On the Distribution of Hungarian Resultative Expressions*

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This paper aims to investigate the distribution of two types of resultative expressions in Hungarian, the verbal particle and the nominal resultative. According to the pertinent literature, these two resultatives normally cannot co-occur in the same clause. On the basis of a corpus study I show that the co-occurrence of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative in the same construction is acceptable under certain circumstances. Finally, I sketch a possible analysis that captures the features of this doubly-marked resultative construction.

Keywords: *appositive adjunct, Hungarian, resultative, verbal particle*

1 Introduction

This paper examines the distribution of resultative expressions in Hungarian. Resultatives in English have been widely investigated by Carrier & Randall (1992), Simpson (1983) and Wechsler (2005), among others. Resultatives express a result state of the patient argument that arises as a consequence of the event denoted by the verb. In other words, resultative expressions appear in sentences that describe a change and the resultative marks the endpoint of the event denoted by the verb. There are two resultative strategies in Hungarian (see É. Kiss 2004, 2006, Komlósy 1992, 1994 and Bene 2005, among others). Resultatives may be expressed by nominal phrases (1a) in the sublative case (the suffix *-ra/-re*) or in the translative case (the suffix *-vá/-vé*),[1] or by verbal particles (1b). These two types of resultatives generally display complementary distribution; they do not seem to co-occur in the same clause (1c, d). The data and judgments in (1) are based on Komlósy (1992: 502, 512).

(1) a. *Péter* ***piros-ra*** *festette a kerítés-t.*[2]
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.'

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

* The writing of this paper was supported by the University of Debrecen (grant number: RH/885/2013., 13.22). Throughout this paper the following abbreviations are used: 3: third person, ACC: accusative case, ALL: allative case, ILL: illative case, PL: plural, POSS: possessedness suffix, PRT: verbal particle, SG: singular, SUB: sublative case, TRANS: translative case, TERM: terminative case.

[1] On the choice between the sublative and translative marking of nominal resultatives, see Matushansky (2012).

[2] I highlight the nominal resultative and the verbal particle in the example sentences throughout the paper with boldface.

d. **Péter* ***el****-égette* ***szén-né*** *a* *hús-t.*
Peter away-burnt coal-TRANS the meat-ACC
'Peter charred the meat.'

The sentences in (1a) and (1b) are grammatical, since in (1a) only a sublative case-marked nominal resultative *pirosra* 'red' is present and in (1b) it is only a verbal particle *be* 'into' that occurs. However, in (1c) and in (1d) both types of resultative expressions are present that is why Komlósy (1992) takes these examples as unacceptable. While in (1c) the sublative case-marked nominal resultative *pirosra* 'red' occurs with the verbal particle *be* 'into', in (1d) the translative case-marked nominal resultative *szénné* 'coal' appears together with the verbal particle *el* 'away'. According to Komlósy, two elements usually exclude each other from one structure if both of them are to occupy the same position, but one structural position can only be filled by one element at a time. Thus, if these two resultative expressions play the same role, they cannot co-occur. In this paper I aim to examine to what extent these judgments are valid for this construction.

É. Kiss (2006: 19) analyzes both nominal resultatives and resultative particles as resultative expressions denoting a resultant state.[3] She further argues that these two are secondary predicates making a statement about the internal argument of the verb. The only difference between the two is that the verbal particle may lack any descriptive content in itself and can function as a telicizing element. The nominal resultative *szőkére* 'blond' in (2a) not only marks the endpoint of the hair-dyeing event, it also describes the new state, i.e. a new hair color, that emerges as a result. The verbal particle *be* 'into' in (2b), on the other hand, only expresses the endpoint of the event but it does not say anything about the resulting new hair color.

(2) a. *Éva* ***szőké-re*** *festette a* *haj-á-t.*
Eve blond-SUB dyed the hair-POSS.3SG-ACC
'Eve dyed her hair blond.'
b. *Éva* ***be****-festette* *a* *haj-á-t.*
Eve into-dyed the hair-POSS.3SG-ACC
'Eve dyed her hair.'

This paper focuses on the question whether the nominal resultative and the verbal particle can co-occur in the same clause. In the relevant literature the co-occurrence of these resultatives is considered to be unacceptable but I intend to show that they can actually appear together. Furthermore, I also provide an analysis of this doubly-marked resultative structure. The paper is structured in the following way. Section 2 reviews the judgments about the data found in the literature. Section 3 briefly summarizes the results of a corpus study. Section 4 investigates the relation between the verbal particle and the nominal resultative and argues for an appositive adjunct relation analysis. Section 5 sums up the main conclusions of this paper.

[3] É. Kiss (2004, 2006) makes a distinction between three types of verbal particles: resultative, terminative and locative verbal particles. In her classification resultative verbal particles occur in sentences that describe a change of state in which these particles refer to the result state of the patient argument that emerged as a consequence of the change. Terminative verbal particles express the endpoint of the subject's change of location and locative verbal particles mark the existence and spatial position of the subject. Throughout this paper, I follow É. Kiss's definition of resultative verbal particles.

2 Judgments in the literature

The literature is not quite uniform in the judgments concerning the co-occurrence of resultative nominals and particles. Normally the nominal resultative and the verbal particle do not seem to be able to co-occur in the same clause. However, Komlósy (1992: 512) suggests that the doubly-marked resultative structure is allowed in non-neutral contexts. Furthermore, Hegedűs (2013: 128-131) points out that the co-occurrence of these two types of resultatives is only acceptable with directional verbal particles.

According to Komlósy (1992: 512) these two resultative expressions can co-occur only in non-neutral sentences. (I refer to this as *neutrality constraint* for short throughout the paper.) Komlósy argues that both the nominal resultative and the verbal particle are verbal modifiers forming one semantic unit with the verb. Verbal modifiers (VM) are situated in the immediately preverbal position. If two verbal modifiers are present in one sentence then only one of them can occupy the immediately preverbal position, the other VM has to find another position. In such a situation the sentence is ungrammatical with neutral intonation (3c, d). Therefore, two resultative expressions can only co-occur in non-neutral sentences (3a, b), that is, in sentences that contain focus. In this latter case, the resultative expression can be the focus or the contrastive topic of the sentence.

(3) a. *János* ***PIROS-RA*** *festette* ***be*** *a* *kerítés-t.*[4]
John red-SUB painted into the fence-ACC
'John painted the fence RED.'

b. ***Piros-ra*** *legutóbb* *JÁNOS* *festette* ***be*** *a* *kerítés-t.*
red-SUB last John painted into the fence-ACC
'It was John who painted the fence red the last time.'

c. **János* ***be****-festette* ***piros-ra*** *a* *kerítés-t.*
John into-painted red-SUB the fence-ACC
'John painted the fence red.'

d. **János* ***be****-festette* *a* *kerítés-t* ***piros-ra****.*
John into-painted the fence-ACC red-SUB
'John painted the fence red.'

So, for Komlósy the examples in (3c) and (3d) are ungrammatical with neutral intonation. In these sentences the verbal particle *be* 'into' occupies the immediately preverbal position and the nominal resultative *pirosra* 'red' is in the postverbal domain. However, (3a) and (3b) are grammatical since these sentences are non-neutral. In (3a) while the nominal resultative *pirosra* 'red' is in the immediately preverbal position and is the focus of the sentence, the verbal particle *be* 'into' is separated from the verb and appears on its immediate right. The verbal particle comes after the verb when an element is in focus before the verb (Komlósy 1992, 1994). In (3b) the focus of the sentence is *János* 'John', the nominal resultative appears in the preverbal domain as a contrastive topic and the verbal particle is again separated from the verb and occupies the immediately postverbal position of the verb.

Nevertheless, sentences of type (3d) are acceptable with neutral intonation for É. Kiss (2004: 23-24) and for Surányi and Hegedűs (2013), as in (4a) and (4b) respectively.

[4] The focus is marked with capital letters in the example sentences throughout the paper.

(4) a. *Éva* ***ki****-mosta* *a* *ruhá-t* ***tisztá-ra****.*
Eve out-washed the clothes-ACC clean-SUB
'Eve washed the clothes clean.'

b. *A* *hörcsög* ***szét****-rágta* *a* *doboz-á-t* ***darabok-ra****.*
the hamster apart-chewed the box-POSS.3SG-ACC pieces-SUB
'The hamster chewed its box into pieces.'

In (4a) and (4b) the verbal particle *ki* 'out' and *szét* 'apart' appear in the immediately preverbal position and the nominal resultative *tisztára* 'clean' and *darabokra* 'into pieces' occur postverbally.

Hegedűs (2013: 128-131) suggests that doubly-marked resultative constructions are only acceptable with directional verbal particles. (I refer to this as *directional particle constraint* in the paper.) In her analysis the verbal particle occupies the p head position of the functional pP and selects an appropriate directional PP complement. She also argues that particles that lack descriptive spatial content, such as *meg*, cannot occur together with nominal resultatives. (I will elaborate on this in more detail in section 4.1.)

(5) a. *Mari* ***le****-festette* *a* *fala-t* ***kék-re****.*
Mary down-painted the wall-ACC blue-SUB
'Mary painted the wall blue.'

b. **János* ***meg****-verte* *Pál-t* ***lapos-ra****.*
John PRT-beat Paul-ACC flat-SUB
'John beat Paul up pulp.'

Whereas (5a) is grammatical since the directional verbal particle *le* 'down' occurs together with the nominal resultative *kékre* 'blue' selecting the nominal resultative as its directional PP complement, (5b) is ungrammatical as the verbal particle *meg* does not have a spatial meaning and that is why it cannot select the nominal resultative *laposra* 'flat' as its directional PP complement.

On the whole, according to the relevant literature the following conclusions can be made about the structure under investigation. As per the *neutrality constraint* is concerned, the co-occurrence of these resultatives is ungrammatical in sentences with neutral intonation. However, non-neutral contexts highly improve the acceptability of the structure. As maintained by the *directional particle constraint*, this construction is unacceptable with non-directional particles. Nonetheless, it is considered to be grammatical with directional particles. In Section 3, I examine to what extent these constraints are valid for the corpus data.

3 The corpus study

3.1 Summary of the corpus study

I have collected data from the Hungarian National Corpus[5]. I searched for nominal resultatives that are often mentioned in the literature[6] and gathered those sentences in

[5] About the Hungarian National Corpus, see Váradi (2002).

[6] I included nominal resultatives in the corpus study that frequently occur in the literature (É. Kiss 2004, 2006, Komlósy 1992, 1994, Bene 2005), such as *darabokra* 'into pieces', *darabjaira* 'into its

which the nominal co-occurred with a verbal particle. I took only finite examples into consideration. The main results of the corpus search are summed up in Table 1. The nominal resultatives are arranged on the basis of their frequency in a descending order. Table 1 shows that nominal resultatives occur together with particles with a frequency of cc. 6% on the average. This is a quite high frequency strongly suggesting that the doubly-marked resultative structure is an existing linguistic phenomenon.

Nominal resultative	Total number of occurrences[7]	Number of co-occurrences with particles	Ratio
darabjaira 'into its pieces'	162	23	14,20%
pirosra 'red'	500[8]	47	9,4%
darabokra 'into pieces'	500	40	8%
zöldre 'green'	310	17	5,48%
feketére 'black'	410	22	5,37%
hőssé 'hero'	145	7	4,83%
szőkére 'blond'	57	2	3,51%
szárazra 'dry'	201	6	2,99%
laposra 'flat'	148	4	2,70%
szélesre 'wide'	288	7	2,43%
halálra 'to death'	500	0	0%
total	2933	175	5,97%

Table 1: Results of the corpus study

Table 1 shows that the three most frequent nominal resultatives that occurred in the corpus study are *darabjaira* 'into its pieces', *pirosra* 'red', and *darabokra* 'into pieces'. While *darabjaira* 'into its pieces' and *darabokra* 'into pieces' usually appeared with the *szét+törik* 'apart+break' particle+verb combination, *pirosra* 'red' mostly occurred together with *meg+sül* 'PRT+roast'. However, the nominal phrase *halálra* 'to death' did not co-occur with a particle. It may be the result of the process of grammaticalization through which *halálra* 'to death' has lost its original lexical content and came to be a verbal particle. Another point is that the corpus study involved only one translative resultative, i.e. *hőssé* 'hero'.

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pieces', *laposra* 'flat', *pirosra* 'red' and *szőkére* 'blond' and I also involved nominal resultatives that are quite similar to the ones mentioned in the literature, for example *feketére* 'black', *halálra* 'to death', *szárazra* 'dry', *szélesre* 'wide', *zöldre* 'green'. From the translative case-marked resultatives I only searched for *hőssé* 'hero' which combines naturally with verbs such as *válik* 'turn into' and *változik* 'change' and can appear in a variety of contexts, like in fairy tales, myths, legends and everyday news as well.

[7] 'Total number of occurrences' is the number that indicates how many times the nominal resultative occurs in the Hungarian National Corpus. 'Number of co-occurrences with particles' is the number that indicates how many times the nominal resultative occurred together with a verbal particle in a finite resultative construction. The 'Ratio' column expresses the proportion of 'Number of co-occurrences with particles' and 'Total number of occurrences' (i.e. in what proportion the nominal resultative occurs together with a verbal particle).

[8] In the Hungarian National Corpus the number of search results is limited to 500 example sentences. That is why in the case of *pirosra* 'red', *darabokra* 'into pieces' and *halálra* 'to death' only part of the corpus data is included.

The examination of a larger number of resultatives with the translative case would contribute to a better understanding of the behavior of nominal resultatives.

3.2 Neutral and non-neutral contexts

Nominal resultatives and verbal particles co-occurred both in sentences with neutral intonation (6) and with non-neutral intonation (7). Thus, the corpus data do not verify Komlósy's (1992: 512) *neutrality constraint*. The corpus data are from a written corpus in which intonation is not annotated. Therefore, I made conclusions about the intonation patterns according to the word order of the sentences. In (6) the position of the resultatives shows that they appear in a neutral sentence; i.e. the particle occupies the immediately preverbal (the verbal modifier) position and the nominal resultative is situated postverbally. In (7) the nominal resultatives themselves are in focus. When the verbal particle follows the verb it means that another element is in focus before the verb.

(6) a. …*fertőzött volt a kút,* ***ki****-mertük* ***száraz-ra***…
infected was the well out-baled dry-SUB
'…the well was infected, we baled it out dry…'

b. …***át****-vált a lámpa* ***piros-ra***…
over-turned the light red-SUB
'…the light turned red…'

c. …***ki****-húzza* ***zöld-re*** *a szemöldök-é-t*…
out-lined green-SUB the eyebrow-POSS.3SG-ACC
'…she colored her eyebrow green…'

(7) a. … *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…'

b. …*apró* ***darabok-ra*** *esett* ***szét*** *a társadalom*…
tiny pieces-SUB fell apart the society
'…the society fell apart into tiny pieces…'

c. …*a szenvedély* ***zöld-re*** *vált* ***át***…
the passion green-SUB turns over
'…the passion turns green…'

While in (6a, b, c) the verbal particles *ki* 'out' and *át* 'over' appear in the immediately preverbal position, the nominal resultatives *szárazra* 'dry', *pirosra* 'red' and *zöldre* 'green' are in the postverbal domain. In (7a, b, c) it is the nominal resultatives *feketére* 'black', *darabokra* 'into pieces' and *zöldre* 'green' that occur on the immediate left of the verb and the verbal particles *ki* 'out', *szét* 'apart' and *át* 'over' are separated from the verb appearing on its immediate right.

3.3 Directional and non-directional verbal particles

I have also listed the verbal particles with which the nominal resultatives occurred in the corpus study. The results are summarized in Table 2. The following verbal particles appeared in the corpus data: *át* 'over, *be* 'into', *egybe* 'to one', *el* 'away', *elő* 'fore', *fel* 'up', *ki* 'out', *le* 'down', *meg, össze* 'together/with', *széjjel* 'apart', *szét* 'apart', *újra* 're'. The particles are arranged according to their number of occurrence in a descending order.

Verbal particle	Number of co-occurrences with nominal resultatives[9]
szét 'apart'	56
meg	35
be 'into'	26
át 'over	17
ki 'out'	17
le 'down'	11
össze 'together/with'	4
fel 'up'	3
újra 're'	2
egybe 'to one'	1
el 'away'	1
elő 'fore'	1
széjjel 'apart'	1

Table 2: Verbal particles occurring in the corpus examples

The three most frequent verbal particles that appeared in the corpus data are *szét* 'apart', *meg* and *be* 'into'. As Table 2 shows nominal resultatives occurred with both directional (8) and non-directional (9) verbal particles. The non-directional particles involve *meg* and *újra* 're'. Therefore, the *directional particle constraint* does not seem to be a strong constraint on doubly-marked resultative structures. However, the presence of directional particles was more frequent.

(8) a. …***le****-festették a fala-t szép* ***zöld-re***…
down-painted the wall-ACC nice green-SUB
'…they painted the wall green…'

b. …***szét****-tört* ***darabok-ra***…
apart-broke pieces-SUB
'…broke apart into pieces…'

(9) 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…'

(10) **János* ***meg****-verte Pál-t* ***lapos-ra****.*
John PRT-beat Paul-ACC flat-SUB
'John beat Paul up pulp.'

While the sentences of (8) contain the directional particles *le* 'down' and *szét* 'apart', in (9) the non-directional *meg* is present. The data in (9) are very similar to the data in (5b), repeated here as (10). Still, while (9a) and (9b) are grammatical, (10) is not. In these cases

[9] 'Number of co-occurrences with nominal resultatives' shows how many times the verbal particle occurred with the nominal resultative.

the non-directional verbal particle *meg* co-occurs a sublative-case marked nominal resultative, i.e. *pirosra* 'red', *szárazra* 'dry' and *laposra* 'flat', respectively. In the corpus study the verbal particle *meg* appeared together with the resultatives *feketére* 'black', *pirosra* 'red', *szárazra* 'dry' and *zöldre* 'green' and the nominal resultative *laposra* 'flat' occurred together with the verbal particles *egybe* 'to one' (11a), *le* 'down' (11b) and *össze* 'together' (11c). It may be the case that there is some kind of an incompatibility between the nominal resultative *laposra* 'flat' and the verbal particle *meg* and this might be responsible for the ungrammaticality of (10).

(11) a. *A Samu család sír-jai-t* ***lapos-ra*** ***egybe****-kapálták…*
the Samu family tomb-POSS.3PL-ACC flat-SUB to.one-hoed…
'They hoed the tombs of the Samu family flat…'

b. *… engedd* ***le*** *a kerek-et egy kicsit* ***lapos-ra****.*
…let down the tire-ACC a bit flat-SUB
'…let down the tire flat a bit.'

c. *…elég* ***lapos-ra*** ***össze****-nyomódtunk már…*
…enough flat-SUB together-have.been.pushed yet…
'…we have already been pushed flat enough…'

On the whole, the *neutrality constraint* and the *directional particle constraint* do not seem to hold for the corpus data. Yet, these factors do play a role to some extent as the frequency data show (e.g. directional particles emerged more often than non-directional ones). The next section discusses how the particle and the nominal resultative are related to each other in the syntax.

4 The relation between the verbal particle and the nominal resultative

This section examines the relation between the verbal particle and the nominal resultative when they co-occur in the same clause. The relation between these two resultatives may be analyzed in two major ways; either as a head-complement relation (Hegedűs, 2013: 128-131) or as an appositive adjunct relation (Surányi & Hegedűs, 2013).

4.1 Head-complement relation

Den Dikken (1995) discusses instances in which the verbal particle and a resultative AP co-occur in English (12).

(12) *They painted the barn* ***up red****.*

He treats these cases as complex particle constructions. He argues that the particle is a preposition and the head of an independent small clause (PrtP) and it selects another small clause as its complement in sentences like (12). This structure is outlined in Figure 1.

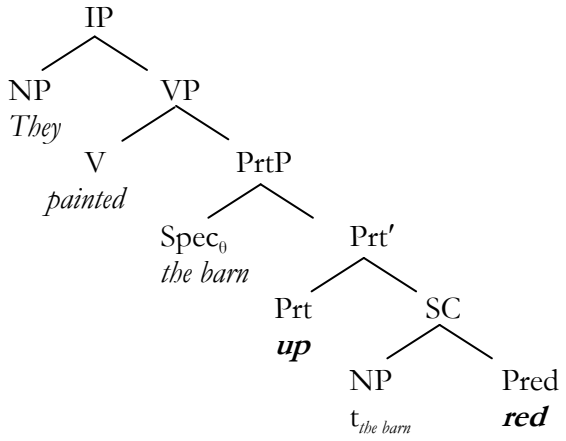

Figure 1

The particle *up* is the head of the PrtP (Particle Phrase) and it selects a small clause (SC) as its complement. The resultative predicate *red* is situated in this small clause. While *up* is analyzed as a Prt (particle), *red* is treated as a Pred (secondary predicate).

Hegedűs (2013: 128-131) investigates the co-occurrence of particles and nominal resultatives in Hungarian and suggests that these two resultatives occupy different positions when they simultaneously occur. She treats the nominal resultative as a directional PP that is selected by the directional verbal particle. In her analysis, the particle is situated in the p head position of pP, which is a functional projection of PP. (cf. Ramchand (2008: 137) for related data and discussion.)

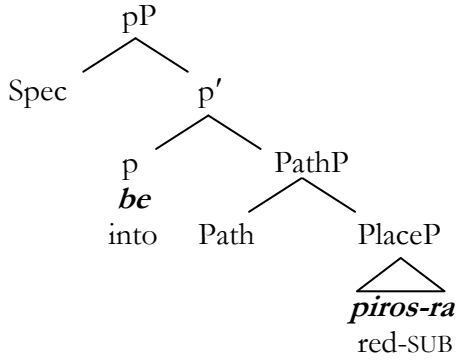

Figure 2

In both Den Dikken's and Hegedűs's analyses the verbal particle and the nominal resultative fill different syntactic positions when they co-occur: the verbal particle is the head selecting the nominal resultative as its complement. While in Den Dikken's approach the verbal particle is the head of the PrtP, in Hegedűs's analysis, it is the head of the pP. Den Dikken analyzes the nominal resultative as the Pred of a SC but for Hegedűs it is the PlaceP complement of a PathP. Hegedűs argues that since nominal resultatives are directional PPs and are selected by directional particles, non-directional particles (e.g. *meg*, which telecizes the event but does not have a spatial meaning) cannot appear in this construction. However, the corpus data show that non-directional particles can also occur in these structures (see example (9)). In Den Dikken's (1995) analysis the

Prt should also have some kind of lexical content in order to become a PP. Therefore, the head-complement analysis does not provide an explanation for all the data. In the upcoming section I argue for an appositive adjunct type of analysis based on further, positive evidence.

4.2 Appositive adjunct relation

Surányi (2009a, b) examines a very similar structure in Hungarian in which a locative particle and a lexical locative expression co-occur (13).

(13) *Felment a második-ra/ a menny-be/ a tizedik-ig.*
up went the second-SUB/ the heaven-ILL/ the tenth-TERM
'He went up to the second floor/to the heaven/as high as the tenth floor.'

In (13) the locative particle *fel* 'up' appears together with the lexical locative expressions *másodikra* 'to the second floor', *mennybe* 'to the heaven', *tizedikig* 'as high as the tenth floor'. For this type of construction Surányi (2009a, b) proposes that the verbal particle and the lexical locative expression form an appositive structure in which the lexical expression further specifies the locative particle. He also adds that there is an adjunction relationship between the two. He suggests that in the case of an appositive relation the verbal particle does not subcategorize for the form of the locative expression. As (13) shows the verbal particle *fel* 'up' can appear together with a sublative or an illative or a terminative case-marked lexical expression as well. The verbal particle *fel* 'up' in (13) is a directional particle in the sense of É. Kiss (2006).

Similarly, Surányi and Hegedűs (2013) propose an appositive adjunct relation for the doubly-marked resultative structure. They argue that the nominal resultative "can and must remain post-verbal if the VM slot is occupied by a resultative verbal particle" and it is a "base structure appositive adjunct to the resultative verbal particle". While the verbal particle is raised to the specifier position of PredP, the nominal resultative is an appositive adjunct PP to the particle. That PredP is above VP and that VMs move to Spec,PredP is proposed by É. Kiss (2006, 2008).

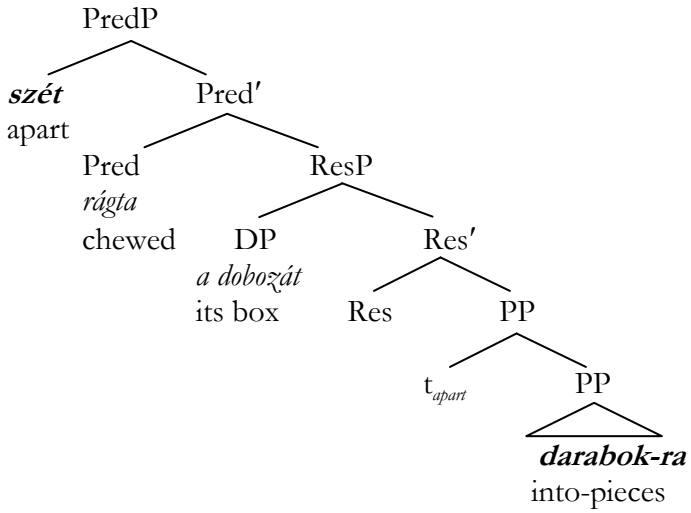

Figure 3

Surányi and Hegedűs (2013) also point out that the post-verbal resultative does not allow *wh*-subextraction from it when co-occurring with a particle which provides support for the nominal resultative being an adjunct (14a). Adjuncts do not allow material to be extracted out of them.

(14) a. **Kihez formáltad **át** Jánost ~~kihez~~ **hasonló-vá**?*
who.ALL formed over John.ACC who.ALL similar-TRANS
'Who did you transform John similar to?
b. *Kihez formáltad ~~kihez~~ **hasonló-vá** Jánost?*
who.ALL formed who.ALL similar-TRANS John.ACC
'Who did you transform John similar to?'

In the next section I also argue for an appositive adjunct relation for the structure under investigation, since it explains the data in the most suitable way.

4.3 Arguments for the appositive adjunct analysis

An argument in favor of the appositive relation may be that the verbal particle does not subcategorize for the form of the nominal resultative. The same particle may appear with a nominal resultative in the sublative case (15a) or in the translative case (15b).

(15) a. *…a feketehajú Magdiká-t **át**-festették **szőké-re**…*
the black-haired Magdika-ACC over-dyed blond-SUB
'…Magdika with the black hair has been dyed blond…'
b. *…akik lírai **hős-sé** változnak **át**…*
who lyric hero-TRANS turn over
'…who turn into a lyric hero…'

While in (14a) the verbal particle *át* 'over' occurs with the sublative resultative *szőkére* 'blond', in (14b) *át* 'over' appears together with the translative resultative *hőssé* 'hero'. However, these two case markers cannot be used interchangeably. The particle may not subcategorize for the morphology of the nominal resultative alone but the verb might still be a determining factor.[10]

Even the same particle+verb combination may license both case markers. Whereas in (16a) *szétkalapáltam* 'apart-hammered' is present with the sublative resultative *laposra* 'flat', in (16b) it occurs with the translative resultative *tányérrá* 'plate'.

(16) 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.'

[10] On the choice between the sublative and translative marking of nominal resultatives, see Matushansky (2012).

It might be the case that the properties of the result state that is described determine the choice on the case marker. The sentences in (16a) and (16b) describe two different events. Whereas in (16a) the metal-hammering event results in the metal being flat, in (16b) the metal ends up in a completely different shape, i.e. in the form of a plate. So, the nature of the result state may contribute to the choice between the two case-markers. 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.

Furthermore, speakers used the comma after the combination of the particle and the verb and before the nominal resultative in some of the corpus examples (17). This may also suggest some kind of an appositive use.

(17) … *sárkánytork-á-t* ***újra****-festették,* ***piros-ra****…*
dragon.throat-POSS.3SG-ACC re-painted red-SUB
'… its dragon throat has been repainted, red…'

Nonetheless, this construction is not the same as the ones without a comma, yet it may be a question how these two usages are related to each other.

The data in which the verbal particle *meg* appears can also be analyzed as appositive constructions. However, in these cases the verbal particle refers to the result state without concrete lexical content. The nature of the result state is going to be specified by the nominal resultative.

Following Surányi and Hegedűs (2013) I suggest an appositive adjunct relation analysis for the doubly-marked resultative construction, in which case the nominal resultative is an appositive adjunct and it further specifies the verbal particle. The exact result state denoted by the particle becomes more specified by the nominal phrase. For this construction I assume the structure in Figure 4.

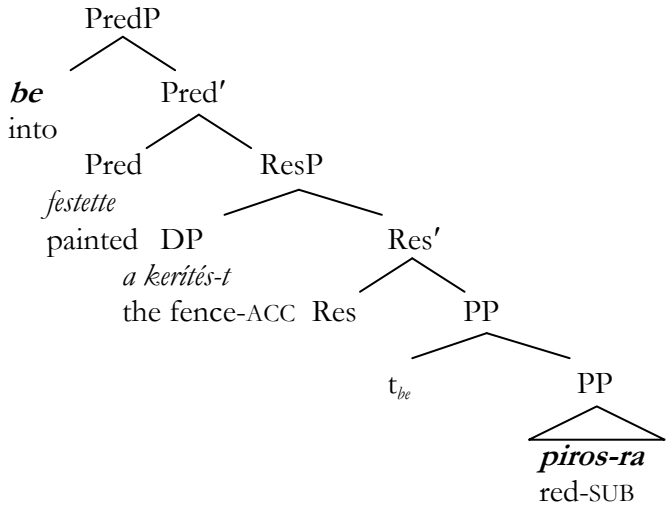

Figure 4

The analysis of PredP in Hungarian is based on É. Kiss (2006, 2008) and the ResP (result phrase) has been used by Ramchand (2008), among others.

5 Conclusion

My aim in this paper was to examine the issue whether the two resultative expressions in Hungarian i.e. the verbal particle and the nominal resultative are in complementary distribution or they are able to co-occur. The judgments in the literature are not uniform. While usually the co-occurrence of these resultatives is taken to be ungrammatical, it is acceptable in certain linguistic environments. Two constraints have been highlighted; the *neutrality constraint* and the *directional particle constraint*. As the corpus research showed, these requirements do not hold in their original sense. The verbal particle and the nominal resultative co-occurred in neutral contexts as well as in non-neutral contexts. Moreover, non-directional particles also appeared in such constructions. I have argued that the doubly-marked resultative structure may be analyzed as an appositive adjunct relation rather than a head-complement relation.

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