Oriented Adjuncts and Representational Frames:
Depictives and Manner in Hungarian

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1.   The data

1.1   Depictives

In Hungarian there are various kinds of constructions which contain secondary predicates. This paper confines to just one type, the depictive secondary predication (DSP). Depictives are secondary predicates as *raw* in *Mary ate the fish raw.*[1] Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004) and Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt eds. (2005) establish a better understanding of formal and semantic properties of depictives by describing various examples from languages of the world while comparing them with (different classes of) adverbials, i.e. other types of participant-oriented adjuncts. They characterize depictive in the following fashion:

(1)   A depictive proper (or depictive in the narrow sense) is a participant-oriented adjunct which is part of the focus domain of a sentence, i.e. which functions as focus exponents. Such adjuncts encode a state which contributes a significant characteristic to the main event – for example, *leaving drunk* or *leaving outraged* is different from simply *leaving.*

The authors also characterize depictives as a distinct category of secondary predicates on the basis of the following properties.

(2)   Depictive secondary predications meet all of 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.
    (vii)   The depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

Examples of Hungarian depictives are for instance *idegenvezetőként, berúgva,* respectively *ketten* in (3).[2]

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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.
[2] For a detailed description of depictives in Hungarian and a discussion of several properties of depictives, I refer to De Groot (2008).

(3)   Depictive secondary predicates in Hungarian
     a.   Pál   *idegenvezető-ként*   dolgozik   Görögországban.
           Paul   tour operator-ESF[3]   work   in Greece
           'Paul is working *as a tour operator* in Greece.'
     b.   Péter   *berúg-va*   hazament.
           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.'

Example (3a) shows a nominal, (3b) a converbal, and (3c) a numeral depictive. Note that the depictive has the function of focus in all three examples indicated by its position immediately preceding the verb. I will return to the requirement of depictives to be in the focus domain later. Also note that the depictives in (3) have the subject as their controller, which is only a requirement for the third type, the numeral depictive. The nominal and converbal depictive may also have the object as its controller. In fact, examples such as (4) are ambiguous in the sense that János may be the teacher, but also Péter in (4a) or that János may be drunk, but also the guest in (4b).[4]

(4)   a.   János$_i$ Péter- t$_j$ *tanár-ként$_{i/j}$*   szereti.
           János Péter-ACC   teacher-ESF   love
           'János likes Péter as a teacher.' (John or Peter = teacher)
     b.   János$_i$ *berúg-va$_{i/j}$*   hozta   haza   a   vendék-et$_j$.
           János get drunk-CONV   brought   home   the   guest-ACC
           'János brought the guest home *drunk*.' (János or guest = drunk)

1.2   Transparent adjuncts

Things get much more complicated when we also take oriented adverbs into consideration, which may be ambiguous between manner and depictive. I will explain this in more detail here, since the data is not as well known as the data in section 1.1. The adverb *stupidly* in (5) is used as a manner. The stupidity is ascribed to the way John answers the question.

(5)   John answered the question *stupidly*.

The same set of words in a different order yield a different interpretation. The adverb *stupidly* in (6) is rather a participant-oriented adverb which syntactically still belongs to the sentence-level adverbs.

(6)   John *stupidly* answered the question.

Adverbs as *stupidly* in (6) ascribe a certain characteristic to the agent on the basis of the event which it performs. The example can be paraphrased as *It was stupid of John to answer the question*, which clearly indicates that the form *stupidly,* irrespective the fact that it takes the

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[3] I adopt the terminology for (case) suffixes used in traditional Hungarian grammars, e.g. Tompa 1968.
[4] I refer to De Groot (2008) for the description of syntactic restrictions of and syntactic differences between the different depictives in Hungarian.

adverbial suffix –*ly,* (also) functions as a secondary predicate. No such interpretation arises when the adverbial is in the final position of the clause, as in (5).

When we consider example (7), we see that the form *angrily* allows both interpretations, that of a manner adverb and also as an agentive adverb. Peter may read the review in an angry manner, or Peter may be angry.

(7)   Peter *angrily* read the review.

Example (7) can be disambiguated in the following way, where *angry* – as an adjective without the adverbial ending – is used as a secondary predicate or depictive.

(8)   Peter read the review *angry*.

What we see on the basis of the examples from English is that there is a partial overlap between manner and agent-oriented adverbs. This overlap has a semantic, syntactic, morphological, and, as we will see later, also a pragmatic component. The observation of the overlap between manner and participant-oriented adverbs is not new, neither the observation that the overlap poses a problem for linguistic theory, in particular for semantic theory.[5] Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt (2005) illustrate the problem within the framework of Davidsonian semantics, where verbs carry an event variable and adverbials are analysed as predicates of events. There is an apparently straightforward way of representing the difference between pure manner (9a) and depictive (9b) as in (10a) and (10b), respectively.

(9)   a.   Arthur read the paper *slowly*.   (pure manner)
        b.   Arthur left the party *angry*.   (depictive)

(10)   a.   read (e) (x, review) & slow (e)   (pure manner)
        b.   leave (e) (x, party) & angry (x)   (depictive)

Geuder (2002) already noted that these distinct representations do not account for examples such as (11a) where both analysis apply simultaneously.

(11)   a.   Peter *angrily* read the letter.
        b.   [read (e) (x, letter) & angry (e)] & [read (e) (x, letter) & angry (x)]

Geuder (2002) argues that the ambiguity arises when there is a factual link between the primary and secondary predication. This link may be consecutive as in (12a) or causal as in (12b):

(12)   a.   John *angrily* read the review of his book. (anger is a consequence)
        b.   John *angrily* wrote a letter to the editor. (writing the letter causes the anger)

Geuder labelled this type of adjunct as '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 exist between the primary and the secondary predication?

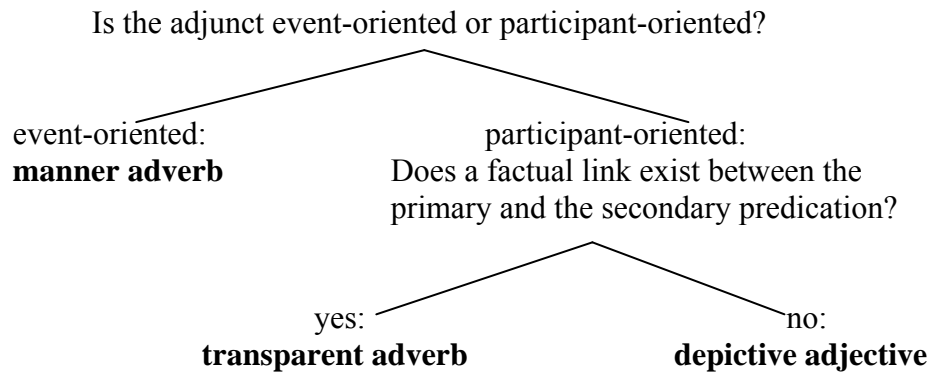yes: **transparent adverb**   no: **depictive adjective**

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 (13a) nor as manner adverbials (13b). The bare adjective may also function as a transparent adjunct (13c). The zero marking of the adjectives is indicated by –Ø.

(13)   Dutch
a.   Jack   eet   de   vis   *rauw*-Ø.   (depictive)
          Jack   eats   the   fish   raw
          'Jack eats the fish raw.'
b.   Mary   zingt   *mooi*-Ø.   (manner)
          Mary   sings   beautiful
          'Mary sings beautifully.'
c.   Peter   verliet *woedend*-Ø   het   feestje.   (transparent)
          Peter   left   angry   the   party
          'Peter left the party angry/angrily.'

According to Renz (2007) Polish has two ways 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 (14a) and (14d). In the second one, the adjunct takes the adverbial form (14b) and (14e). Renz claims that the two types of expressions are synonymous. Manner can be expressed by the adverbial form only (14c).

(14)   Polish
a.   Piotr$_{NOM}$ wrócił *bosy*$_{NOM}$.   (depictive)
b.   Piotr$_{NOM}$ wrócił *boso*$_{ADV}$.   (depictive)
          'Peter returned barefoot.'
c.   Profesor *nudno*$_{ADV}$ wugłasza 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, 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 (15a), is marked by the affix –*en*.[6]

(15)   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*   írta   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 an interesting typology. Dutch and Hungarian do not morphologically differentiate between transparent adjuncts, depictives and manner, while English differentiates between depictive on the one hand and transparent and manner on the other, and Polish differentiate between depictive and transparent versus manner. The transparent seems to take the position in 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

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

Given 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. I will therefore take the semantics of oriented adjuncts to be a more fundamental criterion in establishing the class of depictives in Hungarian than the morphological marking. Consequently, I will take the adverbially marked adjectives as oriented adjuncts in Hungarian also into consideration.

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[6] There is another adverbial marker, the affix –*l*. The two adverbial markers are in complementary distribution.

1.3   Information structure and oriented adjuncts

In De Groot (2008: 73) I note that the requirement of a depictive to be the focus or to be within the focus domain of a clause, or differently, the information denoted by a depictive may not be presupposed, may be generally correct, but is not unproblematic. Example (16a) fulfils the requirement, whereas (16b) and (16c) do not. The depictive in (16b) used as a contrastive topic is presupposed but may be considered to be focal too because of the contrast. Negation in Hungarian constitutes the focus in the clause. In negative clauses in Hungarian there is no room for depictives to also function as the focus. The depictive in expressions such as (16c) may, but not necessarily, be considered to form a part of the not-presupposed information.

(16)   a.   Depictive as focus
            János *tanár-ként*   dolgozott   Amszterdam-ban.
            János   teacher-ESF   worked   Amsterdam-INES
            'János worked in Amsterdam AS A TEACHER.'
   b.   Depictive as contrastive topic
            Tanár-ként   János dolgozott   Amszterdam-ban.
            teacher-ESF   János   worked   Amsterdam-INES
            'As a teacher JÁNOS worked in Amsterdam.'
   c.   Depictive as pragmatically neutral with sentence negation
            János *tanár-ként*   nem   dolgozott   Amszterdam-ban.
            János   teacher-ESF NEG   worked   Amsterdam-INES
            'János didn't work in Amsterdam as a teacher.'

As a second remark concerning depictives and information structure is that Hungarian allows depictive phrases with an internal focus. In example (17) the depictive phrase takes the focus position in the main clause. Within the depictive phrase *a pálinkától* 'from the brandy' takes the focus position before the stem of the converb otherwise occupied by the aspectual element *be*.

(17)   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.'

There is an interaction between the pragmatic structure of the secondary predication and the main predication. If the depictive phrase contains a focus the main predication will then not allow some other element to be the focus on that level. In other words, a clause with a depictive secondary predication may have just one focus being the depictive (16a), some element from the depictive phrase (17) or some other element figuring in the main predication (16b,c).
      Finally I would like to mention that I have the impression that manner adverbs, like depictives, also favour the function of focus in the clause.

2. The location of Hungarian depictives in representational frames

In the second part of this paper I wish to further discuss semantic aspects of depictives in Hungarian, for which I will make use of the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2006, 2008). FDG distinguishes between the following three levels for the analysis of linguistic data:

(i)   The *Interpersonal level* (IL) deals with all the formal aspects of a linguistic unit that reflect its role in the interaction between Speaker and Addressee. The Interpersonal level specifies Acts which consist of an Illocution, the Speech Participants and a Communicated Content. Within the Communicated Content, one or more Subacts of Reference and Ascription are evoked by the Speaker.[7]

(ii) The *Representational level* (RL) deals with the semantic aspects of a linguistic unit. The term 'semantics' is used in a very restricted way in FDG, in that (a) it is restricted to the ways in which language relates to the real or imagined world it describes, and (b) it is restricted to the meaning of lexical units in isolation from the way in which they are used in communication. Where the nature of the units at IL can best be described in terms of evocation, the nature of representational units can be described in terms of designation (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 130). At RL the utterance is thus filled in with semantic content, i.e., with descriptions of entities as they occur in some non-linguistic world. Since these entities are of different orders, the linguistic units at this level differ with respect to the ontological category they designate.

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\begin{array}{ll}
(\pi\ ep_1:\ [& \text{episode} \\
\quad (\pi\ p_1:\ [& \text{propositional content} \\
\qquad (\pi\ e_1:\ [& \text{state-of-affairs} \\
\qquad\quad (\pi\ f_1:\ ...\ (f_1):\ \sigma\ (f_1))_\varphi & \text{property/relation} \\
\qquad\quad (\pi\ x_1:\ ...\ (x_1):\ \sigma\ (x_1))_\varphi & \text{individual} \\
\qquad\quad (\pi\ l_2:\ ...\ (l_1):\ \sigma\ (l_1))_\varphi & \text{location} \\
\qquad\quad (\pi\ t_1:\ ...\ (t_1):\ \sigma\ (t_1))_\varphi & \text{time} \\
\qquad]\ (e_1):\ \sigma\ (e_1))_\varphi & \text{state-of-affairs} \\
\quad]\ (p_1):\ \sigma\ (p_1))_\varphi & \text{propositional content} \\
]\ (ep_1):\ \sigma\ (ep_1))_\varphi & \text{episode}
\end{array}
$$

Here π stands for one or more operators at each of the layers, while σ symbolises one or more modifiers. Moreover, each unit is represented by a variable indicating the order of entity denoted:

Semantic category	Variable	Examples
Episode	ep	summary
Propositional Content	p	idea
State-of-affairs	e	meeting
Individual	x	chair
Location	l	garden
Time	t	week
Property/relation	f	colour

Figure 3: The hierarchical structure of the representational level

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[7] De Groot (2009) presents an analysis of Hungarian verbal cross-referencing markers in relation to the Interpersonal level.

(iii) The *Morphosyntactic level* accounts for all the linear properties of a linguistic unit, both with respect to the structure of sentences, clauses and phrases and with respect to the internal structure of complex words.[8]

Aspects of the data relevant to a discussion of depictives and representational frames within the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar may be summarized in the following way.

- The subject may be the only controller of the depictive.
- Both subject and object may be the controller of the depictive.
- The subject is the controller of the transparent adjunct while at the same time the adjunct functions as a manner modifier of the main verb.
- The consecutive or causal link between the main and the secondary predication.
- Depictives are within the focus domain of the clause.

The central question concerning Hungarian depictives here is the way they are embedded in representational frames. Is there just one unifying pattern or are there different possibilities? If there are different possibilities, what will then be the range of variation?

There are four observations which tell us something about the domain in which the depictives in Hungarian should be located. (i) The first one concerns the fact that depictive phrases may internally have an element with the pragmatic function of topic or focus. This observation suggests that a depictive secondary predication in Hungarian is a Discourse Act. (ii) The second one is that the depictive in Hungarian is within the scope of sentence negation, which suggests that depictives are restrictors of the same e-variable as the main predication. (iii) The third observation is that several depictives show agreement with its controller. Agreement in Hungarian only arises in predicative relations and constructions which involve some sort of discontinuity within a clause, extra-clausal constituents included. This observation suggests that depictives, at least several types of them, do not form one constituent with its controller. This is in line with what has been suggested in literature (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 83) that there is in fact no syntactic difference between non-restrictive modifiers and depictive secondary predication. (iv) The fourth observation is that depictives do not form prosodic units on there own. Depictive phrases are part of the intonation contour of utterances. There is no comma intonation nor are there any other intonation markers to indicate beginning or end of the depictive secondary predication. The first consideration suggest an analysis in which the depictive is not part of the main predication, whereas the latter three suggest the opposite. To sum up:

(18) i.   Topic, Focus   Topic, Focus
          ACT-1   ACT-2
          Main predication   depictive secondary predication

       ii. $[\text{Neg } e_i: [\text{predication}] (e_i)$ $(e_j: [\text{depictive secondary predication}] (e_j))] (e_i)]$

       iii. $[[\ldots \text{Main[Pred]}\ldots (x_i) \ldots]$ $[\ldots \text{Depictive[Pred]} \ldots (x_i) \ldots]]$

       iv. $[e_i: [\text{Main predication [Depictive secondary predication]]}]$

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[8] De Groot (2005) presents an analysis of Hungarian non-adjectival/verbal modifiers in relation to the Morphosyntactic level.

Three out of four observations suggest the view that the depictive secondary predication is part of the main predication. The only contradiction is found in the observation that the depictive secondary predication constitutes an independent Act. However, given the fact that the two Acts together, that of the main predication and the secondary predication form one information unit in the sense that there is just one focus, see section 1.3 above, I conclude that the secondary predication can be considered a part of the main predication.

In the following sections I will discuss the major subclasses of Hungarian depictives, the nominal, converbal and numeral depictives, and there representational frames, where the depictives are considered to be non-restrictive modifiers of the controller being part of the main predication.

3.   Two nominals as depictives

In Hungarian there are two nominal depictives which at first sight look very similar. They reveal, however, significant semantic and syntactic differences. The two types are

(19)   Predicative nominal with preposition *mint* 'as'
A   férfi-ak   *mint idegenvezető-k*   dolgoznak   Görögországban.
The   man-PL   as   tour operator-PL   they work   in Greece
'The men work as tour operators in Greece.'
(20)   Predicative nominal with the essive-formal suffix *-ként*
A   férfi-ak   *idegenvezető-ként*   dolgoznak   Görögországban.
The   man-PL   tour operator-ESF   they work   in Greece
'The men work as tour operator in Greece.'

A semantic difference between the expression with *mint* and the one with *–ként*, is that the men in (19) are most likely tour operators by profession, whereas such presupposition does not necessarily hold in the case of (20). In that case, the men may be teachers or bank managers who incidentally act as tour operators.

A syntactic difference is that the controller of the depictive in *–ként* may be either the Agent or Patient of the main predicate, whereas the depictive with *mint* 'as' is not subject to these syntactic restrictions. Potentially all participants, both arguments and non-arguments, may be the controller of the depictive (De Groot 2008: 80).

A morphological difference is that the depictive in *–ként* generally does not agree in number with its controller and never agrees in case or postposition, whereas the depictive with *mint* obligatory agrees in number, case and postposition.

The representational frame for (19) could be (21). There are two ascriptive acts. The second one is the depictive where its argument shows that it is coreferential with the argument of the main predicate. The depictive does not take a particular semantic function, because it does not have any. The semantic relation between the depictive and its argument is that of property assignment (Dik 1980:90f))

(21) T_I R_I R_J
e_i: [(f_i: *dolgoz-*$_V$ (f_i)) (dm x_i: *férfi*$_N$ (x_i))$_{Act}$ (l_i: *Görögország*$_N$ (l_i))$_{Loc}$

        T_J
[(f_j: *idegenvezető*$_N$ (f_j)) (x_i)$_\emptyset$]] (e_i) $_\emptyset$)

The representational frame for (20) could be (22). Note the semantic function of Simile (Sim) of the argument of the depictive.

(22) T_I R_I R_J
    e_i: [(f_i: *dolgoz*-$_V$ (f_i)) (dm x_i: *férfi*$_N$ (x_i))$_{Act}$ (l_i: *Görögország*$_N$ (l_i))$_{Loc}$

        T_J
    [(f_j: *idegenvezető*$_N$ (f_j)) (x_i)$_{Sim}$]] (e_i)$_\emptyset$)

    The different semantic relation between the depictive and its argument, property assignment versus simile may account for number agreement in the first case and no number agreement in the latter. The syntactic differences could be taken to be language specific, i.e. they do not reflect in representational frames.

4.   The converb as a depictive

Converbs (adverbial participles) function as adverbs of manner or circumstance. The may also function as non-verbal predicates in finite clauses or as depictive secondary predicates. An example of a converb in a non-verbal periphrastic predication is (23a) contrasted with an example of the converb functioning as depictive (23b)

(23)   a.   Julika *el*   volt   *fárad-va*.
                Julie PFV   was   exhaust-CONV
                'Julie was exhausted.'
       b.   Julika *el-fárad-va*   ült   le   a   sezlon-ra
                Julie PFV-exhaust-CONV sat   down   the   couch-SUBL
                'Julie sat down on the couch EXHAUSTED.'

    In the case of the converbal depictive, only the Agent or the Patient of the main predicate may function as the controller.
    In De Groot (2008) I argue that a major distinction between converbs in Hungarian used as adverbials and those used predicatively is that the latter class arise through derivation. Predicative converbs in Hungarian may be specified for imperfective or perfective aspect, while at the same time the state of affairs designated by the converb is a State and not an Event. The state holds at the same time as the eventuality encoded by the main verb. I therefore conclude that the π1 aspectual operator applies before the derivation and not afterwards, i.e. there is no need to stipulate that the converbal depictive as a predicate allows the application of the aspectual π1 operator.
    The representational frame corresponding example (23b) could be the following:

(24) T_I R_I R_J
    e_i: [(f_i: *le_ül*-$_V$ (f_i)) (x_i: *Julika*$_{Prop}$ (x_i))$_{Act}$ (l_i: *sezlon* (l_i))$_{Dir}$

        T_J
    [(f_j: *elfáradva*$_{CONV}$ (f_j)) (x_i)$_\emptyset$]] (e_i)$_\emptyset$)

The semantic relation between depictive and argument is that of property assignment. The state of affairs is that of State.

5.   Numeral as a depictive

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 a numeral. The first one combines a numeral with the adverbial marker *–on/–an/–en/– ön* as in (25). There is no number agreement between the depictive and its controller. The second type is the universal quantifier *mind*, also referred to as a floating quantifier in (26). The form *mind* does not inflect when used as a depictive.

(25)   A   nővér-ek   *kett-en*   mentek   haza.
       The   sister-PL   two-ADV   they went   home
       'The sisters went home the two of them.'

(26)   Floating quantifier *mind* 'all'
       A   fiúk   *mind*   látjuk   a   lányok-at.
       The   boys   all   they see   the   girls-ACC
       'All the boys see the girls. / The boys see all the girls'

The first type of depictive only allows the Agent of the main verb to be the controller, whereas the universal quantifier may be controlled by the Agent and Patient and several other participant roles similar to depictives with *mint* in section 2. In all cases with the quantifier *mind* 'all', the controller must be plural.
       A frame similar as that for the other types of depictives could be postulated for the numeral depictives. Example (27) corresponds with (25), and (28) with (26).

(27) T_I R_I
       e_i: [(f_i: *haza_men*-$_V$ (f_i)) (dm x_i: *nővér*$_N$ (x_i))$_{Act}$

                 T_J
       [(f_j: *kett*-$_{NUM}$ (f_j)) (x_i) $_{\o}$]] (e_i) $_{\o}$)

(28) T_I R_I R_J
       e_i: [(f_i: *lát*-$_V$ (f_i)) (dm x_i: *fiú*$_N$ (x_i))$_{Act}$ (dm x_j: *lány*$_N$ (x_j))$_{Pat}$

                 T_J
       [(f_j: *mind*$_{NUM}$ (f_j)) ($x_{i/j}$) $_{\o}$]] (e_i) $_{\o}$)

The semantic relation between the numeral predicate and its argument is accounted for by the status of the predicate. I do not know what kind of semantic function could be applied to the argument. I assume that the functions of Zero will be appropriate. Note that the numerals are treated as lexical predicates. Interestingly, the stem *kett-* 'two' in (27) is the predicative stem opposed to *két* 'two' which is used in attributive cases.

6.   Interim discussion

In the former sections I propose to treat all major types of depictives as ascriptive acts which correspond to a predication embedded in a restrictor of an e-variable. The depictive itself is not a restrictor of the e-variable of the main predication. It is not a restrictor of another e-variable either. It loosely attaches to one of the referents within the predication by way of

coreferentiality. This accounts for the depictive to be non-restrictive. The use of a comma, as proposed for non-restrictive relative clauses and for non-restrictive appositions, is not appropriate because a comma would incorrectly suggest that the depictive forms a prosodic unit on its own. The representational frame of depictives in Hungarian is then as follows:

(29) $\qquad$ T_I $\qquad$ R_I $\qquad$ R_N $\qquad$ T_J
$$(e_i: [(f_i: PRED\text{-}_V (f_i)) (x_i)_\varphi \ \dots \ (x_n)_\varphi \ \ [(f_j: PRED_{N\,/\,CONV\,/\,NUM} (f_j)) (x_{i\text{-}n})_\varphi]] (e_i)_\emptyset)$$

7. Adjectival adjuncts

In section 1.2. I argued to consider certain adjectival adjuncts in Hungarian as depictives, irrespective the fact that these forms are marked by an adverbial affix. Semantically genuine depictives, such as *nyersen* 'raw.ADV' in (15a) here repeated as (30), are comparable with the three types of depictives discussed in the earlier sections.

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

The applicability of the representational frame proposed in (29) could be expanded by specifying the subcategorization of the secondary predicate by A in addition to N / CONV / NUM. Coreferentiality between the controller and the argument of the adjunct is limited to the Agent and the Patient of the main predicate. As for the transparent adjuncts, let us first have a look at manner.
$\qquad$ A language may have a distinct semantic category of manner. Dutch, for instance, lacks such category, whereas Hungarian has one. An indication for Hungarian to possess the category of manner adverbs is the possibility to derive adverbs from other lexical categories such as *izgul* [V] 'tremble' → *izgulva* [ADV] 'in a trembling way', or *szemantika* [N] 'semantics' → *szemantikailag* [ADV] 'semantically'. For those languages which recognizes manner as a distinct category, manner is represented by the variable *m*.[9] According to Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 268) manner may be a restrictor of properties with differences in scope. Compare, for instance, the following two expressions in English, where *slowly* in (31a) modifies the way of reading, whereas *slowly* in (31b) does not modifies the way of understanding but the way of understanding the problem.

(31) a. Mary reads slowly.
      b. Peter slowly understood the problem.

The scope differences of the properties correspond to (f_2), narrow scope, and (f_1), wide scope, as in (32):

(32) $(\pi\, e_1: (f_1: [(f_2) (x_1)_\varphi (l_1)_\varphi \dots] (f_1)) (e_1)_\varphi: \sigma\, (e_1)_\varphi)$

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[9] Currently, nine semantic categories are distinguished at the representational level, each characterised by its defining ontological feature: *property* (f; applicability), *time* (t; applicability), *location* (l; applicability), *manner* (m; applicability), *quantity* (1; applicability), *individual* (x; l-locatability), *state of affairs* (e; relative t-locatability), *propositional content* (p; evaluability), *reason* (r; evaluability); *episode* (ep; absolute t-locatability). See Mackenzie (2009) for the relevance of these categories in the domain of question words.

The formalism in (32) shows that states of affairs (e) are restricted by a property (f_1). This complex property itself is a combination of semantic units that are not in a hierarchical relationship with respect to each other, including properties (f_2), individuals (x), locations (l), etcetera. The difference between the manner restrictors in (31a) and (31b) can be formalized as in (33a) and (33b), respectively.

(33)   a. $(\pi \, e_1: (f_1: [(f_2: \text{read} \, (f_2) : (m_1: \text{slow} \, (m_1)) \, (f_2)) \, (x_1)_\varphi \, (l_1)_\varphi \, ... \,] \, (f_1)) \, (e_1)_\varphi$

        b. $(\pi \, e_1: (f_1: [(f_2: \text{read} \, (f_2) \, (x_1)_\varphi \, (l_1)_\varphi \, ... \,] \, (f_1) : (m_1: \text{slow} \, (m_1) \, (f_1)) \, (e_1)_\varphi$

Manner in (33a) is represented as a restrictor of the (f_2) variable, whereas manner in (33b) is represented as a restrictor of the (f_1) variable.

    The possibility of manner to be a restrictor on f_2 or on f_1 is helpful for an account of transparent adjuncts. Recall that transparent adjuncts are agent-oriented adjuncts which at the same time function as manner. The ambiguity arises when there is a factual link between the primary and the secondary predication. This link may be consecutive or causal as illustrated by the examples (12), here repeated as (34).

(34)   a.   John *angrily* read the review of his book. (anger is a consequence)
        b.   John *angrily* wrote a letter to the editor. (writing the letter causes the anger)

I suggest to analyse transparent adjuncts, such as *angrily* in (34), as manner restrictors of f_1, because such analysis accounts for the fact that there is a link between the predication *the reading of the review of his book* and the ascriptive act of *angry* as a manner.

(35) $(\pi \, e_1: (f_1: [(f_2: \text{read} \, (f_2) \, (\text{John} \, x_1)_{Ag} \, (\text{the review of his book} \, x_2)_{Pat}] \, (f_1) :$

        $(m_1: \text{angry} \, (m_1) \, (f_1)) \, (e_1)_\varphi$

If the adjunct were a manner restrictor of the f_2 variable, no such link could be postulated. Representation (36b) with a manner restrictor of the f_2 variable corresponds to a pure manner expression (36a) and not to an expression with a transparent adjunct (34a).

(36)   a.   John read the review of his book *angrily*.

        b. $(\pi \, e_1: (f_1: [(f_2: \text{read} \, (f_2) : (m_1: \text{angry} \, (m_1)) \, (f_2))$

            $(\text{John} \, x_1)_{Ag} \, (\text{the review of his book} \, x_2)_{Pat}] \, (f_1)) \, (e_1)_\varphi$

    The analysis of the English data equally applies to Hungarian. The difference between pure manner and transparent adjuncts is accounted for by the pure manner adjunct being a restrictor of the narrow f_2 variable and the transparent adjunct being the restrictor of the wider f_1 variable. The format of the representational frame which corresponds to the transparent adjunct as in (37) is given in (38).

(37)   Péter   *mérges-en*   olvasta   a   level-et.
        Peter   angry-ADV   read   the   letter-ACC
        'Peter angrily read the letter.' (transparent)

(38) T_I R_I R_N T_J

$(e_i: [(f_i: [f_j: PRED\text{-}_V (f_j)) (x_i)_{Ag} \ldots(x_n)_\varphi] (f_i) : (m_i: PRED\text{-}_A (m_i)) (f_i))] (e_i)_\varnothing)$

The final question to be answered here is why representational frames such as (38) license the depictive interpretation, i.e. that the ascriptive act T_J as the restrictor of m_1 is also taken as an ascriptive act applied to the Agent of the main predicate. The answer to this question may be simple if we allow the argument of the embedded predicate to be coreferential with the Agent argument of the main predicate as in (39).

(39) T_I R_I R_N T_J

$(e_i: [(f_i: [f_j: PRED\text{-}_V (f_j)) (x_i)_{Ag} \ldots(x_n)_\varphi] (f_i) : (m_i: PRED\text{-}_A (m_i)) (x_i)_\varnothing) (f_i))] (e_i)_\varnothing)$

Note that in the configuration $(f_i) : (m_i: PRED\text{-}_A (m_i)) (x_i)_\varnothing) (f_i))$ is contained that there is an adjectival predicate the argument of which is coreferential with some other argument which functions as the head of a manner restrictor of a (wider) f-variable.

8.   Discussion and conclusions

In this paper I have argued that depictive secondary predications in Hungarian, at the least the one based on a converb, must be considered a Discourse Act, because the depictive phrase allows an internal topic or focus. If, however, an element within the depictive phrase has the function of focus, it will also be the focus of the entire clause, i.e. the main and secondary predication together. This observation weakens the claim that both main and secondary predication are Discourse Acts, because focus will be assigned only once.

   A second matter concerning the assignment of focus is that depictives or elements within the depictive phrase are the focus of the clause, are focal in the sense that they are contrasted, or belong to that part of information that is not presupposed. This observation suggests that that must be a relation between the Interpersonal Level and the use of Representational Frames in the Functional Discourse Grammar of Hungarian. This issue is beyond the scope of this paper. It poses, however, an interesting question for the theory of FDG of how to relate these levels.

   As for agent-oriented manner expressions, the transparent adjuncts, I have argued that this category should be considered a special class of depictives and should be discussed in relation to genuine depictives. Data from Dutch, English, Polish and Hungarian support the view that depictives and transparent adjuncts are related phenomena.

   The difference between Manner, Transparent Adjunct, and Depictive in terms of representational Frames is accounted for in the following way:

(40)   a.   Pure manner is the restrictor of f_2.

       $(\pi e_1: (f_1: [(f_2: read (f_2) : (m_1: angry (m_1)) (f_2)) \ldots\ldots$

       b.   Transparent adjuncts are manner restrictors of f_1.

       $(\pi e_1: (f_1: [(f_2: read (f_2) (x_1)_{Ag} (x_2)_{Pat}] (f_1) : (m_1: angry (m_1) (x_i)_\varnothing) (f_1)) \ldots\ldots$

       c.   Depictives

       $(e_i: [(f_i: PRED\text{-}_V (f_i)) (x_i)_\varphi \ldots (x_n)_\varphi [(f_j: PRED_{A/N/CONV/NUM} (f_j)) (x_{i\text{-}n})_\varphi]] (e_i)_\varnothing)$

The representation in (40c) the depictives are presented as ascriptive acts which correspond to a predication embedded in a restrictor of an e-variable. Different from what Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 209) suggest, the depictive itself is not a restrictor of the e-variable of the main predication.[10] It is not a restrictor of another e-variable either. It loosely attaches to one of the referents within the predication by way of coreferentiality. This accounts for the depictive to be non-restrictive. The use of a comma, as proposed for non-restrictive relative clauses and for non-restrictive appositions, is not appropriate because a comma would incorrectly suggest that the depictive forms a prosodic unit on its own.

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[10] Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 209) analyse *John left the room angry* in the following fashion. *Angry* clearly only applies to John and is understood as a depictive. They present the depictive as the second restrictor of an e-variable (their example 441):

$(e_i: [(f_i: [(f_j: leave_V (f_j)) (x_i)_A (l_i: room (l_i))_U] (f_i:)) (e_i)_\emptyset]: [(f_k: [(f_l: angry_A (f_j)) (x_i)_U] (f_k)) (e_i)_\emptyset)$

Abbreviations and symbols

ABL	= ablative	Pat	= patient
ACC	= accusative	PFV	= perfective aspect
Act	= actor	PL	= plural
ADV	= adverb(ial)	PRED	= predicate
ASP	= aspect	Prop	= proper name
CONV	= converb	R_1	= subact of reference
Dir	= Direction	SIM	= simile
ESF	= essive-formal	SUBL	= sublative
f_1	= property	T_1	= subact of ascription
INES	= inessive	V	= verb
Loc	= location	x_1	= individual
m	= plural, more than one	φ	= function
m_1	= manner	π	= operator
N	= noun	σ	= modifier
NUM	= numeral		

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