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. *Péter **piros-ra** festette a kerítés-t.*
Peter red-SUB painted the fence-ACC
'Peter painted the fence red.'

b. *Péter **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 verbal particles lack descriptive content.
- 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 kerítés-t.*
John red-SUB painted into the fence-ACC
'John painted the fence RED.'

b. **János **be**-festett a kerítés-t **piros-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 (2004) and for Surányi and Hegedűs (2013).
- **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 pulp.'

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. Ramchand (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) Kihez formáltad (*át) Jánost ~~kihez~~ hasonló-vá?
who.ALL formed.2SG over John.ACC 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. *…fertőzött volt a kút, **ki**-mertük **száraz-ra**…*
infectious was the well out-baled dry-SUB
'…the well was infectious, we baled it out dry…

b. *…majdnem **FEKETÉ-RE** kente **ki** a szemhéj-á-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 **piros-ra** **meg**-sütjük.*
4-5 minute under nice red-SUB PRT-roast
'…we roast it red in 4-5 minutes.'

b. *…aki **meg**-törölgette őket **száraz-ra**…*
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. *…akik lírai **hős-sé** változnak **át**…*
who lyric hero-TRANS turn.into through
'…who turn into a lyric hero…'

b. *…a feketehajú Magdikát **át**-festették **szőké-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.

(9) a. ***Szét**-kalapáltam a vas-at **lapos-ra**.*
apart-hammered the metal-ACC flat-SUB
'I hammered the metal flat.'

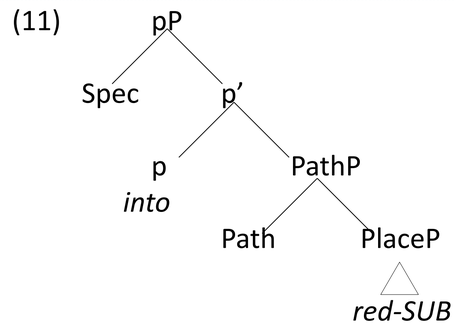
b. ***Szét**-kalapáltam a vas-at **tányér-rá**.*
apart-hammered the metal-ACC plate-TRANS
'I hammered the metal into a plate.'

The relation between the verbal particle, the verb and the nominal resultative is quite complex. However, it does not contradict the appositive relation analysis on the whole.

- 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.

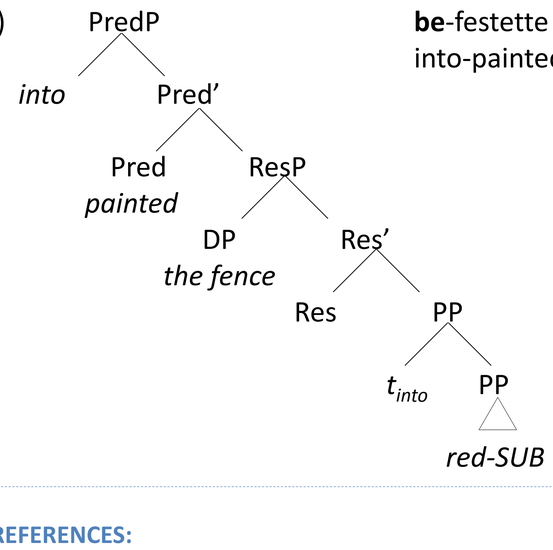
(10) *…a csatorna sárkánytorkát **újra**-festették, **piros-ra**.*
the channel dragon.throat.POSS.3SG.ACC re-painted red-SUB
'…the dragon throat of the channel has been repainted, red.'

(11)



be **piros-ra**
into red-SUB

(12)



be-festette a kerítés-t **piros-ra**
into-painted the fence-ACC red-SUB

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