Adjunction as categorization

On the syntactic quirkiness of word-level modification

Chenchen (Julio) Song

Zhejiang University

International Workshop on the Syntax of Predication and Modification
(IWSPM 2024)
November 16–17, 2024, Tokyo, Japan

In Minimalism, syntactic modification is standardly done via adjunction, which is Pair Merge since Chomsky (2000). For a modifier α and a base β:

$$\text{adjoin } \alpha \text{ to } \beta = \text{PairMerge}(\alpha, \beta) = \langle \alpha, \beta \rangle$$

However, neither is adjunction the only way to do modification, nor is Pair Merge the only way to do adjunction.

- Cinque (1999, 2010): adverbs and adjectives as specifiers
- adjunction = $\begin{cases} \text{unlabeled concatenation/merger} & \text{(Hornstein \& Nunes 2008, Oseki 2015)} \\ \text{mediated by a functional head Mod} & \text{(Rubin 2003)} \end{cases}$

✎ This talk is (broadly) about how the mode of adjunction affects syntax.

More specifically, I am interested in the interaction of adjunction and the Single Engine Hypothesis (Marantz 2001), which underlies theoretical models that do word formation in syntax (e.g., Distributed Morphology, Halle & Marantz 1993).

Single Engine Hypothesis (as formulated in McGinnis-Archibald 2017: 390)

A single generative engine governs sound/meaning correspondences, making no distinction between word-level and phrase-level syntax.

Observation: Word-level modification sometimes leads to quirky syntactic behavior.

Proposal: A categorization-based mode of adjunction can explain the quirkiness.

Takeaway: Even in a single-engine framework, the "word" is still a special domain.

There is a group of "immobile" complex verbs in German, which look like particle verbs on the surface but have highly restricted distribution (see, inter alia, Höhle 1991, McIntyre 2002, Vikner 2005, Fortmann 2007, Freywald & Simon 2007, Ahlers 2010, Song 2019, Forche 2020).

- **Particles verbs**: *weg-fahren* 'away-drive; leave', *ab-schicken* 'off-send; dispatch', *auf-stehen* 'up-stand; get up', *an-kommen* 'on-come; arrive', *ein-treten* 'in-step; enter'
- **Immobile verbs**: *bau-sparen* 'building-save; save with a building society', *bauch-reden* 'belly-talk; ventroloquize', *kopf-rechnen* 'head-calculate; do mental arithmetic', *berg-steigen* 'mountain-climb', *wett-rennen* 'bet-run; run a race'

As their name suggests, immobile verbs can't move. Thus, they can't be used in syntactic environments with verb movement requirement, including interrogative, imperative, and verb-second (V2) declarative sentences.

Illustration of particle verbs

(1) **weg-fahren** 'away-drive; drive off, leave, go away'

    a. *Später fährt er zusammen mit seinem Freund weg.*   [German]
       later drives he together with his friend away
       'Later, he drives away with his friend.'

    b. *Fährst du im Sommer weg?*
       drive.2SG you in.the summer away
       'Are you going away in the summer?'

    c. *Als Bob weg-fährt, sehen er und Nina sich auf der Straße.*
       as Bob away-drives see he and Nina each other on the street
       'As Bob drives away, he and Nina see each other on the street.'   (DWDS corpora)

(2) **bau-sparen** 'building-save; save with a building society'

   a. *Bau-spart   *er* / *Spart *er* *bau?*   [German]
      building-saves he   saves he building
      Intended: 'Does he save with a building society?'

   b. *Er will   bau-sparen.*
      he wants building-save
      'He wants to save with a building society.'

   c. … *weil   er   bau-spart.*   👉 normally inflected in situ
         because he building-saves
      '… because he saves with a building society.'   (adapted from Vikner 2005: 88)

(3) **bauch-tanzen** 'belly-dance'

   a. *_Erna bauch-tanzte letzten Sommer_ / *_tanzte letzten Sommer bauch_.   [German]
      Emil belly-danced last   summer   danced last   summer belly
      Intended: 'Emil belly-danced last summer.'

   b. *_Bauch-tanzt Erna noch_ / *_Tanzt Erna noch bauch_?
      belly-dances Erna still   dances Erna still   belly
      Intended: 'Does Erna still belly-dance?'

   c. _Erna hat sehr viel bauch-ge-tanzt._   👉 past participle _ge_ normally inserted
      Erna has very much belly-GE-danced.PTCP
      'Erna has belly-danced a lot.'   (adapted from Ahlers 2010: 16)

Not only the past participle infix *ge* but also the infinitive infix *zu* can be normally inserted.

(4) a. *Du … brauchst nie   mehr Bus zu fahren und nie   mehr bau-zu-sparen.*
         you   need.2SG never more bus to ride   and never more building-to-save
         'You no longer need to take the bus or save with a building society.'   (DWDS corpora)

   b. *Die letzte Gelegenheit, vor   den langen Sommerferien   bauch-zu-tanzen,*
       the last   chance   before the long   summer vacation belly-to-dance

       habt   ihr   am   kommenden Dienstag.
       have.2PL you.2PL on.the coming   Tuesday
       'Your last chance to belly-dance before the long vacation is next TUE.'   (Instagram)

So, immobile verbs just can't move to higher positions. This distinguishes them from complex verbs that can move as a whole.

Examples: *lang-weilen* 'long-stay; bore', *hand-haben* 'hand-have; handle', *ohr-feigen* 'ear-fig; slap in the face', *wett-eifern* 'bet-zeal; compete' (Ahlers 2010: 18)

(5) a. *Langweilst du dich gerade?*   [German]
             bore   you yourself already
             'Are you already bored?'

      b. *Kōji ohrfeigt Yūko und verbringt den restlichen Abend mit Ippei.*
             Kōji slaps   Yūko and spends   the remaining evening with Ippei
             'Kōji slaps Yūko and spends the rest of the evening with Ippei.'   (DWDS corpora)

Such complex verbs can't be infixed at all: **lang-ge-weilt*, **lang-zu-weilen*

Finally, German has prefixed verbs, which are similarly inseparable but mobile.

Example: *ver-stehen* 'VER-stand; understand', *be-stehen* 'BE-stand; exist, pass', *ent-stehen* 'ENT-stand; come into being', *ge-stehen* 'GE-stand; confess'
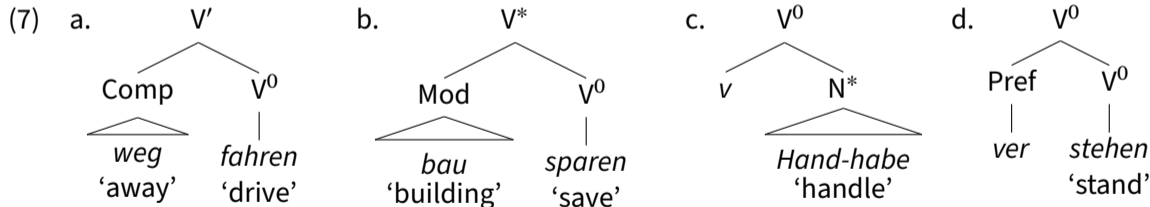
(6) a. *Leider*   *verstehe*   *ich kein Französisch.*   [German]
    unfortunately understand I   no   French
    'I'm afraid I don't understand French.'

    b. *Besteht denn noch Hoffnung, dass er wieder gesund wird?*
      exist   then still hope   that he again healthy becomes
      'Is there any hope that he will recover?'   (Cambridge Dictionary)

The four types of complex verbs in German have different structures (Ahlers 2010, Song 2019).

- **Particle verbs**: fully phrasal, particle in complement of V
- **Immobile verbs**: like modifier-head compounds, but with some syntactic accessibility
- **Mobile complex verbs**: simple verbs directly derived from compound nouns
- **Prefixed verbs**: complex heads, V^0 (see den Dikken 2003 for a plausible analysis)

(7) a.

V'

Comp V^0

weg   *fahren*
'away'   'drive'

b.

V^*

Mod V^0

bau   *sparen*
'building'   'save'

c.

V^0

v N^*

Hand-habe
'handle'

d.

V^0

Pref V^0

ver   *stehen*
'stand'

I temporarily use X^* (Vikner 2005, Fortmann 2007) to label compounds.

Two manifestations: (i) *ge*/*zu* insertion; (ii) occasional mobility of the modifier.

(8) a. (?) *BAU*   *hat er gespart, nicht „pau"!*   [German]
       building has he saved   not   LISTENER'S ERROR
       'He has BUILDING-saved, not "puilding"!'

    b. ? *BAUCH möchte   er reden, nicht „pauch"!*
       belly   would.like he talk   not   LISTENER'S ERROR
       'He would like to BELLY-talk, not "pelly"!'

My informants report that while they wouldn't produce such sentences in life, they don't think these are totally bad either. Thus, an adequate theory of immobile verbs can't entirely freeze them in syntax (as V^0).

More examples from the corrective context:

(9) a. (?) *BAUCH möchte   er tanzen, nicht „pauch"!*   [German]
       belly   would.like he dance   not   LISTENER'S ERROR
       'He would like to BELLY-dance, not "pelly"!'

     b. (?) *KOPF wird er rechnen, nicht „koff"!*
        head will he calculate not   LISTENER'S ERROR
        'He will HEAD-calculate, not "heth"!'

Again, there is interspeaker variation, but the fact that such separation is accepted by some speakers—who at the same time strongly reject the movement of the verb head—suggests that the (im)mobility conditions on the modifier and the head of such complex verbs are different.

Further evidence comes from contrastive ellipsis like the following.

(10) a. *Erna möchte   nicht bauch- sondern hand-tanzen.*
           Erna would.like not   belly- but   hand-dance
           'Erna doesn't want to belly-dance but wants to hand-dance.'

      b. *Er kann nicht nur kopf- sondern auch finger-rechnen.*
           he can not   only head- but   also finger-calculate
           'He can not only head-calculate but also finger-calculate.'

Song (2019) proposes an independent syntactic analysis of modifier-head compounds, which can also account for immobile verbs. The account answers two questions at once:

1. Why do immobile verbs behave the way they do?
2. Why don't Romance languages have modifier-head compound verbs?

Both are due to the way word-level modification is derived (in a single-engine framework).

Caveat: A purely derivational account can't furthermore explain the microvariation within Germanic languages (e.g., why the phenomenon is limited to OV Germanic languages). To cover the wider typological landscape within and beyond European languages, multiple factors must be considered (see Song 2020 for a tentative proposal).

Romance languages don't have modifier-head compound verbs

Table: Translations of English compound verbs in French and Spanish (Song 2019)

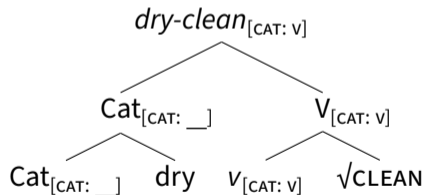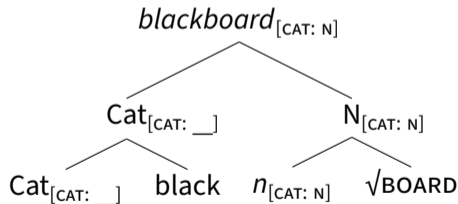| English	French	Spanish
hand-wash	*laver à la main* 'wash by hand'	*lavar a mano* 'wash by hand'
dry-clean	*nettoyer à sec* 'clean in dry'	*limpiar en seco* 'clean in dry'
sleep-walk	*marcher en dormant* 'walk sleeping'	*caminar dormido* 'walk sleeping'
double-check	*revérifier* 'reverify'	*volver a revisar* 'inspect again'
window-shop	*faire du lèche-vitrines* 'do lick-windows'	*ir de escaparates* 'go of windows'
baby-sit	*faire du baby-sitting* 'do babysitting'	*hacer de canguro* 'do kangaroo'
hitch-hike	*faire du stop* 'do stop'	*hacer autoestop* 'do car-stop'

Song (2019) derives modifier-head compounds via a special, underspecified flavor of the categorizer in Distributed Morphology (DM)—called the "defective categorizer" (Cat).

- Normal categorizer: x = [CAT: X]
- Defective categorizer: Cat = [CAT: __]

A defectively categorized element asymmetrically depends on a normally categorized element.

$blackboard_{[\text{CAT: N}]}$

Cat$_{[\text{CAT: __}]}$ N$_{[\text{CAT: N}]}$

Cat$_{[\text{CAT: __}]}$ black $n_{[\text{CAT: N}]}$ $\sqrt{\text{BOARD}}$

$dry\text{-}clean_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$

Cat$_{[\text{CAT: __}]}$ V$_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$

Cat$_{[\text{CAT: __}]}$ dry $v_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$ $\sqrt{\text{CLEAN}}$

Upon Agree and labeling, the Cat part ends up an adjunct of the normally categorized N/V.

$V_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$

$Cat_{[\text{CAT: \_\_}]}$ $V_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$

$Cat_{[\text{CAT: \_\_}]}$ bau $v_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$ $\sqrt{\text{SPAR}}$
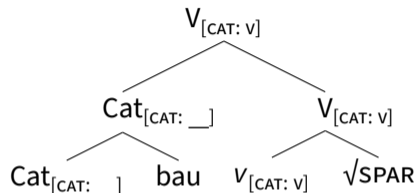
The two Vs have identical labels, so movement steps that target the lower V also target the higher V. However, the latter is not a head and can't undergo head movement. Thus, head movement is blocked (i.e., minimality). But the Cat part is still mobile (because of Set Merge).

Consequences:

- Such compound verbs can't exist in Romance languages, which always move V to T.
- They can exist in German (with quirky behavior), which partly requires V-to-T/C movement.
- They can perfectly exist in English, which has no V-to-T movement requirement.

But verb movement isn't the only factor. See Song (2020) for a more complete discussion.

$V_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$
$\text{Cat}_{[\text{CAT: \_\_}]}$ $X_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$
$\text{Cat}_{[\text{CAT: \_\_}]}$ α $X_{[\text{CAT: V}]}$ β
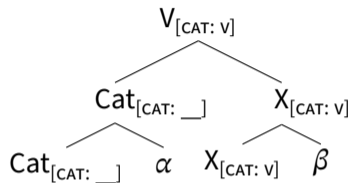
In this schema, the original category of α is unlimited (since it is recategorized by Cat anyway). Meanwhile, X doesn't have to be a bare verb head either—it can in principle be any verbal unit bearing an **interpretable** [CAT: V] feature (i.e., at any split-V level in the vP zone).

Further consequences:

1. The modifier is not limited to nouns (e.g., *cold_A-call*, *stir_V-fry*, *out_P-perform*, *re_?-watch*).
2. X may itself be a complex verb (e.g., *re-up-load*, *group-video-chat*, *mass-un-friend*).
3. Compound verbs can have varied argument structures (e.g., *lip-sync*$_{\text{vi/vt}}$, *run*$_{\text{vi}}$~*out-run*$_{\text{vt}}$).

👉 If X in 2 is mobile, it becomes immobile after the further compounding step.

Two often cited examples:

- *vor-an-melden* 'pre-at-announce; pre-register', *ur-auf-führen* 'original-up-lead; première'

(11) a. *Sie meldete ihre Tochter zu diesem Kurs an.*   [German]
        she announced her daughter to this course at
        'She enrolled her daughter in this course.'   (PONS dictionary)

    b. *Du *meldest uns vor-an / *an-meldest uns vor / *vor-an-meldest uns.*
        you announce us pre-at   at-announce us pre   pre-at-announce us
        Intended: 'You pre-register us.'   (Haider 2010: 60)

    c. …*wenn du uns vor-an-meldest.*
          if   you us pre-at-announce
        '…if you pre-register us.'   (ibid.)

Two often cited examples:

- *vor-an-melden* 'pre-at-announce; pre-register', *ur-auf-führen* 'original-up-lead; première'

(12) a. *Jedes Jahr zur Weihnachtszeit führt die Gruppe … ein Märchen auf.* [GER]
    every year for.the Christmas.time leads the group a fairy tale up
    'Every year, the group performs a fairy tale for Christmastime.' (DWDS corpora)

   b. *Sie *ur-auf-führten das Stück / *auf-führten das Stück ur / *führten das*
    they original-up-led the piece up-led the piece original led the
    Stück ur-auf.
    piece original-up
    Intended: 'They performed the piece for the first time.' (Zeller 2001: 77–78)

   c. …*weil sie das Stück ur-auf-führten.*
    because they the piece original-up-led
    '…because they performed the piece for the first time.' (ibid.)

The site of compounding in "double-prefixed" immobile verbs is after the outer prefix, so only the outer "prefix" can go through "corrective movement."

(13) a. *VOR*   *haben sie sich an-ge-meldet,*   *nicht „voll"!*   [German]
   pre.FOC have   they REFL at-GE-announced.PTCP not   LISTENER'S ERROR
   'They have PRE-registered themselves, not "pray"!'

  b. **VOR-AN*   *haben sie sich ge-meldet,*   *nicht „vor-ein"!*
   pre-at.FOC have   they REFL GE-announced.PTCP not   LISTENER'S ERROR
   'They have PRE-AT-announced themselves, not "pre-in"!'

My informants' judgments for *ur-auf-führen* are worse, probably because *ur-* is a true prefix.

German immobile verbs reveal that word-level modification may have intractable syntactic consequences.

> [W]hat we are confronted with is ***ineffability***—cases in which nothing works.
>
> *(den Dikken 2003: 16)*

The analysis presented here shows that the phenomenon may be given a fully derivational account. In fact, all the ingredients in the analysis conform to the Strong Minimalist Thesis:

- Only Set Merge is used. ⇒ adjunction = Agree + labeling
- No bar-level features are involved. ⇒ V* from previous studies removed

A similarly ineffable situation is observed in Hungarian complex verbs, more exactly in particle verb constructions where the particle is reduplicated (see, inter alia, Piñon 1991, Kiefer 1996, Ackerman 2003, Lipták 2016, Song 2017/2018, Lipták & Saab 2019).

- **Hungarian particle verbs**: *be-megy* 'in-go; enter', *ki-néz* 'out-look; look outside', *fel-hív* 'up-call; call (by phone)', *meg-hív* 'MEG-call; invite', *el-olvas* 'away-read; read through'

Word order: Prt-V in neutral contexts, V < Prt in nonneutral contexts ([+Neg], [+Foc], [+Wh]).

(14) *János   el-olvasta   a   könyvet.*   [Hungarian]
      John   away-read.PST   the book.ACC
      'John read through the book.' ⇒ neutral

(15) a. *János   nem   olvasa   el   a   könyvet.*   [Hungarian]
          John   not   read.PST away   the book.ACC
          'John did not read through the book.' ⇛ Negation

      b. *János   TEGNAP   olvasa   el   a   könyvet.*
          John   yesterday.FOC   read.PST away the book.ACC
          'It was yesterday that John read through the book.' ⇛ Focus

      c. *Ki   olvasa   el   a   könyvet?*
          who   read.PST away   the book.ACC
          'Who read through the book?' ⇛ Wh-question

Cause of inversion: The V head is attracted to a higher functional position across the particle (see, inter alia, Csirmaz 2004, É. Kiss 2008, Surányi 2009, Hegedűs 2013).

Hungarian verbal particles may be reduplicated to express an iterative or frequentative aspect. This strategy is not often used, but it's a productive process.

(16) a. *A   kismackó   meg-meg-állt,   s   körül-nézett.*   [Hungarian]
          the little.bear MEG-MEG-stood and around-looked
          'The little bear stopped occasionally and looked around.'   (Piñon 1991: 4)

   b. *Át-át-lebben*   *a   fórumnyilatkozaton   a   néma   sokaság   fogalma.*
       across-across-flutters the forum.declaration   the mute crowd   notion.POSS
       'The notion *mute crowd* keeps fluttering across the forum declaration.'   (ibid.)

   c. *El-el-olvasta*   *az   újságot.*
       away-away-read.PST the newspaper.ACC
       'He read the newspaper from time to time.'   (Kiefer 1996: 181)

(17) a. *A kismackó nem *állt meg-meg /*meg-meg-állt az erdőben.* [Hungarian]
the little.bear not stood MEG-MEG MEG-MEG-stood the woods.in
Intended: 'The little bear didn't stop occasionally in the woods.' ⇒ Negation

b. *CSAK A NÉMA SOKASÁG FOGALMA *lebben át-át /*át-át-lebben*
only the mute crowd notion flutter across-across across-across-flutter

a fórumnyilatkozaton.
the forum.declaration.on
Intended: 'Only the notion *mute crowd* keeps fluttering across the forum
declaration.' ⇒ Focus (Piñon 1991: 7)

c. *Ki *olvasta el-el /*el-el-olvasta az újságot?*
who read.PST away-away away-away-read.PST the newspaper.ACC
Intended: 'Who read the newspaper from time to time?' ⇒ Wh-question
(adapted from Kiefer 1996: 43)

One way to escape the ineffability dilemma is through the use of periphrasis.

(18) a. *Péter nem *ment át-át   / *át-át-ment   a   szomszédhoz.*   [HUN]
          Peter not   went across-across   across-across-went the neighbor.to
          Intended: 'Peter didn't go over to the neighbor from time to time.'

      b. **Nem igaz,** *hogy Péter időnként   át-át-ment   a   szomszédhoz.*
          not   true that Peter occasionally across-across-went the neighbor.to
          'It is not true that Peter went over to the neighbor from time to time.'

(19) a. *JÁNOS *nézett   be-be / *be-be-nézett hozzá.*
          John   looked in-in   in-in-looked to.him
          Intended: 'JOHN occasionally visited him.'

      b. **János volt az,** *aki   be-be-nézett hozzá.*
          John   was that who in-in-looked to.him
          'It was John who occasionally visited him.'   (adapted from Kiefer 1996: 187–188)

(20) a. *Péter időnként   át-át   akart   menni a   szomszédhoz.*
     Peter occasionally across-across wanted go.INF the neighbor.to
     'Peter wanted to go over to the neighbor from time to time.'

   b. *A   kendőt   meg-meg is   libbentette.*
      the kerchief MEG-MEG also fluttered
      'He even fluttered the kerchief from time to time.'

   c. *Péter hébe-hóba   vissza-vissza fog járni.*
      Peter now and then back-back   will go.INF
      'Peter will come back now and then.'   (adapted from Kiefer 1996: 188–189)

Such usage is rare (Piñon 1991), and native speakers' judgments vary (Lipták & Saab 2019).
However, it does exist.

In fact, the separability of reduplicated particle verbs is well attested in corpora.

(21) **Hungarian National Corpus** (Sass 2008; Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014)

   a. *Meg-meg szeretik álmodni,   hogy az emberek voltaképpen jók…* [Hungarian]
       MEG-MEG love.3PL dream.INF that the people   actually   good.PL
       'They occasionally love to dream that people are actually good…'

   b. *De még a   lágytojás   is   sok   volt neki, meg-meg kellett*
       but even the soft-boiled egg also much was to.him MEG-MEG had to
       állnia   vele.
       stand.INF.3SG with.it
       'But even the soft-boiled egg was too much for him; he had to keep pausing.'

   c. *Kételkedések még a   forradalmár Petőfiben is   fel-fel fognak támadni.*
       doubts   even the revolutionary Petőfi.in also up-up will.3PL arise.INF
       'Doubts will arise now and then even in the revolutionary Petőfi.'

(22) **Hungarian Web Corpus 2023** (huTenTen23)

a. *A kályha kipróbálását követő pár napban be-be kell gyújtani.* [Hungarian]
the stove testing.ACC following several day.in in-in must ignite.INF
'In the few days following the stove's initial testing, it must be lit occasionally.'

b. *Korábban … el-el lehetett csípni egy intimebb beszélgetésfoszlányt…*
previously away-away was possible pinch a intimate.COMP conversation.snatch.ACC
'Previously … it was possible to occasionally catch snippets of more intimate conversations.'

c. *De talán bármilyen forradalmi időben is el-el fog talán férni itt*
but perhaps whatever revolutionary time.in also away-away will perhaps fit.INF here

… olykor-olykor egy-egy kis írásom?
every now and then one or two little writing.my

'But perhaps one or two little pieces of my writing will perhaps fit in here every now and then in whatever revolutionary times?'

As in German, in Hungarian we also see a situation where the verb head is immobile but the nonhead (i.e., the reduplicated particle) is still accessible to some syntactic operations.

Overall, in the Hungarian case, the particle verb is originally perfectly mobile and invertible—it is the particle reduplication process that for some reason freezes it in syntax (as a side effect).

This is reminiscent of German "double-prefixed" immobile verbs, where immobility is also caused by something done to an originally mobile particle verb.

- Hungarian: the verbal particle is reduplicated
- German: a second preverb is added (via backformation from compound nouns)

Proposal: This "something" is word-level adjunction in both cases. More specifically, this adjunction is a byproduct of categorization, hence the mobility of the "adjunct."

The analysis sketched here is updated from Song (2018).
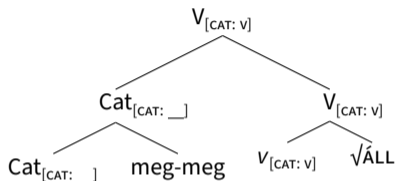
meg-meg-áll 'MEG-MEG-stand; stop'
The reduplicated *meg-meg* is adjoined to the base *áll* like the nonhead of a modifier-head compound. So, *áll* is frozen, but *meg-meg* can still be accessed by syntactic operations (independent constraints).

- Particle reduplication is not implemented by a functional head like Asp (pace Lipták & Saab 2019) but the merger of **two lexical copies**, so my analysis is somewhat in line with Ackerman (2003).

- The two copies are assembled via **coordination**, so the iterative meaning comes from **lexical repetition** (in line with Kiefer's 1996 observation that the iterative meaning of particle reduplication ≠ that of *-gAt*). This predicts a symmetric relation between the two particles, which is in line with the observation that they carry **equal phonological weight** (Song 2018, Lipták & Saab 2019). 👇

Compare: *'meg-'meg-⁰áll* = *'fel-'le-⁰szaladgál* 'up-down-run.about' (Piñon 1991) ≠ *'el-⁰fel-⁰vételiz* 'away-up-take.entrance.exam; take entrance exam for a long time' (Hegedűs & Dékány 2017)

On my analysis, the reduplicated particle is a **base-generated** adjunct of the base verb. This means that the syntactic derivation of reduplicated particle verbs is fundamentally different from that of normal particle verbs (see, inter alia, É. Kiss 2008, Surányi 2009, Hegedűs 2013).

1. Normal particle verb (simplified): $[_{PredP} [_{Spec} meg_j] [_{Pred'} [_{Pred} áll_i] [_{VP} t_i t_j]]]$ 'stop'
2. Reduplicated particle verb: $[_V [_{Cat} meg\text{-}meg] [_V áll]]$ 'stop from time to time'

While the particle in 1 can form a **theta-connection** with an argument in VP, that in 2 cannot. A tentative solution is to follow den Dikken's (2003) "base-generated incorporation" approach to Germanic inseparable prefixes and assume that here, too, there is a third (silent) lexical copy of the particle in the complement zone of the verb (i.e., NUM = {…meg_3…}).

3. Reduplicated particle verb (revised):
   $[_{VP} [_V [_{Cat} át_i\text{-}át_i] [_V megy]] [_{SC} [_X át_i] [_{DP} a szomszéd\text{-}hoz]]]$
   'go over to the neighbor from time to time'

Immobility is a very special (and bizarre) phenomenon. Just like German complex verbs, Hungarian particle verbs do not all have the same underlying structure.

- **Normal**: separable, invertible; e.g., *be-foly(ik)* 'in-flow; flow in'
- **Recategorized**: inseparable, noninvertible; e.g., $[be\text{-}foly]_V\text{-}ás_N\text{-}ol_V$ '[in-flow]-N-V; influence'

Scholars have further divided normal ones into subtypes (e.g., Hegedűs & Dékány 2017):

- The **complement**-subtype (directional, telicizing): where the particle is based-generated in the verb's complement zone; e.g., *ki-visz* 'out-take; take out'
- The **specifier**-subtype (exhaustive/durative): where the particle is base-generated in the verb's (extended) specifier; e.g., *ki-fut* 'out-run; run (oneself) to exhaustion'

👉 None of the above types show immobility—not even the inseparable ones!

(23)   [*fel-vételi*]$_N$-z_V 'entrance.exam-V; take an entrance exam'

    a. *János nem fel-vételizett az egyetembre.*   [Hungarian]
        John   not   up-exam.took the university.onto
        'John did not take a college entrance exam.'

    b. *JÁNOS fel-vételizett az egyetembre.*
        John.FOC up-exam.took the university.onto
        'It was John who took an entrance exam.'   (adapted from Hegedűs & Dékány 2017)

Thus, the immobility of reduplicated particle verbs really makes them into a separate type.

Again, what makes immobile complex verbs special is not just their adjunction structure, but more exactly their categorization-based mode of adjunction.

Surányi (2009) argues that some verbal particles in Hungarian are base-generated as adjuncts—more exactly goal locative ones like *hozzá* 'to.it'. However, those are **canonical** adjuncts in the VP zone, not byproducts of categorization. Hence, those "planned" adjunct-based particles are perfectly normal in syntactic behavior (i.e., separable and mobile).

(24) a. *János gyorsan hozzá-írt valamit a cikkhez.*   [Hungarian]
John quickly to.it-wrote something.ᴀᴄᴄ the article.to
'John quickly added something to the article.'   (adapted from Surányi 2009: 234)

b. *János nem írt hozzá semmit.*
John not wrote to.it nothing.ᴀᴄᴄ
'John didn't write anything to it.'

I have mentioned the similar stress patterns below:

- **Reduplicated particles**: *ˈmeg-ˈmeg-^{0}áll* 'stop from time to time', *ˈki-ˈki-^{0}néz* 'look out and out' ⟹ IMMOBILE
- **Opposite particles**: *ˈfel-ˈle-^{0}szaladgál* 'run about up and down', *ˈki-ˈbe-^{0}rakosgat* 'put out and in' ⟹ MOBILE

(25) *Ki   rakosgatja ki-be   a   kismackót   a   játékházba?*   [Hungarian]
    who places   out-in the little.bear the playhouse.in
    'Who is placing the little bear in and out of the playhouse?'   (Piñon 1991: 7)

Thus, coordinate particles can be merged in two ways: (i) via Cat (immobile); (ii) via the normal particle way (mobile). It seems (i) is a last resort, maybe because by the time the reduplicated particle is merged, (ii) is no longer an option—namely, at the end of the Chomskyan *v*P.

We have seen two cases of complex verb immobility:

1. **German**: modifier-head compound verbs; e.g., *bauch-tanzen* 'belly-dance'
2. **Hungarian**: reduplicated particle verbs; e.g., *meg-meg-áll* 'stop from time to time'

I have attributed both cases of immobility to word-level modification, whereby

- the base verb is frozen in the modification site, while
- the modifier can still be accessed by some syntactic operations.

Crucially, only categorization-based adjunction (as a byproduct) has this quirky effect. Thus, even in a single-engine framework like DM, we still need to treat the "word" as a special domain. And we need more than one mode of adjunction in the minimalist machinery too.

Thank you!

Ackerman, F.
Lexeme derivation and multi-word predicates in Hungarian
Acta Linguistica Hungarica 50(1–2), 7–32, 2003

Ahlers, T.
Komplexe C^0-phobe Verben des Deutschen
University of Vienna master's thesis, 2010

den Dikken, M.
When particles won't part
The City University of New York manuscript, 2003

Hegedűs, V. & É. Dékány
Two positions for verbal modifiers: Evidence from derived particle verbs
Approaches to Hungarian 15, 65–94, 2017

📄 Kiefer, F.
Prefix reduplication in Hungarian
Acta Linguistica Hungarica 43(1–2), 175–194, 1996

📄 Lipták, A. & A. Saab
Hungarian particle reduplication as local doubling
Acta Linguistica Hungarica 66(4), 527–574, 2019

📄 Piñon, C.
Falling in paradise: Verbs, preverbs, and reduplication in Hungarian
Syntax workshop handout, Stanford University, 1991

📄 Song, C.
Recategorization blocks verb movement
University of Cambridge manuscript, 2018

Song, C.
On the formal flexibility of syntactic categories
University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 2019

Song, C.
Complex verb mobility in Germanic languages
Talk at Zhejiang University, June 19, 2020

Surányi, B.
Verbal particles inside and outside *v*P
Acta Linguistica Hungarica 56(2–3), 201–249, 2009

Vikner, S.
Immobile complex verbs in Germanic
Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics 8, 83–115, 2005