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Depictive Secondary Predication in Hungarian *

Abstract

This paper takes SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) and HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) as the starting point for a description of depictive secondary predication in Hungarian. The Hungarian language distinguishes between three major types of depictives, based on nouns, converbs, and numerals, respectively. It is shown that significant semantic and syntactic differences hold between the two most important nominal depictives. As for the converb type, it is shown that there is a clear-cut distinction between adverbial uses of converbs to express manner or circumstance on the one hand and depictives on the other. The latter form one category with the converbs and can be used in periphrastic resultative constructions. Apart from the universal quantifier, which acts as a genuine depictive, numerals have a restricted use as depictives. Finally, it is argued that adjectives may also be considered a class of depictives.

1. Depictives

Depictives are secondary predicates, e.g. *raw* as in *Mary ate the fish raw*[1]. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) and HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) establish a better understanding of formal and semantic properties of depictives by describing various examples from languages of the

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1   Other terms used for this kind of secondary predicates are "praedicativum", "predicative attribute", "copredicate" or "copredicative". See SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) for references.

world and comparing them with (different classes of) adverbials. They propose that the term depictive proper be reserved for participant-oriented adjuncts which are part of the focus domain of a sentence, i. e. which function as focus exponents. Such adjuncts encode a state, which adds a significant characteristic to the main event – for example, *leaving drunk* or *leaving outraged* is different from simply *leaving*.[2]

In Hungarian there are various kinds of constructions, which contain secondary predicates. This paper focuses on just one type – the depictive secondary predication as, for instance, the equivalents of 'tour operator', 'drunk' and 'two' in the examples (1)a-c, respectively.

(1)   Depictive secondary predicates in Hungarian

    a. Pál *idegenvezető-ként*   dolgozik Görögországban.
         Paul tour.operator-as   work   Greece.in
         'Paul is working as a tour operator in Greece.'

    b. Péter *berúg-va*   ment haza.
         Peter get.drunk-CONV   went   home
         'Peter went home drunk.'

    c. *Kett-en*   mentünk haza.
         two-ADV   we.went   home
         'The two of us went home.'

I will discuss a typology of Hungarian depictives and their properties against the background of the works by Eva Schultze-Berndt and Nikolaus Himmelmann, who distinguish depictives from other secondary predications on the basis of the following set of properties, which all apply at the same time:

(2)   Depictive secondary predications meet the following requirements:

    (i)   There are two separate predicative elements.

    (ii)   The depictive is obligatory controlled. The controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive.

    (iii)   The depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate.

    (iv)   The depictive is not an argument of the main verb.

    (v)   The depictive is not a modifier of the controller.

    (vi)   The depictive is non-finite.

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2   As for the correlation between depictives and the pragmatic function of focus, there is no space for a detailed discussion here. It can, however, been argued that depictives do not necessarily form the focus of the clause in Hungarian.

(vii) The depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

By way of illustration, the examples (3)-(5) contain secondary predications which violate one or more of these requirements and hence cannot be considered depictives.

(3) Complex predicate (violation of (iii))

Mari *szét-szedte* a   rádió-t.
Mary apart-took the radio-ACC
'Mary took the radio apart.'

(4) Predicate complement (violation of (iv))

a. *Okos-nak*   tartom   Juliá-t
   clever-DAT   I.consider Julia-ACC
   'I consider Julia clever.'

b. Zsuzsa *sír-va*   fakadt.
   Zsuzsa cry-CONV   burst
   'Zsuzsa burst into tears.'

(5) Apposition (violation of (v) and (vii))

János, *a   pincér,* nem mondott semmit.
János the waiter not said   nothing
'János, the waiter, did not say anything.'

Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann also contrast depictives with classes of adverbials. They argue that in cross-linguistic perspective, participant-oriented adverbials should not necessarily be distinguished from depictive secondary predicates. An agentive adverb, e.g. *stupidly* as in *John stupidly answered the question*, is a participant-oriented adverb which syntactically belongs to the sentence-level adverbs. These ascribe a certain characteristic to the agent on the basis of the event which (s)he performs. The way the adverb is used in the examples above differs from that in *John answered the question stupidly*, where *stupidly* is a manner adverbial ascribed to the way John answers the question. The agentive orientation of the adverb is clear from a paraphrase such as *It was stupid of John to answer the question.* Similar to English, Hungarian allows different uses of adverbs as pure manner or as participant-oriented adverbs. Still, there are big differences. Hungarian neither morphologically nor syntactically distinguishes between two different types of participant-oriented adjuncts and manner adverbs, where English does. English prefers to have adjuncts and manner adverbs to be in post-verbal position, where they take either the form of a bare adjective (*raw, angry*) or the form of an adjective+-*ly* (*beautifully, angrily*).

The position of adjuncts/adverbs in Hungarian may be anywhere within the clause, although statistically the depictive prefers the focus position in the clause, i.e. the position immediatelly preceding the verb as in (6)a-c. The adjunct/adverb is marked by an adverbial suffix in all three cases, as can be seen in the following examples: (6a) presents a pure manner, (6b) a participant-oriented adverb, whereas (6c) is ambiguous in the sense that Peter is angry or that Peter left in an angry way[3]:

(6) a. Tamás *szép-en*   énekel.   (pure manner)
        Tom   beautiful-ADV sings
        'Tom sings beautifully.'

      b. Mari *nyers-en* ette meg a   hal-at. (depictive)
        Mary raw-ADV   ate   ASP the   fish-ACC
        'Mary ate the fish raw.'

      c. Péter *mérges-en* ment el.   (transparent)
        Peter angry-ADV   went away
        'Peter left angrily.'

Note that participant-oriented adjuncts in Hungarian such as 'raw' in the equivalent expression of *Mary ate the fish raw* – the standard example to illustrate what a depictive is – is marked by the adverbial suffix *-en* and patterns along with the expression of manner, while a manner interpretation in this example is ruled out. Because of particular status of transparent depictives I will pay more attention to agent-oriented adverbs as in (6c) in Section 5 below.

HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) discuss another type of participant-oriented adjuncts similar to depictives, namely circumstantials, as *hungry* in *I can't work hungry*, i. e. 'I can't work while I am hungry'. The authors argue that it is possible to distinguish between circumstantials and depictives in English. Both are participant-oriented adjuncts, which convey a state of affairs, which temporally overlaps with the state of affairs conveyed by the main predicate. They differ, however, in that depictives are part of the focus domain and convey focal information (7a), while circumstantials (7b) do not[4]. The latter contributes presupposed information to the utterance.

(7) a. Mary eats the fish *raw.*   (depictive)

      b. *As a child* Peter lived in Paris.   (circumstantial)

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3   See GEUDER (2002) for a detailed discussion of oriented adverbs. Geuder refers to agent-oriented adverbs like *mérgesen* 'angrily' as in (6c) as transparent adverbs.
4   See WINKLER (1997) for a detailed discussion of depictives within the focal domain.

This explains their positional and prosodic differences as well as the fact that depictives, but not circumstantials, can be in the exclusive scope of a negator, as is shown by the following examples:

(8)   a.   Mary didn't eat the fish *raw*.   (depictive)

        b.   *As a child* Peter didn't live in Paris.   (circumstantial)

Negation has scope over the secondary predicate in (8a): the fish was not raw (but cooked). The example may also be interpreted as stating that Mary did not eat the fish at all. The secondary predicate in (8b) is outside the scope of negation. (8b) has the interpretation that Peter has been a child, but he did not live in Paris then.

I will not enter a discussion of depictives and negation in Hungarian here. Such discussion merits a separate publication in order to do justice to the intriguing interplay between focus, the scope of negation and word order. The data used for this paper suggests that depictives obey word order constraints relevant to Hungarian. Depending on whether the pragmatic status of the depictive is Topic, Focus or Neutral, it will take the sentence-initial position, the position immediately preceding the verb, or a position after the verb. Interestingly, depictives may have the function of Contrastive Topic. The contrastive aspect may be taken to belong to the domain of focality, which would permit depictives to occur in the topic position of the clause in Hungarian. Equally, however, depictives may well be positioned in the pragmatically neutral domain of the clause, which poses problems for the definition of depictives proposed by HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005). Furthermore, the negation test, which is useful in many languages for distinguishing between depictives and circumstantials, does not equally apply to Hungarian. I shall leave these issues for further research.

2. The noun as a depictive secondary predicate

2.1 Typology

In Hungarian there are a number of depictives, which involve a noun. The following six types can be characterized on the basis of their morpho-syntactic differences.

(9) Predicative nominal with conjunction/preposition *mint* 'as'[5]

> Pál *mint idegenvezető* dolgozik Görögországban
> Paul as tour.operator work Greece.in
> 'Paul works as a tour operator in Greece.'

(10) Predicative nominal with the essive-formal case *–ként* (glossed with *as*)

> Pál *idegenvezető-ként* dolgozik Görögországban
> Paul tour.operator-as work Greece.in
> 'Paul works as a tour operator in Greece.'

(11) Predicative nominal with the postposition *gyanánt*

> Pál *idegenvezető gyanánt* dolgozik Görögországban
> Paul tour.operator by.way.of work Greece.in
> 'Paul works as a tour operator in Greece.'

(12) Predicative nominal with the dative case *-nak/-nek*

> Az-t a pulóver-t *párná-nak* használtam.
> that-ACC the sweater-ACC pillow-DAT I.used
> 'I used that sweater as a pillow.'

(13) Predicative nominal with the inessive case *-ban/-ben*

> Láttam ők-et *négy-es-ben*
> I-saw they-ACC four-NOM-INES
> 'I saw four of them (together).'

(14) Predicative nominal with the instrumental/comitative case *-val/-vel*

> *Ezr-es-é-vel*   számolta meg a pénz-t.
> thousand-NOM-3SG.POSS-COM he.counted ASP the money-ACC
> 'He counted the money thousand by thousand.'

In expressions with *mint* on the one hand and with *-ként* or *gyanánt* on the other is that in (9) Pál is most likely a tour operator by profession, whereas such a presupposition does not necessarily hold in the case of (10) and certainly not for (11). Native judgements reveal that this semantic difference is sometimes felt to be artificial or non-existing. Minimal pair (15) supports the view that a semantic difference does exist. When Madonna appears on stage dressed as a man, she may look like one, but she is certainly not a man. The use of *mint* is therefore disfavoured, because it would suggest that Madonna is a man.

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5 The form *mint* is generally considered a conjunction or complementizer (cf. KENESEI 1992, 572). As an expression of depictives, however, it rather behaves like a preposition (cf. DE GROOT 1983; KOMLOSY 1992, 484).

(15) a. Madonna *férfi-ként* jelent meg a színpadon.
Madonna man-as appeared ASP the stage.on
'Madonna appeared on stage as a man.'

b. [?]Madonna *mint férfi* jelent meg a színpadon.
Madonna as man appeared ASP the stage.on
'Madonna appeared on stage as a man.'

The use of the singular (with –*ként*) or plural (with *mint*) form of the depictive where the controller is a plural also suggests a difference. Compare:

(16) a. A *férfi-ak-at könyvelő-ként* alkalmazta.
the man-PL-ACC bookkeeper.SG-as s/he.employed
'S/he employed the men as bookkeepers.'

b. A *férfi-ak-at mint könyvelő-k-et* alkalmazta.
the man-PL-ACC as bookkeeper-PL-ACC s/he.employed
'S/he employed the men as bookkeepers.'

In (16a) the depictive denotes a function or category, whereas the depictive in (16b) indicates that each man is a bookkeeper. The depictive *-ként* may be found with plural forms, as for instance in (17), an example from actual speech. [6]

(17) *Vendég-ként* érkeztünk, de most csak egy kísérletről
Guest.SG-as we.arrived but now only a experiment.DEL

tudunk tehát beszámolni, *kísérleti alany-ok-ként*.
we.know thus report.INF subject of.experiment-PL-as
'We arrived as guests, but now we can only report about an experiment, as subjects.'

The different use of the singular and the plural depictives gives rise to the interpretation that the visitors arrived as an undifferentiated group of guests and reported later on about the experiment as individual subjects of experiments.

The postposition *gyanánt* 'by way of' indicates a temporary (non-inherent) and somewhat arbitrary and/or unusual role. It is rather unusual for *gyanánt* to modify animate nouns like *idegenvezető* 'tour operator' in (11), probably because it is unusual for people to assign certain roles – the role specified by *gyanánt* – to other people; it is more usual to assign roles to things as in:

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6 Again, native speakers of Hungarian judge differently here. Number agreement in cases with -ként is disfavoured by many people, whereas others prefer agreement in number.

(18) a. Péter *előétel* *gyanánt* szolgálta fel a
          Peter hors.d'oeuvre by.way.of served   ASP the

          zsíroskenyer-et
          lard.sandwich-ACC
          'Peter served the lard sandwiches as hors d'oeuvre.'

      b. Mari-tól ajándék-ok *gyanánt* kaptam a   könyv-ek-et.
          Mari-ABL gift-PL   by.way.of I.got   the book-PL-ACC
          'I got the books from Mary as a gift.'

There is an obligatory agreement in number between the *gyanánt* phrase and its controller as in example (18b).

The expression with the dative case, as in (15), clearly indicates 'in the function of' (KENESEI et al. 1998, 226). The form *-ként* may also indicate 'in the function of', or 'as if':

(19) a. Don Giovanni *szolgá-nak* álcázta magá-t.
          Don Giovanni servant-DAT   disguised himself-ACC
          'Don Giovanni disguised himself as a servant.'

      b. Don Giovanni *szolga-ként* álcázta magá-t[7].
          Don Giovanni servant-as   disguised himself-ACC
          'Don Giovanni disguised himself as (if he were) a servant.'

There are two other, less productive forms which occur in the context of depictives. Examples are often found in fixed expressions. The forms are the essive-modal marker *-ul/-ül*, which is identical to the adverbial marker to express manner, and the formal marker *-képp(en)* (to simplify matters, I gloss both *–ul/-ül* as well as *–képp*(*en*) with *as*).

(20) Predicative nominal with the essive-modal marker *-ul/-ül*

      Feleség-ül adták   Zsuzsá-t   Jenő-nek.
      wife-as   they.gave Zsuzsa-ACC Jenő-DAT
      'Zsuzsa was married off to Jenő.'

(21) Ez-t   *példa-képpen* említem.
      this-ACC   example-as   I.mention
      'I mention this as an example.'

Adverbials based on an adjective with the ending *-ul/-ül*, like those with the ending *-an/-en*, may allow a depictive reading, as shown in example (6). I will return to this kind of ambiguity in Section 5 below.

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7 Not all informants accept the use of the verb *álcáz* in combination with the form *–ként.*

2.2 Marking devices

2.2.1 -*ként*

KIEFER (1987) argues that -*ként* is a case suffix in Hungarian, because the form occurs to mark a complement of a verb as in

> (22)　Az　igazgató　*könyvelő-ként*　alkalmazta　Pál-t.
> 　　　the　director　bookkeeper-as　employed　Paul-ACC
> 　　　'The director employed Paul as a bookkeeper.'

If *alkalmaz* 'employ' were indeed a three-place verb, the -*ként* form would not constitute an instance of a depictive. In that case, there is a secondary predication involved, but of a different kind, namely that of a predicate complement as in (4) above. However, I disagree with Kiefer that –*ként* is a case suffix on the basis of the following considerations: First, *alkalmaz* 'employ' needs the overt expression of just two arguments (Agent and Patient) and not necessarily a third element.

> (23)　Az　igazgató　alkalmazta　Pál-t.
> 　　　the　director　employed　Paul-ACC
> 　　　'The director employed Paul.'

Second,　both the subject and the object may be the controller of the element marked by –*ként*.

> (24)　János　*főnök-ként*　alkalmazta　Péter-t.
> 　　　János　chief-as　　employed　Peter-ACC
> 　　　'János employed Peter as a boss.' (János is the boss, or Peter is the boss.)

Ant third, the distribution of -*ként* as a case, as suggested by Kiefer, is in fact limited to a very small class of verbs, which select secondary predications.

2.2.2 *gyanánt*

The origin of *gyanánt* is not entirely clear. The form was first attested in 1403 (BENKŐ 1970, part 1, 1119). It may be related to the noun *gyanú* 'suspicion, doubt, mistrust'.

2.2.3　*mint*

The origin of *mint* is not entirely clear, either. The form was first attested in 1350 (BENKŐ 1970, part 2, 931). It is most likely that the form is based on the interrogative pronoun *mi* 'what', also found in forms such as *miképpen*[*mi*.FOR] and *miként* [*mi*.as] both meaning 'how, in what manner'. The use of *mint* in the older sources is very similar to the way it is used today. Over the centuries the form developed from a conjunction into a preposition in present-day Hungarian.

This is a rather remarkable fact since Hungarian has postpositions only. *Mint* combines with nouns (25a), noun phrases (25b), and also postpositional phrases (25c):

(25) a. János *mint könyvelő* dolgozik.
 János as bookkeeper works.
 'János works as a bookkeeper.'

b. János *mint a könyvelő-m* dolgozik.
 János as the bookkeeper-1SG.POSS works.
 'János works as my bookkeeper.'

c. Péter János mellett *mint könyvelő mellett* dolgozik.
 Peter János next.to as bookkeeper next.to works
 'Peter works next to János as a bookkeeper.'

Note that example (25c) shows postpositional agreement between the depictive and its controller in a similar way to case agreement (see (30b) below).

2.2.4 *-nak/-nek*

The form *-nak/-nek* is traditionally glossed as dative. The form is used to mark various functions, such as recipient, beneficiary, experiencer, and possessor[8]. It is also used to mark predicate complements and nominal or adjectival predicates in non-verbal clauses, as in (4a). The verb *álcáz* 'disguise' as in (19) may take the depictive marker *-ként* or the dative case to mark the secondary predicate[9]. As in the case of *alkalmaz* above, I will also consider *álcáz* 'disguise' a two-place predicate, where the elements marked by *-nak/-nek* or *-ként* are depictives. A clear example of a depictive marked by the dative case is (12). This latter type of construction only allows nominal secondary predicates.

2.2.5 *-ban/-ben*

The inessive case only occurs in combination with nominalised numerals. The expression with the nominalised numeral and the inessive case has a collective reading (hence *together* in the translation) and not a distributive reading (one by one, individually or in smaller groups):

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8 The dative case in Hungarian does not necessarily denote 'purpose'. As with depictives, it also arises in a grammaticalized type of construction where an adjective functions predicatively.

 (i) Milyen az új kocsid? Jó-nak jó.
 How the new your.car good-DAT good
 'How is your new car? So so.' [lit. as for good, good.]

9 See, however, note 7 on the judgements of native speakers.

(26) Találkoztam velük *nyolc-as-ban*
I.met they.COM eight-NOM-INES
'I met seven of them (together).' [10]

2.2.6 *-val/-vel*

Unlike the depictive with the inessive case, the depictive ending in *-val/-vel* has a distributional reading, as for instance in:

(27) *Hárm-as-á-val* beugrottak a víz-be.
Three-NOM-POSS.3SG-COM they.jumped the water-ILL
'They jumped into the water in groups of three.'

It may be argued that the segmentation of the string *-as-á-val* is conceived of as one single suffix in present-day Hungarian. If that is indeed the case, forms such as *harm-asával* 'three by three' do not constitute an example of a noun-based, but a numeral-based depictive. This form will be discussed further in Section 4 below.

2.3 Morpho-syntactic differences between *-ként, gyanánt* and *mint* depictives

The use of *-ként* and *gyanánt* as depictives is syntactically heavily restricted. The scope of the secondary predicate is the subject and the object of the main verb, although some speakers of Hungarian do not even accept the object as a controller with *-ként*. The examples in (29) illustrate that subject or object are the only possible controllers:

(28) a. Péter$_i$ János-t *tanár-ként$_i$* szereti.
Peter János-ACC teacher-as love
'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (Peter = teacher)

b. Péter János-t$_i$ *tanár-ként$_i$* szereti.
Peter János-ACC teacher-as love
'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)

(29) a. *Péter level-et adott János-nak$_i$ *tanár-ként$_i$*.
Peter letter-ACC gave János-DAT teacher-as
'Peter gave János as a teacher a letter.' (János = teacher)

b. *Péter János-sal$_i$ beszélt *tanár-ként$_i$*.
Peter János-COM spoke teacher-as
'Peter spoke with János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)

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10 The speaker plus seven makes eight.

The element *mint* is not subject to such syntactic restrictions. Ambiguity in the sense of example (28b) hardly occurs with *mint*, since phrases with *mint* are also specified by the same case or postposition as the element they apply to. The accusative case may be optional, although speakers of Hungarian often do not allow ambiguity, as in (30a), where either Peter or János could be the teacher. Such ambiguity certainly does not arise in (30b), where both elements in the depictive are marked by the accusative case.

(30)   a. Péter$_i$ János-t$_i$ *mint tanár$_i$*   szereti.
            Peter János-ACC as   teacher love
            'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (ambiguous: Péter or János = teacher)

        b. Péter János-t$_i$ *mint tanár-t$_i$*   szereti.
            Peter János-ACC as   teacher-ACC love
            'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)

In contrast with the ungrammatical examples with *-ként* in (29), consider the grammatical examples with *mint* in (31).

(31)   a. Péter level-et   ad János-nak$_i$ *mint tanár-nak$_i$*.
            Peter letter-ACC gave János-DAT as   teacher-DAT
            'Peter gave János as a teacher a letter.' (János = teacher)

        b. Péter János-sal$_i$ *mint tanár-ral$_i$*   beszélt
            Peter János-COM as   teacher-COM spoke
            'Peter spoke with János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)

At this point I conclude that all three forms *-ként, gyanánt* and *mint* are predicative markers. When occurring on semantically depictive adjuncts, they do not unambiguously identify the controller (cf. (28) and (30)). Note that in addition to the use of a predicative marker *gyanánt* or *mint* there is also agreement as a strategy for restricting reference. There is number agreement, as shown in Section 2.1, and with depictive marker *mint* there is also case/adposition agreement. Within the morphological typology presented by SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004), the depictive with *mint* should be classified under (i) predicative marker and (ii) strategies signalling restricted reference, where the depictive with *-ként* and *gyanánt* is only classified under (i).

    The phenomenon of agreement of a depictive with its controller in case and/or number and gender is well known from classical Greek and Latin, as well as from many other Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 81f.)). In Hungarian, plural agreement (16b), case agreement (31) or postpositional agreement (25c) also occurs in other types of constructions, particularly in non-verbal predications and

in constructions involving some kind of discontinuity. Example (32a) exhibits number agreement between an adjectival predicate and its subject, (32b) between a nominal predicate and its subject, (32c) shows a discontinuous expression of the NP [red shoes], and (32d) and (32e) expressions of demonstrative constructions, where the demonstrative may be taken to be separate from the NP or PP.

(32)   a. A *kép-ek*   *szép-ek*.
           the picture-PL beautiful-PL
           'The pictures are beautiful.'

       b. A *férfi-ak*   *mérnök-ök*.
           the man-PL   engineer-PL
           'The men are engineers.'

       c. Cipő-t   vett,   *piros-at*.
           shoe-ACC   she.bought red-ACC
           'S/he bought shoes, red ones.'

       d. Láttam *az-t*   a *lány-t.*
           I.saw   that-ACC the girl-ACC
           'I saw that girl.'

       e. a   *mögött* a   ház *mögött*
           that behind the house behind
           'behind that house'

2.4 Conclusions of this section

It has been shown that at least six types of noun-based depictives can be distinguished in Hungarian. The depictive markers of the three main types are the suffix *-ként,* the postposition *gyanánt,* and the preposition *mint,* respectively. These three depictives have a number of distributional distinctions regarding number, case and postposition agreement and semantics: 'as if', 'by way of' and 'as'. Furthermore, it is argued that *-ként* is a depictive marker and not a case ending.

3. The converb as a depictive secondary predicate

3.1 Typology

Hungarian has five types of non-finite verb forms, one of which is the converb or adverbial participle.[11] Converbs are formed from verbs. There are no semantic restrictions other than that the verb must have a subject which can be coreferential with an argument of another verb, since converbs with *-va/-ve* cannot be used in absolute constructions (DE GROOT 1995, 296)[12].

Converbs can be employed in different adverbial phrases (É.KISS 1980; DE GROOT 1995).

(33)   Converbs used with the function of manner

      a. *Izgul-va,*   *reszket-ve*   szerette   a feleségé-t
         exited-CONV   tremble-CONV   he.loved   his.wife-ACC
         'He loved his wife in an excited, trembling way.'

      b. Károly *rohan-va*   jön   a   kert-ből.
         Charles run-CONV   come   the garden-ELAT
         'Charles comes running from the garden.'

(34)   Converbs used with the function of circumstance

      a. A pohar-at   *felemel-ve*   elmondta a   köszöntő-t
         the glass-ACC   raise-CONV   he.said   the   toast-ACC
         'He proposed a toast while raising his glass.'

      b. Ingé-t   maga   elé   *tart-va*   áll.
         his.shirt-ACC   himself   front keep-CONV   stand
         'He is standing holding his shirt in front of himself.'

Converbs may function as depictive secondary predicates, as in (1b) and (35), and also as non-finite predicates in finite clauses, as in (36a) and (36b):

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[11]   The other non-finite verb forms are infinitive, present participle, past participle, and future participle.

[12]   For that reason weather-verbs – which do not have a subject – do not have converbal forms. Classes of verbs which select subject clauses do not have converbal forms either.

      (ii)   a.   Havazik.   a'. * havaz-va
                 'It snows.'   snow-CONV

                b.   Úgy   tűnik,   hogy   jön.   b'. *tűn-ve
                    so   appear   that   he come   appear-CONV
                    'It appears that he comes.'

      For further details on different forms of converbs see DE GROOT 1987; 1995 and TÓTH 2000.

14

(35) Julika *elfárad-va* ült le a sezlon-ra
Julie exhaust-CONV sat down the couch-SUBL
'Julie sat down on the couch exhausted.'

(36) a. Az ajtó *nyitva* van.
the door open-CONV COP.3SG
'The door is open.'

b. Barná-ra voltunk *le-sül-ve*
brown-SUBL we were PFV-sunburn-CONV
'We were sunburnt brown.'

3.2 Simultaneity of events

Converbs in Hungarian may be specified for imperfective or perfective aspect. When the converb takes the imperfective form, the action denoted by the converb is simultaneous or coextensive with the action of the main verb, as in (34a) and (37a) below. In the case of perfective aspect the action denoted by the converb will be anterior to the action denoted by the main verb, as in (37b):

(37) a. Imperfective converb

A könyv-et *Ø-olvas-va* sétálgatott János.
the book-ACC IPFV-read-CONV walk János
'János walked up and down while reading the book.'

b. Perfective converb

A könyv-et *el-olvas-va*, János meg-írta a cikkét.
the book-ACC PFV-read-CONV János PFV-wrote his article
'After reading the book, János wrote his article.'

In this sense, they fulfil the conditions that depictives designate states of affairs which hold at the same time as the eventuality encoded by the main predicate. On the other hand, perfective converbs can be 'anterior-resultative deverbal depictives' as discussed by SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 103):

(38) *Fel-bátorod-va* beléptünk.
PFV-take.courage-CONV we.entered
'(After) taking courage, we entered.'

3.3 Syntactic differences between converbs as adverbials and depictives

The way converbs can be used as adverbs, both as manner and circumstance, differ significantly from the way converbs can be used as depictives. The

following table summarizes the possibilities the converb has in the different functions.

Main verb	Converb	Function of Converb	Orientation	
Subject$_i$	Subject$_i$	Adverb	Active	(39a)
Subject$_i$	Object$_i$	Adverb	Passive	(39b)
Subject$_i$, Object$_j$	Subject$_{i,j}$	Depictive	Active	(40a)
Subject$_i$, Object$_j$	Object$_{i,j}$	Depictive	Passive	(40b,c)

Table 1: Syntactic function of controller

When used as an adverb, the subject of the main verb is either coreferential with the subject or the object of the converb:

(39)   Syntactic orientation (adverbial)

   a. A katonák a   város-t *bekerít-ve*   harcoltak.
      the soldiers the town-ACC surround-CONV   fought
      'The soldiers, surrounding the town, fought.'

   b. A katonák   (az ellenség által) *bekerít-ve*   harcoltak.
      the soldiers   the enemy by   surround-CONV   fought
      'The soldiers, surrounded (by the enemy) fought.'

In the case of depictive use, the subject and object of the converb may be coreferential with either the subject or the object of the main verb. Example (40a) is ambiguous in this regard, whereas (40b) and (40c) are not:

(40)   Syntactic orientation (depictives)

   a. *Berúg-va*   hozta   haza   a   vendégek-et János.
      drink-CONV brought   home   the   guests-ACC   János
      'János brought the guests home drunk.' (ambiguous)

   b. A neve   így *kimond-va*   jól   hangzik
      the his.name so   pronounce-CONV   good(ADV)   sounds
      'Pronounced in such a way, his name sounds good.'

   c. Mikor hallotta   a   nevét   így   *kimond-va.*
      when he heard the his.name.ACC   such   pronounce-CONV
      'When did he hear his name pronounced in such a way?'

Adverbial converb phrases may contain an agent phrase marked by the postposition *által* 'by', as in (39b), which is not allowed in constructions with a depictive phrase:[13]

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13 Exceptions to the non-applicability rule are sometimes found in legal or formal texts, for instance

(41) János a kávé-t   (*Mari által) *megdarál-va* hozta   be.
      János the coffee-ACC Mary by   grind-CONV brought in
      'János brought in the coffee (that was) ground (by Mary).'

Note that the non-applicability of an agent phrase in depictives is also found in clauses where the converb functions as the predicate:

(42) Az óra   meg van *javít-va*   (*Péter által).
      the clock PFV is   repair-CONV (Peter by)
      'The clock has been repaired (*by Peter).'

Not surprisingly, properties of predications with a predicative converb also apply to depictive secondary predications. The non-admissibility of an agent phrase is one of the properties, the constraints on the classes of verbs from which the converbs are derived is another (DE GROOT 1995). The relevant parameters for the constraints are Agentivity, Telicity, Momentariness, and Number of Arguments:

(43) Restrictions on verbs as input for converbs in predicative constructions
      a. The verb must be telic
      b. Non-agentive verbs must be one-place verbs
      c. Momentary verbs may not be one-place verbs
      d. The second argument of an agentive verb must have the function of patient

Since constructions with a predicative converb are a kind of resultative state construction in the sense of NEDJALKOV & JAXONTOV (1988), the restriction that the underlying verb must be telic is straightforward. The other restrictions are rather ad hoc. I know of no theoretical explanations which could account for them (see DE GROOT (1995) for a detailed discussion).

The non-admissibility of an agent phrase in cases where the converb is used as a predicate suggests that the predicative converb is a derived form and that in the process of derivation the argument with the function of agent has become obsolete. In other words, the argument structure of a predicative converb may differ from the argument structure of the (transitive, agentive) verb from which it is derived. Schematically, the derivational rule may take the following form (DE GROOT 1989, 201):

(iii) A dokumentum le   lett pecsétel-ve a hivatal által.
       The document ASP has seal-CONV   the office by
       'The document has to be sealed by the office.'

(44) PREDICATIVE CONVERB FORMATION FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS
      Input: Stem-[V] $(x1)_{Agent}$ $(x2)_{Patient}$
      Output: Stem-*va*/*ve*[CONV] $(x2)_{Patient}$

This rule accounts for the grammaticality of (40) and (41). Interestingly, no such rule has to be postulated for the use of converbs in adverbial phrases with the function of manner or circumstance, because agent phrases are allowed in those cases (cf. 39b). It can thus be concluded that converbal depictives in Hungarian form a category distinct from converbal adverbs, and that they form one category with predicative converbs, which can be applied in finite resultative constructions.

3.4 Converbs as depictives and prosodic units

SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 99f) mention that the possibility of extended converbs might constitute a problem, namely that the more complex a deverbal predicate construction gets the greater the likelihood that it will form a prosodic unit of its own and therefore not meet criterion (vii) under (2). In Hungarian it is possible to extend the converbal depictive. The depictive phrase, however, does not necessarily form a prosodic unit of its own, as for instance in:

(45) János *a pálinká-tól berúg-va*   hozta   haza Mari-t
      János the brandy-ABL drunk-CONV brought home Mary-ACC
      'János brought Mary home *drunk from the brandy*.'

The phrase *a pálinkától berúgva* 'drunk from the brandy' constitutes the focus of the clause, and therefore cannot form a prosodic unit on its own. This is possible if the phrase (with the function of circumstantial or apposition) does not form the focus as in:

(46) János, *a pálinká-tól berúg-va,*   haza-hozta   Mari-t
      János the brandy-ABL drunk-CONV home-brought   Mary-ACC
      'János, drunk from the brandy, brought Mary *home*.'

Interestingly, a converbal depictive may have its own internal focus constituent but still not form a prosodic unit of its own.

(47) János *a pálinká-tól rúg-va*   *be* hozta   haza Mari-t
      János the brandy-ABL drunk-CONV ASP brought home Mary-ACC
      'János brought Mary home drunk from the *brandy*.'

I conclude that extended converbal constructions in Hungarian may function as depictives, and that they do not necessarily form prosodic units of their own.

3.5 Conclusions of this section

Converbal depictives in Hungarian form a category distinct from converbal adverbs and form one category with predicative converbs which can be applied in finite resultative constructions. Furthermore it has been shown that Hungarian perfective converbs encode 'anterior-resultatives'. Finally, extended converbal depictives do not form prosodic units of their own. They may function as the focus of the clause, and they also allow an element within the converbal phrase to be the focus.

4. The Numeral as a depictive secondary predicate

4.1 Typology

A third category of depictive secondary predications in Hungarian is based on the predicative use of numerals. There are two types of depictives based on numerals. The first one combines a numeral with the adverbial marker *an/-en* as in (48). There is no number agreement between the depictive and its controller.

> (48) a. *Kett-en*   mentünk haza.
>   two-ADV we.went home
>   'The two of us went home.'
>
>   b. *Hány-an*   vagytok? *Tíz-en*   (vagyunk).
>   How.many-ADV you.are.PL ten-ADV we.are
>   'How many are you? (We are) Ten.'

The suffix on the numeral is the same form as the suffix attached to a class of adjectives when used adverbially:

> (49) a. *Gyors-an*   mentünk haza.
>   quick-ADV we.went home
>   'We went home quickly.'
>
>   b. *Szép-en*   énekeltük a   népdal-t.
>   beautiful-ADV we.sang the folksong-ACC
>   'We sang the folksong beautifully.'

The fact that the numeral is used predicatively and not adverbially can be illustrated on the basis of the stem used here. The numeral 'two' in Hungarian has two stems: *két* and *kett-*. The first one is used in attributes, and the second one in other cases. The form used in (48a) is based on the predicative stem *kett-*. The examples in (50) show the different applications of the numeral 'two'.

(50) a. *két* lány
    two girl
    'two girls.'

b. Egy meg egy az *kettő*.
    one plus one that two
    'One plus one is two.'

A second type of depictive is the universal quantifier *mind* 'all'. It is a floating quantifier and can take many different positions in the clause:

(51) Floating quantifier *mind* 'all'

a. A fiúk *mind* látják a lányok-at.
    The boys all they see the girls-ACC
    'All the boys see the girls. / The boys see all the girls'

b. *Mind* a fiúk látják a lányokat.

c. A fiúk látják *mind* a lányokat.

d. A fiúk látják a lányokat *mind*.

There are several other types of depictives based on the nominalised forms of numerals (see Section 2.1 above). The morphological segmentation of one of these types is not entirely clear. In one analysis the depictive is a numeral. Consider the following example:

(52) *Ezr-es-é-vel* számolta meg a pénz-t.
    thousand-NOM-3SG.POSS-COM he.counted ASP the money-ACC
    'He counted the money thousand by thousand.'

The string of affixes attached to the numeral as in *egy-esével* 'one by one' or *hat-osával* 'six by six' etc. is generally conceived of as a single ending. If there is just one suffix, the suffix is clearly transparent[14]. There is the nominaliser *-as/-es*, the third person singular possessive marker *-(j)a/-(j)e*, and the instrumental/comitative case *-val/-vel*. The use of the noun *tucat* 'dozen' also takes the possessive and the comitative, as in (53).

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14 Interestingly, SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 109) mention a striking example of a particular idiomatic construction involving numerals in depictive function from Dutch. The construction contains the same kind of material as Hungarian *-es-é-vel*, i. e. a nominaliser, a possessor, and an instrumental:

(iv) We gingen [met z'n drie-ën] uit eten.
    we went COM 3SG.POSS three-PL out eat.INF
    'We went out for dinner the three of us.'

20

(53) Az üzem-ben *tucat-já-val*   csomagolják
      The factory-INES dozen-3SG.POSS-COM they pack

      a tojások-at.
      the eggs-ACC
      'In the factory, the eggs are packed by the dozen.'

The following example (54a), however, could lend support to the view that there is indeed only one suffix. *Pár* 'pair' in Hungarian is a noun, hence there is no need to nominalise the form.[15] Still, the addition *-osával* includes the nominaliser *-os*. The form *-osával/-asával/-esével* may therefore be taken to be one suffix and glossed as 'distributive'. Hungarian has a number of distributive suffixes, one of which can actually be used as an alternative to *osával*:

(54) a. Láttam ők-et   *pár-osával*
          I saw   they-ACC pair-DISTR
          'I saw them in pairs.'

      b. Láttam ők-et   *pár-onként*
          I saw   they-ACC pair-DISTR
          'I saw them in pairs.'

The distributive suffix in (54b) is *-nként*, which is different from the formal-essive marker *-ként* discussed in Section 2. Another example with the suffix *-nként* as a depictive is (55).[16]

(55) *Fej-enként* ezer   euró-t   kaptunk.
      head-DISTR thousand Euro-ACC we.received
      'We received a thousand Euros per person.'

There is an alternative depictive for *egyesével* 'one by one', namely reduplication:

(56) *Külön-külön*   vettem   meg Bartók vonósnégyesei-t .
      separate-separate I.bought ASP Bartók his.string.quartets-ACC
      'I bought Bartók's string quartets one by one/separately.'

A final example of a numeral used as a depictive is the numeral *egy* 'one' combined with the inessive case marker.

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15 It is unlikely that *párosával* is built on the noun *páros*, a form which has a limited use as in *férfi páros* 'men's doubles' or *női páros* 'women's doubles' and *vegyes páros* 'mixed doubles' in tennis.

16 I do not claim that the *–nként* is a depictive marker. The distributive, however, may also be used as a depictive as in (55).

21

(57) *Egy-ben* vittem haza az üvegek-et.
     one-INES carry home the bottles-ACC
     'I carried the bottles home together.'

4.2 Syntactic restrictions

There are two restrictions, which impose on the use of the numeral as a depictive. The first one is that the controller of the depictive may only be the subject of the clause. The predicative numeral applied to the object is highly marked, if not fully ungrammatical.

(58) ??/*Látam ők-et *négy-en*.
     I.saw they-ACC four-ADV
     'I saw the four of them.'

This restriction does not apply to the universal quantifier. The controller of the universal quantifier as the depictive can be either subject or object, a property shared by most but not all depictives in Hungarian. The second restriction is that the controller of the depictive must be plural.

5. Adjective as adjunct

As pointed out in section 1, English adverbs can express manner or be participant-oriented. The following example is ambiguous in this respect, i.e. Peter may read the review in an angry manner, or Peter may be angry:

(59) Peter *angrily* read the review.

Example (59) can be disambiguated in the following way, where *angry* – as an adjective without the adverbial ending – is used as a secondary predicate or depictive.

(60) *Angry*, Peter read the review.

What we see on the basis of the examples from English is that there is a partial overlap between manner and agent-oriented adverbs[17]. GEUDER (2002) argues that the ambiguity in examples such as (59) arises when there is a factual link between the primary and secondary predication. This link may be consecutive as in (61a) or causal as in (61b):

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17 See GEUDER (2002) for a detailed discussion of manner and participant-oriented adverbs. I also refer to SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) and HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005).

(61)   a. John *angrily* read the review of his book. (Anger is a
            consequence)
       b. John *angrily* wrote a letter to the editor. (Anger induced him to
            write the letter)

Geuder labelles this type of adjunct 'transparent'. He suggests the following relation between the three categories:

Is the adjunct event-oriented or participant-oriented?

event-oriented
manner adverb

participant-oriented
Does a factual link exists between the
primary and the secondary predication?

yes:
transparent

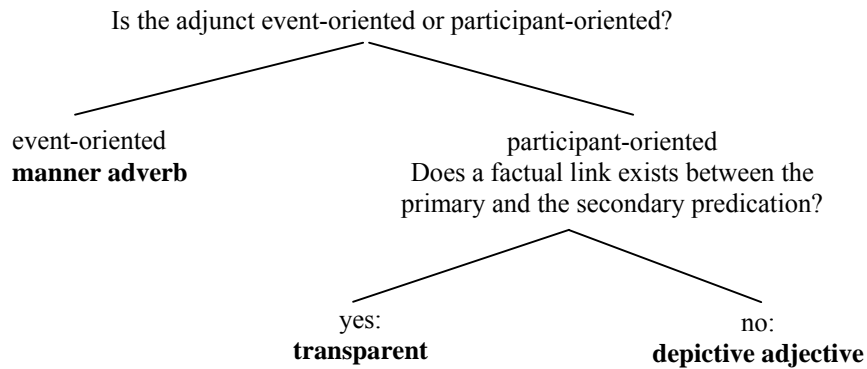no:
depictive adjective

Figure 1: The typology or oriented adjuncts (GEUDER 2002)

Hungarian also distinguishes between the three categories. The formal expression, however, differs from English. In fact there is a variety of marking systems. When we take English and Hungarian and add Dutch and Polish, we see that these four languages present an interesting typology.

Firstly consider Dutch and note that Dutch does not formally mark adjectives which are used as depictives (62a) nor as manner adverbials (62b). The bare adjective may also function as a transparent adjunct (62c).

(62)   Dutch

       a. Jack eet   de vis *rauw.*   (depictive)
           Jack eats the fish raw
           'Jack eats the fish raw.'

       b. Mary zingt *mooi.*   (manner)
           Mary sings beautiful
           'Mary sings beautifully.'

       c. Peter verliet *woedend* het feestje.   (transparent)
           Peter left   angry   the party

‘Peter left the party angry/angrily.’

According to RENZ (2007) there are two ways in Polish to express depictives and transparent adjuncts. In the first one the adjunct takes the form of the adjective and there is agreement between the adjective and the participant to which it is oriented (63a) and (63d). In the second one, the adjunct takes the adverbial form (63b) and (63e). Renz claims that the two types of expressions are synonymous. Manner can be expressed by the adverbial form only (63c).

(63) Polish

a. Piotr$_{NOM}$ wrócił *bosy*$_{NOM}$.   (depictive)

b. Piotr$_{NOM}$ wrócił *boso*$_{ADV}$.   (depictive)
    ‘Peter returned barefoot.’

c. Profesor *nudno*$_{ADV}$ wygłasza swój referat.   (manner)
    ‘The professor holds his lecture boringly.’

d. Bóg$_{NOM}$ *rozgniewany*$_{NOM}$ zniszczył Sodomę i Gomorę.
                                          (transparent)

e. Bóg$_{NOM}$ *gniewnie*$_{ADV}$ zniszczył Sodomę i Gomorę. (transparent)
    ‘God angrily destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.’

Finally, there is Hungarian which, in these examples, marks all three types by the adverbial affix *-en*. Note that even the depictive, which has the object as its controller in (64a), is marked by the affix *-en*[18].

(64) Hungarian

a. Mari *nyers-en* ette meg a   hal-at.   (depictive)
    Mary raw-ADV ate ASP the fish-ACC
    ‘Mary ate the fish raw.’

b. Tamás *szép-en*   énekel.   (manner)
    Tom beautiful-ADV sings
    ‘Tom sings beautifully.’

c. Péter *mérges-en* írott a level-et.   (transparent)
    Peter angry-ADV wrote the letter-ACC
    ‘Peter angrily read the letter.’

The marking of adjectives as oriented adjuncts in the four languages presents the following typology: Dutch and Hungarian do not morphologically differentiate between transparent, depictive and manner adjuncts, while English differentiates between depictives on the one hand and transparent and manner adjuncts on the

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18 There is another adverbial marker in Hungarian, which is the affix *-l*.

other, and Polish differentiates between depictive and transparent adjuncts on the one hand and manner adjuncts on the other. The transparent adjunct seems to be positioned between depictive and manner adjuncts.

	Depictive	transparent	manner
Dutch	Ø	Ø	Ø
English	Ø	adverbial marker	adverbial marker
Polish	agreement, or adverbial marker	Agreement, or adverbial marker	adverbial marker
Hungarian	adverbial marker	adverbial marker	adverbial marker

Table 2: A typology of the marking of adjectives as oriented adjuncts

The fact that transparent adjuncts do two things at the same time, i. e. ascribe a property to the agent and ascribe to the way the action is performed, merits a discussion of this class of adjuncts in this paper. Because transparent adjuncts take the adverbial marker -*ly* in English, these adjuncts are often not considered to be a special class of depictives, but adverbs only. However, if Polish were the standard, the claim would be that transparent adjuncts are a class of depictives and not adverbs, because depictives and transparent adjuncts are morphologically marked in the same way. Consequently I will take the semantics of oriented adjuncts to be a more fundamental criterion than morphological marking in establishing the class of depictives in Hungarian. In addition to the three major categories of depictives in Hungarian – nominal, converbal and numeral depictives – I claim that there is a fourth major category based on the adjective. Semantically, there is no reason to exclude *nyers-en* 'raw' in (64a) or *merges-en* 'angrily' in (64c) from the category of depictives. The transparent adjuncts do two things at the same time: they are depictives and manner adverbs.

6. Conclusions

Hungarian distinguishes between three major types of depictives based on the predicative use of nouns, converbs and numerals. There are several subclasses of depictives based on nouns. The most important subclasses are those marked by the formal-essive marker -*ként*, the postposition *gyanánt*, or with the preposition *mint*:

	-*ként*	*gyanánt*	*mint*
Semantic difference	(X behaves as if) X is depictive	X functions as depictive 'by way of'	X is depictive
Syntactic constraint: controller	subject or object	subject or object	not limited to subject or object
Agreement with controller	optional number agreement	number agreement	agreement in number, case and postposition

Table 3: Differences between -*ként, gyanánt*, and *mint*

I have argued that -*ként* is a depictive marker and not a case. The form *mint* can be considered a preposition, which is quite remarkable for a language with postpositions only. In contrast with the most prominent use of -*ként, gyanánt* and *mint* in the sense of 'act as (if), by way of', the dative case marker -*nak/-nek* is used to express 'the function of'.

The class of converbs, which can be used in finite periphrastic constructions form the second major type of depictives. This class of converbs differs significantly from the class of converbs, which can be used as adverbs with the function of manner and circumstance. I have argued that the predicative converbs are forms derived from verbs. In the process of derivation the argument with the function of Agent becomes obsolete. No such derivation needs to be postulated for the converbs used as adverbs, since they allow the overt expression of the Agent.

The third type of depictive is built on a numeral taking the adverbial ending -*an/-en*. More types of depictives based on a numeral can be distinguished. These depictives, however, are nominal, because of the nominalisation of the numerals. The application of the different types yields in some cases a collective and in others a distributive interpretation.

In addition to the three major categories of depictives in Hungarian – nominal, converbal and numeral depictives – I have argued that there is a fourth major category based on the predicative use of adjectives. Semantically, there is no reason to exclude this class from functioning as depictives. Transparent adjuncts do two things at the same time: they predicate over an argument, and they modify the verb, or they may be part of a larger phrase expressing manner.

I do not claim that the description of the major depictive makers in this paper capture all semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic aspects. Nevertheless, it constitutes a major step towards a better understanding of the category of depictives in Hungarian, and it offers a solid basis for further research and discussion.

Abbreviations

ABL	= ablative	INES	= inessive
ACC	= accusative	IPFV	= imperfective
ADV	= adverbial marker	MAN	= manner
ASP	= aspect	NOM	= nominalizer
COM	= comitative	PFV	= perfective
CONV	= converb (adverbial participle)	PL	= plural
DAT	= dative	POSS	= possessive
DEL	= delative	PRES	= present
DISTR	= distributive marker	PTCP	= participle
ELAT	= elative	SG	= singular
FUT	= future	SUBL	= sublative
ILL	= illative	SUP.ES	= super essive

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