El + verb complex predicates in Hungarian

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Abstract

This paper investigates the structure of complex predicates comprising the verbal particle *el-* ('away') and a verb in Hungarian. I show that *el-* has different meaning contributions to the predication when combined with different types of verbs. I argue that despite the three seemingly unrelated meanings of *el-*, two uses involve the same lexical item. In these unifiable cases I analyze *el-* as a measure function that can measure in both the spatial and the temporal domains.

1. Introduction

1.1. The place of *el-* among verbal particles

Verbal particles (or particles for short, also often called preverbs) in Hungarian belong to the class of verbal modifiers and have a similar function to particles in English and other Germanic languages and verbal prefixes in the Slavic languages.

El- is one of the six 'ancient' particles in the language (J. Soltész 1959), which have already been in use in Old Hungarian. They are listed in (1).

(1) be- ki- le- fel- el- meg-
in out down up away perfective

The first five items in the list have a directional meaning, while *meg-* is a purely perfectivising particle. Of the directional particles, the first four can be turned into a locative expression by the (non-productive) suffix *-nt*.

(2) bent, kint, lent, fent,
inside outside up$_{loc}$ *down*$_{loc}$

El- does not have a locative counterpart, **elnt* is not part of the Hungarian lexicon. In contrast to English *up* and *down*, Hungarian *el-* is not ambiguous between a directional and a locative expression either: *el-* has only a directional use.

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(3) a. János kint van.
*John.*NOM *outside be*
John is outside.

b. *János el van.
*John.*NOM *away be*
John is away.

1.2. Verbal particles in the Hungarian clause

Verbal particles form a complex predicate with the verb they attach to. The argument structure of the particle + verb complex predicate is often different from that of the verb in itself.

(4) a. Úsztam (20 km-t).
swim-PAST-1SG *20 km*-ACC
I swam (20 km).

b. Leúsztam *(20 km-t).
down-swim-PAST-1SG *20 km*-ACC
I swam 20 km.

In so-called 'neutral sentences' (sentences without negation or structural focus), the verbal particle directly precedes the verb (5).

(5) János elsétált a kilátóhoz.
*John.*NOM *away-walk*-PAST.3SG *the belvedere-to*
John walked to the belvedere.

(6) and (7) are sharply ungrammatical, but can easily be repaired by removing the adverb (6) or the topic (7) from between the particle and the verb (and placing them, for instance, to the front of the clause).

(6) El (*gyakran) sétáltam a kilátóhoz.
away often walk-PAST.-1SG *the belvedere-to*
I have often walked to the belvedere.

(7) *El János sétált a kilátóhoz.
*away John.*NOM *walk*-PAST.3SG *the belvedere-to*
Peter walked to the belvedere.

In sentences containing negation or structural focus, it is the negation marker *nem* (not) or the focussed constituent that precedes the verb. In these cases the particle surfaces postverbally.

(8) János nem sétált el a kilátóhoz.
*John.*NOM *not walk*-PAST.3SG *away the belvedere-to*
John didnt walk to the belvedere.

(9) János sétált el a kilátóhoz.
John.NOM *walk*-PAST.3SG *away the belvedere-to*
It was John that walked to the belvedere.

1.3. The problem

The semantic contribution of *el-* to the predication depends on the type of the verb it combines with. When *el-* attaches to a motion verb, it expresses a direction.

(10) Mari elment (a boltba).
Mary.NOM *away-go*-PAST.3SG *the shop*-ILLAT
Mary went away (to the shop).

Crucially, *el-* can also combine with activity verbs not expressing motion, and in this case it indicates that the event is completed.

(11) Mari elolvasta a regényt.
Mary.NOM *away-read*-PAST.3SG *the novel*-ACC
Mary has read the novel (all of it).

The obvious question arises: do we have the same lexical item in (10) and (11), or is this a case of accidental homonymy?

The answer is not trivial. If these two *el*s are instantiations of the same lexical item, then one has to be able to say what its lexical entry looks like. In particular, it has to be specified what meaning it is associated with. On the other hand, if the *el*s in (10) and (11) are two different lexical items, then the following problem arises. It is not only *el-* that has both a directional and a resultative use. So do all ancient particles (with the exception of the purely resultative *meg*, which has lost its directional meaning in the course of time), and some of the newer particles in the language, too. Under a homophony account this generalisation cannot be stated in a meaningful way. Up to this point, research on Hungarian has not focussed specifically on this issue and so there is no consensual approach to the directional/resultative meaning alternation.

El- also has a third type of use: *el* plus an activity verb often means 'spend some time verb-ing'. This *el-* has been referred to as durative *el-* in É. Kiss (2002), but its properties have not been investigated.

(12) Mari eliddogált.
Mary.NOM *away-have.drinks*-PAST.3SG
Mary bibbed/lingered over a drink or two.

The question here, of course, is whether durative *el-* involves a different lexical item from *el-* in (10) and (11), or whether it can be unified with either (or better, both) of them.

In seeking an answer to these questions, I am going to concentrate on the base-position of *el-*. For considerations on how surface word order is derived, the reader is referred to Brody (1990), Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000), Szendrői (2003), É. Kiss and Riemsdijk (2004) and É. Kiss (2006).

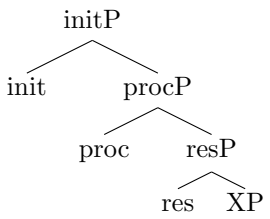
The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I introduce the framework I use for the analysis: Ramchand's (2008) First Phase Syntax for the structure of verbs and Svenonius's (to appear) decomposition of PPs. In Section 3, I review some previous studies and show the problems they raise. In Section 4, I present an analysis in which the three readings of *el-* correlate with three different merge-in sites in the structure, and in which the first and third uses involve the same lexical item. Section 5 sums up the findings.

2. The framework

In my analysis I use the First Phase Syntax theory developed by Ramchand (2008). In First Phase Syntax, the verb is split up into three layers, each corresponding to a subevent of the verb. These are: init(iation)P, proc(ess)P and res(ult)P.

InitP identifies the causation subevent and introduces the external argument (it roughly corresponds to vP). When there is no causation subevent, as in the case of unaccusatives, there is no initP in the syntactic representation. ProcP, the only obligatory head in the extended verbal projection, identifies the process subevent (and roughly corresponds to VP). If the eventuality has a result, procP takes resP as its complement. This lowest layer identifies the result state. ResP can optionally take various types of complements (eg. AP, DP or PP), with the material further describing the result state.

(13)



Verbs are specified in the lexicon as to which heads they lexicalize. *Throw*, for instance, is an [init, proc, res] verb, because it necessarily expresses a causation, a process and a result state. *Run*, on the other hand, is only an [init, proc] verb, because it necessarily involves a causer and a process, but does not necessarily lead to a result.[1]

[1]For further examples as well as a summary of the possible combinations of init, proc and res, see Ramchand (2008: p. 108).

The arguments of the verb are hosted by the specifiers of initP, procP and resP. The specifier of initP harbours the subject of initiation. A DP occupying this position is interpreted as the INITIATOR of the event. The specifier of procP is the subject of the process. A DP in this position is interpreted as the UNDERGOER of the event. Finally, the specifier of resP hosts the subject of the result. A DP in this specifier is interpreted as the RESULTEE (or holder of the result state).

The interpretations associated with the three specifier positions are not mutually exclusive. For instance, the *vase* in *The vase broke* has two subjecthood entailments: it is both the subject of process (UNDERGOER) and the subject of result (RESULTEE). Multiple subjecthood entailments occur when an argument moves from a lower specifier to a higher one (in this case from [spec, resP] to [spec, procP]) and accumulates the entailments associated with each position.

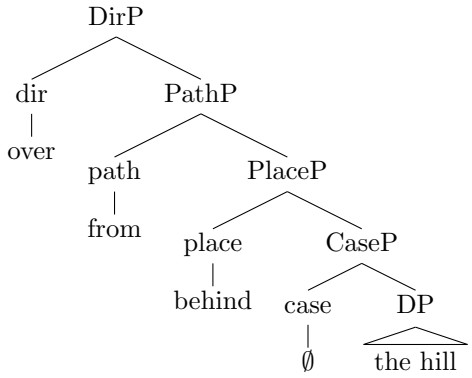
In first phase syntax telic eventualities are built in one of two ways. On the one hand, resP makes the event telic on its own. On the other hand, an event can be telic in the absence of resP, too, if procP has a complement that provides a temporal bound to the event. Both options will turn out to be highly relevant for the analysis of particles.

Note that it is not the case that initP and procP are just alternative names for vP and VP. First Phase Syntax is crucially different from the mainstream split-vP hypothesis in at least two ways. On the one hand, it dispenses with the Theta-criterion. Theta-roles are not assigned in a specific position (as opposed to the idea behind UTAH). It is thematic relations that are assigned in specific positions, and Theta-roles are built compositionally out of these. On the other hand, the syntactic structure gives very explicit instructions to semantics because every position in the tree is closely tied with a specific semantic interpretation.

As regards the structure of PP, I adopt the fine-grained functional sequence laid out in Svenonius (to appear), shown here with some simplifications for expository purposes: DirectionalP > PathP > PlaceP > CaseP > DP. In this decomposition the PP in (14) has the structure in (15).

(14) The boat drifted over from behind the hill.
(Svenonius to appear, example 60 a)

(15)



In First Phase Syntax, procP may naturally take a PathP complement with the Path further describing the process; and resP may take a PlaceP complement with the Place further describing the result state. Processes embedding PlaceP and results embedding PathP do not materialize because of the semantic clash involved with such combinations (for details and discussion, see Ramchand 2008: ch. 5).

3. Previous approaches

É. Kiss (2006) analyzes the particle as a secondary predicate, predicated of a theme argument with a [+ specific] feature. The surface position of the particle is identified as [spec, Pred(icate)P]. No explicit assumptions are made about the launching site, but in other work (É. Kiss 2002) particles are analysed as complements of the verb. The theory makes the prediction that predicates not having a theme argument, such as unergatives, are incompatible with particles.

É. Kiss also states that all particle + verb combinations must be stored in the lexicon and makes a distinction between three types of particles: terminative (the same group that I term 'directional'), resultative and locative. In (10) and (11) we have already seen examples of terminative and resultative particles. A sentence with a locative particle is shown in (16).

(16) A kulcs kint van a lábtörlő alatt.
the key.NOM *outside be*.3SG *the mat*.NOM *under*
The key is outside under the mat.

It is an indisputable merit of É. Kiss approach that it classifies particles into subgroups (the fact that particles in Hungarian do not constitute one big homogenous group is frequently forgotten or ignored). Her generalisation that only predicates with a theme argument take particles seems to be a robust one, and she also gives a principled account of why sentences expressing creation or coming into being do not contain a particle. To date,

her analysis is the most comprehensive one.

At the same time, she does not note that the directional and resultative groups show a considerable overlap (cf. the meaning alternation in (10) and (11)), and she claims that terminative particles like *be-* ('in(to)') express the end location of the moving theme.

(17) Zsuzsa beszaladt. (É. Kiss 2006, example 24 b)
Susan in-run-PAST.3SG
Susan ran in.

This cannot be true, however. Terminative particles express the direction of the motion. It is true that using these particles entails that the theme reaches a terminus, but terminative particles do not express the end point of the movement directly. Direct encoding of the final resting place of the theme is the property of locatives.

(18) Zsuzsa bent van.
Susan in(side) be.3sg
Susan is in(side).

The approach raises some additional problems, too. Although there are particle + verb idioms which need to be stored in the lexicon under any theory, it would be redundant to store every particle + motion verb combination, too, since in these cases the meaning contribution of the particle is predictably directionality.

Also, locatives are treated on a par with the other particles, yet their distribution is different from that of directionals and resultatives. To begin with, intervention of adverbials between the particle and the verb in neutral sentences produces ungrammaticality with resultatives and directionals, but not with locatives.

(19) a. *János be meztelen festette a kerítést.
John.NOM *in naked paint*-PAST.3SG *the fence*-ACC
John painted the fence completely naked.

b. *János ki meztelen tolta a beteget.
John.NOM *out naked wheel*-PAST.3SG *the patient*-ACC
John wheeled out the patient naked.

c. János kint meztelen locsolja a virágokat.
John.NOM *outside naked water*-3SG *the flower*-PL-ACC
John is outside watering flowers naked.

Secondly, particles can co-occur with a DP/AP/PP that further specifies the direction, location or result state encoded by the particle. Unlike with directionals and resultatives, this DP/AP/PP is felicitous between the particle and the predicate with locatives.

(20) a. *Be zöldre festette a kerítést.
in green-to paint-PAST.3SG *the fence*-ACC
He painted the fence green.

b. *Ki a folyosóra tolta a beteget.
out the corridor-to wheel-PAST.3SG *the patient*-ACC
He wheeled the patient out to the corridor.

c. Fent a padláson találtam egy egérfogót.
up the attic-on find-PAST-1SG *a mousetrap*-ACC
I have found a mousetrap up in the attic.

In addition, resultative and terminative particles must follow the verb in the progressive, while locatives may also precede it.

(21) a. János éppen vágta fel a tortát amikor...
John.NOM *just cut*-PAST.3SG *up the cake*-ACC *when*
John was cutting up the cake when...

b. János éppen tolta ki a beteget
John.NOM *just push-past.3sg out the patient*-ACC
amikor...
when
John was wheeling out the patient when...

c. János éppen (kint) locsolta (kint) a
John.NOM *just outside water*-PAST.3SG *outside the*
virágokat, amikor...
flower-PL-ACC *when*
John was watering the flowers outside when...

Finally, locatives never show the meaning alternation seen with directionals/resultatives and do not undergo particle reduplication either. I take these differences between resultative and directional particle constructions on the one hand and 'locative particle constructions' on the other to indicate that locatives do not belong to the category of particles. I will treat resultatives and directionals as Ps and locatives as adverbs, and so I have little to say about locatives in the remainder of the paper.

4. Analysis

4.1. Directional *el-*

When *el-* (and particles that have the potential to express directionality in general) is combined with motion verbs, the result is a complex predicate in which the verb describes the manner of motion and the particle describes

the direction or route of the motion.[2] The presence of the particle also has a telicizing effect on the aspectual interpretation of the sentence. Consider (22), which is (10) without the directional PP.

(22) Mari elment.
Mary.NOM *away-go*-PAST.3SG
Mary went away.

Following suggestions by Romanova (2007) about Russian prefixes, I assume that in sentences where the interpretation of the particle is directional, procP embeds a fine-grained pP structure and the particle is inserted in this extended pP.

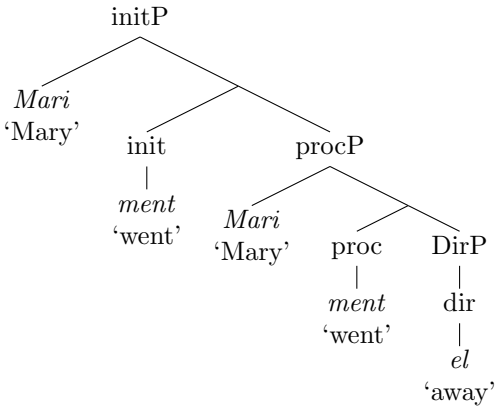
Within pP, two nodes have been claimed to host English particles and Slavic prefixes: the path head (Romanova 2007) and the directional head (Rojina 2004, Svenonius to appear). To my mind — at least for Hungarian — the particles-in-DirP analysis is more convincing for two reasons. Firstly, the Path head comes in FROM, VIA and TO flavours, but *el-* (or the rest of the directional particles, for that matter), does not express either of these meanings. Secondly, *el-* can appear together with a pP like *a bolt-ba* ('the shop-to'), as in (12), where the pP specifies the end location of the movement. The suffix *-ba* ('to') of the DP is a much better candidate for the lexicaliser of Path, as it expresses TO, one of the flavours of Path. Also, if *el-* is the directional head, then the morphemes of *a bolt-ba* can be readily accommodated in the layers of p identified in (15): *-ba* is likely to be the Path head and *a bolt* should be in the DP selected by the extended pP. If, however, *el-* is in the Path head, then extra layers of p must be identified to accommodate the morphemes of *a bolt-ba*. Therefore I conclude that directional *el-* is merged in Dir^0.

The proposed structure of the first phase in (22) is shown in (23).[3]

[2]These complex predicates always give rise to a directed motion reading and can never be interpreted as expressing located motion.

[3]I represent verbs and DPs with inflectional affixes on them already in the vP, but since it has no bearing on the issues under consideration here, I do not wish to take a stand on whether stems are inserted into the tree with the affixes on them or they get associated with the affixes in the course of the derivation.

(23)



The structure does not contain resP, so the telicity effect must arise from the temporal bound of the event. This temporal bound is provided by the presence of the particle. A person must cover some minimal distance for the predicate 'X went away' to be true (Filip 2000). When this distance is covered, the event becomes temporally bounded.

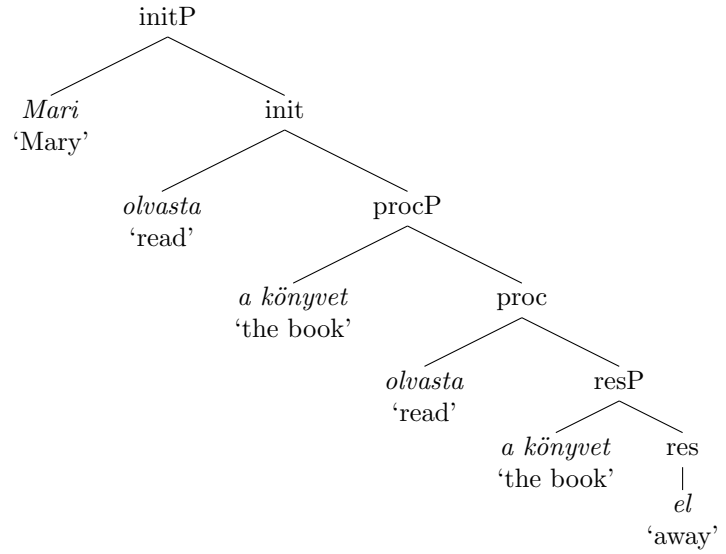
4.2. Resultative *el-*

El- (and other particles that have the ability to express directionality) may combine with a verb not encoding motion, too, provided the verb has an UNDERGOER argument. In these complex predicates the verb still denotes the activity; but the particle does not seem to refer to anything in the real world. Instead, its role is to change the eventuality type: it turns an activity into an accomplishment.[4] I suggest that *el-* causes this alternation in telicity because here it lexicalizes the result head. The structure of the verb phrase in (11), repeated here as (24), is given as (25).

(24) Mari elolvasta a regényt.
Mary.NOM *away-read*-PAST.3SG *the novel*-ACC
Mary has read the novel (all of it).

[4]Particles, *el-* included, also combine with achievement predicates. *Törik* ('break'), for instance, does not appear on its own at all: it must co-occur with *el-*, *össze-* ('together') or *szét-* ('apart'). While this is an interesting and perplexing fact about achievement predicates in Hungarian, I will not try to explore it here. I will assume that *el-* in this case is the same resultative *el-* as in (25). It does the same job in both cases, after all: it acts as a telicity marker. What needs deeper investigation in the future is why the particle is needed as an additional marker of telicity when the predicate already denotes a result. It seems to be clear, however, that the motivation for this phenomenon must be sought in accomplishment predicates themselves, not in particles.

(25)



Directional and resultative particles thus make the sentence telic by employing two different strategies: while directionals telicize the event by providing a temporal bound to it, resultatives project a resP.

4.3. Durative *el-*

Durative *el-* combines with activity verbs, but unlike with resultative *el-*, the ensuing complex predication still denotes an activity, not an accomplishment. In these complex predicates the verb denotes the activity, and *el-* indicates that the activity lasts for some time: *el*-verb means 'spend some time V-ing, at a leisurely pace or without exerting oneself'. A non-exhaustive list of predicates taking this type of *el-* is given in (26). (Note that the presence of the particle always makes a meaning difference, even if this fact cannot always be expressed by the English translations).

(26)

elbámészkodik, *EL-gape* stand gaping about	elbeszélget, *EL-talk* have a conversation	elbabrál, *EL-fiddle* moon about
elálmodozik, *EL-day.dream* day-dream	elábrándozik, *EL-day.dream* day-dream	elbetegeskedik, *EL-be.sick* be sick for a while
elborozgat, *EL-have.wine* drink wine casually	elcseveg, *EL-chat* chat away	eldolgozgat, *EL-work* work casually
elfecseg, *EL-chatter* spend one's time chatting	elgondolkozik, *EL-think* be lost in thought	eliddogál, *EL-have.drinks* linger over drinks
eljátszadozik, *EL-play* play with sth	elkínlódik, *EL-struggle* struggle with sth	elmereng, *EL-muse* muse for some time
elpiszmog, *EL-potter* potter around	elrágódik, *EL-brood* brood over sth	elszórakozik, *EL-enjoy.oneself* amuse oneself
eltréfálkozik, *EL-joke* joke with so	elüldögél *EL-sit.about* sit about	

Given that the predicates in (26) denote activities, we expect them to be able to go well together with *for an hour* type of modification but not *in an hour* type of modification, which is the case indeed.

(27) Mari akár órákon át is elcsevegett
*Mary.*NOM *as.good hour*-PL-*on through too away-chat*-PAST.3SG
a barátnőjével.
the friend-woman-POSS.3SG-*with*
Mary chatted away with her girl friend for as long as (several) hours.

(28) *Mari órák alatt elcsevegett a
*Mary.*NOM *hour*-PL *under away-chat*-PAST.3SG *the*
barátnőjével.
friend-woman-POSS.3SG-*with*
Mary chatted away with her girl friend in hours.

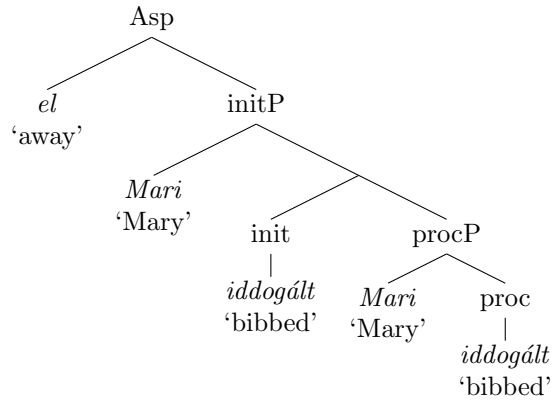
Durative *el-* is importantly different from *el-* in its directional and resultative uses. Directional and resultative particles contribute to the inner aspect of the event, while *el-* in (26) contributes to the outer aspect of the event. In case of the directional *el-* in (10) and the resultative *el-* in (11) it is plausible that the particle is a secondary predicate predicated of the theme arugment, but this is not the case in (26). *Eldolgozgat* 'work at a leisurely pace', for instance, has a single agentive argument. In this third type of use *el-* does not change the argument structure either. Neither of these properties follow from É. Kiss' analysis (or any other previous approach, for that matter).

In Slavic languages particles take the form of verbal prefixes and come in two groups: so-called lexical and superlexical. Lexical prefixes often change the argument structure and form idioms with the verb. Superlexical prefixes, on the other hand, don't change the argument structure; do not readily form idioms with the verb; and add a predictable, modifier-like meaning to the verb (Ramchand 2004, Romanova 2004, Svenonius 2004, Romanova 2007, Tolskaya 2007). The properties of superlexical prefixes seem to be the same as the properties of durative *el-*.

Ramchand and Svenonius place superlexical prefixes outside of vP. This accounts for all their properties listed above. I follow this line of thinking for durative *el-*. Merging the particle outside initP guarantees that it will not reach into the argument structure of the verb and not form idioms with it. Since *el-* here encodes the outer aspect of the event, I merge it into Asp. The structure assigned to the relevant part of the sentence in (12), repeated here as (29), is shown in (30).

(29) Mari eliddogált.
*Mary.*NOM *away-have.drinks-*PAST.3SG
Mary bibbed/lingered over a drink or two.

(30)



Although the derivation of surface morpheme order is not my objective in the framework of this paper, I would like to point out that all types of *el-* end up in the same surface position (they directly precede the verb in neutral sentences). I have argued that directional and resultative *el-* are merged below and durative *el-* is merged above the verb. The fact that all types of *el-* have the same surface position is not a problem for my analysis, however.

It is standard to assume that the surface position of the particle is a derived one. I am simply going to call it [spec, Funct(ional)P]. As long as its uninterpretable features get checked by the movement of the particle, there is no reason to assume that FunctP cares about whether the launching site of the particle is inside or outside vP. Especially so because [spec, FunctP], in fact, may harbour a wide range of expressions. Besides particles, all kinds of verbal modifiers (such as determinerless case-marked nouns, predicative APs and NPs and directional and locative PP containing a full DP) may end up here.[5] In a configurational approach to the Hungarian vP, like the one taken here, it would be quite impossible to maintain that all verbal modifiers have the same extraction site.[6] Therefore the claim that different types of *el-* have different merge-in sites does not come into conflict with the fact that they are all linearised in front of the verb.

4.4. How many *el-*s?

Looking back at the data in (10)-(12), repeated here as (31)-(33), is there any common meaning behind the three uses, or any two pairs?

(31) Mari elment (a boltba).
Mary.NOM *away-go*-PAST.3SG *the shop*-ILLAT
Mary went away (to the shop).

(32) Mari elolvasta a regényt.
Mary.NOM *away-read*-PAST.3SG *the novel*-ACC
Mary has read the novel (all of it).

(33) Mari eliddogált.
Mary.NOM *away-have.drinks*-PAST.3SG
Mary bibbed/lingered over a drink or two.

I suggest that the directional *el-* in (31) and the durative *el-* in (33) is the same lexical item. I analyze the *el-* found in these sentences as a measure function. Its lexical entry is something like 'some, satisfying an anticipated

[5] For a detailed discussion on what kind of elements belong to the class of verbal modifiers and how they reach their surface position, the reader should consult Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000).

[6] While in the 90's the non-configuational approach was dominant, it has already been pointed out by Marácz (1989) that Hungarian shows subject-object asymmetries. Recently Surányi (2006) and É. Kiss (2008) have presented empirical evidence in favour of a hierarchical vP in Hungarian.

amount/extent'.

Filip (2000) argues that the Slavic prefixes *na-* and *po-* express vague extensive measure functions, whose "value is determined by contextual factors that narrow down the sort of entities that are intended to be measured by a given prefix" (p. 59). Filip (2003) and Součková (2004) also analyze *na-* and *po-* as measure phrases. *El-* indicating a direction in (10) and duration in (33) is used in an analogous fashion to these prefixes, though it is certainly not a direct equivalent to either of them.

El- represents a measure function that can be applied to objects in both the spatial and the temporal domains. (This is not surprising, as many morphemes in language express both temporal and spatial relations (Haspelmath 1997), cf. *in twenty minutes* and *in the house.*) *El-* measures the distance from the starting point of the movement in its directional use in (31) and it measures the elapsed time in its durative use in (33). The meaning of a measure-function-*el* + V complex predicate is computed compositionally: the verb determines the event to which the measuring applies, the point of insertion (Dir or Asp) determines whether the measuring takes place in the spatial or the temporal domain, and *el-* determines the size of the event (i.e. its length in space or time). There is no need to store these complex predicates in the lexicon (contra É. Kiss 2002), which is a desirable result.

As for the resultative *el-* in (32), it is not obvious how a measure-function analysis could work in this case. At this point, I have to say that there are two lexical items *el-*: one is a measure function, the other is a pure resultative particle. This is not an entirely satisfactory solution, because particles regularly show an alternation between a directional and a resultative use, and in an ultimately successful account this polysemy would follow from something deeper than chance homophony. For the present, however, I must leave the unification of resultative *el-* in (32) with the measure-function-*el-* to further research.

5. Summary

In this paper I examined the verbal particle *el-* 'away' and its various meaning contributions to the predication. I proposed that there are only two lexical items behind the three different uses of *el-*. One of these lexical items is a pure resultative particle, the other is a measure function that can serve both as a temporal and spatial measure.

It needs to be pointed out that I have only scratched the surface and many issues remain to be worked out in detail. However, I hope to have shown that the semantic contribution of the particle to the predication (i.e. the subgroup to which the particle belongs) must be taken into consideration in any thorough analysis, and that in certain cases the properties of *el-* receive a natural account only if a vP-external insertion site is assumed.

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