC   Bömbi-ACC stroke-3SG
 'Ili is stroking lions/Bömbi.'

b.′ Ilire   rájött   *az oroszlán(*-ok)-simogat-hatnék.*
 Ili-SUB come_over-PST-3SG the lion(-PL)-stroke-NMLZ
 'Ili was overcome by *the desire to stroke lions.*'

b.″ Ilire   rájött
 Ili-SUB come_over-PST-3SG

 a   legyőzhetetlen ?*(*a) Bömbi-simogat-hatnék.*
 the invincible   the Bömbi-stroke-NMLZ
 'Ili was overcome by *the invincible desire to stroke Bömbi.*'

As the example in (5b′) above illustrates, the input object can appear in a prenominal argument position of the HATNÉK-noun if it is based on a transitive argument-structure type with a bare-NP object (see (5b)).

Example (5b″) presents a fairly acceptable ("?") exceptional case, in which the counterpart of a definite object (*Bömbi*) appears in the prenominal argument position of a HATNÉK-noun. Note, however, that the given type of example has a somewhat humorous connotation, to which the licensing of the slight violation of our generalization concerning definite input objects can be attributed, in addition to the following strange in-between status of personal names. Semantically, they are definite expressions, but they dispense with the definite article (on a register- or dialect-dependent basis), so formally, they "look like" bare nouns, and bare nouns can readily occupy pre-head positions (5b–b′).[3] This phenomenon can also be interpreted as a kind of incorporation in the sense of Farkas & de Swart (2004), since these dependents are not full-fledged arguments of the basic verb.

With respect to having accusative case-marked arguments, HATNÉK-nouns are significantly more verbal than all other types of deverbal nominal

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[3] The two-faced behavior of (explicitly articleless referential) proper names can be accounted for by assuming that they form a DP (but) in a way that the D position is filled with the N head (moving there); see Bartos (2000, 749–752); it can be hypothesized, thus, that in certain syntactic contexts, the proper name "remains" an atomic N head.

(see Alberti & Farkas to appear, subsection 1.3.1.7). One reason for this evaluation is that the accusative case marking is to be retained **obligatorily** if the HATNÉK-noun construction is based on an idiom with an accusative case-marked object serving as a verbal modifier (6).

(6) Accusative case-marking in the case of HATNÉK-nouns: I. Idioms

    a. Ilire   tegnap   rájött
        Ili-SUB yesterday come_over-PST-3SG

        a   főnökből   való   gúny(*$^{(?)}$-t) űz-hetnék.
        the boss-ELA be-PTCP mock(-ACC) chase-NMLZ
        'Yesterday Ili was overcome by *the desire to make a fool of the boss.*'

    b. Ilire   tegnap   rájött   *a   világ(*$^{(?)}$-ot)* lát-hatnék.
        Ili-SUB yesterday come_over-PST-3SG the world(-ACC) see-NMLZ
        'Yesterday Ili was overcome by *the desire to see the world.*'

The other, presumably more important, reason for evaluating HATNÉK-nouns significantly more verbal than all other types of deverbal nominal in Hungarian is that, in the case of HATNÉK-nouns, even output counterparts of certain input objects serving as verbal modifiers in non-idiomatic expressions retain their accusative case marking (7b). We can establish, as a first approximation, that the retention of accusative case marking depends on phonological properties of the given objects; one-syllable roots, for instance, are more likely to show the property in question than longer roots (see (7c); cf. (7b)). The tendency of the appearance of case marking only in monosyllabic nouns can also be considered to be an argument for the HATNÉK-construction to be a single prosodic unit. Another interesting observation is illustrated in (7d) below: if the accusative case marking is retained on the Theme argument of the input verb, the denoted desire is directed towards the speaker's own hair, while the variant without the accusative case marking rather suggests that the given HATNÉK-noun denoted a desire to wash someone else's hair, which is a realistic interpretation in the case of a hairdresser who happens to be fed up with cutting hair and wants to do something else.

(7) Accusative case-marking in the case of HATNÉK-nouns: II. Non-idioms

    a. Ilire   rájött   *az ebéd előtt való*   [...].
        Ili-SUB come_over-PST-3SG the lunch before be-PTCP
        'Ili was overcome by *the desire to* [...] *before lunch.*'

    b. [*fog**$^{(?)}$*-at)* *mos-hatnék*]/ [*hal**$^{(?)}$*-at) e-hetnék*]
        tooth(-ACC) wash-NMLZ   fish(-ACC) eat-NMLZ
        '[*wash her teeth*]/[*eat some fish*]'

   c. [*pulóver*^(?) *(*[?]-t) mos-hatnék*]/ [*édesség*^(?) *(*[?]-et) ehetnék*]

      pullover(-ACC) wash-NMLZ   sweet(-ACC)   eat-NMLZ

      '[*wash pullovers*]/[*eat sweets*]'

   d. [*fog*[?] *(*^(?)*-at) mos-hatnék*]

      hair(-ACC) wash-NMLZ

      '[*wash hair*]'

As is exemplified in (8b–b′), when the prenominal argument zone immediately left-adjacent to the noun head, which corresponds to the position of verbal modifiers in verbal constructions, contains not only a Theme but also a (simplex (8b) or complex (8b′)) preverb, the input Theme must appear without its explicit accusative case marking and must precede the preverb.[4]

(8)   Accusative case-marking in the case of HATNÉK-nouns: III. Doubly filled prenominal argument zone

    a. *Ilinek a   (tegnapi   óra   alatt való)   folyamatos* [...]

       Ili-DAT the yesterday-ADJ lesson under be-PTCP continuous

       mindenkit   kiborított.

       everyone-ACC make_angry-PST-3SG

       '*Ili's continuous* [...] *(during yesterday's lesson)* made everyone angry.'

    b. *narancsmag(-*ot)-ki-köpköd-hetnék-je*

       orange_pip(-ACC)-out-spit_out-NMLZ-POSS.3SG

       '*urge to spit out orange pips*'

    c. *mobiltelefon(*-t)-ki-be-kapcsolgat-hatnék-ja*

       mobile_phone(-ACC)-out-into-switch-NMLZ-POSS.3SG

       '*urge to switch on and off one's mobile phone*'

Accusative case-marked objects "retain" their case marking in the case of a very special subtype of HATNÉK-noun construction, illustrated in (9). The strangest property of this is that even very long sequences of words can appear left-adjacent to the HATNÉK-noun with a single stress on the first syllable of the entire sequence – as if this (potentially) huge conglomerate as a whole occupied the (otherwise "narrow") prenominal argument zone (9b–f′); the hyphenated spelling of the Hungarian sentences below expresses the peculiar stress pattern. Further arguments in favor of this construction type occupying the prenominal argument zone (as a huge conglomerate) are the peculiar properties that (i) accusative case marking

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[4] Other deverbal nominal constructions (such as the ÁS-noun *adat-fel-dolgoz-ás* 'data-up-work-NMLZ' ('data processing'), for instance) show the same pattern.

appears, here definitely obligatorily, on the counterparts of input objects (9b–d), (ii) oblique case-marked arguments (9c–e′) and adjuncts (9b) appear in a non-attributivized form, (iii) adverbial (9f), converbial (9f′) and postpositional (9c) elements can also appear (in a non-attributivized form). The fact that (certain) operators can appear in the construction in question (9b–e′) – which is otherwise not possible in the prenominal argument zone but is definitely preferred here (see also (12) below) – suggests that the given HATNÉK-noun subtype has a different structure to what basic HATNÉK-noun constructions do: here the operator layers do not appear in the matrix structure of the noun phrase but are built on the embedded verb together with which they move to the specifier of the NP as one huge verbal constituent (see Figure 2 in section 3).

The differences in grammaticality judgments between the variants investigated in (9e–e′) reveal the peculiar semantics of the given subtype of HATNÉK-noun: they refer to desires to "institutionalized" events *per definitionem* instead of specific "occasional" desires (e.g., quarrelling with colleagues or family members without mentioning specific details peculiar to the given Agent is significantly preferred to referring to individual complex events).[5]

(9)   A special subtype of HATNÉK-noun

a. Ilire   már   megint rájött   [...].
    Ili-SUB already again   come_over-PST-3SG
    'Ili was overcome by *a desire* [...].'

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[5] In addition to the fact that our mother-tongue intuition differentiates well-formed and ill-formed potential HATNÉK-noun constructions with extremely expanded NP-specifiers, the comparison of the fully unacceptable potential ÁS-noun construction presented in (i) to the analogous HATNÉK-noun construction in (9d) also verifies that what we are facing is not a "(poetic) game" of performance but part of our mental grammar (i.e., it belongs to the field of linguistic competence), presumably in connection with the fact that HATNÉK-noun constructions are even more verbal than (also highly verbal) ÁS-noun constructions (which are the most productive deverbal nominal constructions in Hungarian).

(i) *A   minden-ügy-ben-csak-a-férje-vélemény-é-t-ki-kér-és
    the every-case-INE-only-the-husband-POSS.3SG-opinion-POSS.3SG-ACC-out-ask-NMLZ

    eddig   nem volt   jellemző Ilire.
    so_far not   be-PST.3SG typical   Ili-SUB
    '*Consulting in every case only her husband* has not been typical of Ili so far.'

b.^(?)*a   minden-hír-**t**-kapásból-kommentál-hatnék*
    the every-piece_of_news-ACC-promptly-comment-NMLZ
    '*to comment on every news promptly*'

c.^(?)*a   mindenki-**t**-mindenkivel-ok-nélkül-össze-veszejt-hetnék*
    the everyone-ACC-everyone.INS-reason-without-together-lose.CAUS-NMLZ
    '*to make everyone have a quarrel with everyone without any reason*'

d. [?]*a   minden-ügy-ben-csak-a-férje-vélemény-é-**t**-*
    the every-case-INE-only-the-husband-POSS.3SG-opinion-POSS.3SG-ACC

    -ki-kér-hetnék
    -out-ask-NMLZ
    '*to consult in every case only her husband*'

e. *a ^(?)minden-/ ^{??}mindegyik-/ *négy-kollégá-val-össze-vesz-hetnék*
    the every   all   four-colleague-INS-together-lose-NMLZ
    '*to quarrel with every/all/the four colleague(s)*'

e.′ *[?]([?]*a   még-)az-any-já-ba-is-bele-köt-hetnék*
   (the even-)the-mother-POSS.3SG-ILL-also-into-bind-NMLZ
   '*to pick a quarrel also (/even) with his mother*'

f. ^(?)*az* [*ingyen-ebédel-hetnék*]/   [*olcsón-söröz-hetnék*]
    the free_of_charge-eat_lunch-NMLZ cheaply-drink_beer-NMLZ
    '[*to eat lunch free of charge*]/[*to drink beer cheaply*]'

f.′ [?]*a   sír-va-haza-rohan-hatnék*
    the cry-CONV-home-run-NMLZ
    '*to run home crying*'

HATNÉK-nouns belonging to the basic type are not verbal with respect to adverbial modification, since they pattern with ordinary nouns in prohibiting adverbial modifiers immediately belonging to the noun head (10a). Adverbs, converbs and postpositions can only appear in the prenominal argument position (which corresponds to the verbal modifier position in verbal structures) (10b–b′). As has been demonstrated in (9f–f′), however, HATNÉK-nouns belonging to the extreme subtype are highly verbal in this respect: they pattern with verbs (and such non-finite verb-like categories as participles, converbs, and infinitives) in allowing adverbial (and converbial) modification.

(10) Potential adverbial and converbial modification of the basic type of HATNÉK-noun

    a. Péterre   rájött   *a legyőzhetetlen(*-ül) al-hatnék.*
       Péter-SUB come_over-PST-3SG the invincible(-ADV)   sleep-NMLZ
       'Peter was overcome by *the invincible urge to sleep.*'

b.^(?)Iliéket   elfogta   *a   nyári   szünidő alatt   való*
    Ili-ADD-ACC seize-PST-DEFOBJ-3SG the summer-ADJ holiday under be-PTCP

külön/   együtt/   [híd   alatt] lak-hatnék.
separately together bridge under live-NMLZ

'Ili and her friends were seized by the desire to live *separately/together/[under the bridge] during the summer holiday.*'

b′.^(?)A   vendégeket   elfogta   *az ok   nélkül   való*
    the guest-PL-ACC seize-PST-DEFOBJ-3SG the reason without be-PTCP

állva   marad-hatnék.
stand-CONV remain-NMLZ

'The guests were seized by *the desire to remain standing without any reason.*'

The last verbal property to discuss is whether HATNÉK-noun constructions can host (internally) the kind of information structure that Hungarian verbal constructions are famous for (see, for instance, É. Kiss 2002, chapters 4–5), similar to other deverbal nominal constructions in Hungarian (see Alberti et al. 2016). This fact confirms Ross' Penthouse Principle (Ross 1973, 411): "All syntactic processes that apply in prenominal clauses also apply in other subordinate clauses. All syntactic processes that apply in subordinate clauses also apply in main clauses."

As is illustrated in (11) (also see Figure 1 in section 3), HATNÉK-nouns are readily capable of hosting (even quite complex) internal information structures,[6] which, nevertheless, can be regarded rather as a "the-

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[6] By an "internal information structure" we mean one which unequivocally belongs to the verb embedded in the deverbal noun, and not to the (finite) matrix verb of the sentence. In the intended meaning of (11b), for instance, the expression *all three opposition parties* belongs to (the information structure of) the embedded verb 'nominate' as a quantifier (yielding the meaning that 'all three opposition parties are so enervated that they want to nominate candidates only in the capital, and this global situation is what surprises me (while it would not surprise me if only one of the opposition parties do so)'). Nevertheless, it is not *ab ovo* excluded (see Alberti et al. 2016) that a noun-phrase-internal constituent can serve as an operator that belongs to (the information structure of) the matrix verb. Example (11b) can be associated with such a meaning, too: 'It surprises me in the case of each of the three opposition parties (potentially for different reasons) that they want to nominate candidates only in the capital.' The external-scope taking behavior of noun-phrase-internal operators is not relevant in this paper, because that is the kind of reading which has nothing to do with verbalness but which a noun phrase can normally be associated with. A sentence like *Elromlott mindkét fiam kocsija* 'went_wrong both son_of_mine car', for instance, cannot mean that 'the common car of my two sons went wrong' (in spite of the fact that both the noun 'car' and the verb 'went wrong' are singular) but it unavoidably means that each of my two sons has a car, and both cars went wrong).

oretical possibility" than an actual practice (that is, an attested fact) in language use. The readiness to undergo information-structure inheritance is obviously due to their "on-line created" and event-denoting character and the fact that HATNÉK-nouns readily host fully fledged (i.e., non-bare-NP) arguments in their postnominal complement zone as well as in *való*-constructions (see (4a′)).

(11) Information structure in basic type of HATNÉK-noun construction

a.^(?)A miniszterelnököt ijedséggel töltötte el
the prime_minister-ACC fright-INS fill-PST-DEFOBJ-3SG away

az ellenzék minden körzetben való jelölt-állít-hatnék-ja.
the opposition every district-INE be-PTCP candidate-nominate-NMLZ-POSS.3SG

[?][FRIGHTEN > IN_EACH_DISTRICT > NOMINATE]

'It frightened the prime minister that *the opposition had the desire to nominate candidates in each district.*'

b.^(?)Sokkol *mindhárom ellenzéki pártnak*
shock-3SG all_three opposition party-DAT

a csak a fővárosban való jelölt-állít-hatnék-ja.
the only the capital-INE be-PTCP candidate-nominate-NMLZ-POSS.3SG

[SHOCK > ALL_THREE_PARTIES > ONLY_IN_THE_CAPITAL > NOMINATE]

'It shocks me that *all three opposition parties have the desire to nominate candidates only in the capital.*'

As is illustrated in (12) (also see Figure 2 in section 3), the extreme subtype of HATNÉK-noun construction with an "unboundedly expandable" prenominal argument zone can also readily host a variety of operators such as *mind*-quantifiers (12b,c–d), *is*-quantifiers (12c), *csak*-foci (12d), negative foci (12e), and other negative operator types (12f).

(12) Operators in prenominal argument zone of special HATNÉK-nouns

a. A főnökre már megint rájött [...].
the boss-SUB already again come_over-PST-3SG

'The boss was overcome by *a desire* [...].'

b.^(?)*a* **minden-kérés-t**-*kapásból-el-utasít-hatnék*
the every-request-ACC-promptly-away-order-NMLZ

'*to reject* **every request** *promptly*'

Thus, in section 3, only syntactic trees of internal-scope taking noun-phrase-internal operators will be demonstrated.

c. $^{(?)}a$ *minden-konferenciá-ra-**a-szerető-jé-t-is**-magá-val-*
    the every-conference-SUB-the-lover-POSS.3SG-ACC-also-himself-INS-
    -vi-hetnék
    -carry-NMLZ
    '*to take **even his lover** with him to every conference*'

d. $^{(?)}a$ *minden-konferenciá-ra-**csak-magá-t**-delegál-hatnék*
    the every-conference-SUB-only-himself-ACC-delegate-NMLZ
    '*to delegate **only himself** to every conference*'

e. $^{(?)}a$ ***nem-a-legrátermettebb-kollégá-t**-elő-lép-tet-hetnék*
    the not-the-ablest-colleague-ACC-forward-step-CAUS-NMLZ
    '*to promote **not the ablest colleague***'

f. $^{(?)}a$ ***senki-vel-sem**-beszélget-hetnék*
    the noone-INS-either-talk-NMLZ
    '*to talk **to no-one***'

The appearance of *mind*-quantifiers in the prenominal argument zone of such HATNÉK-noun constructions is not only "tolerated" but definitely preferred as a coexisting operator in complex information structures (see (12c–d)). This phenomenon can be attributed to the trigger role of *mind*-quantifiers which they can play in the "institutionalized" (or generic) meaning type typical of the given subtype of HATNÉK-noun.[7]

3. The syntactic structures of the two subtypes of HATNÉK-noun construction

In Figure 1, we present an extended DP structure which integrates the morphological Hungarian traditions[8] with the cartographic split-DP Hypothesis (Giusti 1996).

    Our representations are built up following Grohmann's rigorous minimalist theory of Prolific Domains (Grohmann 2003, 211). Grohmann argues that phrase structures are split into three domains: a thematic domain ($\Theta\Delta$), an agreement domain ($\Phi\Delta$), and a discourse domain ($\Omega\Delta$). The theory is based on the so-called Anti-Locality Hypothesis that states that

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[7] Chierchia (1995), who deals with generic sentences, argues that genericity is a kind of modal operator, and he draws attention to the similarities between adverbs of quantification and the generic operator.

[8] This tradition is hallmarked by such seminal works as Szabolcsi & Laczkó (1992), the Mirror-Principle-based (Baker 1985) paper by Bartos (2000), and É. Kiss's (2002) book.

"[p]hrasal movement within a given Prolific Domain is ruled out, unless it is followed by Copy Spell Out" (*ibid.*, 245). That is, the Grohmannian-style movement is such that a lexical item does not move from a Θ-position to another Θ-position within the same domain, and it does not move several times within the same agreement layer to check several sets of Φ-features. The same constraint also holds for discourse domain (ΩΔ): the same phrase can take two operator functions only at the cost of spelling out twice. There are two basic generalizations concerning movement or derivational dependencies within tripartite clause-like cycles: (i) cycle-internal movement always targets the next higher domain (according to the order: ΩΔ←ΦΔ←ΘΔ), and (ii) movement across cycles targets a position within the same type of domain in the next higher cycle (i.e., ΩΔ←ΩΔ, ΦΔ←ΦΔ, ΘΔ←ΘΔ).

We claim that the high verbalness typical of the basic type of HAT-NÉK-noun construction can be accounted for in the following way (also see Alberti & Farkas 2016). The hybrid character of HATNÉK-noun constructions is captured by assuming that, "in the center" of their structure, the deverbal nominalizer *-hAtnék* occupies the position of the N head and takes a projection containing a VP in its depth (Fu et al. 2001). The appearance of vP in this "verbal hemisphere" is required due to the presence of an Agent, which plays the possessor role of the HATNÉK-nouns. We suggest that not only the DP itself but also the embedded VP consists of a tripartite structure with an own thematic (ΘΔ), agreement (ΦΔ) and discourse domain (ΩΔ). Since the precise internal syntactic hierarchy of VP and of the higher verbal constructions is practically irrelevant for us in this paper, the vPs, that is, ΘΔ and the (Grohmannian) agreement domain (ΦΔ) are given only a rough representation in our figures.

The embedded V is proposed to project (at least) up to Asp(ectual)P, but not up to T(ense)P (see Alberti 2004; É. Kiss 2006; 2008), because HATNÉK-noun constructions obligatorily contain (even) only-perfectivizing preverbs (see (3b′) in section 2)[9] but they express no tense.

The possessor can be raised from its thematic position (Spec,vP in $\Theta_V\Delta$) into (Spec,φ_{Cent}), since this argument is a "central" participant in Narrow Syntax. Then it moves forward into the nominal (agreement) domain ($\Phi_N\Delta$).[10] Here a PosdP layer is required in order to account for

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[9] Cf. also Laczkó (2000, 314–316).

[10] As for the NAK possessor preceding the definite article, it is typically placed in (Spec,DP) in the literature (e.g., Szabolcsi & Laczkó 1992; Bartos 2000). In our analysis, however, it is placed in a (Spec,PosP) position above the DP-layer, in order to separate a Giusti-style (1996) left-peripheral topic/operator layer (cf. É. Kiss 1999,

the morphological structure of inflected nouns containing a possessedness suffix. The suffix *-(j)A* practically serves as the "possessivizer" of normal nouns (i.e., it makes normal nouns "possessed nouns"). Since we assume that there are two Φ-domains within a DP (the first one is built up above the NP, and the second one above the DP), the possessor as a NAK possessor particularly moves into the pre-D PosP layer. As the possessor is a quantified expression with noun-phrase-internal scope, and not with a scope to be interpreted relative to the sentential verb *sokkol* 'shock', we propose to build a $Q_{Pos}P$ layer upon the PosP in our cartographic approach, an $\Omega\Delta$-internal discourse layer in Grohmann's (2003) terms, modelled on QP (or DistP) layers built upon VP (e.g., see (26)–(27) in É. Kiss 2002, 112–113).

As also exemplified in Figure 1, an operator layer for an expression with noun-phrase-internal scope can be built upon not only the layer of a possessor but also upon a layer hosting a pre-N non-possessor. The particular $\Omega\Delta$-layer is that of a *való*-construction which hosts a dependent, namely, the inessive case-marked argument *csak a fővárosban* 'only the capital-INE' (see KP_f in Figure 1) of the embedded verb (*állít* 'nominate'). Case-marked arguments like *csak a fővárosban* 'only the capital-INE' are marked as "non-central" in Narrow Syntax, so they must stop in $(\text{Spec},\varphi_{NCent})$ before they get to their final position.

We follow Ihsane & Puskás (2001, 45), whose approach is based on Aboh (1998), in assuming that (potentially iterable) functional projections can be inserted between the DP-layer (of the definite article) and the NP-layer (or more precisely, the PosdP layer) in the Hungarian DP-structure. Thus we assume that *való* is an attributivizer particle, which occupies a functional head Attr, which functions in the same way as PosP (as a layer in $\Phi\Delta$) with respect to offering its specifier position for arguments (and accepting operator layers built upon it within the corresponding $\Omega\Delta$, like the $Foc_{Attr}P$ layer in Figure 1) – with the difference that while (Spec,PosP) hosts possessors, (Spec,AttrP) hosts non-possessors, that is, oblique case-marked (or postpositional) arguments. The exact position of other attributive-like dependents requires further research.

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86) from a layer (i.e., the DP-layer) exclusively responsible for the expression of definiteness, following Alexiadou's (2004) principle of D-visibility (for whose application to Hungarian Egedi 2015 convincingly argues). The principle declares that either the specifier or the head of the DP must be spelled out.
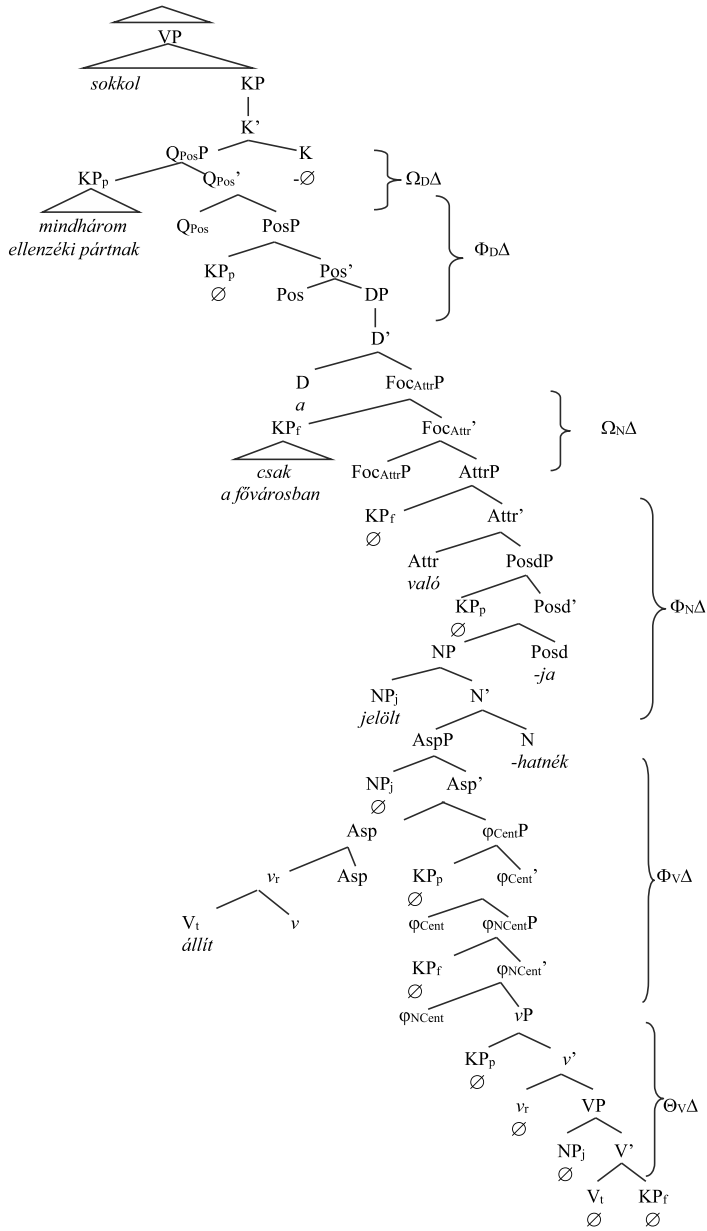
As for the Theme (*jelölt* 'candidate'), it is raised into (Spec,AspP), since in a corresponding finite verbal construction this placement would suit its aspectual function. Then, due to its unmarked (non-accusative-case-marked) status, it should leave the verbal "hemisphere" of the syntactic structure of the hybrid deverbal nominal construction and raise further into (Spec,NP), in which it is licensed as part of a compound.
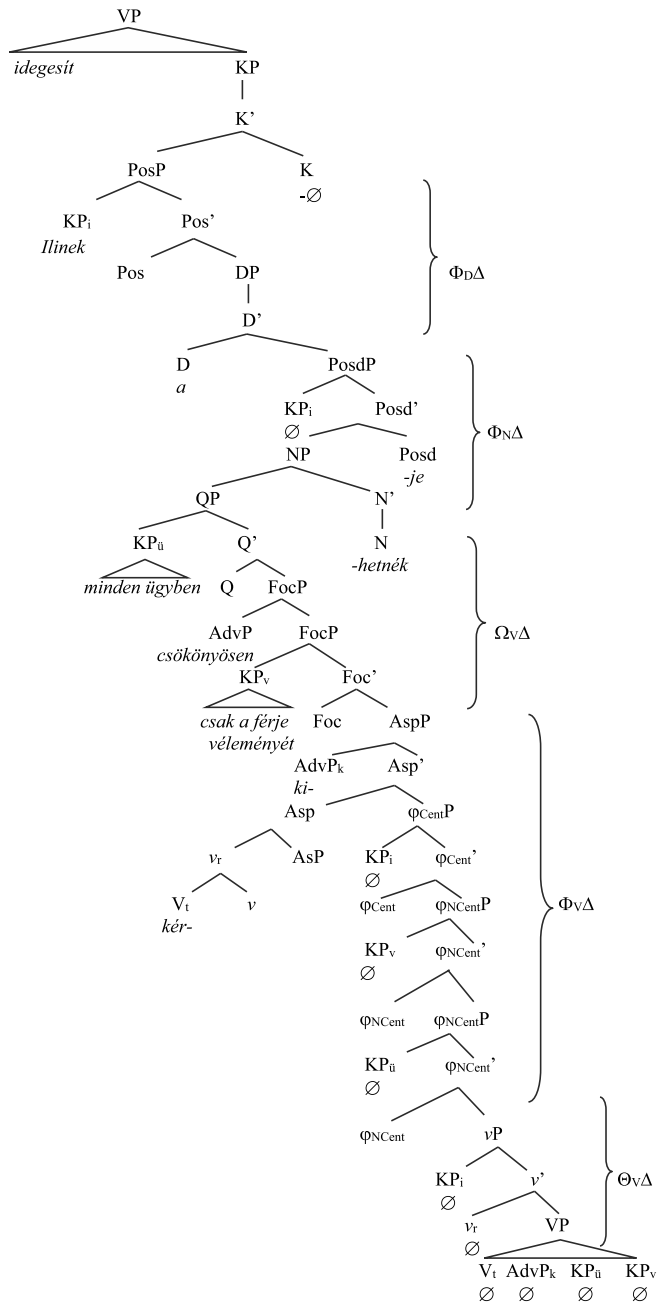
As the obligatory retention of the accusative case marking on the expression of the (output) Theme is a leading peculiarity of the extreme subtype of HATNÉK-noun construction presented in (9) and (12) in section 2, exemplified here in (13) and in Figure 2, the accusative case-marked argument (*csak … véleményét* 'only … oppinion-POSS.3SG-ACC'), together with the non-attributivized oblique-case-marked argument (*minden ügyben* 'every case-INE') and the also non-attributivized adverbial adjunct (*csökönyösen* 'obstinate-ADV'), must remain inside the verbal "hemisphere" of the syntactic structure of the hybrid deverbal nominal construction as an intact verbal construction. The unit of this construction and the nominalized verb, as indicated by hyphenation in (13), has the same stress pattern as the compound *jelöltállíthatnék* 'candidate-nominate-NMLZ' in Figure 1.[11] So the huge verbal construction occupies the same (Spec,NP) position as *jelölt*; it is presumably this special position that ensures the intactness. As the dependents of the embedded verb remain inside a verbal inclusion, the quantifier and focus layers must be built inside the verbal hemisphere, instead of the nominal hemisphere – providing verbal-hemisphere-internally an entire Grohmannian Θ-Φ-Ω tripartite domain for them. That is the crucial difference between the noun phrase structure attributed to the basic type of HATNÉK-noun construction (Figure 1) and the even more verbal structure attributed to the extreme subtype of HATNÉK-noun construction (Figure 2).

(13) [?]Idegesít   *Ilinek   a   minden-ügy-ben-csökönyösen-*
      annoy.3SG Ili-DAT the every-case-INE-obstinate-ADV

      -csak-a-férje-véleményét-ki-kér-hetnék-je.
      -only-the-husband-POSS.3SG-opinion-POSS.3SG-ACC-out-ask-NMLZ-POSS.3SG
      '*Ili's urge to consult obstinately in every case only her husband* annoys me.'

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[11] One of our anonymous reviewers mentions that this is an argument in favor of treating the restriction on accusative to monosyllables as a prosodic filter.

Figure 1: The syntactic structure of the HATNÉK-noun construction presented in (11b)

VP

idegesít KP

K'

PosP K
-∅

KPᵢ Pos'
Ilinek

Pos DP

D'

D PosdP
a

KPᵢ Posd'
∅

NP Posd
-*je*

QP N'

KPü Q' N
-*hetnék*

minden ügyben Q FocP

AdvP FocP
csökönyösen

KPᵥ Foc'

csak a férje Foc AspP
véleményét

AdvPₖ Asp'
ki-

Asp φCentP

vᵣ AsP KPᵢ φCent'
∅

Vₜ v φCent φNCentP
kér-

KPᵥ φNCent'
∅

φNCent φNCentP

KPü φNCent'
∅

φNCent vP

KPᵢ v'
∅

vᵣ VP
∅

Vₜ AdvPₖ KPü KPᵥ
∅   ∅   ∅   ∅

ΦD∆

ΦN∆

ΩV∆

ΦV∆

ΘV∆

Figure 2: The syntactic structure of the HATNÉK-noun construction presented in (13)

The next step in our research project is to scrutinize how many and what kind of (clause-size) Grohmannian Θ-Φ-Ω tripartite domains constitute the extraordinarily complex (and intricate) different Hungarian noun phrase types.

4. Conclusion

Two subtypes of a special kind of Hungarian deverbal nominalization, namely, HATNÉK-nominalization, were discussed in this paper. Both can be characterized by a very high degree of verbalness (section 2) within the system of Hungarian deverbal nominalizations (Alberti & Farkas to appear) but it is only to the basic subtype that we attribute the Giusti-style noun phrase structure we propose for Hungarian deverbal nominal constructions in other papers (e.g., Alberti et al. 2016), while the extreme subtype was claimed to have an exceptional structure with an "unboundedly expandable" (Spec,NP) position, capable of hosting huge verbal inclusions (section 3).

Acknowledgements

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