

Tanulmány

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On the distribution of verbal particles and nominal resultatives in Hungarian^{*}

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate the distribution of two resultative expressions, the verbal particle and the nominal resultative, in Hungarian. The pertinent literature diverges on the issue of whether the particle and the nominal resultative can co-occur in the same clause. Some do not accept such data and they may predict it to be ungrammatical, whereas others find these constructions grammatical, at least under certain circumstances. This paper reports the results of a corpus-based investigation of this issue. I show that resultative particles and nominal resultatives can co-occur in the same clause, and I outline an analysis which can capture the emerging properties of this construction.

Keywords: resultative expression, verbal particle, nominal resultative, Hungarian, appositive

1 Introduction

This paper investigates the use and distribution of resultative expressions in Hungarian. This field has been studied by Komlósy (1992, 1994), É. Kiss (2004, 2006) and Bene (2005), among others. A resultative phrase denotes the result state of the patient argument at the end of the verbal event, and it is normally coded either as a suffixed noun phrase or as a verbal particle in Hungarian. Verbal particles and nominal resultatives occur with both transitive and (unaccusative) intransitive verbs and usually show complementary distribution, i.e. it is either the nominal resultative or the verbal particle that is present. The two often do not seem to be able to co-occur in the same clause, as it is illustrated in example (1) and (2). Example (1) is based on Komlósy's (1992: 502, 512) data and judgments.

- (1)a. *Péter piros-ra festette a kerítés-t.*
 Peter red-SUB¹ painted the fence-ACC
 'Peter painted the fence red.'

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¹ Throughout this paper the following abbreviations are used:

1: first person, 3: third person, ACC: accusative case, DEL: delative case, ILL: illative case, INESS: inessive case, INSTR: instrumental case, IMP: imperative, PL: plural, POSS: possessedness suffix, PRT: verbal particle, SG: singular, SUB: sublativ case, SUP: superessive case, TERM: terminative case, TRANS: translative case

- 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.'
- (2)a. *Jég-gé fagyott a víz a hideg-ben.*
 ice-TRANS froze the water the cold-INESS
 'The water froze into ice in the cold.'
- b. *A víz meg-fagyott a hideg-ben.*
 the water PRT-froze the cold-INESS
 'The water froze in the cold.'
- c. **A víz jég-gé meg-fagyott a hideg-ben.*
 the water ice-TRANS PRT-froze the cold-INESS
 'The water froze into ice in the cold.'

However, some data suggest that these two resultative expressions are not always in complementary distribution. As is indicated by the sentences in example (3), both the nominal resultative and the verbal particle can be present at the same time.²

- (3)a. *A haj-á-t be-festette szőké-re.*³
 the hair-POSS.3SG-ACC into-dyed blond-SUB
 'She dyed her hair blond.'
- b. *Főz-zük meg puhá-ra a zöldborsó-t.*
 cook-IMP.1PL PRT tender-SUB the green.pea-ACC
 'Cook the green peas tender.'

As example (3) suggests the co-occurrence of these two resultative expressions is possible. The apparent contradiction between (1-2) and (3) raises certain questions, such as, how frequent this doubly-marked resultative construction is, what factors determine the acceptability of this construction and in what way this structure may be analyzed.

The research reported here focuses on these problems, and this paper is structured in the following way. Section 2 reviews the literature on the distribution of verbal particles and nominal resultatives. Then, section 3 summarizes the results of the corpus study. In section 4 the possible analyses of the structure under investigation is provided. Finally, section 5 sums up the major conclusions of this paper.

2 The literature on the distribution of nominal resultatives and verbal particles

The literature on this topic is not uniform as far as this linguistic phenomenon is concerned. Sometimes very similar examples are judged diversely. This section reviews the literature on the distribution of these two resultative expressions. A resultative expression denotes the result state that emerges as a consequence of the activity denoted by the verb. In Hungarian,

² These data are taken from the Hungarian National Corpus, see Váradi (2002).

³ Throughout this paper, I use boldface to highlight the nominal resultative, the verbal particle and the verb in the examples that are taken from the corpus.

resultatives may be expressed with the help of adjectival or noun phrases in the sublative case (marked by the suffix *-ra/-re*) or translocative case (marked by the suffix *-vá/-vé*) or by verbal particles. The verbal particles as resultatives have been investigated by Komlósy (1992, 1994), É. Kiss (2004, 2006) and Bene (2005), among others.

2.1 Complementary distribution

In the literature there are data suggesting that nominal resultatives and verbal particles are in strict complementary distribution. The sentences and their evaluation in example (4) are taken from Komlósy (1992: 502).

- (4)a. **Péter piros-ra be-festette a kerítés-t.*
 Peter red-SUB into-painted the fence-ACC
 ‘Peter painted the fence red.’
- b. **Péter szén-né el-égette a hús-t.*
 Peter coal-TRANS away-burnt the meat-ACC
 ‘Peter charred the meat.’
- c. **Péter el-égette szén-né a hús-t.*
 Peter away-burnt coal-TRANS the meat-ACC
 ‘Peter charred the meat.’

As (4) suggests, the nominal resultative and the verbal particle do not co-occur. According to Komlósy’s analysis (1992: 502) two elements usually exclude each other from one construction if both of them are to fulfill the same function, consequently, they presumably occupy the same position in clause structure. However, one structural position can only be occupied by one element at a time. Therefore, if the nominal resultative and the verbal particle play the same role, they cannot co-occur; only one of them can be present.

Similarly, É. Kiss (2006: 19) argues that nominal resultatives and resultative particles have one and the same function. Both resultative particles and nominal resultatives express a change of state as a result of an event. É. Kiss analyzes these resultative expressions as secondary predicates as both make a statement about the patient. The logical subject of these resultative expressions is the internal argument of the verb, i.e. the patient argument. Secondary predicates are predicative units that express a statement about what we call their logical subject.

Nonetheless, É. Kiss notes that while both resultative particles and nominal resultatives denote the endpoint of the event and the change of state that took place as a result of the event, verbal particles tend to lack descriptive content in the lexical sense. (5a) describes a change of state that emerged as a consequence of a hair-dyeing event; the color of the hair has changed and the new resulting color is blond. However, in (5b) the verbal particle only expresses that the hair-dyeing event resulted in a new state but it does not say what the new color is exactly.

- (5)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.’

2.2 Co-occurrence of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative

The literature, however, also includes claims that the co-occurrence of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative is possible. As É. Kiss (2004: 23-24) examines the resultative verbal particles, she brings examples in which the verbal particle and the nominal resultative co-occur, as the sentences in (6) show. According to É. Kiss, a complex verbal predicate appears in two forms in these sentences. In this case, the verbal particle is related to the nominal resultative in a way that the particle contains grammatical features only, such as an aspectual feature denoting the endpoint or the new result state, but it lacks descriptive content in the lexical sense.

- (6)a. *Éva ki-mosta a ruhá-t tisztá-ra.*
 Eve out-washed the clothes-ACC clean-SUB
 'Eve washed the clothes clean.'
- b. *Péter be-festette a kerítés-t piros-ra.*
 Peter into-painted the fence-ACC red-SUB
 'Peter painted the fence red.'
- c. *János fel-vágta a hús-t darabok-ra.*
 John up-cut the meat-ACC pieces-SUB
 'John cut the meat into pieces.'

É. Kiss (2004: 24) argues that this relation is analogous with a construction that is present in Spanish among other languages; i.e. one argument occurs in two forms in the same local context, one of which is a pronoun cliticized to the verb and the other is a nominal expression with lexical content (7).

- (7) *Miguelito le_i regaló un caramelo a Mafalda_i.*
 Miguelito her gave a caramel to Mafalda.
 'Miguelito gave a piece of caramel to Mafalda.'

Komlósy (1992: 501-502) also discusses certain constructions where particles and nominal resultatives co-occur. In *-ás/-és* nominalizations, the formative word *való* is usually inserted between the arguments and adjuncts of the verb and the deverbal noun. However, there are certain units that do not need the insertion of the word *való* and others that are straight incompatible with it.⁴

- (8)a. *?A kerítés piros-ra való festés-e jó ötlet volt.*
 the fence red-SUB VALÓ painting-POSS.3SG good idea was
 'Painting the fence red was a good idea.'
- b. **A kerítés be való festés-e jó ötlet volt.*
 the fence into VALÓ painting-POSS.3SG good idea was
 'Painting the fence was a good idea.'
- c. *A kerítés piros-ra való be-festés-e jó ötlet volt.*
 the fence red-SUB VALÓ into-painting-POSS.3SG good idea was
 'Painting the fence red was a good idea.'

While in (8a) only the nominal resultative is present, in (8b) only the verbal particle occurs together with the verb. In (8c) both the verbal particle and the nominal resultative appear and

⁴ See Laczkó & Rákosi (2007), among others, on this type of nominalization in Hungarian.

Komlósy takes this sentence to be grammatical. Komlósy's (1992: 507) explanation for these data is that the secondary predicates that behave like particles (e.g. nominal resultatives in the present case) and the verbal particles both can merge with the verbal head (V^0). Secondary predicates, however, can also combine with a verb that has a verbal particle. Nevertheless, in the latter case it is never the predicative argument that shows particle-like behavior but only the verbal particle itself. Therefore, in this situation the secondary predicate occupies a position different from the one it occupies in the presence of a verb without a verbal particle. In other words, when the verbal particle and the nominal resultative co-occur, the nominal resultative resides at a different structural position than in a construction in which it is only the nominal resultative that is present.

Additionally, Komlósy (1992) discusses other factors that influence the acceptability of the dual resultative marking. He treats both verbal particles and nominal resultatives as verbal modifiers which form one semantic unit with the verb. In neutral sentences verbal modifiers occupy the immediate preverbal position. If there are two verbal modifiers in a sentence, only one of them can be on the immediate left of the verb, the other element has to occupy a different position. However, in this case, the sentence is ungrammatical with neutral intonation (9c, d). Thus, two verbal modifiers can only co-occur in sentences containing focus (9a, b). In (9a) the nominal resultative itself is the focus of the sentence and in (9b) it is the contrastive topic. The examples in (9) and the judgments are from Komlósy (1992: 512).

- (9)a. *János PIROS-RA festette be a kerítés-t.*⁵
 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 for 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.'

Hence, according to Komlósy (1992: 501, 502, 512) these two resultative expressions may co-occur in case of nominalization and in non-neutral contexts.

In sentences (8a) and (8b) the nominal resultative and the verbal particle are presumably situated in the same position. Still, they are not grammatically equivalent as (8c) testifies. So, they probably do not have the same function completely. Furthermore, if we compare (6b) and (9d), the same structure can be observed. Example (6b) and (9d) are repeated here as (10a) and (10b), respectively. While É. Kiss (2004: 23-24) analyzes (10a) as grammatical with neutral intonation, for Komlósy (1992: 512) (10b) is not grammatical with neutral intonation.

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

⁵ The focus of the example sentences are marked with capital letters throughout the paper.

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

As example (10) shows, the literature is not uniform in judging very similar data. Thus, one of the major goals of this paper is to investigate whether verbal particles may only co-occur nominal resultatives in non-neutral contexts, as it is suggested by Komlósy (1992: 512).

3 Corpus study

I collected data from the Hungarian National Corpus (<http://corpus.nytud.hu/mnsz/>) to be able to evaluate the claims discussed in 2.2, and to gather evidence that can help us better understand the construction under investigation. I carried out searches on the basis of the nominal resultatives that frequently occur in the literature on resultative expressions. I examined the search results and collected the examples in which the verbal particle and the nominal resultative co-occur. I only considered finite examples for the purposes of this corpus study. The results of the research are summarized in the tables in the appendix. As Table 1 shows, nominal resultatives co-occur with verbal particles with a frequency of cc. 6 % on the average. This is a relatively large frequency, which provides strong argument in itself that the construction exists.

3.1 Neutral and non-neutral contexts

According to the corpus study the co-occurrence of the nominal resultative and the verbal particle is possible both in sentences with neutral intonation and in sentences with non-neutral intonation, as example (11) and (12) illustrates, respectively.

- (11)a. *Itt most nagyon fertőzőtt volt a kút, ki-mertük száraz-ra...*
 here now very infectious was the well out-baled dry-SUB
 'The well was very infectious here, we baled it out dry...'
- b. *A Samu család sír-jai-t lapos-ra egybe-kapálták, simították.*
 the SAMU family tomb-POSS.3PL-ACC flat-SUB PRT-hoed smoothed
 'They hoed and smoothed the tombs of the Samu family flat.'
- (12)a. *Csak a közlekedési lámpák váltottak át mechanikus pontosság-gal piros-ról gyorsan villogó zöld-re.*
 just the traffic light-PL switched through mechanical accuracy-INSTR red-DEL quickly flashing green-SUB
 'It was only the traffic lights that switched with mechanical accuracy from red to quickly flashing green.'
- b. *...s majdnem feketé-re kente ki a szemhéj-á-t.*
 and almost black-SUB color out the eyelid-POSS.3SG-ACC
 ...and she almost colored her eyelid black.'

In certain sentences the nominal resultative precedes the verb with the verbal particle. Yet, the sentence seems neutral, as (11b) shows. As my preliminary survey confirms, these sentences are not considered ungrammatical by native speakers. The sentences in example (12) are not neutral; both of them contain focus.

3.2 The verbal particle

The target sentences contain the following verbal particles: *át* ‘through’, *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’. Table 2 summarizes how frequently each verbal particle occur with a nominal resultative in the small corpus of examples I set up. As Table 2 presents the three most frequent verbal particles are *szét* ‘apart’, *meg* and *be* ‘into’. Both directional and non-directional verbal particles occur with nominal resultatives, as example (13) and (14) displays, respectively.

- (13)a. ...*s majdnem feketé-re kente ki a szemhéj-á-t.*
 and almost black-SUB color out the eyelid-POSS.3SG-ACC
 ‘...and she almost colored her eyelid black.’
- b. *S hol sütött le a nap ilyen feketé-re?*
 and where tanned down the sun such black-SUB
 ‘And where did the sun tan you so black?’
- (14)a. ...*180 fokos olaj-ban 4-5 perc alatt szép piros-ra meg-sütjük.*
 180 degree oil-INESS 4-5 minute under nice red-SUB PRT-roast
 ‘...in the 180 degree oil we roast it red in 4-5 minutes.’
- b. ...*s a csatorna sárkánytork-á-t újra-festették, piros-ra.*
 and the channel dragon.throat-POSS.3SG-ACC re-painted red-SUB
 ‘...and the dragon throat of the channel has been repainted, red.’

Whereas the sentences in example (13) contain the directional verbal particles *ki* ‘out’ and *le* ‘down’, in example (14) the non-directional *meg* and *újra* ‘re’ are present. Although the verbal particle *meg* does not have any lexical content, it occurs quite frequently, 35 times, as Table 2 shows.

3.3 The nominal resultative

As Table 1 suggests, the three most frequent nominal resultatives that occur with verbal particles in the research are *darabjaira* ‘into its pieces’, *pirosra* ‘red’ and *darabokra* ‘into pieces’. Nevertheless, the nominal resultative *halálra* ‘to death’ did not appear together with a verbal particle. This may be due to the process through which *halálra* ‘to death’ has lost its original lexical content and became a verbal particle.⁶ *Halálra* ‘to death’ was included in the research as it is a quite frequent resultative expression in general. If the nominal resultative *halálra* ‘to death’ would not be involved in the corpus study, nominal resultatives would co-occur with verbal particles with a frequency of cc. 7 % instead of cc. 6 % on the average.

⁶ Example (i) below is from the Hungarian National Corpus illustrating that the nominal resultative *halálra* ‘to death’ lacks its original lexical content and behaves more like a verbal particle.

(i) *Ha lemondasz, bevágnak egy gyárba, egy hivatalba, halál-ra dolgozod és halál-ra unod magad...*
 death-SUB work and death-SUB bore yourself
 ‘If you resign, you will be put to a factory, to an office, you will work yourself to death and you will be bored to death...’

In (i) *halálra dolgozod magad* ‘you will work yourself to death’ means that you will work a lot and *halálra unod magad* ‘you will be bored to death’ expresses that you will be very bored. So, the original lexical content of *halálra* ‘to death’ is not present. Forgács (2004) argues that *agyon* became a verbal particle from a place denoting expression. It is possible that certain expressions lose their original lexical content and become verbal particles through grammaticalization, such as *agyon* or *halálra* ‘to death’.

Furthermore, the research included only one translative case marked nominal resultative, i.e. *hőssé* ‘hero’. The investigation of more translative case marked resultative expressions would be useful in order to get a better insight of their behavior. Still, *hőssé* ‘hero’ appeared together with different types of verbal particles throughout the corpus study, such as *át* ‘through’, *elő* ‘fore’, *ki* ‘out’ and *össze* ‘together/with’.

4 Analyzing the relation between the verbal particle and the nominal resultative

The relation that may hold between the verbal particle and the nominal resultative can be analyzed in two major ways. The verbal particle and the nominal resultative may either be in a head-complement relation (Hegedűs, to appear) or in an appositive relation (Surányi, 2009). Within the frameworks of both approaches these two resultative expressions make up one constituent. Even if they do not form one surface unit structurally, they form a constituent at an underlying level of representation in both cases. In a head-complement relation the head selects its complement but there is no matching between the two in terms of grammatical feature content. In contrast, in an appositive relation, the two members of an appositive relation are of the same grammatical type.

4.1 Head-complement relation

Hegedűs (to appear: 153-155) examines constructions in which the verbal particle and the nominal resultative simultaneously occur (15). She analyzes nominal resultatives as kind of directional and suggests that they are selected by directional verbal particles. The verbal particle originates from an extended PP and the nominal resultative with the sublativ suffix is a directional PP. When both of them occur in one structure at the same time the verbal particle occupies a p head position of a functional projection pP which is situated above the PP. Thus, the verbal particle and the nominal resultative fill different positions; whereas the nominal resultative is generated in a PP, the verbal particle is situated in a pP (16). Van Riemsdijk (1990) proposes the existence of a pP projection, which is a functional extension of PP.

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

- (16)
-
- ```

graph TD
 pP --> Spec
 pP --> p_prime[p']
 Spec --> le[le]
 p_prime --> p
 p_prime --> PP
 p --> le
 PP --> kek[kék]
 kek --> kek_re[kékre]
 kek_re --> blue[blue]

```
- ‘down’  
*kékre*  
 ‘blue’

However, Hegedűs argues that it is only directional verbal particles that appear in such constructions since the particle, as the head of the pP, selects an appropriate PP which is a directional PP. Therefore, the verbal particle *meg*, that lacks spatial meaning, cannot co-occur

with a nominal resultative (17). Example (17) and its judgment are from Hegedűs (to appear: 154).

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

This type of analysis does not provide an explanation for some part of the corpus data, since non-directional particles also appear in the corpus study. As Table 2 shows, the non-directional verbal particles *meg* and *újra* ‘re’ occur 35 times and twice, respectively.

## 4.2 Appositive relation

The other possible analysis is that of an appositive relation, whose most plausible interpretation, as in Surányi’s (2009) analysis of adverbial locative particles (18), is that the nominal resultative and the verbal particle are in an adjunct relation. In (18) the adverbial locative particle and the (directional) oblique form an appositive relation in which the latter further specifies the former.

- (18)    *Fel ment a tizedik-ig.*  
          up    went    the    tenth floor-TERM  
          ‘He went up as high as the tenth floor.’

Furthermore, Dékány (2011: 146-147) also provides an adjunction type of analysis in the case of naked Ps co-occurring with dressed Ps (19a).<sup>7</sup>

- (19)a.    *át            a            híd            alatt*  
          through the    bridge    under  
          ‘through under the bridge’
- b.    *át            a            híd-on*  
          through the    bridge-SUP  
          ‘through the bridge’

The naked P *át* ‘through’ in (19a) is different from the naked P *át* ‘through’ in (19b). Dékány (2011: 147) suggests that “naked Ps co-occurring with oblique-marked DPs involve a transitive naked P and have a complementation structure: the P subcategorizes for the DP in the oblique case” as in (19b). However, she proposes that “PPs like [19a] involve an intransitive naked P, and that the structural relationship between this P and the dressed PP is that of adjunction.” The co-occurrence of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative is similar to these intransitive naked Ps in the sense that they do not subcategorize for specific oblique cases either.

<sup>7</sup> The terminology of ‘dressed P’ and ‘naked P’ originates from Marác (1986).

### 4.3 Arguments for the appositive relation analysis

Surányi (2009) argues that in an appositive structure no formal identity is required as the case of the locative adverbial particles shows in example (18) and (20).

- (20) *Fel ment a második-ra / a menny-be.*  
 up went the second floor-SUB / the heaven-ILL  
 'He went up to the second floor / to the heaven.'

Example (21) is from the Hungarian National Corpus and it illustrates that the same verbal particle *fel* 'up' may appear together with a nominal resultative in the sublative case as well.

- (21) *Utána 10 dkg gombá-t folyó víz-ben alaposan*  
 then 10 decagram mushroom-ACC running water-INESS thoroughly  
*megmosva vág-junk felkisebb darabok-ra.*  
 washing cut-IMP.1PL up smaller pieces-SUB  
 'Then, after thoroughly washing 10 decagram mushroom in running water, cut them into smaller pieces.'

In the structure being investigated in this paper, the verbal particle may occur with different types of nominal resultatives; it does not subcategorize for the form of the nominal resultative. While in (22a) the verbal particle *át* 'through' appears together with a nominal resultative in the sublative case (i.e. *szőkére* 'blond'), in (23b) *át* 'through' occurs with a nominal resultative in the translative case (i.e. *hőssé* 'hero').

- (22)a. ...*a fekete hajú Magdiká-t át-festették szőké-re...*  
 ...the black haired Magdika-ACC through-dyed blond-SUB  
 '...Magdika's black hair has been dyed blond...'  
 b. *Az én képzelet-em-ben az ott történtek kapcsán*  
 the I imagination-POSS.1SG-INESS the there happenings in connection  
*változott át Trebich Laci egy mesebeli, lázadó hős-sé.*  
 turned into through TREBICH LACI a legendary, rebellious hero-TRANS  
 'In my mind, Trebich Laci turned into a legendary, rebellious hero on the basis of what happened there.'

Although these two types of nominal resultatives may be interchangeable sometimes, they cannot be exchanged in each and every case. This suggests that even if the verbal particle does not subcategorize for the form of the nominal resultative, the verb may still determine the case of the nominal resultative.

Moreover, the comma that is placed after the combination of the verbal particle and the verb and is before the nominal resultative suggests some kind of an appositive use of this structure by the speaker in example (23).

- (23) ...*s a csatorna sárkánytork-á-t újra-festették, piros-ra.*  
 and the channel dragon.throat-POSS.3SG-ACC re-painted red-SUB  
 '...and the dragon throat of the channel has been repainted, red.'

The use in (23) is not completely equivalent with the constructions that lack a comma. For example, the prosody is different; the intonation of the version with the comma (23) involves

a small pause. Still, the two structures are similar in that in both cases an appositive relation analysis is proposed.

Another argument for the appositional analysis is that Surányi (2009) proposes that an adverbial locative particle and its oblique adjunct form an appositive structure that can be moved to the front as one constituent (24). This type of movement cannot really be applied to the structure under investigation (25). Even the cases that sound better are strongly marked. Yet, those cases may sound better in which the verbal particle has stronger lexical content (25a). This may be an independent restriction that does not necessarily influence the appositive relation analysis. This type of movement works well with complex expressions whose head has lexical content.

- (24) [<sub>ContrTop</sub> Fel a menny-be]<sub>i</sub> csak kevesen jutnak t<sub>i</sub>.  
 up the heaven-ILL only few.people get  
 ‘Only some people get up to the heaven.’
- (25) a. ?/\*[<sub>ContrTop</sub> Be piros-ra]<sub>i</sub> Péter festette t<sub>i</sub> a kerítés-t.  
 into red-SUB Peter painted the fence-ACC  
 ‘Peter painted the fence red.’
- b. \*[<sub>ContrTop</sub> Meg lapos-ra]<sub>i</sub> János verte t<sub>i</sub> Pál-t.  
 PRT flat-SUB John beat Paul-ACC  
 ‘John beat Paul up pulp.’

## 5 Conclusion

My major goal in this paper was to investigate the question of whether the verbal particle and the nominal resultative as resultative expressions are in complementary distribution or they may co-occur. The literature is not uniform on this issue either. While some predict the data in which the particle and the nominal resultative co-occur ungrammatical, others take this structure grammatical, at least under certain conditions. As the corpus study suggests the co-occurrence of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative is an existing linguistic phenomenon. This structure may be present in both neutral and non-neutral contexts. Furthermore, the nominal resultative can occur with directional and non-directional verbal particles as well. I argued that the co-occurrence of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative can be analyzed as an appositive construction rather than a head-complement relation. The verbal particle does not subcategorize for the nominal resultative; there is no formal identity requirement. The nominal resultative further specifies the exact lexical type of the result state, which is usually left underspecified by the particle itself. How exactly this appositive relation is realized in the syntactic structure is a matter of further research.

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## Appendix

**Table 1**

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

'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 resultative construction.

The 'Ratio' 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.

**Table 2**

| Verbal particle              | Number of co-occurrences with nominal resultatives |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>be</i> ‘into’             | 26                                                 |
| <i>ki</i> ‘out’              | 17                                                 |
| <i>le</i> ‘down’             | 11                                                 |
| <i>fel</i> ‘up’              | 3                                                  |
| <i>meg</i>                   | 35                                                 |
| <i>el</i> ‘away’             | 1                                                  |
| <i>át</i> ‘through’          | 17                                                 |
| <i>szét</i> ‘apart’          | 56                                                 |
| <i>össze</i> ‘together/with’ | 4                                                  |
| <i>egybe</i> ‘to one’        | 1                                                  |
| <i>újra</i> ‘re’             | 2                                                  |
| <i>elő</i> ‘fore’            | 1                                                  |
| <i>széjjel</i> ‘apart’       | 1                                                  |

Table 2 gives a summary of the particles that occur in the corpus of examples. ‘Number of co-occurrences with nominal resultatives’ shows how many times the verbal particle occurred with the nominal resultative.

**Table 3**

| The combination of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative | Number of occurrences |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>szét+darabokra</i> ‘apart’+‘into pieces’                        | 32                    |
| <i>meg+pirosra</i> <i>meg</i> +‘red’                               | 29                    |
| <i>szét+darabjaira</i> ‘apart’+‘into its pieces’                   | 23                    |
| <i>be+feketére</i> ‘into’+‘black’                                  | 11                    |
| <i>be+pirosra</i> ‘into’+‘red’                                     | 8                     |
| <i>be+zöldre</i> ‘into’+‘green’                                    | 6                     |
| <i>ki+szélesre</i> ‘out’+‘wide’                                    | 6                     |
| <i>át+pirosra</i> ‘through’+‘red’                                  | 5                     |
| <i>át+hőssé</i> ‘through’+‘hero’                                   | 4                     |
| <i>ki+zöldre</i> ‘out’+‘green’                                     | 4                     |

Table 3 illustrates the ten most frequent combinations of the verbal particle and the nominal resultative.