

# LOCATIVE PARTICLE DEPENDENCIES IN HUNGARIAN

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Explorations in Syntactic Government  
and Subcategorisation  
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## 1.1. INTRODUCTION

Particle verb constructions (PVCs) in Hungarian

Part V ..... DP/PP



Pre-theoretical terminology:

**part(icle):** a metacategorical cover term for a class of verbal modifiers that immediately precede the verb in neutral sentences

**PV:** particle-verb complex

**associate:** the case-marked DP or the PP that is licensed in the presence of the particle

NB: diverging from standard spelling, we spell the particle and the following verb as two separate orthographic units

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## 1.2. INTRODUCTION: AIMS

- We discuss **variation across PVCs**, conditioned by:
  - variation in the categorial status of the particle
  - variation in the mode of particle-verb combination
  - variation across speakers, triggered by non-identical feature content of the particle
- We argue that **the dependency licensed by the PVC**
  - is either directly between the particle and the associate, or between the PV and the associate, depending on the type of PVC;
  - and it covers the following range across the PVC-types:
    - semantic selection
    - government
    - agreement

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## 1.3. INTRODUCTION: STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

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## 2.5. 3 PVCs: A DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

### Type C particles: “the reduplication pattern”

- Pronominal particles/case markers inflect for PERSON and NUMBER, and the pronominal host itself can be pro-dropped:

- (8) a. (én-)*rá-m*                      b. (ő-)*rá*  
I.NOM-onto-1SG                      he.NOM-onto.3SG  
‘onto me’                              ‘onto him’

- The reduplicating particle is always the bare 3SG form:

- (9) a. *Rá ugrott-ál Éva-ra / az asztal-ra.*  
onto.3SG jumped-2SG Eve-onto the table-onto  
‘You jumped onto Eve/the table.’  
b. \**Ő-rá ugrott-ál Éva-ra / az asztal-ra.*  
she.NOM-onto.3SG jumped-2SG Eve-onto / the table-onto

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## 2.6. 3 PVCs: A DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

### Type C particles: “the reduplication pattern”

- Type C particles are a small group, with the following 7 members (with varying degrees of productivity):

- *bele* ‘into (it)’
- *benne* ‘in (it)’
- *érte* ‘for (it)’
- *hozzá* ‘to (it)’
- *neki* ‘to/against (it)’ (dative case)
- *rá* ‘onto (it)’
- *rajta* ‘on (it)’

- NB: there is no obvious correlation between particle type and particle meaning, cf.:

*bele* ‘into’, Type C ↔ *be* ‘into’, Type A

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## 2.7. 3 PVCs: A DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

### Shared properties of the 3 PVCs:

- the PVC licenses an oblique associate
- in the default case, the PVC alternates with a plain OBL+V construction
- the particle typically telicizes the verb (there are some atelic particles, too)
- the semantic type of the particle is *goal* or (*directional*) *path*, or (*stative*) *locative* in certain cases
- in neutral clauses, the particle occupies an immediately preverbal position
- in non-neutral clauses, the particle can be separated from the verb
- PVCs can be either compositional or idiomatic

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## 3.1. A THEMATIC SURVEY OF PREVIOUS ANALYSES

- There is an extensive literature on the grammar of Hungarian spatial markers.

See (among others):

Ackerman (1983, 1987, 1990 & 2003), Ackerman & Webelhuth (1993), Asbury (2008), Bartos (1999), É. Kiss (1998, 2002, 2005, 2006), Forst-King-Laczkó (2010), Kiefer-Ladányi (2000), Komlósy (1992), Laczkó-Rákosi (To appear), Marác (1989), Piñon (1992), Rákosi-Laczkó (To appear), Surányi (2009a,b,c), and the references in these works.

- Here we present an overview of some of the key issues directly relevant for us.

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### 3.2. A THEMATIC SURVEY OF PREVIOUS ANALYSES

#### The categorial status of particles

- > traditional (descriptive) literature:  
*particle* (igekötő 'verb binder') is a distinct POS category (see Kiefer & Ladányi 2000 for an overview)
  - > recent (Minimalist) analyses:  
particles (at least types B & C) are Ps (see Asbury 2008 for such an approach, and also for a literary overview)
- ⇒ here:
- particles need not be categorially uniform
  - *particle* is a partly functionally motivated metacategory: all particles act as *verb modifiers*

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### 3.3. A THEMATIC SURVEY OF PREVIOUS ANALYSES

#### The syntactic status of particles:

- > Particles are phrasal (see esp. Surányi 2009c):
    - they can undergo long-distance movement
    - they are in complementary distribution with other, evidently phrasal verb modifiers,
    - etc.
- ⇒ here:
- in the absence of massive positive evidence to the contrary, we assume that the particles we discuss are non-projecting words in the sense of Toivonen (2001, 2002)
  - PRTs are syntactic atoms that do not project a phrase

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### 3.4. A THEMATIC SURVEY OF PREVIOUS ANALYSES

#### The mode and locus of PV combination: the 2 extremes

- > Any Part/V combination is lexical (see Ackerman 1987... 2003)
    - PVs are analytical word forms
    - even the productive cases are stored in the lexicon
  - > Part/V combinations are syntactic (see esp. Surányi 2009 a,b,c)
    - particles and their verbs are not paired up lexically
- ⇒ here: a hybrid proposal
- we present an LFG-based approach that allows the compositional cases to be created in the syntax on the fly, and we apply a lexical combination device elsewhere
  - see Section 5 for the details

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### 3.5. A THEMATIC SURVEY OF PREVIOUS ANALYSES

#### The relation between the particle and its associate

- > Types A & B (É. Kiss 1998, 2002; Surányi 2009a,b):  
*apositive structure*  
(10) Part V [ [ Part ] [ Associate ] ]  

  - > Type C: (Surányi 2009 a,b,c; This conf.)  
*movement:* the particle is a full copy of the associate  
(11) XP<sub>part</sub> V ... XP  

- ⇒ here:
- either the particle alone, or the PV combination *subcategorizes for* the associate as *its argument*
  - we present our arguments in Section 4, and the analysis in Section 5

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### 3.6. A THEMATIC SURVEY OF PREVIOUS ANALYSES

#### The relation between the associate and the base verb

- > this is a contentious issue, but there is good evidence that the associate is not an argument of the base verb in certain cases (see esp. Surányi 2009b, This conf; and also Cennamo & Lenci This conf. and Kiss, Müller & Roch This conf. for some related discussion)

⇒ here:

- we argue that the particle subcategorizes for its associate even if the base verb has a locative argument of the same sort
- see Section 5 for the details

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### 4.1. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX

#### Overview:

- > Type A & B particles are predicates that uniformly subcategorize for an oblique argument.  
In addition, we will argue that these predicates take the verb, too, as their argument.
- > Type C particles are non-predicative agreement markers of a special sort. They govern the form of their associate and agree with it at the same time, but they themselves do not code a (locative) semantic relation.
- > Idiomatic cases abound (esp. in Type C PVCs), and their grammatical features (esp. *lexical aspect*) are not necessarily predictable from the construction type in question.

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### 4.2. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPES A & B

- > Type A & B particles can combine with verbs that apparently have no (directional) argument, cf.:

(12) A *szurkoló-k ki tapsol-t-ák a focistá-k-at*  
the fan-PL.NOM out applaud-PAST-3PL the footballer-PL-ACC  
*az öltöző-ből a pályá-ra.*  
the dressing.room-from the pitch-onto

‘The fans applauded the footballers from the dressing room to the pitch.’

- > In fact, the particle can even be obligatory in such cases. The following contrast between *directional* (13) and *manner of motion* (14) verbs has been noted by Gehrke & Hegedűs (2009).  
See next slide.

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### 4.3. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPES A & B

(13) a. *Mari be ugr-ott a medencé-be.*  
Mary into jump-PAST.3SG the pool-into  
‘Mary jumped into the pool.’

b. *Mari a medencé-be ugr-ott.*  
Mary the pool-into jump-PAST.3SG  
‘Mary jumped into the pool.’

(14) a. *Mari be táncol-t a szobá-ba.*  
Mary into dance-PAST.3SG the room-into  
‘Mary danced into the room.’

b. \**Mari a szobá-ba tánc-olt.*  
Mary the room-into dance-PAST.3SG  
‘Mary danced into the room.’

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#### 4.4. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPES A & B

> Type A & B particles can function as the only predicate in certain elliptical-looking imperative contexts:

(15) *Ki az öltöző-ből (a pályá-ra)!*  
out the dressing.room-from the pitch-onto  
'Out of the dressing room (to the pitch)!'

(16) a. *Le a sapká-t!*      b. *Le a sapká-val!*  
down the cap-ACC      down the cap-WITH  
'Down with the cap!'      'Down with the cap!'

(17) *Gyorsan, át a park-on!*  
quickly across the park-on  
'Quick, across the park!'

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#### 4.5. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPE C

> Type C particles are either degraded or even unacceptable in the selfsame contexts, cf.:

(18) *Gyorsan, az asztal-ra!*  
quickly, the table-onto  
'Onto the table!'

(19) *?(?)Gyorsan, rá az asztal-ra!*  
quickly, onto.3SG the table-onto  
'Onto the table!'

(20) *A fal-hoz!*  
the wall-to  
'Against the wall!' (instruction to throw sth against the wall)

(21) *\*Hoz-zá a fal-hoz!*  
to-3SG the wall-to  
'Against the wall!' (instruction to throw sth against the wall)

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#### 4.6. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPE C

> Type C particles are also often unacceptable beside verbs that do not otherwise subcategorize for an oblique argument.

Compare *fel* 'up', *be* 'into' (Type A) with *rá* 'onto' (Type C):

(22) *A néző-k fel/be/\*rá tapsol-t-ák*  
the viewer-PL up / into/onto.3SG applaud-PAST-3PL  
*a színész-ek-et az öltöző-ből a színpad-ra.*  
the actor-PL-ACC the dressing.room-from the stage-onto  
'The audience applauded the actors from the dressing room to the stage.'

(23) *Fel/be/rá lép-t-ek a színpad-ra.*  
up / into / onto.3SG step-PAST-3PL the stage-onto  
'They stepped (up/in) onto the stage.'

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#### 4.7. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPE C

> Remember that Type C particles must be of the reduced (*pro*-dropped) form, cf.: (9) repeated as (23):

(23) a. *Rá ugrott-ál Évá-ra / az asztal-ra.*  
onto.3SG jumped-2SG Eve-onto the table-onto  
'You jumped onto Eve/the table.'

b. *\*Ő-rá ugrott-ál Évá-ra / az asztal-ra.*  
she.NOM-onto.3SG jumped-2SG Eve-onto / the table-onto

⇒ Type C particles are "pure" agreement markers that *have become bleached and lost their semantic content.*

Coppock & Wechsler (2010, To appear) argue that definiteness object agreement morphology in Hungarian is the result of a similar grammaticalization process:

**pronoun → agreement marker** (cf., a.o., Bresnan 2001)

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#### 4.8. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPE C

- In fact, agreement between particle and associate is only in PERSON in the standard dialect, cf.:

(24) *Rá ugrott-ál az asztal-ra.*  
onto.3 jumped-2SG the table-onto  
'You jumped onto the table.'

(25) *Rá ugrott-ál az asztal-ok-ra.*  
onto.3 jumped-2SG the table-PL-onto  
'You jumped onto the tables.'

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#### 4.9. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: TYPE C

- There seems to be interspeaker variation in first and second persons (data of the sort in (26-27) are mentioned in passim in Ackerman 1987 (fn. 30) and also in Surányi (2009a,b)).

(26) *Én Ő-RÁ rivallt-am rá.*  
I he-onto.3SG yelled-1SG onto.3  
'It is HIM that I yelled at.'

(27) a. *%Én TE-RÁD rivallt-am rá.*  
I you-onto.2SG yelled-1SG onto  
'It is YOU that I yelled at.'

b. *%Én TE-RÁD rivallt-am rád.*  
I you-onto.2SG yelled-1SG onto.2SG  
'It is YOU that I yelled at.'

- ⇒ This can be explained by assuming variation in the lexical feature content of the particle (see Section 5).

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#### 4.10. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: IDIOMATIC PVCs

- As is well-known, many PVCs are idiomatic.

The grammatical properties of such PVCs are not always predictable from the construction itself, cf. (28):

(28) *János éppen fel olvas.*  
John.NOM right.now up reads  
'John is reading out right now.'

- Note that in (28)

- the particle cannot take an oblique associate
- it does not telicize the verb (though it does so in its productive, spatial use).

- ⇒ Such uses have a derivational character, and as such, they require appropriate treatment.

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#### 4.11. AN INQUIRY INTO PARTICLE SYNTAX: IDIOMATIC PVCs

- Idiomatic PVCs are especially frequent in Type C, and they are the majority both in terms of type and token ratios.

(29) *Nem jövök \*(rá) a megoldás-ra.*  
not come.1SG onto.3 the solution-onto  
'I cannot figure the solution out.'

(30) *Nem tartozik (\*rá) Kati-ra.*  
not belongs onto.3 Kate-onto  
'This does not concern Kate.'

(31) *Nem rivallt-am (rá) Kati-ra.*  
not yelled-1SG onto.3 Kate-onto  
'I did not yell at Kate.'

- ⇒ The particle is only possible if the complex verb can be construed telicly (cf. 29 and 30), but it is not always required for a telic reading to obtain (31).

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### 5.1. AN LFG ANALYSIS: RESTRICTION

#### > Productive Type A: semantic selection

(32) *Le mász-t-am a föld-re / a föld alá.*  
 down clim-PAST-1SG the ground-onto the ground to.under  
 'I climbed down onto the ground/under the ground.'

#### > Productive Type B: government

(33) *Át mász-t-am az asztal-on.*  
 across climb-PAST-1SG the table-on  
 'I crawled across the table.'

⇒ An LFG analysis that is based on

- o appropriate predicative lexical entries for the respective particles,
- o and the restriction operator that allows for the possibility of combining predicative particles and verbs in c(onstituent)-structure (we illustrate with base verbs that have a locative oblique arg.)

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### 5.2. AN LFG ANALYSIS: RESTRICTION

The required (multiple) lexical entries:

#### Type A

(34) *le*: Adv XLE (↑PRED)= 'down';  
 PRT XLE (↑PRED)= 'down <%ARG1 (↑OBL)>'.

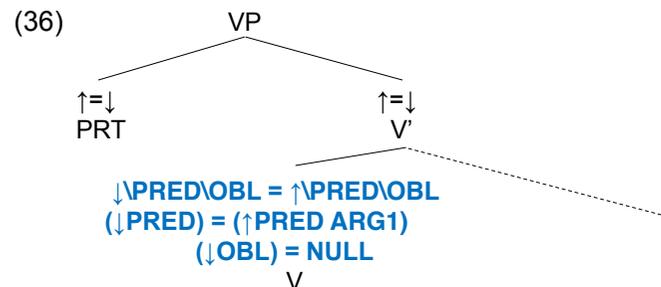
#### Type B

(35) *át*: P XLE (↑PRED)= 'across <(↑OBJ)>'  
 (↑OBJ CASE)=c superessive;  
 PRT XLE (↑PRED)= 'across <%ARG1 (↑OBL)>'  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c superessive.

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### 5.3. AN LFG ANALYSIS: RESTRICTION

The required c-structure annotation with restriction:



- o the PRT is a co-head of the verb
- o the annotation on the V restricts out the oblique argument of the verb, and makes the verb an argument of the PRT itself

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### 5.4. AN LFG ANALYSIS: RESTRICTION

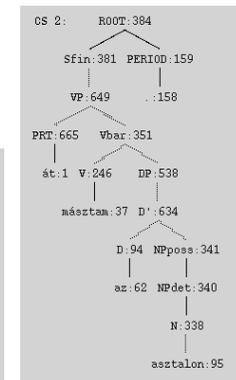
(33) *Át mász-t-am az asztal-on.*  
 across climb-PAST-1SG the table-on  
 'I crawled across the table.'

```

[PRED 'át<'mászik<[1-SUBJ:pro], NULL>', [62:asztal]>']
SUBJ [PRED 'pro'
      NUM sg, PERS 1]
      95 PRED 'asztal'
      338
158 340 NTYPE [NSEM [COMMON +]]
159 341 [NSYN common]
351 OBL 62 CASE superessive, DEF +, NUM sg, PERS 3
      1 94
665 634
649 538
381
384 [TNS-ASP [TENSE past]

```

f-structure



c-structure

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## 5.5. AN LFG ANALYSIS: CONCAT

### > Idiomatic Type A & B

(37) *Át lát-ok Kati-n.*  
 across see-1SG Kate-on  
 'I see can through Kate.'

### > Type C in all cases

(38) *Rá rivallt-am Kati-ra.*  
 onto.3 yelled-1SG Kate-onto  
 'I yelled at Kate.'

⇒ An LFG analysis that is based on

- appropriate non-predicative lexical entries for the respective particles,
- and the CONCAT device, which pairs up the verb with the particle in the lexicon by cross-referencing them, allowing for a PV with idiosyncratic semantics and for Part/V separability in syntax

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## 5.6. AN LFG ANALYSIS: CONCAT

The required (extended) lexical entries for *átlát* (in 37):

(39) *át*: P XLE (↑PRED)= 'across <(↑OBJ)>'  
 (↑OBJ CASE)=c superessive;  
 PRT XLE { (↑PRED)= 'across <%ARG1 (↑OBL)>'  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c superessive  
 | (↑PRT-FORM)= át  
 (↑CHECK\_PRT-VERB)=c + }.

(40) *lát*: V XLE  
 { (↑PRED)= 'see<(↑SUBJ) (↑OBJ)>'  
 | (↑PRED)= 'see through <(↑SUBJ) (↑OBL)>'  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c superessive  
 (↑CHECK\_PRT-VERB)= +  
 (↑PRT-FORM)=c át  
 @(CONCAT (↑PRT-FORM) '# %stem %FN}).

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## 5.7. AN LFG ANALYSIS: CONCAT

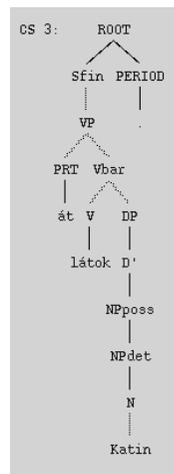
(37) *Át lát-ok Kati-n.*  
 across see-1SG Kate-on  
 'I see can through Kate.'

```

[PRED 'át#lát<[1-SUBJ:pro], [61:Kati]>'
SUBJ [PRED 'pro'
      [NUM sg, PERS 1]]
OBL [PRED 'Kati'
     [NTYPE [NSEM [PROPER [PROPER-TYPE name]]]
      [NSYN proper
       61[CASE superessive, DEF +, NUM sg, PERS 3]]]
CHECK [PRT-VERB +]
TNS-ASP [MOOD indicative, TENSE pres]
1[PRT-FORM át]

```

f-structure



c-structure

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## 5.8. AN LFG ANALYSIS: CONCAT

The required (extended) lexical entries for *(rá)rivall* (in 38):

(41) *rá*: PRT (↑PRT-FORM)= rá  
 (↑OBL PERS)=c 3  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c sublative  
 (↑ASPECT TELIC)=c +  
 (↑CHECK\_PRT-VERB)=c +.

(42) *rivall*: V XLE  
 { (↑PRED)= 'yell<(↑SUBJ) (↑OBL)>'  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c sublative  
 | (↑PRED)= 'yell <(↑SUBJ) (↑OBL)>'  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c sublative  
 (↑CHECK\_PRT-VERB)= +  
 (↑PRT-FORM)=c rá  
 @(CONCAT (↑PRT-FORM) '# %stem %FN}).

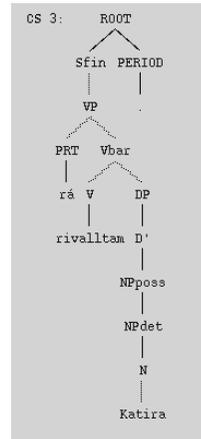
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## 5.9. AN LFG ANALYSIS: CONCAT

- (38) *Rá rivallt-am Kati-ra.*  
 onto.3 yelled-1SG Kate-onto  
 'I yelled at Kate.'

PRED	'rá#rivallt<[2-SUBJ:pro], [92:Kati]>'
SUBJ	[PRED 'pro' NUM sg, PERS 1]
OBL	[PRED 'Kati' NTYPE [NSEM [PROPER [PROPER-TYPE name]] NSYN proper 92 [CASE sublative, DEF +, NUM sg, PERS 3]]
CHECK	[PRT-VERB +]
INS-ASP	[TENSE past]
2 PRT-FORM	rá

f-structure



c-structure

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## 5.10. AN LFG ANALYSIS: CONCAT

Dialectal variation: (27a,b) repeated as (43a,b)

- (43) a. %*Én TE-RÁD rivallt-am rá.*  
 I you-onto.2SG yelled-1SG onto  
 'It is YOU that I yelled at.'

- b. %*Én TE-RÁD rivallt-am rád.*  
 I you-onto.2SG yelled-1SG onto.2SG  
 'It is YOU that I yelled at.'

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## 5.11. AN LFG ANALYSIS: CONCAT

Dialectal variation

- (44) *rá*<sub>2</sub>: PRT (↑PRT-FORM)= rá ⇒ (43a)  
 (↑OBL PERS)=c 3  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c sublative  
 (↑ASPECT TELIC)=c +  
 (↑CHECK \_PRT-VERB)=c +

- (45) *rád*<sub>2</sub>: PRT (↑PRT-FORM)= rád ⇒ (43b)  
 (↑OBL PERS)=c 2  
 (↑OBL NUM)=c sg  
 (↑OBL CASE)=c sublative  
 (↑ASPECT TELIC)=c +  
 (↑CHECK \_PRT-VERB)=c +  
 (↑PRED)='pro'

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## 6.1. SUMMARY

- In this talk, we have
  - given a descriptive overview of 3 Hungarian particle verb constructions,
  - presented an LFG-theoretic analysis,
  - and its XLE-based implementation.
- What makes these constructions particularly interesting is the fact that they involve a dependency between the PV and the oblique associate.

We have argued for 3 dimensions of variation:

- the associate is licensed as an argument of either the particle alone or an argument of the PV combination,
- with concomitant divergence in the locus of PV complex formation (syntax or lexicon);
- the nature of the dependency varies from semantic selection via run-of-the-mill government (subcategorization) to a special, agreement-like reduplication pattern.

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