

Results are independent from telicity: Evidence from result modification in Hungarian

Introduction and background assumptions: This talk is concerned with the expression of results and endpoints in Hungarian. We assume that a verbal predicate's property of having an endpoint (i.e. telicity) is represented as a functional category in the event domain with AspP sandwiched between VP and vP and atelicity is the lack of telicity (Travis 1991, 2010, Borer 2005, MacDonald 2008). Telicity is also conceived of as event maximality, which comes about as a result of the event-maximizing operator MAX_E (Filip & Rothstein 2005, Filip 2008) overtly encoded in verbal particles like *meg-* and resultative expressions carrying the sublativity suffix *-ra/-re* in the specifier of AspP (Kardos & Farkas 2022). Both verbal particles and resultatives have been analyzed and are assumed here to be PPs, similarly to adverbials ending in the suffix *-an/-en/-n* (Kádár 2009, Surányi 2009, Hegedűs 2013). In contrast to verbal particles and resultative PPs, adverbials have been argued to be merged by adjunction in Hungarian (É. Kiss 2009), which is also what we assume.

Proposal: We use native speaker judgements and corpus data to argue that results and telicity are independent of each other (MacDonald 2008, Song 2018, Jung & Choi 2023), which may, for example, be reflected in the availability of the functional projection ResP without AspP in some activity structures. Results may also come about compositionally, in which case no ResP needs to be assumed in the structure of the sentence. It is also possible that structures contain AspP without the expression of a result. We turn to (resultative) adverbial modification in the event domain to provide evidence for our claims.

We analyze atelic resultative, telic resultative and telic non-resultative predicates as follows: (i) **Atelic resultatives** like *csúnyán rajzolt* 'lit. drew uglily' are associated with a null ResP, responsible for a created result reading, in the complement of V in a structure without AspP, where the adverbial element *csúnyán* 'uglily' left-adjoins VP. This structure is similar in spirit to the one proposed by Jung & Choi (2023) in their analysis of English *painted colorfully*, though the resultative adverb *colorfully* is argued to attach to ResP, instead of the verbal projection above it, by right adjunction. The example *csúnyán rajzolt* 'lit. drew uglily' contrasts with the predicate *csúnyán evett* 'ate in an ugly manner', which is lacking in ResP, where the adverbial adjoins a higher projection, presumably vP. In this latter case, the eating activity was ugly, whereas in the former example, it is the entity that came about in the course of the drawing activity that was ugly. (ii) **Telic resultatives** like *(tökéletesen) megoldotta a feladatot* 'PRT-solved the task (perfectly)' are associated with a telic structure featuring AspP. The adverbial *tökéletesen* 'perfectly' left-adjoins AspP in a neutral structure and thus modifies the result that comes about compositionally at the culmination of the denoted eventuality (i.e. the solution to the task). (iii) **Telic non-resultatives** like *kisúrolta a kádat* 'PRT-scrubbed the tub' are associated with AspP, giving rise to event-maximality. No result state attained by the tub comes about in this structure. This is immediately supported by the incompatibility of this predicate with adverbial elements like *tisztán* 'lit. cleanly', as in *??tisztán kisúrolta a kádat* 'lit. scrubbed the tub cleanly'. The manner verb *súrol* 'scrub' may be combined with the resultative PP *tisztára* 'lit. onto clean' to yield the telic resultative structure *tisztára súrolta a kádat* 'scrubbed the tub clean'. The particle verb *kisúrol* 'PRT-scrub' sounds odd with resultative *tisztára* 'lit. onto clean', which follows if we assume that Hungarian particles like *ki* in this example and resultatives like *tisztára* 'lit. onto clean' occupy [Spec, AspP] in telic structures (i.e. they compete for the same position) (see above). Telic non-resultatives are further illustrated by examples like *főzött egyet* 'did some cooking' associated with the pseudo-object *egyet* 'one.ACC', which has been argued to give rise to telic, non-maximal events without a prominent result in [Spec, AspP] (Kardos & Farkas 2022). The unavailability of structures like **finoman főzött egyet* 'lit. did some cooking deliciously' in contrast to grammatical *finoman főzött* 'lit. cooked deliciously', associated with the adverbial *finoman*

‘deliciously’ clearly modifying the result of cooking activities, can be regarded as evidence for the absence of a result in the predicate. Here are our structures:

- (i) **atelic res.** [_{VP} Ext. arg. [_{VP} csúnyán [_{VP} [_V rajzolt [_{ResP} Res [_{DP} Ø]]]]]]
(ii) **telic res.** [_{VP} Ext. arg. [_{AspP} tökéletesen [_{AspP} tisztára [_{Asp} Asp [_{VP} [_V súrolta a kádat]]]]]]]
(iii) **telic non-res.** [_{VP} Ext. arg. [_{AspP} ki [_{Asp} Asp [_{VP} súrolta a kádat]]]]]

Our data also further substantiate the claim that the event domain in Hungarian is structured by scopal considerations (Kardos & Szávó to appear) inasmuch as both event-maximizing resultative elements like *tisztára* ‘lit. onto clean’ and verbal particles like *ki* as well as adverbial expressions like *csúnyán* ‘uglily’ and *tökéletesen* ‘perfectly’ in the examples above appear in a preverbal position obligatorily or preferably, where they scope over their domain in visible syntax. This contrasts with the English facts, where resultative elements like *clean* in *scrub the tub clean* and resultative adverbs like *perfectly* in *learned French perfectly* are postverbal (Bowers 1993).

Some consequences: First, we predict that while the presence of AspP ensures a telic reading and thus a complex event structure, ResP does not influence the aspectual interpretation or the complexity of verbal predicates. In accordance with the argument-per-subevent condition (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2001), which entails the obligatory appearance of an internal argument in complex event descriptions, we observe that the internal argument is obligatory (1a) with AspP but optional in (1b) which we assume to contain a ResP but no AspP.

- (1) a. Kati nagyra rajzolt *(egy házat).
Kati big.SUBL drew a house.ACC
‘Kati drew a house big.’
b. Kati csúnyán rajzolt (egy házat).
Kati uglily drew a house.ACC
‘~ Kati drew ugly pictures / an ugly picture of a house.’

Second, when co-occurring in the clause, resultative expressions carrying *-ra/-re*, which are argued to exert their event-maximizing function in [Spec, AspP], and resultative adverbials joining the predicate by adjunction are expected to appear in a strict order, where the adverbial precedes the resultative PP, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. Ernő elegánsan simára szárította Anna haját.
Ernő elegantly smooth.SUBL dried Anna her.hair.ACC
‘Ernő dried Anna’s hair smooth elegantly.’
b. *Ernő simára elegánsan szárította Anna haját.
Ernő smooth.SUBL elegantly dried Anna her.hair.ACC

Third, examples like *festett egy kerítést* ‘painted a fence’ and *vágott egy hagymát* ‘chopped an onion’, which are meant to be change-of-state predicates, are expected to be incompatible with resultative adverbs. As strictly atelic structures not expressing the creation of a new entity and thus lacking in a result, they can be augmented with resultative *színesre* ‘lit. onto colorful’ or *finomra* ‘into small pieces’, but resist adverbials such as *színesen* ‘colorfully’ and *finoman* ‘finely’. Here we illustrate this with (3).

- (3) Juli finomra/*finoman vágott egy hagymát.
Juli fine.SUBL/*finely chopped/cut an onion.ACC
‘Juli chopped/cut an onion finely.’

Note that in English, strings like *chopped an onion finely* are perfectly natural, presumably due to the presence of ResP in such examples, as argued by Jung & Choi (2023). The predicates above interact with categories like negation and focus in interesting ways, which we also discuss in the talk.

Selected references: Kardos, É. & Farkas, I.-Á. 2022. The syntax of inner aspect in Hungarian. *Journal of Linguistics* 58(4). É. Kiss, K. (ed.). 2009. *Adverbs and adverbial adjuncts at the interfaces*. Walter de Gruyter. Jung, H. & Choi, J. 2023. Above and below verbal roots: A case study of English adverbs of result. *Glossa* 8(1). Song, C. 2018. Severing telicity from result. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 27(3).