

Zimtok

The Complementation of Hungarian Perfective Participles

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Introduction

This paper attempts to further explore and describe the structure of Hungarian perfective participial constructions. The primary aim of this work is to describe the environments in which such constructions can be used with an active meaning. The key element in this will be the examination of the complement taking abilities of such constructions; that is, I try to explain the behaviour of perfective participles on the basis of the different arguments that can or must accompany the participial form of the main verb.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In the following section, both the notion of perfective participle and the problems dealt with in the paper are defined more closely. It will be followed by a review of earlier works that use some kind of a formalised rule which attempts to account for the conditions necessary for the well-formedness of perfective participles. After that, the design of an empirical study is presented which aimed at collecting the judgements of native speakers concerning the grammaticality of certain constructions. Next, the results of this survey and the collected data will be presented with an emphasis on pinpointing the most important factors that determine the grammaticality of these constructions. Finally, these findings will be used to formulate some claims concerning the theoretical background to perfective participles and also to outline the course of further research.

The perfective participle – categorisation and problems

In this first section of the paper the notion of perfective participle will be clarified, and it will be discussed what further subcategories can be identified within it. Then, some problematic issues will be outlined which necessitate further examination.

To begin with, the term *perfective participle* will be used throughout this paper to refer to deverbal adjectives formed with the suffix *-t/Vtt* (termed *melléknévi igenév* in the Hungarian literature, cf. É. Kiss (2003) for instance). The term will be used in this sense throughout the paper unless otherwise indicated. Their categorisation in descriptive works is often presented in a way resembling the classic Latin pattern where imperfective participles are associated with the active and perfective ones (almost in all cases) with the passive voice (see, for

example Keszler (2000)). In Hungarian, however, perfective participles are not strictly connected either to active or to passive meaning. To illustrate this, consider the phrases in (1).

(1)

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| a. | a | felsöpört | padló |
| | the | sweep.PART | floor |
| | the floor that has been swept | | |
| | | | |
| b. | az | elszakadt | nadrág |
| | the | be- | trousers |
| | | torn.PART | |
| | trousers that have been torn | | |
| | | | |
| c. | a | plakátot | rajzolt festő |
| | the | poster.ACC | draw.PART painter |
| | the painter who has drawn a poster | | |

In the above example, only (1a) can be associated with passive meaning; there, only one argument (Theme) of a passive verb is present, just as is expected in any kind of a passive construction. Hence, it can be termed as a passive transitive perfective participle. Unlike (1a), both (1b) and (1c) have an active meaning. There is, however, a rather significant difference between the latter two. Namely, in (1b) the verb in participial form (*elszakad*) has only one argument. This construction that involves only one argument of an intransitive verb can be called an active intransitive perfective participle. Finally, the verb in (1c), as a transitive verb, has two arguments, and both are actually present in the structure, which could be termed as an active transitive perfective participle. Thus, this example could lead one to the conclusion that there are three different types of perfective participles; for intransitives only one of them – active- is available, while transitive verbs can appear both in active and in passive perfective participials.

There are, however, some complications to this very simple categorisation. For example, consider the verb *nevet* (laugh). Although it is intransitive it cannot appear in an active intransitive construction.

- (2) *a nevetett közönség
the laugh.part audience
the audience that has lughed

In addition to that, native speakers tend to disagree whether or not certain active transitive constructions are grammatical. All in all, this leads to the conclusion that some kind of rules are needed in order to limit to formation of participles, so that it yields only grammatical structures.

Participles in earlier works

In this section, earlier works on perfective participles will be discussed. In particular, two approaches will be examined. On the one hand, they present a significant similarity as both of them aim at creating a simple schematic rule that generates grammatical participial constructions only. On the other hand, it will be shown that the two approaches exhibit fundamental differences in their outputs. In addition, both of the analyses face significant problems as soon as they have to account for the appearance of transitive verbs in active perfective participial constructions.

First, consider the analysis in É. Kiss 2003.

- (3) a. $V + [\text{PART } t] \rightarrow [\text{PART } V+t]$

V is active and intransitive
its subject is an agent

- b. $V + [\text{PART } t] \rightarrow [\text{PART } V+t]$

V is passive and transitive

(É. Kiss, 2003: 252)

This rule can easily account for constructions like the ones in (4).

- (4) a. a reggel érkezett vonat
the morning arrive.PART train
the train that arrived in the morning
- b. a kékre festett szék
the blue.res paint.PART chair
a chair painted blue

However, there are three issues which are problematic for the analysis. To begin with, it is quite obvious from the rule that it cannot handle the cases where the verb is transitive and used with active meaning. In other words, the rule in (3) would predict (5) to be ungrammatical.

- (5) a balesetet szenvedett turisták
the accident.ACC suffer.PART tourist.PLUR
the tourists who have suffered an accident

Furthermore, the fact that (3a) makes reference to thematic roles seems to cause further complications as it excludes the intransitive verbs which assign a theta-role other than agent to their only argument. Finally, verbs are divided on a transitive-intransitive basis in (3), and this categorisation suggests that any verb must fit into one of the groups either into (3a) or into (3b).

This prediction is not borne out, however. Consider, for instance, *mosolyog* (smile). It is an intransitive verb, and its subject is an agent, but it cannot appear in a perfective participial construction.

- (6) *a mosolygott fiú
the smile.part boy
the boy who has smiled

On the other hand, intransitive verbs with a non-agent subject (such as *érkezik* (arrive) in (4a))

are perfectly grammatical in similar constructions. These observations show that not only is the transitive-intransitive dichotomy insufficient for the description of perfective participles, but one must also reconsider the significance of thematic roles in their formation.

All in all, it seems that the analysis in question is of little use for the present paper as it does not include active perfective participles of transitive verbs, which are examined here. Thus, the first analysis appears to be too restrictive; it seems that we need a more general rule to be able to include active transitive perfective participials in the grammar.

The second analysis discussed here seems much less restricted in that respect. As it can be seen in (7), the analysis of perfective participles in Komlósy 1994 describes a rule that generates a much larger set of structures. In fact, the output of the rules in (1) constitutes only a subset of the output of the ones in (7)¹.

(7) a. 'active': [XP* Obj-ACC XP* PARTICIPLE]

'externalised complement': subject

b. 'passive': [XP* Subj-by-phrase XP* PARTICIPLE]

'externalised complement': object

(Komlósy, 1994: 123)

It is not hard to see that the formalism above includes all the grammatical structures mentioned earlier in this section; that is (4) and (5). There are, however, two important remarks to be made in connection with this analysis. First, Komlósy states that constructions like (5), which this paper focuses on, are only found in substandard or uneducated language use. Secondly, one must realise that this analysis is not free of problematic issues, either. It seems that the rule is too general as it allows numerous ungrammatical constructions, like (6). The reason for this can be found in the fact that there are no restrictions posed on which verb types are grammatical in which participial constructions. For example, based on (7) nothing seems to rule out (8a). Thus, the proposed rule is not restrictive enough; it overgenerates.

(8)

¹ In Komlósy's notation the asterisks in the rule stand for 'any number of' (including none)

- a. *az evett fiú
 the eat.PART boy
 the boy who has eaten (something)
- b. a tortát evett fiú
 the cake.ACC eat.PART boy
 the boy who has eaten a cake

In conclusion, both of the discussed analyses have certain shortcomings; the first is too restrictive, the second leads to overgeneration. However, they help to identify the aspects which restrict the complementation of perfective participles. The first one showed that the thematic structure of verbs must be taken into consideration, while the second one made clear that the presence or absence of arguments is also a crucial issue. Thus, they provide us with an outline of the major points which must be considered during the analysis of the data.

A survey of perfective participles

The design of the questionnaire

Before moving on to any kind of analysis, one must realise that some kind of survey is imperative in order to determine what constructions are seen as grammatical by native speakers. In that respect, descriptive grammars are of little use, unfortunately; for instance, the comprehensive grammar by Keszler (2000) does not discuss the active usage of transitive verbs in perfective participials. In addition, native speakers also tend to be uncertain about the grammaticality of some constructions, and there are significant discrepancies between the judgements of different speakers.

Therefore, I designed a questionnaire distributed on-line to collect the grammaticality judgements of a larger group of native speakers. Its purpose was twofold: not only was it

intended to test which conditions are necessary for verbs to be used in active perfective participial constructions, it also tried to test Komlósy's (1994) claim about the non-standard nature of active perfective participial use of transitive verbs. The questionnaire consisted of sixteen sentences; each of them to be rated on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 meaning ungrammatical, 5 perfectly natural sentences). The content of the questionnaire is shown in (9).

(9)

1. Gézával az előre megbeszélt helyen találkoztunk
Géza.WITH the previously agree.PART place.ON meet.PAST.PL/1
Géza and I met at the place we agreed upon.
2. A tegnap érkezett vendég szerdáig marad.
the yesterday arrive.PART guest Wednesday.UNTIL stay.PRES.SG/3
The guest who arrived yesterday is staying until Wednesday.
3. Az öt évet börtönben töltött íróról filmet forgatnak.
The five years.ACC prison.IN spend.PART writer.FROM film.ACC turn.PRES.PL/3
A film will be made about the writer who spent five years in prison.
4. Az utolsó vizsgám óta sokkal kevesebb kávéét iszok.
the last exam.POSS.SG/1 since much few.COMP coffee.ACC drink.PRES.SG/1
Since my last exam, I have been drinking much less coffee.
5. A romlott ételből evett iskolások már jól vannak.
the spoiled food.FROM eat.PART schoolchild.PLUR already well be.PRES.PL/3
The schoolchildren who have eaten spoiled food are feeling better now.
6. Lajos négy almákat vett a zöldségesnél.
Lajos four apple.PLUR buy.PAST.SG/3 the greengrocer.AT
Lajos bought four apples at the greengrocer's.
7. A felmérésben a még sosem szült nők vesznek részt.
the survey.IN the yet never give.birth.PART woman.PLUR take part.PRES.SG/1
Women who have never given birth are taking part in the survey.
8. A Szegeden élt és alkotott festőnek emléktáblát állítottak.
the Szeged.IN live.PART and work.PART painter.FOR plaque.ACC set.PAST.PL/3
The painter who lived and worked in Szeged was given a plaque.
9. A balesetet szenvedett kirándulók kórházban vannak.
the accident.ACC suffer.PART hiker.PLUR hospital.IN be.PRES.PL/3
The hikers who have suffered an accident are in hospital.
10. Az áprilisban kezdődött tárgyalás holnap ér véget
the April.IN begin.PART trial tomorrow end.PRES.SG/3

The trial that began in April ends tomorrow.

11. Elkerülöm a legkedveltebb éttermeket.
 avoid.PRES.SG/1 the like.PART.SUPERL restaurant.PLUR.ACC
 I avoid the most loved restaurants.

12. Szerencsére fel tudtunk szállni a korábban elindult vonatra.
 luckily PREFIX can.past.PL/1 board the earlier depart.PART train.TO
Luckily, we could board the train that departed earlier.

13. Gábor még sosem láttak pelikánt.
 Gábor yet never see.PAST.PL/3 pelican.ACC
 Gábor has never seen a pelican.

14. A futamát megnyert úszót végül kizárták a versenyből.
 the round.AC win.PART swimmer. finally disqualify. the race.FROM
 C ACC PAST.PL/3
The swimmer who won his round was disqualified in the end.

15. **Ebben a küszöbben gyakran megbotlok.**
this.IN the threshold.IN often stumble.PRES.SG/1
I often stumble over this threshold.

16. A mozgólépcsőt még sosem látott turista elkerülte a metró
 the escalator.ACC yet never see.PART tourist avoid. the underground.
 past.SG/3 ACC
The tourist who has never seen an escalator before avoided the underground.

The questionnaire consists of three different types of sentences. Ten sentences, set in italics here, involved active perfective participials; it was the main purpose of the survey to test their grammaticality. Among these, 2., 10., and 12. exhibit the active use of intransitive verbs, while there appears a transitive verb² in the participial construction in 3., 5., 9., 14., and 16. There is one example, namely 8., that involves a coordinated constructions consisting of two perfective participles; one formed from a transitive and one from an intransitive verbs. Out of the ten, 7., 8., 9., and 12. include a participle that was recorded to have been used in the media. The four sentences set in regular typeface serve as control sentences. Two of them, 1. and 11., exhibits the passive use of perfective participles, which is accepted by all the works mentioned before. Both of the other two, 6. and 13., contain an ungrammatical use of

² Here, *szül* in sentence 7. seems to be missing from the categorisation. This will be discussed in a later section as the status of this particular verb is not as straightforward as that of the other verbs.

agreement. These four sentences were intended to ensure the reliability of survey. Finally, the two sentences set in bold, 4. and 15., involve the regularised use of an *-ik* verb. These sentences were intended to differentiate between more (termed here as "standard") and less (termed here as "non-standard") conservative speakers making it possible to test the claim about the non-standard nature of active perfective participials. The distinction was made based on the evaluation of sentences 4. and 15.; respondents who rated the two sentences above three on average constitute the "non-standard" group³.

101 anonymous responses were collected to the questionnaire. This survey was not representative by any means, and it could be assumed that the respondents were mostly university students based on the fact that it was distributed on university mailing lists in the first place. Out of the 101 responses, 86 were evaluated; the other fifteen were ruled based on the judgements given on the control sentences. The responses about the grammaticality of the ten tested sentences are summarised in (8). Besides the total responses, the responses of both the "standard" and the "non-standard" groups are given separately.

(10)

Question	All responses			"Non-standard"			"Standard"		
	4-5	3	1-2	4-5	3	1-2	4-5	3	1-2
2	72%	17%	10%	81%	12%	7%	54%	29%	18%
3	64%	24%	12%	69%	24%	7%	54%	25%	21%
5	31%	22%	47%	31%	29%	40%	32%	7%	61%
7	17%	26%	57%	24%	22%	53%	4%	32%	64%
8	47%	17%	36%	55%	14%	31%	29%	25%	46%
9	90%	6%	5%	97%	0%	3%	75%	18%	7%
10	84%	9%	7%	91%	7%	2%	68%	14%	18%
12	17%	23%	59%	21%	26%	53%	11%	18%	71%
14	49%	16%	35%	62%	10%	28%	21%	29%	50%
16	41%	17%	42%	48%	19%	33%	25%	14%	61%

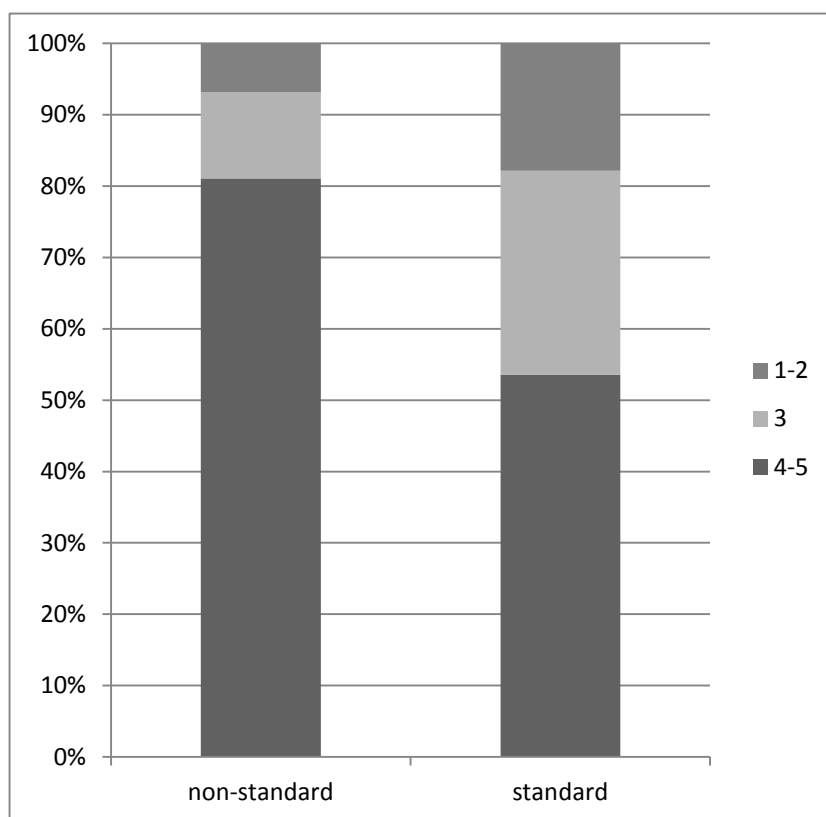
³ It has to be emphasized, however, that "standard" and "non-standard" serve here only as labels to differentiate between the two groups. It is not suggested that the regularised use of *-ik* verbs would by any means be a tenet of sub-standard language use. The primary aim of distinguishing between the two groups is to differentiate between speakers in terms of conservativeness in language use.

Discussion of the collected data

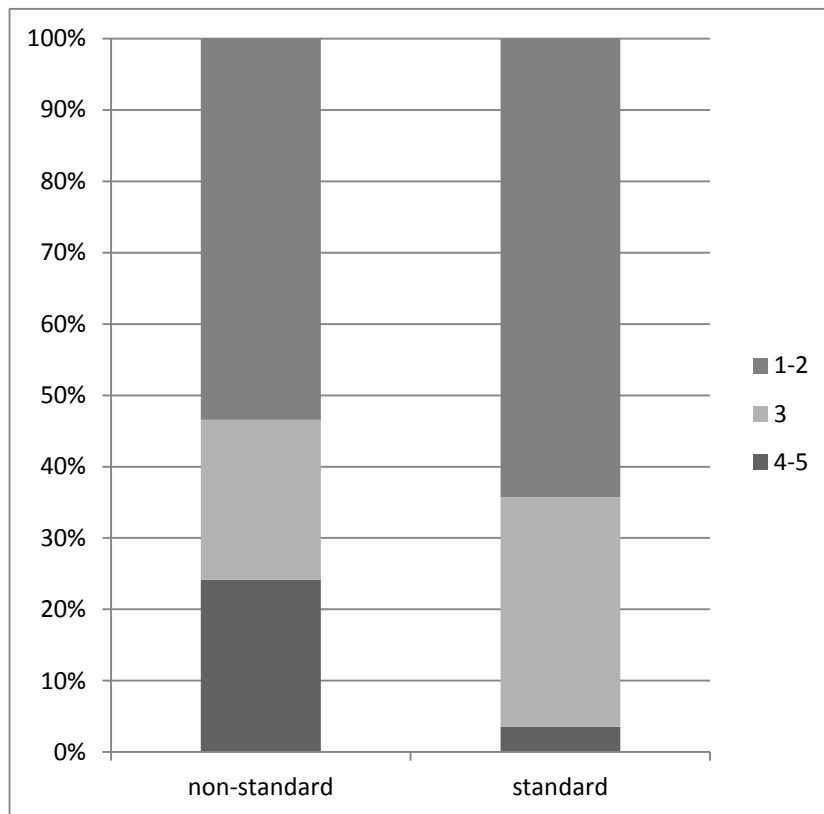
In the previous section, the method of data collection was discussed, and the collected data displayed. Therefore, it is time now to examine the collected responses in the light of the two questions given earlier. First, it will be examined whether there are visible differences between the "standard" and "non-standard" groups; that is, whether the acceptance of transitive verbs in active perfective participial constructions co-occurs with the acceptance of an element of language that is consistently rejected by more conservative language users. Next, based on the responses, it will be attempted to identify a number of factors that directly influence the grammaticality of the constructions in question.

Having taken a look at the results given in (10), it is not hard to see that responses from the "non-standard" group indeed rate every construction higher than responses from the "standard" group. To illustrate the difference between the two groups, some figures are given below which show the distribution of answers separately in the two groups.

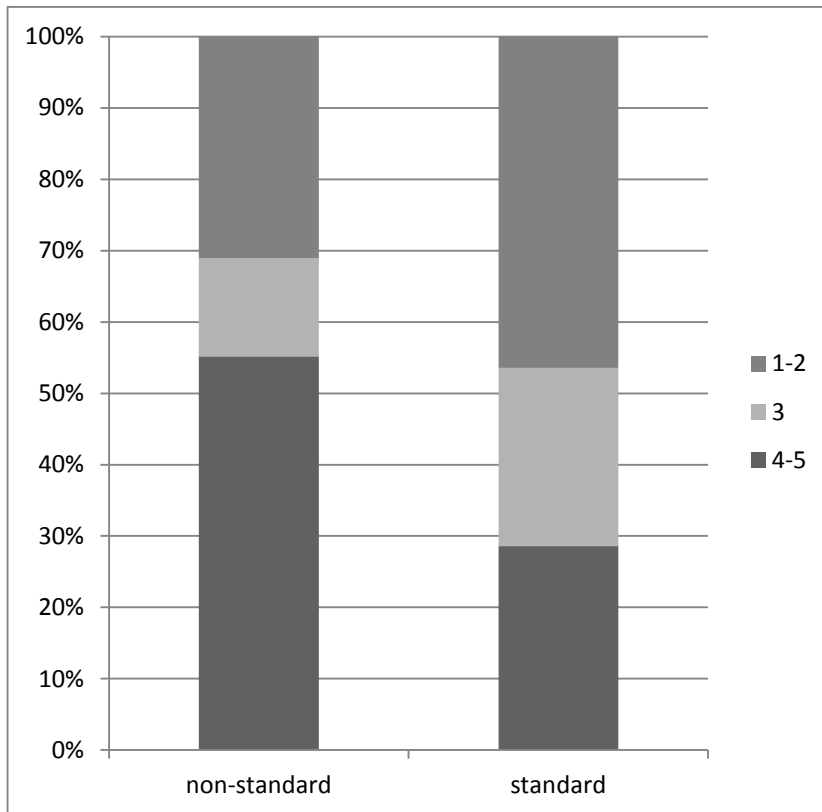
(11) Responses for sentence 2. ("A tegnap érkezett vendég szerdáig marad.")



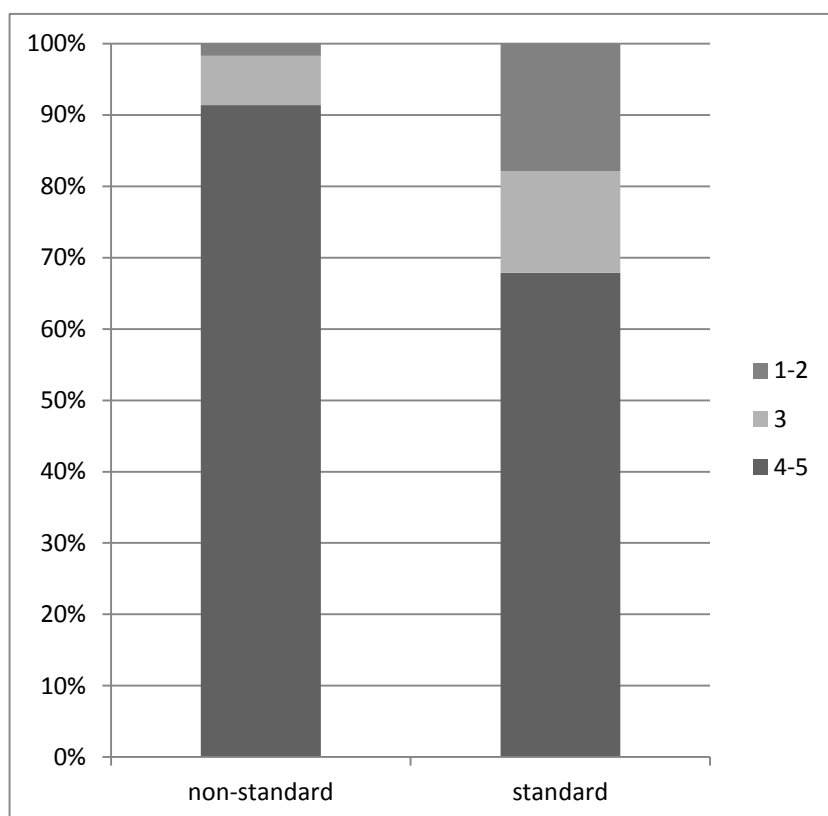
(12) Responses for sentence 7. ("A felmérésben a még sosem szült nők vettek részt.")



(13) Responses for sentence 8. ("A Szegeden élt és alkotott festőknek emléktáblát állítottak.")



(14) Responses for sentence 10. ("Az áprilisban kezdődött tárgyalás holnap ér véget.")



The figures above show that members of the "non-standard" group generally saw the examined sentences more acceptable, even in the case of sentences which were found unacceptable by the majority, such as 8., there were more "non-standard" than "standard" speakers who found it acceptable.

This could lead one to the conclusion that Komlósy's (1994) observation is confirmed by the survey; that is the use of active perfective participials with transitive verbs can indeed be linked to sub-standard language varieties. It must be borne in mind, however, that the sentences used to differentiate between the two groups are indicative of rather the conservativeness than of the standard nature of language use. Therefore, it would be more accurate to conclude that the avoidance of the constructions in question is, in fact, related to conservative language use. This phenomenon and on the fact that even in the "standard" group the active perfective participial use of transitives was accepted to a certain extent, can lead one to conclude that this particular construction has become significantly less marked in

standard language since Komlósy's paper was published in 1994. In other words, it seems reasonable to assume that this change shows a direction in which language is changing; i.e. that the use of participial constructions is becoming less restricted.

The next and more important aim of analysing the collected data is to determine what factors must be considered if one intends to formulate a theory about perfective participles. Here, three such factors will be presented which seem to influence the grammaticality of participial constructions based on the survey. In this section, these three factors will be shown and illustrated with responses to the questionnaire, and the following section will deal with what approaches these observation necessitate if one attempts to accommodate them into a comprehensive theory of Hungarian participles.

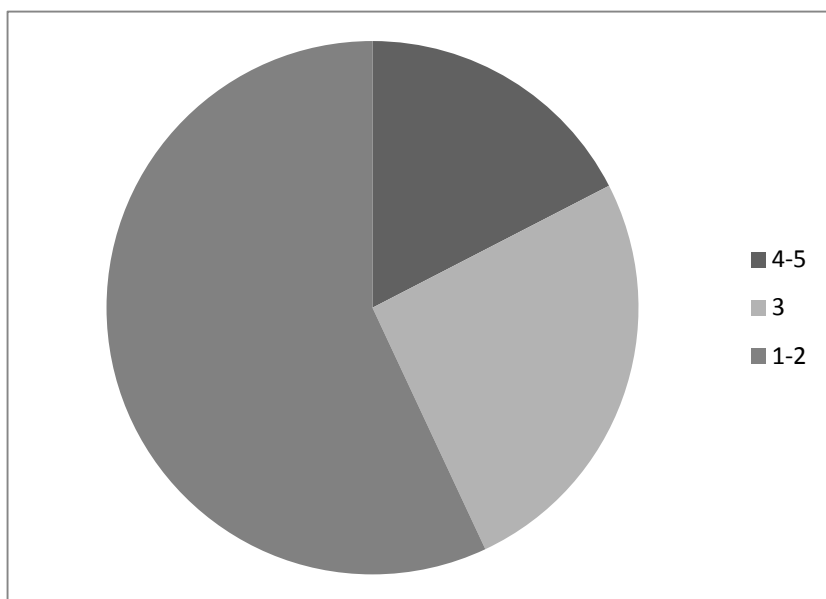
First, it can be seen from the results that the active perfective participles of transitive verbs are more acceptable if they have an overt object. This has also been illustrated earlier in (6), repeated here for convenience's sake.

(15)

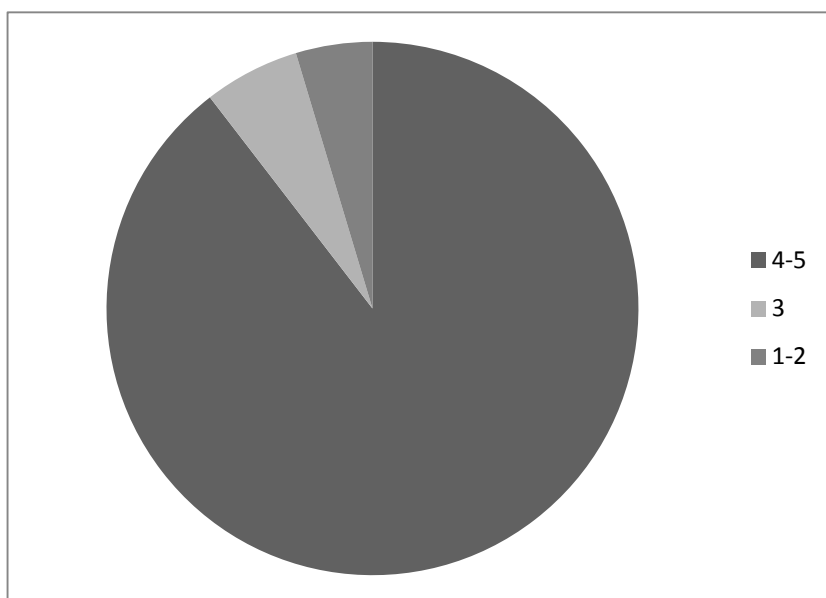
- a. *az evett fiú
 the eat.PART boy
 the boy who has eaten (something)
- b. a tortát evett fiú
 the cake.ACC eat.PART boy
 the boy who has eaten a cake

Basically, the same observation is found in the responses to the questionnaire; consider the diagrams below.

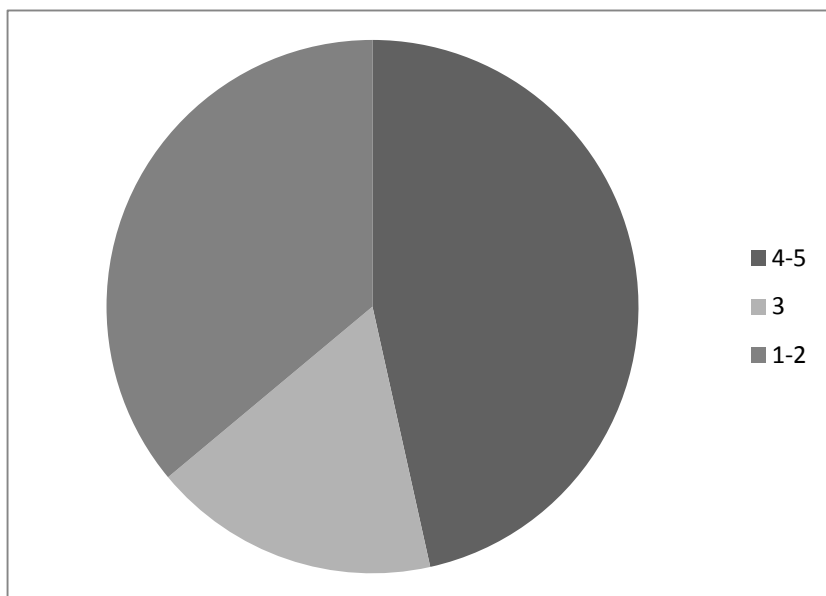
(16) a. Responses to sentence 7. ("A felmérésben a még sosem szült nők vettek részt.")



b. Responses to sentence 9. ("A balesetet szenvedett kirándulók kórházban vannak.")



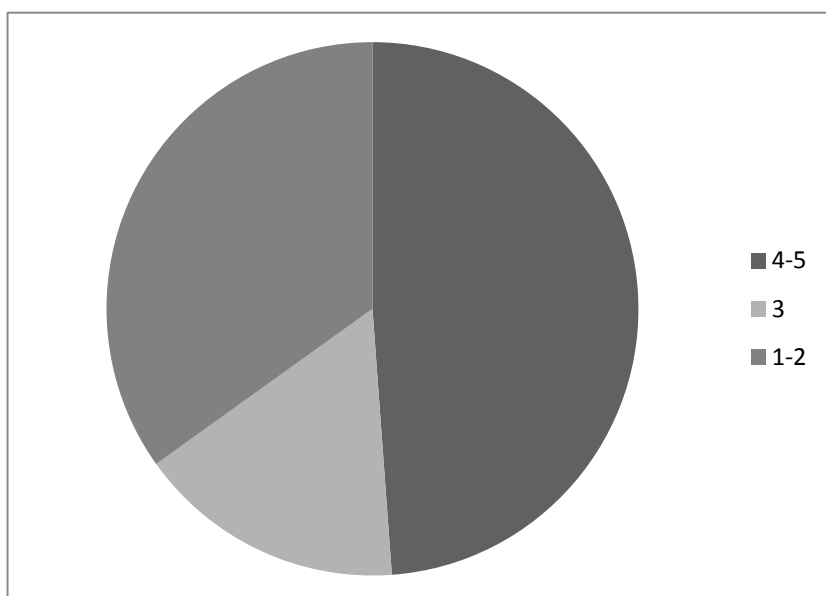
c. Responses to sentence 8. ("A Szegeden élt és alkotott festőnek emléktáblát állítottak.")



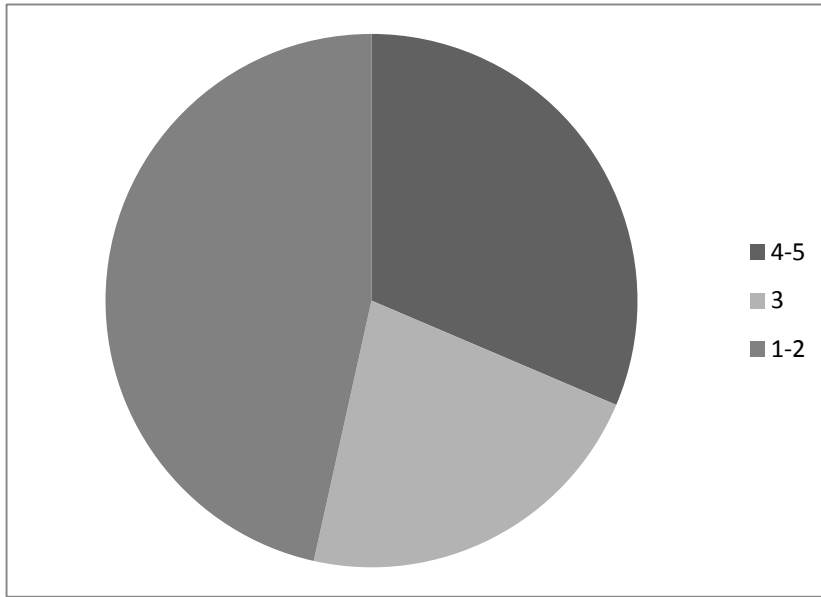
The difference in the distribution of responses can be observed quite well; respondents generally accepted a transitive verb when it had overt object, as in (14b), but rated it far worse when it didn't, as in (14a) or the verb *alkot* in (14c).

Next, it seems that, among overt objects, objects accusative objects, like (15a) are preferred to objects that involve a partitive construction, as in (15b).

(17) a Responses to sentence 14. ("A futamát megnyert úszót kizárták a versenyből.")

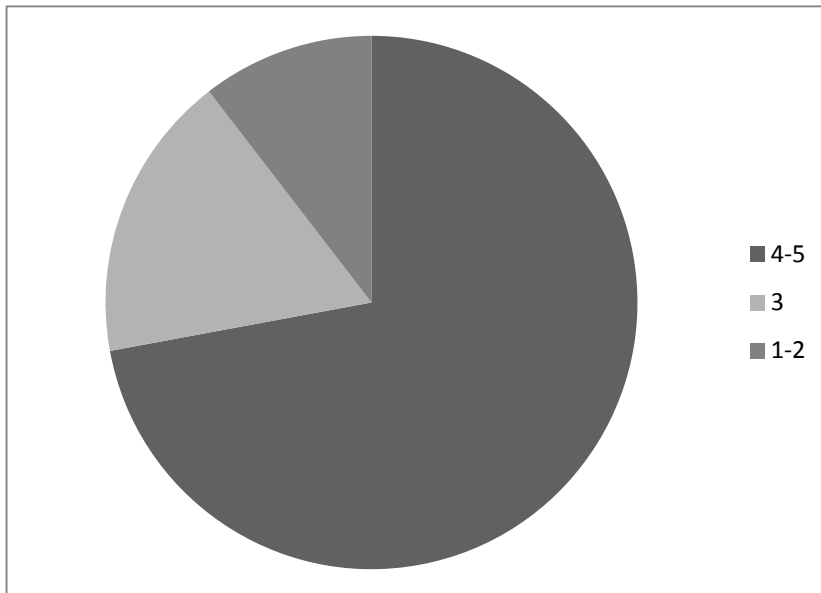


b Responses to sentence 5. ("A romlott ételből evett iskolások már jól vannak.")

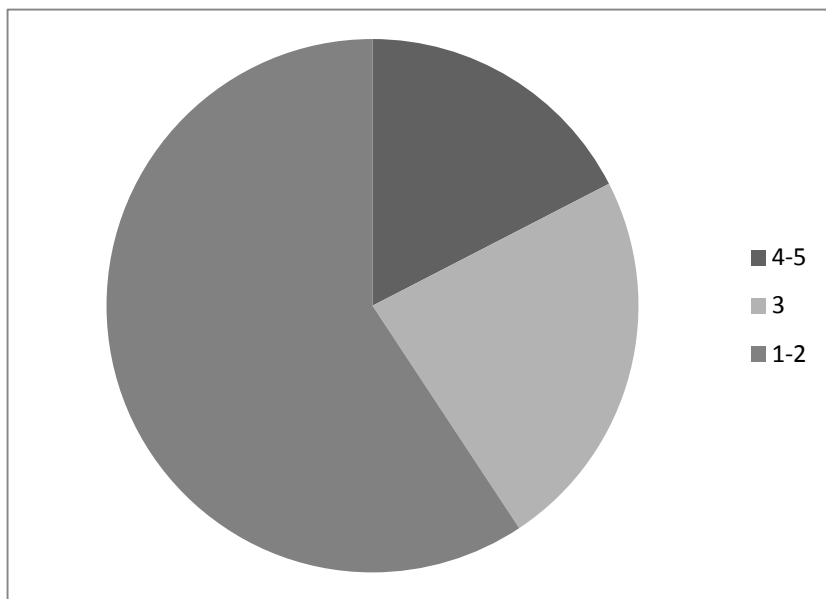


The final observation to be made about responses to the questionnaire is that the presence or absence of a verbal prefix also influences acceptability quite a great deal, as is shown in (16).

(18) a. Responses to sentence 2. ("A tegnap érkezett vendég szerdáig marad.")



b. Responses to sentence 12. ("Szerencsére fel tudunk szállni a korábban elindult vonatra.")



To summarise, two questions have been considered in this section; first, whether Komlósy's (1994) observation still holds about the substandard nature active perfective participles of transitive verbs; second, what patterns or individual factors can be found in the responses to the questionnaire that seem to influence the grammaticality of the tested constructions. Having discussed the results, it was found that the avoidance of the above mentioned participial construction can, at least, be linked to conservative language use although it might no longer be reasonable to associate it with substandard language anymore. Following that, three factors were identified in the data that seem crucial in determining the grammaticality of the examined constructions. These were (i) the presence or absence of an overt object, (ii) accusative objects over partitive ones, and (iii) the presence or absence of a verbal prefix.

Analysing perfective participles and their complements

In this section of the paper, I focus on a more theoretical approach to the complementation of perfective participles and try to establish a theoretical

First, one must ask the question whether the differences in the complementation of the various kinds of perfective participles could be explained by assuming a number of different participial heads. This approach would, without a question, solve the problem. However, it is quite easy to realise that it would lead to circular argumentation as, apart from the differences in the range of possible complements, there is no other difference (e.g. distributional data) that would call for such an assumption. In addition, it is more economical, and hence more

advantageous to our theory, if a single lexical entry is assumed where a number of features are left underspecified; their value determined by the environment (as is done by, for instance, Milsark (1988) in the analysis of the English *-ing*). Thus, the thought of attributing the differences observed to homophonous but syntactically different morphemes must be rejected.

Secondly, it must be examined what kind of structure can be associated with perfective participles. In particular, one needs to see to what extent functional projections above the lexical VP are involved in the structure of perfective participles. To accomplish this, the possibility of including negative or focused elements can be used as a test, as done by Tóth (2000) in the case of other types of Hungarian participles (formed by *-va* and *-ván*). In the case of *-va/-ván* participles different instances of the same morpheme can also be illustrated the different structure that can be associated with each of them. It can be seen in (19) that negative elements can be present in all perfective participials in spite of the complementation.

(19)

- a. egy még nem olvasott könyv
a yet not read.PART book
a book not yet read
- b. a fel nem borult szék
the PREFIX not knock-over.PART chair
a chair that has not been knocked over
- c. az újságot nem olvasott utasok
the newspaper.ACC not read.PART passenger.PLUR
the passengers who have not read the newspaper

Therefore, it can be assumed that the different uses of perfective participles cannot be explained based on the different projections their structure involve as the different uses do not exhibit signs of involving different structural positions.

Finally, factors that have already been mentioned in the review of earlier works can be considered. This basically involves approaching the different participles with respect to the arguments of the verb present in the structure and the thematic roles those arguments bear. In other words, the issues that were found problematic in the earlier analyses will be examined.

First, the presence or absence of arguments within the participle is only relevant in the active transitive case as in the other cases the only element related to the argument structure of the verb is the noun the participle refers to (its externalised complement). In the case of active transitive participles, however, the results of the questionnaire have shown that it is of utmost importance to have an overt complement of the verb within the participle. It is also reasonable to assume that this complement occupies a position with which an additional verbal prefix within the structure can interfere. Based on this and the fact that this is a preverbal position it can be said that the complement of the verb occupies a Focus position in these cases. In addition, the preference of Accusative objects to partitive constructions could also be explained along somewhat similar lines (i.e. how these constructions behave when focused) although in this area further research is needed.

Next, the involvement of thematic structure in the grammaticality of participles is examined. It was shown earlier that transitive-intransitive categorisation is not sufficient to account for the behaviour of perfective participles; there exist verbs like *nevet* (laugh) or *mosolyog* (smile) which do not appear in perfective participles. It is proposed, therefore, to use such a categorisation that makes reference to thematic roles as well. Here, a categorisation consisting of unaccusative, unergative, and transitive verbs (see, Radford (2004), for instance) appears to be able to explain the data shown earlier. That is, the intransitive category is now divided into two categories; unaccusatives that only have one Theme argument can appear in active perfective participles (e.g. *elindul*), while unergatives which have an Agent or Experiencer argument cannot.

This analysis can be extended to transitives, as well, by assuming that the argument structure of verbs is structured in a hierarchical fashion. The hierarchy of arguments used in this paper is the one created by Grimshaw (1992), who assumes an Agent > Experiencer/Goal > Theme ranking. Using such a framework, it can be claimed that a verb with a higher-ranking argument can only form an active participle if its lower-ranking argument is present within it. Not only can this observation account for the ungrammaticality of unergatives in these

constructions⁴ it can also unify this fact with the strongest constraint holding for active transitive perfective participles (i.e. the presence of an overt object) found by the survey. Thus, a possible constraint on the formation of perfective participles which is partly based on the rules seen earlier could be formulated by postulating that a perfective participle can only have a higher-ranking argument as externalised complement if a lower-ranking one remains in the structure. Then, if a Theme is the externalised complement, nothing needs to remain within the participle. The goals further research in this area could be introducing a more formalised version of the constraints and showing how these constraints interact with other construction which rely on a similar theory of thematic roles (for example the passive constructions described by Alberti (1998)).

To summarise, this final section is based on the assumption that assuming a hierarchical argument structure can effectively account for the data and the observations made based on the survey.

Conclusion

This paper has examined to what extent the presence or of complements is relevant in the analysis of Hungarian perfective participles. After clarifying the notion of perfective participle and outlining the problems related to it, two earlier descriptions were reviewed. It was shown that they allow a too wide or a too narrow range of possible constructions. Then, the design and results of a survey were presented which showed that the most important factor in the analysis of active transitive perfective participles appears to be the presence of an overt

⁴It seems that this claim does not hold in cases when an unergative verb actually has an object. In the case of unergatives only a very small set (usually one lexical item) of objects is possible which is very often lexically related to the main verb, hence called a cognate object (cf. Newson *et al.*, 2006). In this case the formation of an active perfective participle is possible. Consider, for instance, (i) where the unergative verb *(meg)hal* (die) is used in a grammatical participle with a cognate object.

- (i) a korai halált halt szakács
 the early death.ACC die.PART cook
 the cook who died an early death

This observation, however, does not undermine the analysis; in fact it further emphasises the importance of a Theme being present in active perfective participials.

complement. Finally, it was discussed how the notion of a hierarchical thematic structure can help to account for many of the observations made.

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