On the Distribution of Hungarian Resultative Expressions

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1.1. THE PROBLEM

• There are two resultative strategies in Hungarian (2):
  (1) Peter painted the fence red.
  (2) a. Peter piszor-ra festette a kerítést-t.
      Peter red-SUB painted the fence-ACC
      ‘Peter painted the fence red.’
  b. Peter be-festette a kerítés-t.
      Peter into-painted the fence-ACC
      ‘Peter painted the fence.’

• In Hungarian, resultatives may be expressed by nominal resultatives (2a) in the
  sublative case (the suffix -ra/-re) or by the translative case (the suffix -vá/
vé) or by
  verbal particles (2b). (On the choice between the sublative and the
  translative marking of nominal resultatives, see Matushansky (2012)) These two
  types of resultative expressions usually show complementary distribution.

• É. Kiss (2006: 19) argues that both nominal resultatives and resultative particles
  are resultative expressions. They both express a change of state as a result of an
  event but particles lack descriptive context.

• Key questions:
  Can the nominal resultative and the verbal particle co-occur in the same clause?
  If yes, how can this doubly-marked resultative structure (DMRS) be analyzed?

1.2. JUDGMENTS IN THE LITERATURE

• The literature is not uniform as for on the judgment of the data.

• Neutrality constraint (NC): Komlósy (1992: 512): the two resultatives can only co-occur in non-neutral
  sentences.

  (3) a. János PIROS-RA festette be a kerítést-t.
      John red-SUB painted the fence-ACC
      ‘John painted the fence red.’
  b. János be festette a kerítést-t piszor-ra.
      John into-painted the fence-ACC red-SUB
      ‘John painted the fence red.’

• However, sentences of type (3b) are acceptable with neutral intonation for É. Kiss

• Directional particle constraint (DPC): Hegedűs (to appear: 153-155): DMRS is only acceptable with directional
  verbal particles. (The particle meg is a telicizing element lacking descriptive spatial
  content.)

  (4) *János meg-verte Pál-t lapos-ra.
      John PRT-beat Paul-ACC flat-SUB
      ‘John beat Paul up.’

1.3. RELATION BETWEEN THE VERBAL PARTICLE AND THE NOMINAL RESULTATIVE

➢ Head-complement relation
  Hegedűs (to appear: 153-155): the nominal resultative is a directional PP and it is
  selected by the verbal particle which occupies the p head position (11)
  (cf. Ramcharnd (2008: 137) for related data and discussion)

➢ Appositive adjunct relation
  Surányi and Hegedűs (2013): the nominal resultative “can and must remain post-
  verbal if the VM slot is occupied by a resultative verbal particle”, it is “a base
  structure appositive adjunct to the resultative verbal particle” (12).
  • The adjunct status is supported by the impossibility of wh-subextraction:
    (5) *Kifez a formáltad (*át) János kína.
        who-ALL formed.them over John.NOM who-ALL similar-TRANS
        ‘Who did you transform John similar to?’

2. CORPUS STUDY

• Data were collected from the Hungarian National Corpus. The results of the corpus
  study show that nominal resultatives co-occur with verbal particles with a
  frequency of cc. 6 % on the average. This is a relatively large frequency; the DMRS
  is an existing linguistic phenomenon.

• The two resultative expressions co-occurred both in neutral (6a) and in non-
  neutral (6b) contexts. The corpus data do not verify the NC.

  (6) a. ...fertőzáért volt a kir, ki-mertük szirdraz-va...
      infectious was the well out-bailed dry-SUB
      ‘...the well was infectious, we bailed it out dry...
  b. ...mindem FEKETÉ-RE kente ki a szemhéj-d-t...
      almost black-SUB color out the eyelid-POSS.3SG-ACC
      ‘...she almost colored her eyelid BLACK...’

  • Both directional and non-directional (7) verbal particles occurred with nominal
    resultatives. The DPC does not seem to be a strong constraint on DMRS’s. However,
    the presence of directional particles was more frequent.

  (7) a. 4-5 perc alatt szép piszor-ra meg-szüjűk.
    4-5 minute under nice red-SUB PRT-roast
    ‘...we roast it red in 4-5 minutes.’
  b. ...aki meg-töröltette öket szidrazra...
    who PRT-wiped them dry-SUB
    ‘...who wiped them dry...’

3. FURTHER ARGUMENTS FOR THE APPOSITIVE ADJUNCT ANALYSIS

• The same verbal particle may co-occur with a nominal resultative in the translative
  case (8a) or a nominal resultative in the sublative case (8b).

  (8) a. ...akk kína hős-sút változnak át.
      who lyric hero-TRANS turn.into through
      ‘...who turn into a lyric hero...’
  b. ...a feketetlahú Magdikát dt-festették sókhé-re...
      the black-haired Magdika ACC through-dyed blond-SUB
      ‘...Magdika with the black hair has been dyed blond...’

• The factors that determine the morphology of the nominal resultative are complex.
  Even the same particle-verb combination may license both case markers.

• Speakers used the comma in some of the corpus examples. It may be a question
  how this use relates to the data without a comma.

(a) ...a csatorna sátknyártott újra-festették, piszor-ra...
    the channel dragon.throat.POSS.3SG ACC re-painted red-SUB
    ‘...the dragon throat of the channel has been repainted, red.’

SELECTED REFERENCES:

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