



**Directed motion events from the point of view of
Russian and Hungarian verbal prefixes.**

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Introduction :

Topic:

This talk is an intratypological study of two satellite-framed languages, Russian and Hungarian (in comparison with another one, English), which share a common morphological resource to encode the path /direction component in manner verbs : **verbal prefixes** which attach to verb roots. Semantic domain of manners of *walking*: verbs *walk, step, march, stride, limp, hobble* > relying on parallel corpora (3 novels in English – data from Leslie Tahan -, and their translations in Russian & Hungarian); study « combinatory potential » of PRFX + root (Filipović 2010 : 253)

Research Q:

If any significant intratypological variation is observed, try to account for it > connecting these differences to other grammatical phenomena (e.g. aspect), see whether other lexicalization patterns are observed because of such constraints; larger picture: attempt to investigate ‘possible interdependencies among construction types’ for two satellite-framed languages (Levin & R. Hovav, 2019: 409).

Outline:

- Overview of verb roots and prefixes in two satellite-framed languages
- Observation of the data : exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root.
- Different lexicalization patterns and possible interdependencies with other Cxs

Introduction

Walk verbs from *Wordnet*:

walk > direct hypernym: [travel](#), [go](#), [move](#), [locomote](#)

Troponyms: [step](#) (shift or move by taking a step; walk a short distance to a specified place or in a specified manner)

[limp](#), [hobble](#) (walk impeded by some physical limitation or injury)

[march](#) (walk fast, with regular or measured steps; walk with a stride)

[stride](#) (walk with long steps) "*He strode confidently across the hall*" OED: to walk with long or extended steps; to stalk. Often with implication of haste or impetuosity, of exuberant vigour, or of haughtiness or arrogance.

> « implied fulfillment verbs » (Talmy 2000: 261)

In corpus, followed by these “satellites” (unbound morphemes, combinability is unlimited): *Across, along(side), around, away (from, towards), back (downstairs, past into, round, to, towards), behind, beside, down (into), forwards, from, in, inside, into, nearby, off, on (ahead), out (into, of), over (to), past, round, to, towards, under, up.*

Way of coding verbs in translations: MANNER and non-MANNER (PATH, DIRECTION, LOCATION, DEIXIS, APPEARANCE, FACT OF MOTION).

NB:

PATH: Beginning/Middle/End in an expression of change-of-location

DIRECTION : an expression of unbounded spatial change-of-location (Blomberg 2015 : 671)

I) Verb roots and prefixes in two satellite-framed languages

I.1. ROOTS

Russian and Hungarian: MANNER lexicons as rich as in English.

- ✓ For **Russian**, existence of closed class of paired (in)determinate verbs of motion; in corpus, verb *idti* mainly > *idti* unidirectional (paired with *xodit'* multidirectional). Conflates MANNER and DIRECTION/PATH; unprefixed is grammatically imperfective.

(1) **RUSSIAN:** *idti*, 'walk, go', *bresti*, 'walk with difficulty/quietly', *brodit*, 'walk aimlessly', *(po)guljat'*, 'take a walk, stroll', *progulivat'sja*, 'take a stroll, walk leisurely', *šagnut'*, 'take a step, *semelf.*', *šagat'*, 'walk with measured step', *stupit'/stupat'*, 'go somewhere lifting a leg, step carefully', *(pro)šestvovat'*, 'walk ceremoniously, disdainfully', *(pro)semenit'*, 'walk with small, frequent steps', *(po)spešit'*, 'go somewhere briskly, as fast as possible', *vvalit'sja*, 'walk into a place with noise or awkwardly; from *valit'sja*, 'fall in a mass', *(po)taščit'sja*, 'move slowly, with difficulty', *vrezat'sja*, 'barge in, tear into a place', *zabrat'sja/zabirat'sja*, 'get into a place with difficulty', *vyskočit'*, 'jump out of, go out suddenly', *lezt'*, 'move using hands and feet, climb', *sprygnut'*, 'get down or off jumping; *semelf.*), *skol'znut'*, 'slide; go in or out unnoticed and quickly', *metnut'sja/metat'sja*, 'walk with haste, nervousness', *(pro)marširovat'*, 'march', *xromat'*, 'walk with a limp', *prixramyvat'*, 'walk with a slight limp', *kovyljat'*, 'walk with a limp, slowly, with difficulty', *plestis'*, 'walk slowly, without energy', *rasxaživat'*, 'walk back and forth'.

I) Verb roots and prefixes in two satellite-framed languages

- ✓ **Hungarian** : rich manner lexicon as well, no closed class like the Russian determinate/indeterminate, but pluriactional derivations :

(2) **HUNGARIAN** : *megy*, ‘go, walk, ride’, *sétál*, ‘walk, take a walk, stroll, promenade’, *sétálgat* ‘walk back and forth’ ; *pluriactional*), *lép*, ‘step; pace, tread; walk with small steps, *lépked* ‘proceed with multiple steps, pace, pick one’s way’, *lépdel*, ‘strut, step in sweeping manner’, *gyologol*, ‘go on foot, hike ; from adv. *gyalog*, ‘on foot’, *vonul*, « walk, move in line, parade », *járkál*, ‘stroll, pace up and down ; *pluriactional*), *baktat*, ‘lumber, amble’, *vánszorog*, ‘dawdle, trudge’, *ballag*, ‘saunter, jog along’, *siet*, ‘hurry’, *száll*, ‘fly; get into/off transport’, *hátrahőköl*, ‘take a step back in surprise’, *szel*, ‘slice; speed through’, *jár*, ‘go frequently’, *csörtet*, ‘clomp’, *masíroz*, ‘parade, march’, *menetel*, ‘troop, march ; from *menet*, ‘procession, parade’, *düborög*, ‘rumble’, *tipeg*, ‘trip about, tiptoe’, *sántikál*, ‘walk with a limp, hobble ; frequentative suffix *-kal*], *sántít*, ‘limp’, *biceg*, ‘limp, hobble’, *csoszog*, ‘drag one’s feet’.

I) Verb roots and prefixes in two satellite-framed languages

✓ But also **non-MANNER lexicon** used to translate MANNER verbs (cf. Beavers *et. al.* 2010; languages mobilize all resources available to encode events of motion, go beyond two-way distinction).

(3) **RUSSIAN**: *napravít'sja/napravljat'sja*, « make one's way, head for », *otpravít'sja/otpravljast'sja*, « set off, depart », *vernút'sja/vozvraščat'sja*, « come back, return », *pojavit'sja*, « appear, emerge », *vozniknut'*, « emerge, arise », *okazat'sja*, « find oneself, appear », *priblizít'sja/približat'sja*, « approach, get near », *dvinút'sja (semelf.)/dvigat'sja* « move », *udalit'sja/udaljat'sja*, « leave, withdraw », *podnjat'sja/podnínat'sja*, « walk, go up », *spustít'sja/spuskat'sja*, « walk, go down », *pereseč'*, « cross », etc.

(4) **HUNGARIAN**: *indul*, « leave, set off », *halad*, « move ahead, advance », *hagy*, « leave (*transitive*) », *jön*, « come », *kerül*, « get to », *távolodik/távozik*, « quit, be off », *tart*, « be headed », *átvág*, « cut (across) », *közeledik*, « get near », *megkerül*, « move, turn around », *tér*, « take », etc.

I.2. VERBAL PREFIXES ('preverbs'):

Devices of derivational morphology; invariable morphemes, often cognate with prepositions, that are used to encode PATH/DIRECTION in motion events ; but a full account of the role of prefixes is complex because multiple functions.

I) Verb roots and prefixes in two satellite-framed languages

- ✓ RU : about 20 **inseparable** preverbs (closed class), merge with the imperfective root (*idti* 5a vs. *pod-ojti* 6a); have systematic effect : in addition to providing DIRECTION/PATH, make verb root **perfective**. Apart from *Aktionsart* prefixes (*po-*, *za-*), all are strongly resultative.

- ✓ HU : *Grammaire fondamentale du hongrois* (Szende & Kassai) : 45 preverbs + 6 ‘quasi-preverbs’, open class, telic as well as non telic (ex: *végig*, ‘as far as’, *előre*, ‘forward’). Also adjoin to the root, but they are **detachable** and not necessary to ensure perfective reading (5b vs. 6b); immediately preverbal position is focus position; postverbal position of the prefix not automatically linked to different aspectual construals (7b every bit as telic as 8b):

(5) Lily and Snape were walking across the courtyard

a- *Lily i Piton šli po dvoru zamka.* (past of *idti*: MANNER + DIRECTION)

b- *Lily és Snape a kastély udvaran sétáltak.* (*sétál*: SAME)

(6) Harry walked to the fireplace.

a- *Garri **podošěl k** kaminu.* (*pod-idti* ... preposition *k*, ‘towards’)

b- *Harry a kandallóhoz sétált.* (\emptyset -*sétál*... N + allative suffix **-hoz**)

I) Verb roots and prefixes in two satellite-framed languages

(7) She stepped **out of** the stable.

a- *Ona **vy**šla iz konjušni.* (vy- + idti)

b- ***Ki**lépett az istállóból.* (ki- + lép)

(8) A slight man with a bald head and a great beak of a nose **stepped out** of the shadows

a- *Xudoščavij čelovek s lysejuščeje golocoj... **vy**stupil iz teni.* (vy- + stupit')

b- *Sovány, kopasz, férfi lépett **ki** az árnyékból.* (lép + ki)

- ✓ Prefixes are not the sole elaborators of PATH/DIRECTION, because some have fairly abstract semantics + Russian and Hungarian have a lot of **directional / locative particles** that specify the PATH. Cf. Hasko (2010 : 217) : *'the semantics of the prefix alone is often not specific enough and needs to be accompanied by another satellite specifying the exact direction and the nature of boundary crossing.'* (9 & 10)

(9) Wordlessly, Tyrion limped away.

*Ne govorja bolee ni slova, Tirion **po**xromal **proč**'.* (Aktionsart ingressive po- + particle)

(10) Robert started to walk away, but the queen ...

*Robert **el**indult **kifelé** a teremből, de a királyné ...* (Aktionsart ingressive el- + dir. adv.)

II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

Several verb roots in both languages that correspond to lexical item **WALK**. HU *megy, lép, sétal, gyalogol*. RU has *idti, bresti, guljat', progulivat'sja*. NB : both *idti* and *megy* correspond to *walk* and *go* (basic term for human locomotion), conflate MANNER and DIRECTIONALITY, even prefixless.

STEP has equivalents : RU *šagnut'/šagat', stupit'/stupat'* and HU *lép/léddel/lépked*.

STRIDE interesting because no approximate equivalent > see how the translators get around this.

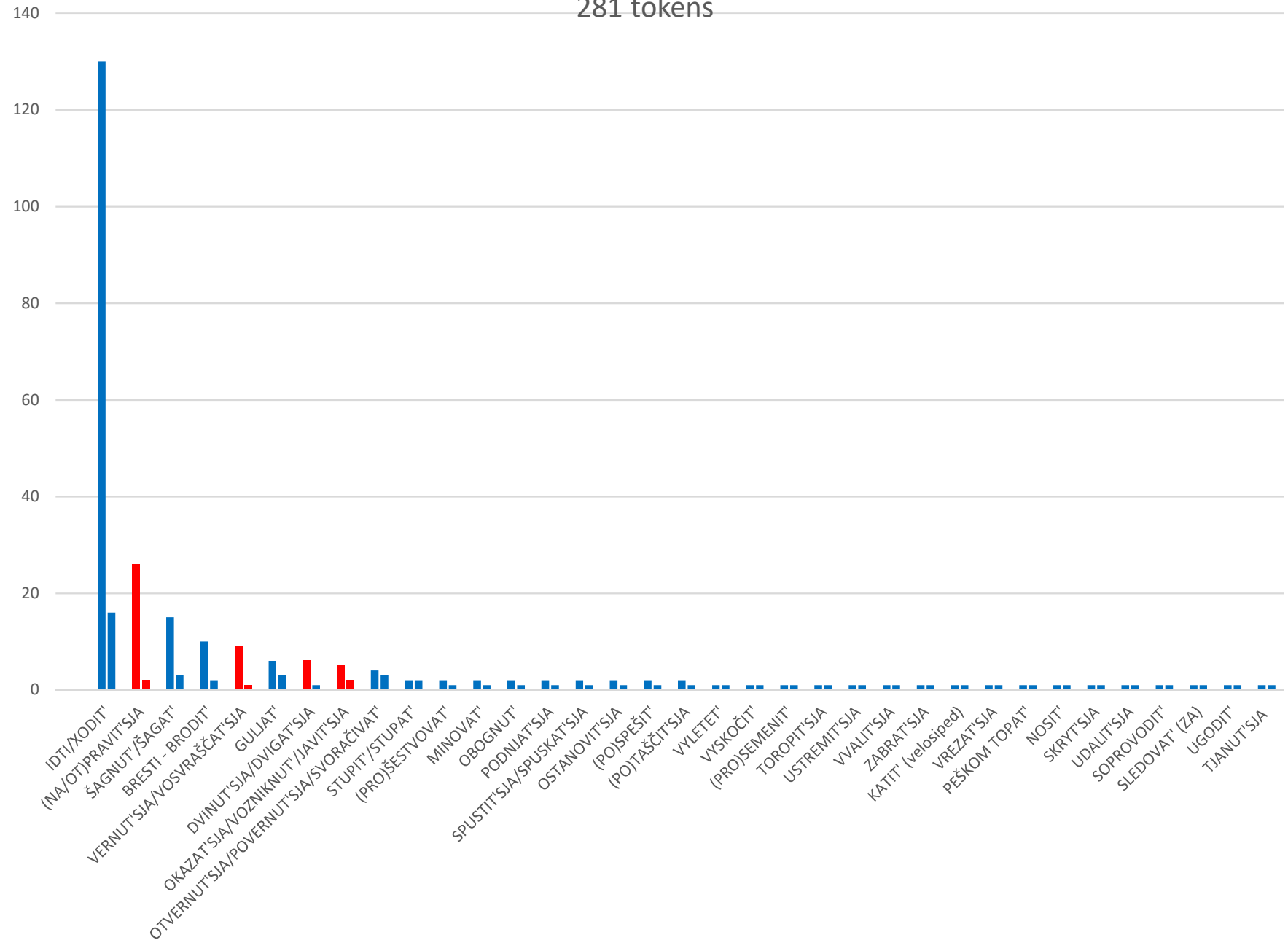
MARCH, however, has cognate equivalents : Russian has *marširovat', šestvovat'* ; Hungarian *masíroz, menetel*.

Same for **LIMP & HOBBLE** : RU *xromat', kovyljat'* ; HU *biceg, sántikál*.

Translational equivalences are misleading. The differences emerge if we look at the types (right-hand column)/tokens (left-hand column) for each language; looking at the types allows us to investigate prefix-verb combinations:

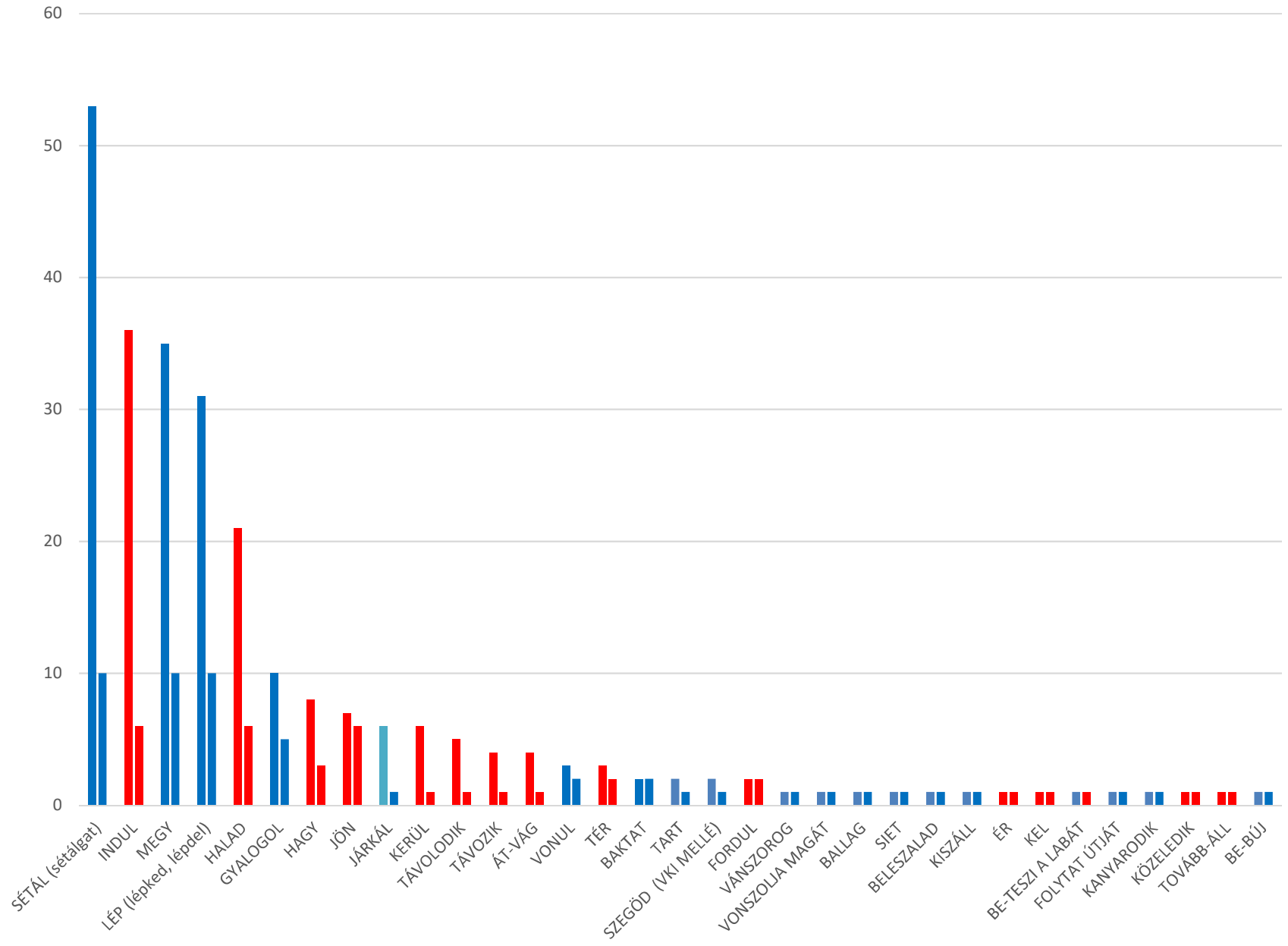
Tokens/types for WALK in Russian

281 tokens



Tokens/types for *WALK* in Hungarian

281 tokens



II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

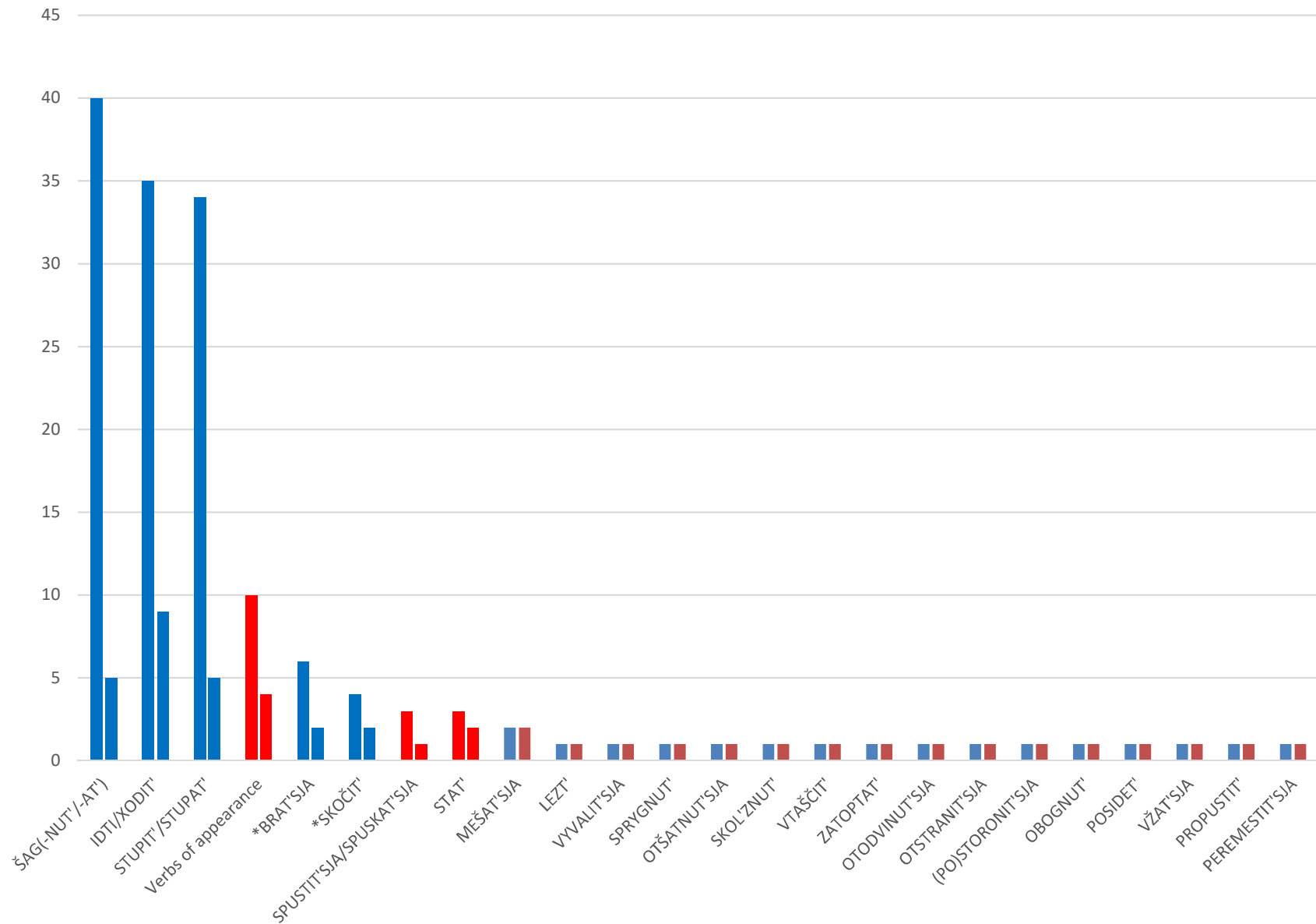
Tokens :

- RU: the first verb (*idti*) accounts for 46,3% of the translations for *walk* (130 tokens), followed by a path verb (*napravit'sja, opravit'sja*), but far behind (9,3%, 26 tokens); the other verbs account for less than 15 occurrences.
- HU: translations show 4 main verbs corresponding to *walk* > *sétál* (19%), *indul* (13%), *megy* (12,5%), *lép* (11%), *halad* (7,5%); the highest number of tokens goes to *sétál* (53), most frequent equivalent of *walk*.

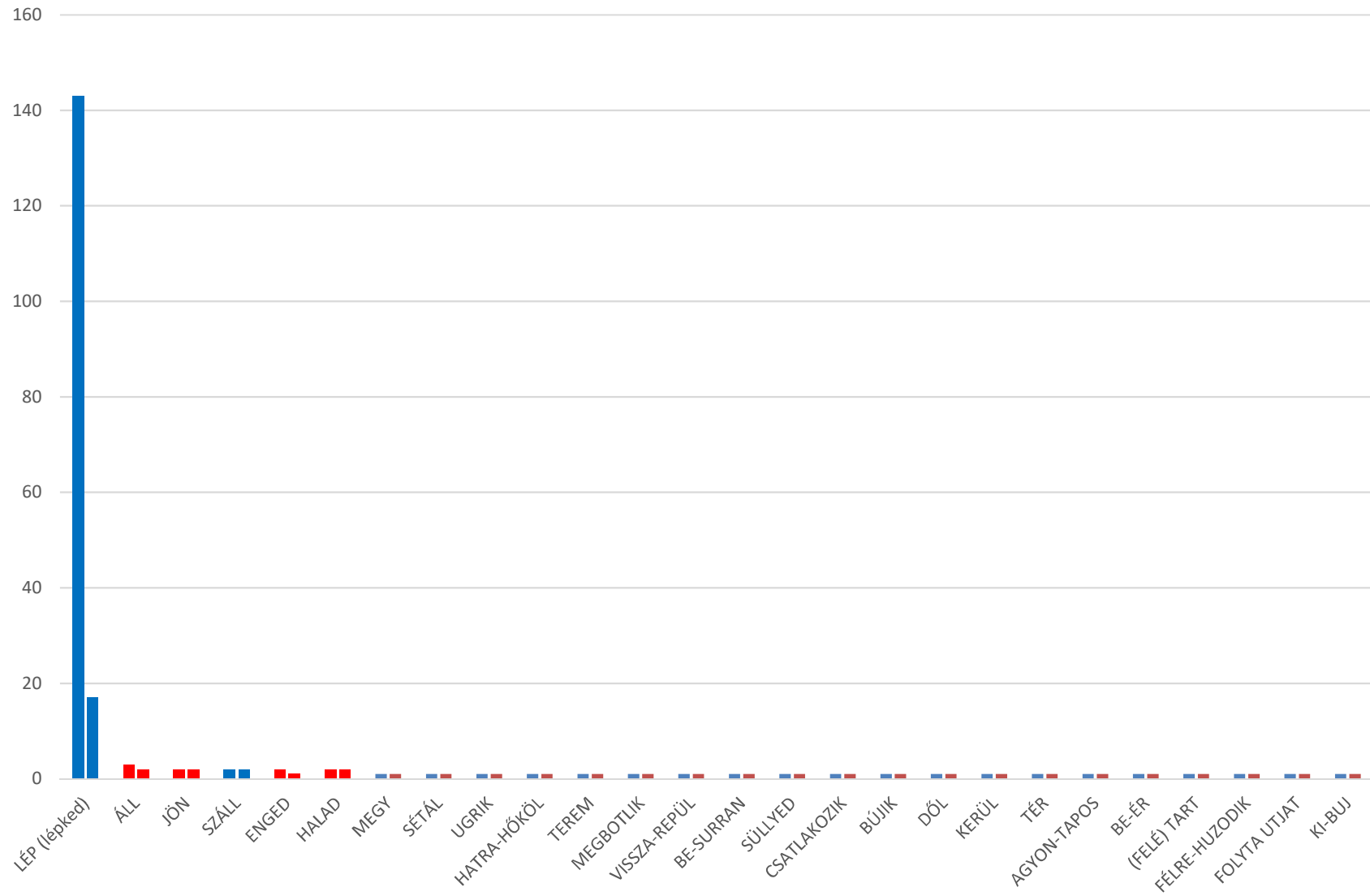
Types:

- Limited combinatory potential for RU: *idti/xodit'* have **16 prefixal combinations** (figure includes prefixless IPF *idti* and *xodit'*), the others have 3 at the most; and even there, for *guljat'* or *bresti*, the prefixed *pogyljat'* and *pobresti* are the perfective forms (*po-* is not spatial).
 - *idti, projti, projtis', ujtj, vyjtj, vojti, podojtj, otojtj, obojtj, pojti, prijti, perejtj, xodit', sxodit', zaxodit', rasxaživat'*
 - *guljat', poguljat', progulivat'sja*
- Greater variety in tokens for HU is confirmed by look at types (i.e., verb-prefix combinations); *megy, sétál, lép* each have has 10 types; even path verbs have 6 types (*halad, jön*).
 - *megy, elmegy, kimegy, végigmegy, továbbmegy, odamegy, bemegy, felmegy, átmegy, visszamegy.*
 - *sétál, belesétál, elsétál, besétál, előresétál, kísétál, végigsétál, tovább sétál, visszasétál.*
 - *lép, belép, kilép, ellép, odalép, lépést tesz, lépked ('be walking'), továbblépked, lépdél, előrelépdél.*
 - *gyalogol, elgyalogol, előregyalogol, továbbgyalogol, végiggyalogol.*

Tokens/types for *STEP* in Russian
177 tokens



Tokens/types for *STEP* in Hungarian
177 tokens



II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

Tokens:

- RU: translations evenly distributed across 3 main roots *šagnut'* (22,6%), *idti* (19,8%), *stupit'* (19,2%); points of interest: except for 10 tokens, all three are used in the **PF aspect**; semelfactive *šagnut'* for goal-oriented motion (“take a step towards”), source-oriented *vyjti* (21 tokens out of 35 compounds for *idti*);
- HU: *lép* (1 token *lépked*) account for the bulk of the occurrences (80,8%); near perfect equivalent of English *step*.

Types:

- RU has 9 prefixal types based on verb *idti*. The two lexical equivalents of step (*šagnut'* + *stupit'*) have 5 types each, but misleading. Out of the 5 types for *šagnut'*, 3 are *Aktionsart*: *šagnut'* (semelfactive), *šagat'* (“walk with measured step”, iterative version of *šagnut'*), *zašagat'* (inceptive) – only one is purely directional (*perešagnut'*). *Šagnut'* followed by different **prepositions** or adverbial particles lexicalizing source or goal, but mainly goal (*iz, iz-za, k, na, navstrecy, v storonu, v, vperėd*); “take a step”. For source, *step from/out* > *vyjti/vyxodit'*, because prefixal combinations not readily available (although *vyšagnut'* does exist).
 - *idti, vojti, vyjti, obojti, otojti, podojti, sojti, projti, zajti.*
 - *šagnut', šagat', zašagat', perešagnut', sdelat' šag*
 - *stupit', otstupit', perestupit', vstupit', vystupit'*
- HU is straightforward: 17 types with *lép*, all types of combinations are possible.
 - *lép, átlép, belép, beljebblép, előlép, előrelép, fellép, hátralép, hátrébbblép, kilép, közelebbblép, lelép, odalép, oldalralép, rálép, egy lépést tesz, lépked.*

II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

Illustrative example: three different verbs for translation of *step* (*forward, out of, off*) in RU, one in HU, with different prefixes:

(11) The queen **stepped forward**.

a- *Koroleva šagnula vperëd*. (*šagnut'* + particle 'forward' ; no prefix corresponding to 'forward')

b- *A királyné előrelépett*. (*előre*, 'forward'-*lép*)

(12) When Vianne **stepped out** of the town hall, she felt like a woman who'd just washed ashore.

a- *Vyxodja iz ratuši, Vianna čuvstvovala sebja...* (*vy-idti* > *vyxodit'* + preposition *iz* ; > **vyšagivaja'*)

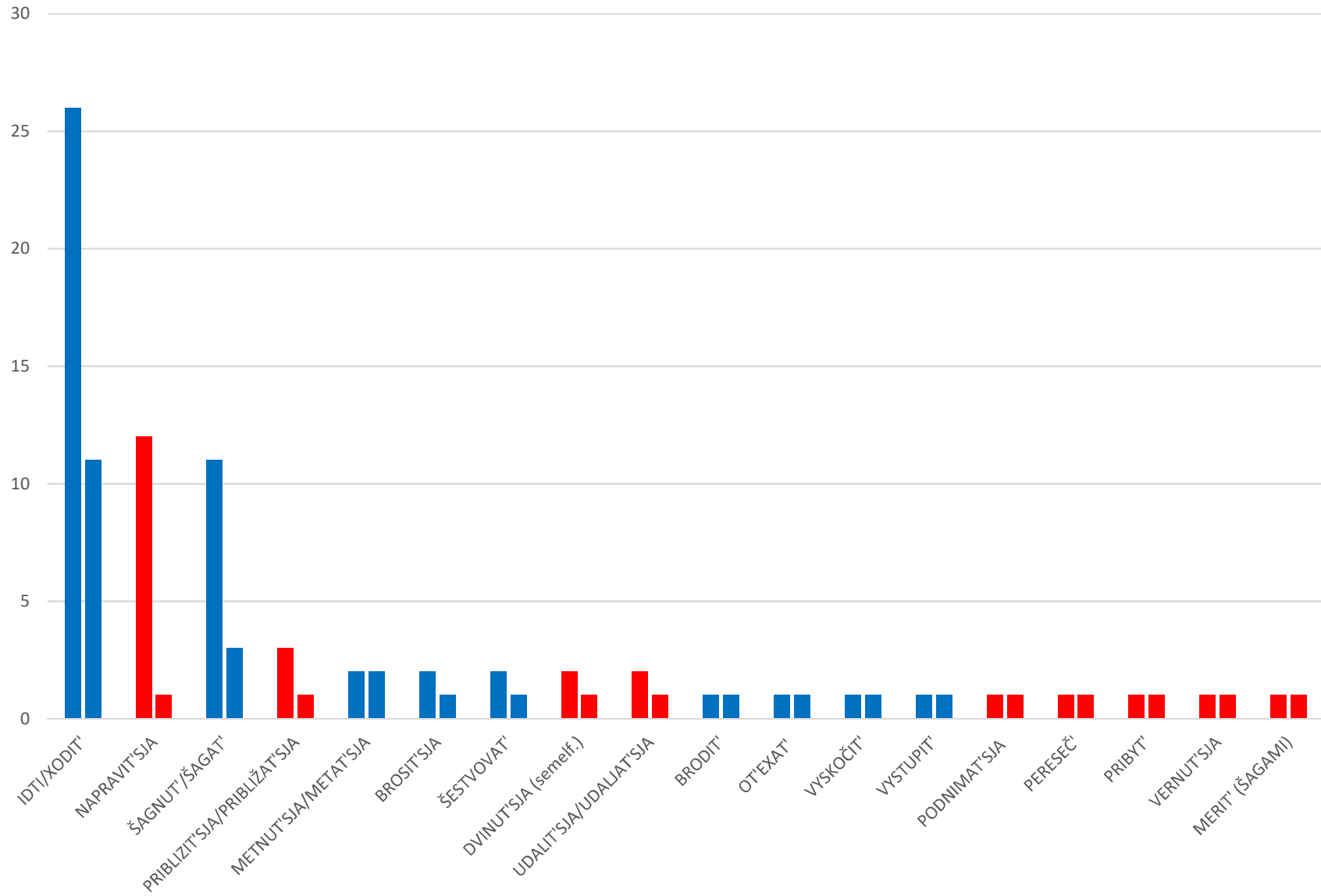
b- *Amikor Vianne kilépett a városházáról,...* (*ki-lép* + delatif suffix N-*ról*)

(13) Isabelle hit the brakes on her bicycle and came to a bumpy, sudden stop, then **stepped off** the pedal with one foot.

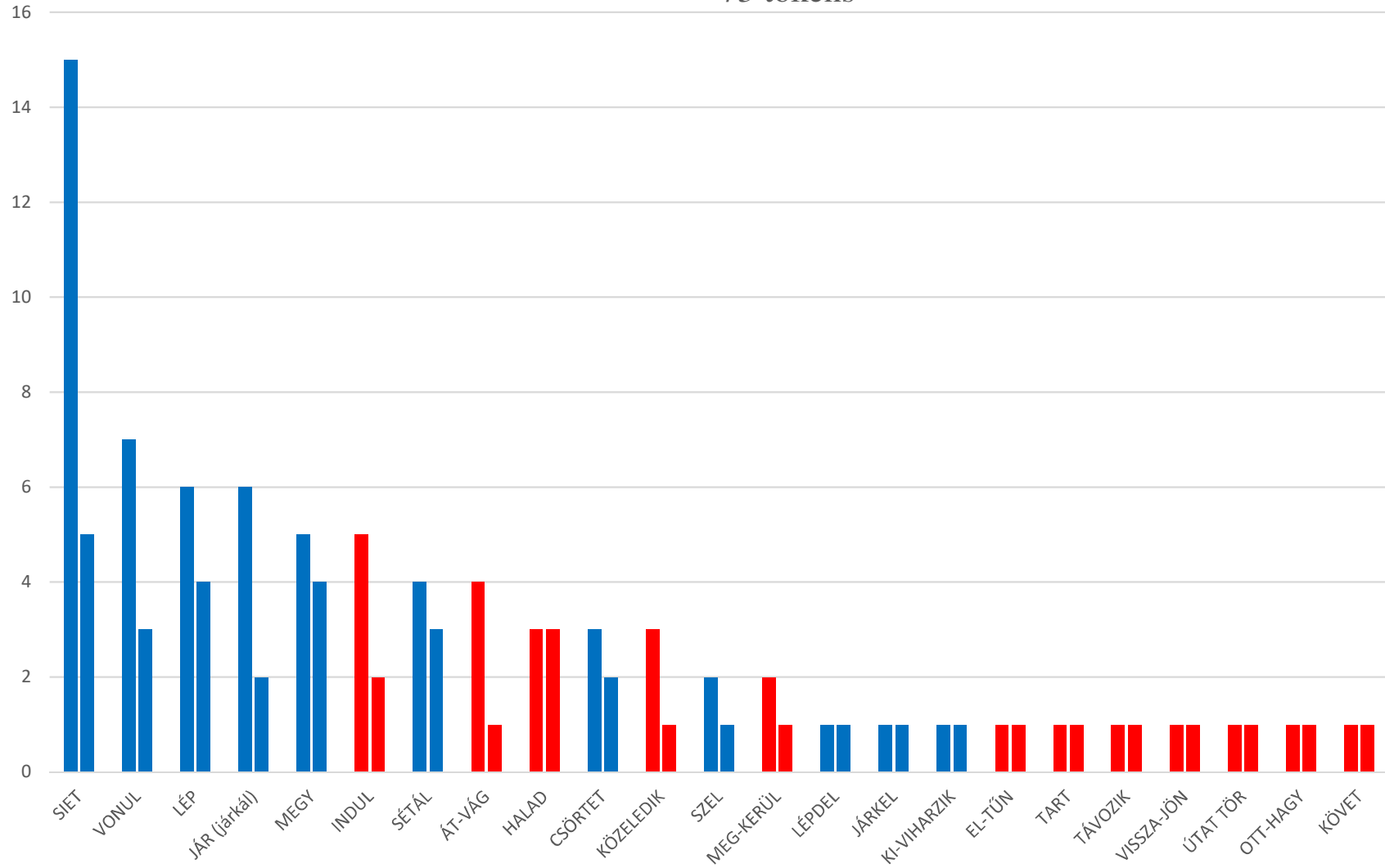
a- *, snjala odnu nogu s pedali. Soskočila s velosipeda...* (*soskočit'*, 'from-jump' + preposition *s* ; > **sošagnula*)

b- *és az egyik lábával lelépett a pedálról*. (*le-lép* N-*ról*)

Tokens/types for *STRIDE* in Russian
73 tokens



Tokens/types for *STRIDE* in Hungarian
73 tokens



II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

No strict equivalent for *STRIDE*

Tokens:

- Russian: again, compounds of *idti* (both aspects) come first (35,6%), followed by PATH verb in PF *napravít'sja* (16,5%) and *šagnut'/šagat'* (15%);
- Hungarian: more even distribution between items; use of a MANNER verb which is more or less equivalent of *STRIDE*, *siet* ('hurry, walk fast') accounts for majority of cases (20,5%), then *vonul* ('solemn type of walking/going'; 9,6%) and *lép* (8,2%).

Types:

- RU: 11 prefixal types based on verb *idti*; with path verb *napravít'sja*, *na-* prefix is fixed formation, verb considered as non prefixed.

→ *idti, vojti, vyjti, podojti, otojti, obojti, projti, ujti, xodit', zaxodit', rasxaživat'*.

- HU: free prefixal combinations for main verbs used in translations.

→ *siet, besiet, elsiet, odasiet, kisiet; lép, belép, beljebblép, előrelép, etc.*

Typical translation:

(14) *And he strode from the room*

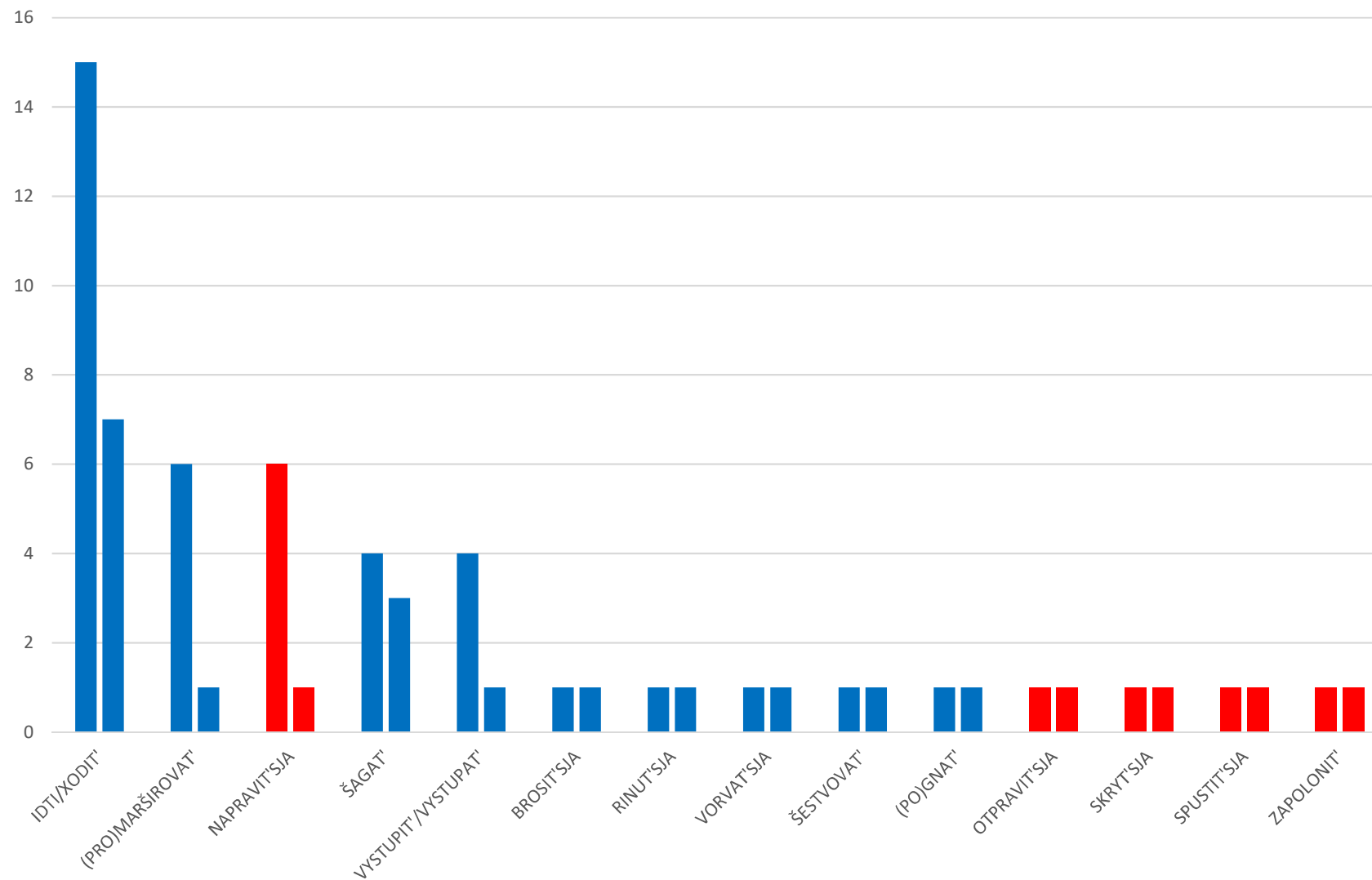
a- *I on stremitel'no **vyšel** iz komnaty.* (vy- + *idti*)

b- ***Kisietett*** a szalonból. (*ki-* + *siet*)

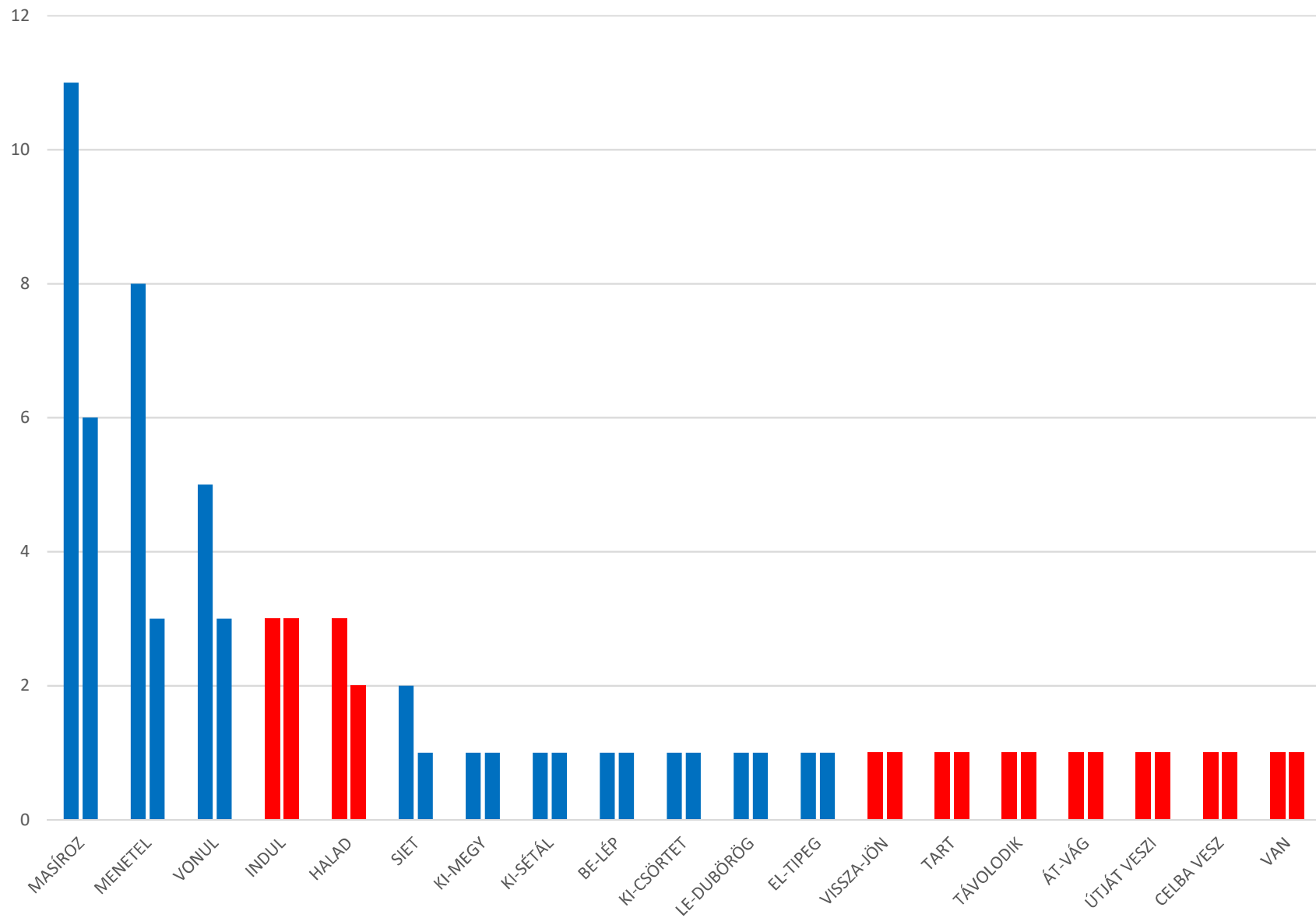
> RU, manner adverb (*stremitel'no*, 'determinedly') + PATH verb *vyjti*; verb *spešit'* ('hurry, walk fast') exists, but **vyspešit'*.

> HU : *ki-siet* ('out-hurry')

Tokens/types for *MARCH* in Russian
49 tokens



Tokens/types for *MARCH* in Hungarian
49 tokens



II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

Striking difference between the two languages:

- RU: equivalent for *march*, *(pro)marširovat'* accounts for only 12,2%; first choice again: compounds of *idti* (30,6%), because of combinatory potential.

→ *idti, dojti, pojti, projti, vojti, vyjti, zajti; (pro)marširovat'; šestvovat'*.

- HU: *masíroz* (22,5%), *menetel* (16,3%) are dominant both in tokens and types.

→ *masíroz, átmasíroz, be masíroz, felmasíroz, odamasíroz, végigmasíroz*

→ *menetel, végigmenetel, továbbmenetel.*

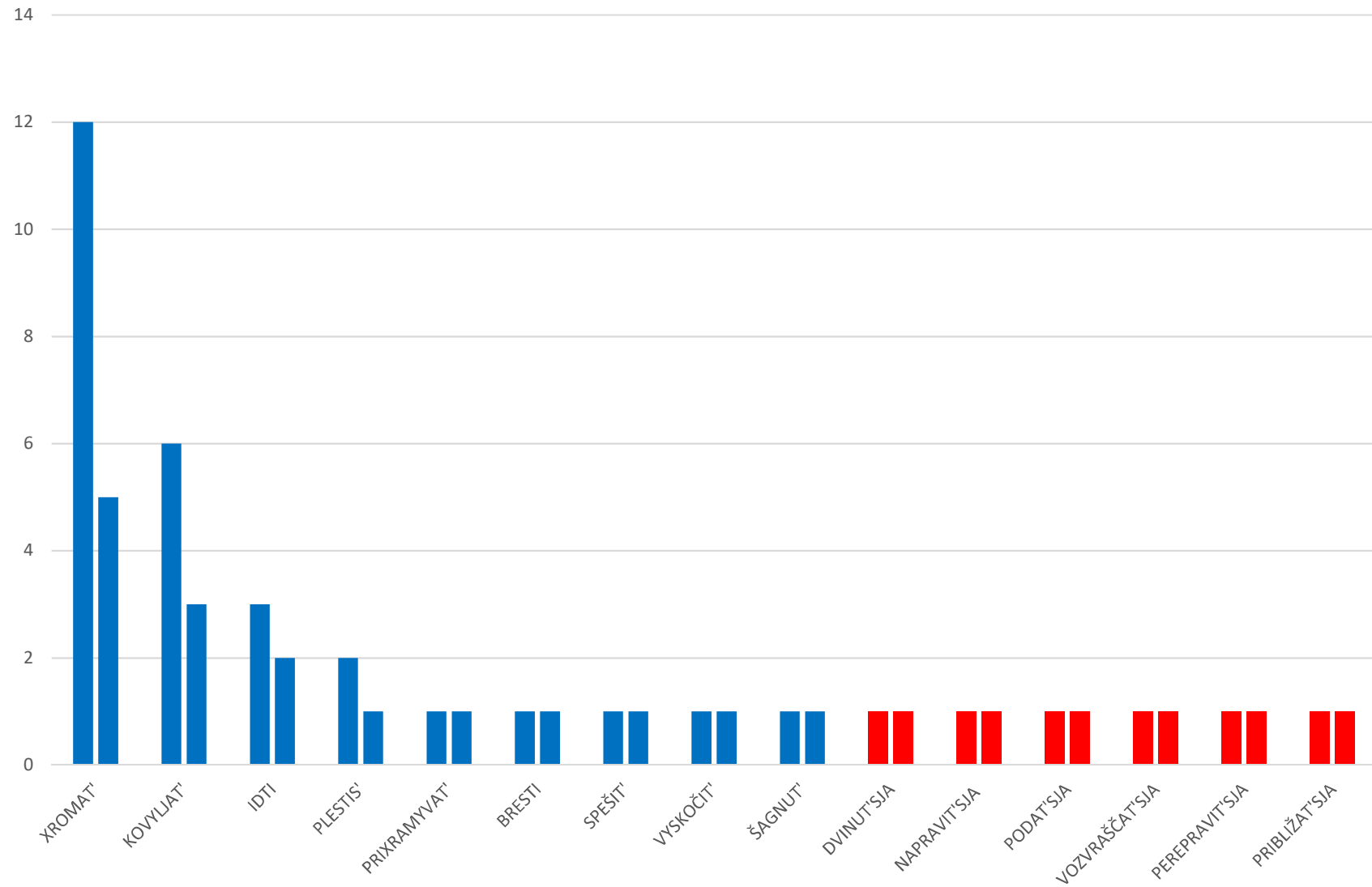
Typical translations:

(15) She **marched up** the stairs and slammed the door shut ...

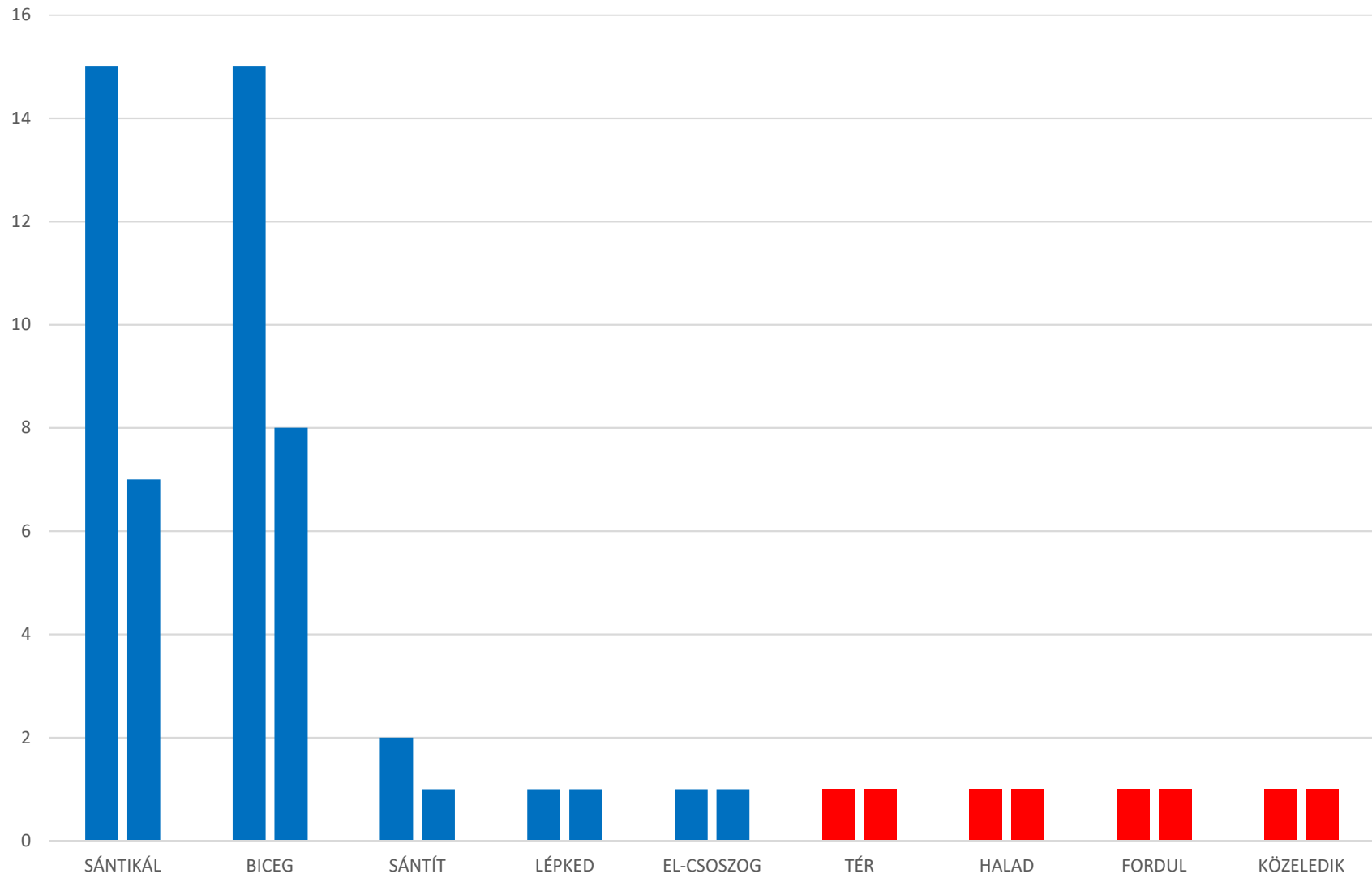
a- ... *i brosilas' vverx po lestnice. A potom tak xlopnula dver'ju...* (other PF manner verb, 'rush' + directional particle > **vzmarširovat'*)

b- *Felmasírozott a lépcsőn, és úgy bevágta maga után az ajtót.* (prefix *fel-masíroz*).

Tokens/types for *LIMP* & *HOBBLE* in Russian
39 tokens



Tokens/types for *LIMP* & *HOBBLE* in Hungarian
39 tokens



II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

- RU : *Xromat'* has 5 possible combinations, but two of them have *Aktionsart* prefixes (*poxromat'*, set off limping ; *zaxromat'* : start limping) ; same for *kovyljat'* (*za-*, *po-*).

- HU : *biceg* and *sántikál* have 8 and 7 possible combinations, all directional.

(16) As he **limped back** to the others, he glanced again at the slain.

a- *Xromaja*, ***napravilsja*** *k ostal'nym i vnov' pogljadel na ubityx.* (PATH verb *napravit'sja* + MANNER adjunct gerund form - *xromaja*)

b- *Miközben* ***visszabicegett*** *a többiekhez, még egy pillantást vetett az elesettekre.* (*vissza-*, 'back' + *biceg*, 'limp')

(17) Isabelle **hobbled out** of the room on her bloody feet and went into the backyard...

a- *Izabel'*, ***spotykajas'***, *edva voloča izranennye nogi*, ***vyšla*** *vo dvor...* (*idti* compound *vyjti*, 'out-go'), MANNER adjunct *spotykajas'*, 'stumbling')

b- *Isabelle vérző lábán* ***kisántikált*** *a szobából a hátsó kertbe.* (*ki-*, 'out' + *sántikál*, 'hobble')

(18) ... and **limped from** the room

a- *i* ***zaxromal iz*** *gostinoj* (*Aktionsart za-* + preposition *iz* ; > **vyxromal*)

b- *és* ***kibicegett*** *a szobából* (*ki-* V N-*ból*)

II- Exploring the combinatory potential of PRFX + root

Remember : in HU, if directional complement in focus position, prefix can be removed, still a PF construal

(19) She **limped to** the nightstand, where a porcelain pitcher sat...

a- *Ona **do**kovyljala do nočnogo stolika, gde...* (*do-* + *kovyljat'* > PF verb)

b- *Az éjjeliszekrényhez **bicegett*** (N-*hez* + \emptyset *biceg* ; preverbal position of directional complement favors PF construal)

WRAPPING UP:

- MANNER lexicon rich in both RU and HU;
- combinatory potential restricted in RU: for WALK, STRIDE, MARCH, compounds of *idti* are dominant; HU: no such restriction, all MANNER (and non-MANNER) roots combine with the prefixes.
- one possible reason: RU is 'a MANNER language which is in the process of switching over to a PATH oriented approach' (V. Smith 2003: 77). Displays truly satellite-framed behavior only in closed class of motion verbs (some formations no longer in usage > with *šagnut'*).
- non MANNER roots also numerous; combinatory potential significant for these in HU, next to nil in RU.
- RU has morphological aspect, not HU > explain differences in lexicalization patterns.

III- Different lexicalization patterns and possible interdependencies with other Cxs

(Beavers *et.al.* 2010) : no single parameter governs the options for how motion is encoded across languages. (332). ASPECT is one such parameter > ‘*the relevant temporal features of events, previously disregarded, have to be taken in consideration, along with the spatial ones, in the analysis of lexicalization patterns.*’ (Hasko 2010 : 259)

Two generalizations from the corpus:

✓ **± boundary crossing:**

non-boundary crossing > RU uses IPF verb; HU : directional adverb (prefix-*felé*), root:

(20) “I thought of you every night,” he said as they **walked** toward home.

a- *poka oni šli k domu.* (root IPF verb)

b- *miközben hazafelé sétáltak* (prefix+*felé*, ‘towards’ + root)

boundary-crossing event > RU uses prefixed PF verb ; HU : goal-inducing element (N+ suffix) or prefix or both :

(21) Harry walked to the fireplace.

a- *Harry, xmurjas’, podošël k kaminu.*

H... a kandallóhoz sétalt

(22) Patting her hair, she **walked into** the living room, where she found Isabelle rising from the divan, a book in her hands.

Popravljaja volosy, ona prošla v gostinuju, ...

A haját igazgatva bement a nappaliba

III- Different lexicalization patterns and possible interdependencies with other Cxs

- ✓ **MANNER to non-MANNER verb** if marked *Aktionsart* context (inceptive motion) > ‘prefix+ verb’ would be too resultative:

(23) He nodded at the other German, who **strode** confidently **up** the stairs.

a- *Dlinnyj kivnul svoemu tovarišču, tot dvinulsja naverx.* (semelf. MOTION verb *dvinut'sja*, ‘move’ + particle ‘upwards’: **podnjalsja* too resultative)

b-...*aki magabiztos léptekkel elindult fölfelé* (*Aktionsart el-* + PATH verb *indul*, ‘depart’ + direct. adverb ‘upwards’)

(24) The Gestapo agent **walked** determinedly **toward** Monsieur Paretsky’s classroom at the end of the building.

a- *Gestapovec napravilsja prjamikom k klassu ms'e Paretcki...* (PATH verb *napravit'sja*, ‘direct oneself towards’)

b- *A Gestapo-tiszt határozottan Monsieur Paretsky osztálya felé indult, az épület végébe.* (direc. adverbial ‘class towards’ + PATH verb *indul*).

Next step : look for « possible interdependencies among construction types. »

III- Different lexicalization patterns and possible interdependencies with other Cxs

Now, HU and RU encode RESULT (subcategory of PATH) differently, may be linked to other lexicalization patterns in other types of events:

- ✓ RU: by means of PF verb (prefix-root combination), and prefixes are strongly resultative, true delimiters (Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998); combinatory potential limited to first-tier motion verbs, basic manner verbs (modes of locomotion);
- ✓ HU: does not have morphologized aspect, verb is aspectually vague; goal of motion encoded by configurational means: either prefix or goal-inducing element, in complementary distribution > prefix is one means of encoding RESULT, but there are non telic prefixes; reflected in higher combinatory potential.

Going beyond motion events, some works (Strigin & Demjjanov 2001, Horrock & Stavrou 2003, Levin & R. Hovav 2019) have observed that **secondary resultative predication** (in the form of adjective result phrases) not available in RU because of presence of morphologically marked aspect ; corpus shows that it is available in HU, by means of adjective + illative suffix (Kiss 2006):

(25) The very air in his lungs seemed to **freeze solid** as he was submerged...
... *s mintha **szilárdra fagyott** volna a tüdejében a levegő.* (solid-SUBL suffix)
*Daže vozdux v lëgkix budto **zamërz.*** (prefix + *mërznut*, ‘freeze’)

(26) When she was clean, the slaves helped her from the water and **toweled her dry**.
*Amikor tiszta lett, a szolgák kiségtették a vízből és **szárazra törölték.*** (dry-SUBL suffix)
*Kogda ona vslast’ pomylas’, rabyni pomogli ej vylezti iz vody i **vyterly dosuxa.*** (prefix + *teret*, ‘towel’ + adverb *dosuxa*, ‘until-driily’).

III- Different lexicalization patterns and possible interdependencies with other Cxs

(27) [They] *drank themselves blind* on fermented mare's milk

(a) *Eszméletlen-re itták magukat erjesztett kancatejjel*

unconscious-SUBL drink-PST them-REFL-ACC

(b) *Napivalis' do bespanjatsva perebrodivšim konskim molokom.*

PRF- drink- IPF-PST-REFL until unconsciousness-GEN

Discussion :

Verbal prefixation of simplex verbs (IMP in Russian) produces telic predicates expressing results. Prefixed verbs in **Russian** are already resultative ; information that is already lexically encoded cannot be overridden syntactically by adding adjective (H. & S., 2003 :316). Quantization does not make IPF verbs telic (ex : *on el jabloko*, 'he ate^{IMP} apple'), remain atelic, no culmination function occurs (no structure for resultative).

vs. **Hungarian**: association prefix + stem does not automatically yield telicity (results). Many (quasi-)prefixes are not telic at all. For some class of verbs, telicity obtained by means of properties of NP object (creation/consumption verbs – *Janos evett egy almat*, 'J ate an apple'; for these, prefix has other function ('discourse familiarity', Bende-Farkas 2002, Kiss 2006, Kardos 2011).

But this needs to be further explored, because prefix in HU can have resultative function, too:

(28) *Hagrid kicked the motorbike into life*

*Hagrid **berúgta** a motórt (rúg: 'kick'; be-: 'set in motion')*

*Ogrid tolčkom **zavěl** motocikl. (zavesti: 'start an engine')*

Conclusion

- Two satellite-framed languages that use same devices (prefixes) show significant variation, in terms of prefix-verb root combinatory potential. Limited to closed class of motion verbs in RU (*idti*), almost unlimited in HU, including path verbs. See whether other MANNER verbs in other types of events show same behavior (*myt'*, 'wash' in RU).
- One parameter that can account for difference: **aspect**, morphologized in RU, not in HU. RU: prefix has perfectivizing function, not in HU, where other configurations create PF context. Gives rise to specific lexicalization patterns (MANNER to PATH configurations).
- Not unrelated to existence of secondary resultative predication in HU, unavailable in RU. Resultative adjective in complementary distribution with prefix and preverbal directional NP.
- Hypothesis needs to be tested on other types of events (change of state events).

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