

## The interpretation of Case on Secondary Predicates in Hungarian and in Finnish

**Introduction:** In a number of languages secondary predicates have case. In Russian the case on secondary predicates is idiosyncratic in the sense that it is very much influenced by the individual properties of the main verb in the sentence. In Hungarian and in Finnish cases on secondary predicates are more regular, less dependent on the verb. In recent years it has been argued that there is a functional projection that dominates the lexical projection of Small Clauses (SCs). As in Romance languages the secondary predicate agrees in number and gender with its understood subject, several linguists (Chomsky (1995), Dalmi (2003)) have assumed that the functional projection that contains the number and gender features is Agreement Phrase (AgrP), while Hoekstra and Mulder (1990) and Torrego and Pesetsky (2003) argue that the functional projection contains temporal information, the reason while they labelled it Tense Phrase (TP). This talk makes an attempt to show that the content of functional projection though it is temporal, it expresses aspectual information. Therefore we call it Aspectual Phrase (AspP). It will be argued that in languages like Hungarian and Finnish the case on the secondary predicate is an overt morphological reflex of temporal aspectual reading.

**The Data:** In Hungarian and in Finnish SCs bear different cases depending on whether they are complement SCs or resultative SCs. In Hungarian and in Finnish complement SCPs bear dative and essive case as in (2) and (4), respectively, while resultative SCPs bear translative case as in (1) and (3).

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|-----|--|------------------|
| (1) | Hänj        nauroi        [itsensäj    kipeä ksi].                         | <b>Finnish</b>   |
|     | he-NOM laughed    himself-ACC    sick TRANS                                |                  |
|     | ‘He laughed himself sick.’   |                  |
| (2) | Pidä-n [poikia    älykkäi-nä].   |                  |
|     | hold-1SG boy-PL-PART intelligent-PL-ESS                                    |                  |
|     | ‘I consider these boys intelligent.’                                       |                  |
| (3) | János piro <sub>ra</sub> <sub>i</sub> festette [az ajtót t <sub>i</sub> .] | <b>Hungarian</b> |
|     | János read-TRANS painted the wall-acc                                      |                  |
|     | ‘János painted the wall red.’  |                  |
| (4) | Boldognak <sub>i</sub> tartottam    [Marit t <sub>i</sub> ].               |                  |
|     | happyDAT holdPAST1SG    MaryACC  |                  |
|     | ‘I considered Mary happy.’   |                  |

**The Proposal:** The temporal ordering of the SC (complement small clause) and the main predicate is either contemporary or the state encoded in the SC temporally follows the event expressed in the main predicate (resultative clauses). It is argued that the functional projection of the SC is AspP whose head, that contains the case of the secondary predicate is responsible for the temporal ordering of the two (sub-)events represented by the main predicate and the SC. The case on the SCP in these languages reflects this temporal relation. The dative in Hungarian and the essive in Finnish express that the event of the main predicate and the state of the SCP is temporally contemporary, the sentence is imperfective. While the translative in both languages renders the event of the main predicate anterior to the state expressed by SC, and the sentence is perfective. Chomsky (1995) argues that Asp<sup>0</sup> has interpretable tense feature. Asp<sup>0</sup> also has uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features and uninterpretable case feature valued and deleted by matching features on some phrase when the phase is transferred to the semantic interface (Chomsky (2000)). In the languages discussed here the SCP seems to be morphologically marked for aspect.

References:

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