

Event lexicalization in Hungarian¹

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1 Introduction²

As argued extensively in the literature on event lexicalization (see, for example, Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000; Beavers, Levin, and Tham 2010; Acedo-Matellán 2016; Folli and Harley 2020; Hopperdietzel 2022), languages use two main strategies to express change-of-state and change-of-location events: One strategy is that the manner in which an event is carried out is expressed by the primary verbal predicate, whereas the result state that is attained at the termination of the event expressed by the primary verb is encoded in a secondary predicate in the sentence. The second strategy is different from the first one in that the result component is expressed in the primary verbal predicate and the manner is encoded outside this predicate in an adjunct. Many languages use both strategies, but there is generally a tendency for the use of one of the two strategies in a given language (Beavers, Levin, and Tham 2010; Hopperdietzel 2022). For example, English primarily uses the first strategy, as shown in (1a) and (2a), but we can also find examples illustrating the second strategy, as in (1b) and (2b).

- (1) a. *John hammered the metal flat.*
b. *John flattened the metal by hammering it.*
- (2) a. *Bill wiped the table clean.*
b. *Bill cleaned the table by wiping it.*

In (1a) and (2a), the primary verbal predicates *hammer* and *wipe* are manner-encoding, whereas the secondary adjectival predicates *flat* and *clean* express the result state that the referent of the theme attains at the end of the hammering and wiping events, respectively. By contrast, in the (b) examples, the primary verbs *flatten* and *clean* encode the result states, derivable from the underlying adjectives *flat* and *clean*, that the referents of the themes *the metal* and *the table* acquire at the end of the flattening and cleaning events in the respective examples. The *by*-phrases contribute the manner in which the flattening and the cleaning events are carried out.

In languages such as Romance, the first strategy has been argued to be generally unavailable (Talmy 2000; Acedo-Matellán 2016). For example, in Spanish, structures illustrated by the (a) examples above are deemed ungrammatical. Consider (3).

- (3) Spanish
**María martilleó el metal plano.*
María hammered the metal flat

¹ This chapter is a significantly updated version of Kardos and Szávó (2022). We wish to thank two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

² The following abbreviations are used in the chapter: 1SG = first person singular, 3SG = third person singular, ABS = absolutive, ACC = accusative, ART = article, CAUS = causative, COMP = complementizer, DAT = dative, ERG = ergative, GEN = genitive, ILL = illative, INF = infinitive, PF/PFV = perfective, POSS = possessive, PRT = particle, PST = past, SUBJ = subjunctive, SUBL = sublativ, SUP = superessive, TRANSL = translative

Intended: ‘María hammered the metal flat.’
(adapted from Mateu 2012: 258)

The example above shows that Spanish does not tolerate that the manner component be encoded in the primary verb and that the result component appear only in a secondary predicate in the description of change-of-state events. Instead, the result state is expressed by the verb and the manner is described by an adjunct, as in (4).

- (4) Spanish
María aplanó el metal martilleándolo.
María flattened the metal hammering.it
‘María flattened the metal by hammering it.’
(adapted from Mateu 2012: 258)

The primary verbal predicate *aplanar* ‘to flatten’ encodes the result state that the metal obtains at the end of the hammering event. The meaning that the event is of the hammering type is contributed by the adjunct *martilleándolo* ‘hammering it’.

As pointed out by Mateu (2002: 165–166), Romance languages such as Catalan also allow simple resultatives, which contrast with complex resultatives such as *hammer the metal flat* in English in that in the former the primary verb is associated with a causative verb and Path incorporation and the state-denoting adjectival complement remains stranded in the sentence. This is illustrated in (5) below.

- (5) Catalan
La Paquita va deixar la porta oberta.
the Paquita cause+Path the door open
‘Paquita left the door open.’
(adapted from Mateu 2002: 166)

Mateu (2002) argues that the AP *oberta* ‘open’ in the example above represents only an abstract Place, unlike, for example, English *awake* in *bark the chickens awake*, which corresponds to the entire abstract Path, ultimately giving rise to a telic structure. In Catalan, by contrast, “the telic Path relation is conflated into the verb” (Mateu 2002: 165).

Since Talmy’s (1985, 1991, 2000) seminal works on how languages differ with respect to their use of the event lexicalization strategies briefly illustrated above, languages such as English, German, Dutch and Icelandic have also been referred to as satellite-framed languages, whereas Romance, Japanese, Hebrew and other similar languages have been described as verb-framed. In the former, result states are generally expressed by a satellite element outside the verb (e.g. a resultative secondary predicate like *flat* in *hammer the metal flat* or a verbal particle like *up* in *eat the sandwich up*), whereas in the latter result states are encoded in the verb.

Event lexicalization strategies in Finno-Ugric languages such as Finnish and Hungarian have also been discussed in the literature to some extent: these languages have been classified as satellite-framed for their apparent similarities with English-type languages. Just like English, Finnish and Hungarian like to express result states in satellite expressions morphologically

independent from the verb. Acedo-Matellán (2016) describes these languages as strong satellite-framed and contrasts them with weak satellite-framed languages such as Latin and Slavic languages, where results must be expressed in elements that are syntactically independent but are also prefixed to the verb. Strong satellite-framed English and Hungarian allow complex resultative structures, whereas weak satellite-framed Latin does not. However, the latter allows simple resultative structures similarly to Catalan (Mateu 2002: 212).

In this chapter, we argue for the need for a more nuanced analysis of satellite-framed constructions by examining possible and impossible change-of-state and change-of-location structures in Hungarian. While assuming a layered structure for the Hungarian VP following Surányi (2014) and Kardos and Farkas (2022) inspired by MacDonald (2008) and Travis (2010), we demonstrate that Hungarian exhibits significant differences with English regarding event lexicalization and propose a syntactic constraint that ensures that Hungarian result components be expressed outside the VP. We motivate this by further arguing that result-encoding elements such as verbal particles and resultative predicates must take scope over the domain that they c-command in visible syntax. In this way, Hungarian verbal particles and resultative predicates, which have been argued to be event-maximizing elements (Kardos 2012, 2016; Kardos and Farkas 2022), are shown to be similar to quantifiers and adverbs on the left periphery of the sentence in that these elements are all arranged on the syntactic surface according to scopal considerations (É. Kiss 1984, 2009). By contrast, English-type result-denoting elements are simply responsible for the expression of result states without quantifying over events and also without directly determining quantized reference and therefore telicity.

This chapter is structured as follows: Section 2 provides a brief overview of some recent analyses of verb-framed and satellite-framed structures across languages. Then, in Section 3 we discuss some well-known and lesser-known data illustrating possible and impossible event lexicalization strategies in Hungarian before accounting for these data in Sections 4 and 5. Section 6 concludes.

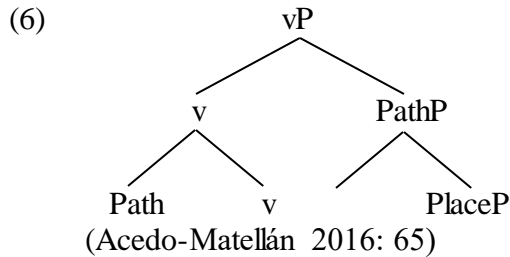
2 Recent analyses of verb-framed and satellite-framed structures

In this section we discuss three recent analyses regarding how different languages lexicalize various components of change-of-state and change-of-location events in an effort to set the stage for our discussion of event lexicalization strategies in Hungarian in the sections that follow. First, we provide a brief summary of the main tenets of Acedo-Matellán's (2016) morphological and Folli and Harley's (2020) syntactic analysis as to how the meaning components of path/result and manner are encoded in non-serializing verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. Then, we briefly present Hopperditzel's (2022) analysis of the split between verb-framed and satellite-framed structures in both non-serializing and serializing languages.

2.1 Acedo-Matellán's (2016) morphological analysis

Acedo-Matellán (2016: 55) proposes that “although all syntactic representations are available universally, particular languages may not have the means to interpret some of these representations at PF, which gives rise to cross-linguistic variation”. While taking a syntactic approach to argument structure and drawing on insights from Hale and Keyser (1993), Mateu (2002), Borer (2005) and the framework of Distributed Morphology, this author argues that in verb-framed languages such

as Spanish and Italian the Path head responsible for a transition interpretation, by virtue of being exponent-defective, only has Vocabulary Items that ensure strict linear adjacency between Path and v . This arises as a result of complex head formation by Raising of Path to v , as shown in (6).

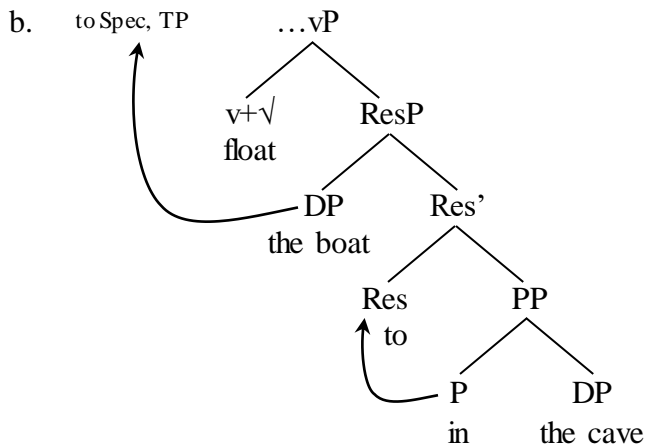


Latin and Slavic languages are argued to be similar to Spanish in that the Path head is exponent-defective, but there is no requirement ensuring strict adjacency of Path and v . As a result, unlike Spanish and Italian, Latin and Slavic languages allow directed motion constructions provided the verb has a prefix (see also Section 4). By contrast, in English there is no requirement for Path and v to be packaged in the same complex head. Here only the root adjoins v , which is interpreted as a manner Co-Event. According to an alternative analysis by Folli and Harley (2020), the split between verb-framed and satellite-framed structures arises due to a purely syntactic parameter. This is what we discuss next.

2.2 Folli and Harley’s (2020) syntactic analysis

The central claim that Folli and Harley (2020: 429) argue for is that verb-framed languages such as Italian have a Res-to- v head movement requirement, “requiring the result of a change-of-state to be expressed in the verb, while English permits Res to remain *in situ*”, as a result of which Res appears as a satellite expression independent from the verb. They propose the following representations for the satellite-framed pattern and the verb-framed pattern.

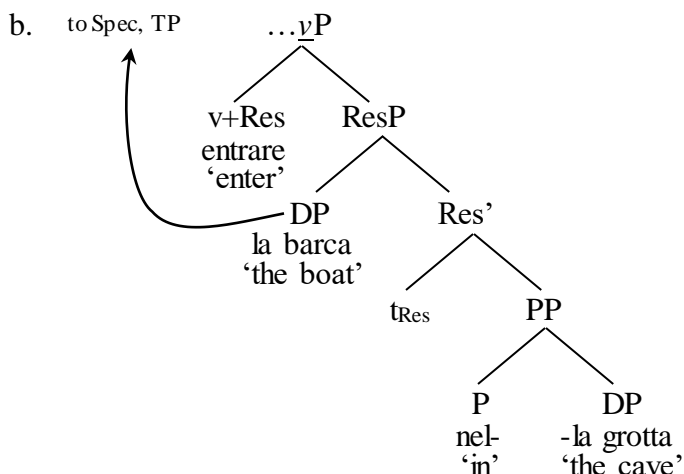
(7) a. *The boat floated into the cave.*



(Folli and Harley 2020: 430)

(8) Italian

- a. *La barca entrò nella grotta.*
 the boat entered in.the cave
 ‘The boat entered the cave.’



(Folli and Harley 2020: 430)

On this view, that English v is not required to combine with Res via head movement gives rise to a sizeable class of manner verbs such as *float* associated with just v and an adverbial root \surd , whereas in Italian obligatory Res-to- v movement results in v +Res complex heads. An important consequence of this parametric variation in the syntax is that English allows Res to be expressed low in the structure in a satellite expression such as *into the cave*, whereas in Italian this is not possible.

Folli and Harley (2020) also adopt Embick’s (2010) root categorization restriction, according to which “uncategorized roots are ill-formed” and a v head may only categorize via m(orphological)-merger an i(nternally)-Merged Res element or an e(xternally)-Merged manner root (Folli and Harley 2020: 456). This way, the authors also derive manner-result complementarity as a syntactic phenomenon (see Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010 and also Section 5). Embick’s categorization restriction also features in Hopperdietzel’s (2022) analysis of satellite-framed and verb-framed structures in both non-serializing and serializing languages, which is the topic of the next section.

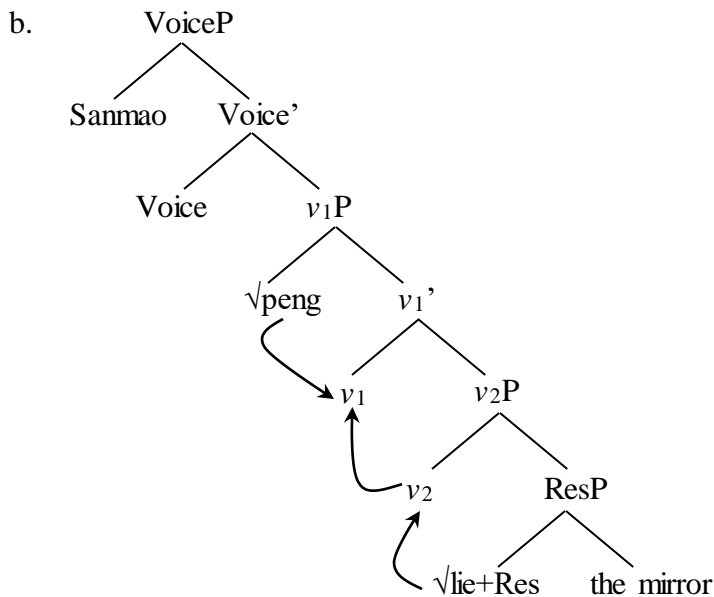
2.3 Hopperdietzel’s (2022) account of non-serializing and serializing structures

Building on previous work by Mateu and Acedo-Matellán (2012) and Folli and Harley (2020), among others, Hopperdietzel (2022) also argues that manner and result meanings are tied to specific syntactic positions defined relative to a verbalizer v : manner interpretations are associated with manner roots analyzed as modifiers of v , whereas result interpretations follow from result roots represented as complements of v . In complex resultative structures, found in English-type languages, the result appears as a pre-categorized constituent (see, for example, *flat* in *hammer the metal flat*), whereas manner modification becomes possible thanks to the absence of Res-to- v movement (Folli and Harley 2020) and that an eventive root such as \surd *hammer* in *hammer the metal*

flat “gets categorized by lowering to v via m-merger” (Hopperdietzel 2022: 9). By contrast, in verb-framed structures, found in English-type languages and Romance, a pre-categorized constituent is merged in a modifier position relative to v , whereas the result component merged as a complement of v “incorporates into v to satisfy the categorization requirement” (Hopperdietzel 2022: 12) discussed above in Subsection 2.2. Since the latter process is obligatory in verb-framed languages, as also proposed by Folli and Harley (2020), complex resultative structures are not possible.

Serializing languages such as Mandarin and Samoan are also argued to illustrate the same split between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, contra the previous claim that they form a different class featuring equipollently-framed resultatives (Slobin 2004; Zlatev and Yansklang 2004). Providing evidence from the transitivity of the result predicate and repetitive modification, Hopperdietzel argues that Mandarin resultative serial verb constructions illustrated in (9) are to be analyzed as instances of resultative secondary predication observable in English-type languages, where the result component is a complement of a causative v_2 that forms an anticausative verb with v_2 , whereas an additional causative v_1 is modified by a manner root m-merged with v_1 .

- (9) Mandarin
 a. *Sanmao peng_v-lie_v-le jingzi.*
 Sanmao bang-crack-PFV mirror
 ‘Sanmao bang the mirror, cracking it.’
 (Tham 2012: 602)



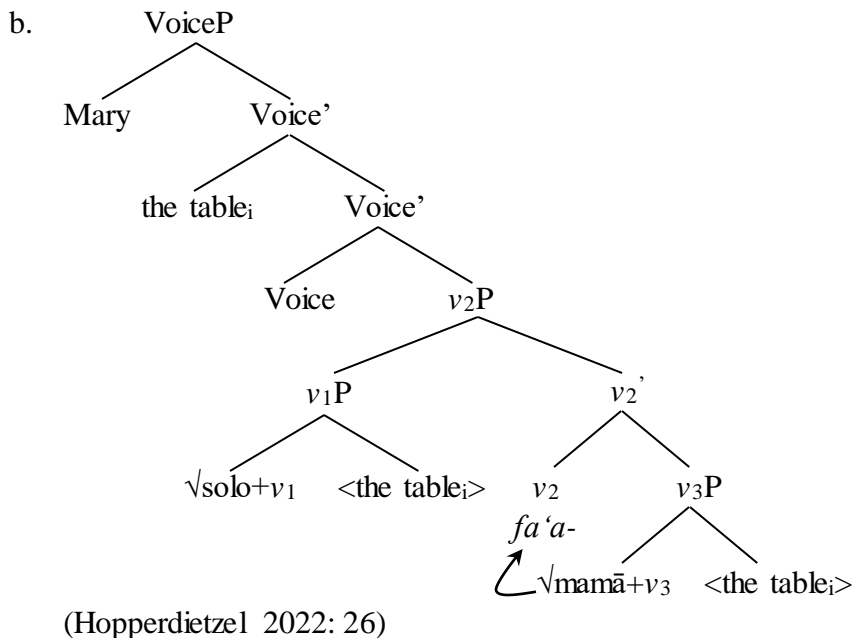
(adapted from Hopperdietzel 2022: 22)

Hopperdietzel (2022: 22) further argues that Mandarin resultatives like that above also differ from resultatives in non-serializing languages in that the former is associated with a tri-eventive structure instead of a bi-eventive structure characterizing English resultatives such as *hammer the metal flat*. This follows from the verbal secondary predicate’s (i.e. *lie* in example (9)) denoting a change-of-state involving a causative relation between a process event and a state instead of just a state.

In Samoan, by contrast, *fa'a*-causatives are analyzed as verb-framed constructions, where a causative result verb is the primary predicate in the clause and the manner component is expressed in an initial manner verb, as in (10).

(10) Samoan

- a. *Sā solo_v fa'a-mamā_v e Malia le laulau.*
 PST wipe CAUS-clean ERG Mary ART table.ABS
 ‘Mary cleaned the table by wiping it.’
 (Hopperdietzel 2022: 23)



For *fa'a*-causatives, Hopperdietzel proposes three *v*Ps. In the example above, for example, the result meaning is associated with the result root $\sqrt{mamā}$, which forms a complex head with the lowest *v*₃. This complex head then moves to *v*₂ to join the obligatory causative marker *fa'a*, whereas the manner component is expressed by the phrasal manner adjunct *v*₁P.³

A crucial conclusion drawn by the author is that “the underlying syntactic configuration of meaning components within the verbal domain is most likely constant across languages” (Hopperdietzel 2022: 35). However, cross-linguistic differences arise due to the fact that manner and result are realized by elements representing different morphosyntactic categories (PPs, APs, VPs, etc.).

³ Mateu (2012: 268–269) also likens Mandarin V-V compounds such as *Lisi ba shoujuan ku-shi-le* ‘Lisi cried the handkerchief wet’ to English resultatives like *The boy danced his feet sore* and analyzes both structures as instances of manner conflation, whereas verb-framed structures represented by Japanese V-V compounds such as *John-wa zaisan-o nomi-tubusi-ta* ‘John drank his fortune away’ are treated as instances of incorporation. In the case of the Mandarin example, the main null causative verb is argued to be conflated with a manner root, whereas in the Japanese example the result is claimed to be incorporated into the main null verb. For more on this, see Section 10.3 in Mateu (2012).

In the following sections we wish to contribute to this literature by examining event lexicalization strategies in Hungarian and showing that a more nuanced analysis of satellite-framed structures is required in light of our data. While assuming that results associated with resultative predicates are merged as complements in the event domain in line with much prior literature, we will also argue for an additional constraint in Hungarian requiring such predicates to exert their event aspectual functions in a VP-external position due to scope considerations. This constraint will also be shown to be obeyed by verbal particles associated with quantification over events.

3 Hungarian classified as a strong satellite-framed language

As mentioned above, Hungarian has been characterized as a strong satellite-framed language by Acedo-Matellán (2016) (see also Hegedűs 2019), similarly to Finnish and Germanic languages, as result-denoting elements can be morphologically independent from the verb. This is shown in (11).

- (11) Hungarian
- a. *Evelin meg-vert egy szomszédot.*
 Evelin PRT-beat.PST.3SG a neighbor.ACC
 ‘Evelin beat up a neighbor.’
- b. *Evelin nem vert meg egy szomszédot.*
 Evelin no beat.PST.3SG PRT a neighbor.ACC
 ‘Evelin did not beat up a neighbor.’
- c. *Evelin meg akart verni egy szomszédot.*
 Evelin PRT want.PST.3SG beat.INF a neighbor.ACC
 ‘Evelin wanted to beat up a neighbor.’
- d. *Evelin véresre vert egy szomszédot.*
 Evelin bloody.SUBL beat.PST.3SG a neighbor.ACC
 ‘Evelin beat a neighbor bloody.’

In (11a) the verbal particle *meg* is in an immediately preverbal position, follows the verb in (11b) with negation in the sentence, and is again morphologically separated from the infinitive verb *verni* ‘to beat’ by the verb *akart* ‘wanted’ in (11c). In (11d) the result state of the referent of the theme *egy szomszédot* ‘a neighbor’ is expressed in the resultative constituent *véresre* ‘lit. onto bloody’ preceding the primary verbal predicate *vert* ‘beat’.

That particles and resultative PPs such as *laposra* ‘lit. onto flat’ in (12c) encode a result component in Hungarian is evidenced by the fact that they are often directly responsible for making their verbal predicates telic, as has been discussed by a number of scholars including É. Kiss (2008), Csirmaz (2008), Kardos (2012, 2016), Hegedűs and Dékány (2017), and Kardos and Farkas (2022) in recent years. Consider (12).

(12) Hungarian

- a. *Sára 10 perc-ig/ *10 perc alatt kalapált egy*
Sára 10 minute-for/ 10 minute under hammer.PST.3SG an
vaslemez.
iron_plate.ACC
'Sára hammered an iron plate for 10 minutes.'
- b. *Sára 10 perc alatt/ *10 perc-ig ki-kalapált egy*
Sára 10 minute under/ 10 minute-for PRT-hammer.PST.3SG an
vaslemez.
iron_plate.ACC
'Sára hammered an iron plate in 10 minutes.'
- c. *Sára 10 perc alatt/ *10 perc-ig laposra kalapált*
Sára 10 minute under/ 10 minute-for flat.SUBL hammered.PST.3SG
egy vaslemez.
an iron_plate.ACC
'Sára hammered an iron plate flat in 10 minutes.'

In (12a) compatibility with the durative adverbial *10 percig* 'for 10 minutes' and incompatibility with the time frame adverbial *10 perc alatt* 'in 10 minutes' diagnose a strictly atelic predicate in the absence of a verbal particle or resultative predicate, whereas in (12b) and (12c) the acceptability of the time frame adverbial and the unacceptability of the durative adverbial show that the verbal predicates are strictly telic in the presence of the particle *ki* 'out' or the resultative predicate *laposra* 'lit. onto flat'.

Another property of verbal particles like *ki* 'out' and resultative predicates like *laposra* 'lit. onto flat' that is relevant in the context of this chapter is that they are associated with quantificational information, similarly to some perfective prefixes in Slavic languages (Filip 1996; Ramchand 2004; Svenonius 2004; Di Sciullo and Slabakova 2005). As for the latter, it has been proposed that a subset of perfective prefixes is responsible for A-quantification (as opposed to D-quantification) (Partee, Bach and Kratzer 1987) by imposing specific semantic constraints on the VP both in Slavic languages with determinerless DPs (e.g. Russian, Czech, and Polish) and also in those with "overtly unspecified cardinality DPs" (e.g. Bulgarian) (Di Sciullo and Slabakova 2005: 61). Telicizing verbal particles and resultative predicates in Hungarian have been argued to encode an event-maximizing operator that gives rise to maximal events with quantized reference associated with themes whose quantity is known (Kardos 2012, 2016; Kardos and Farkas 2022). This is shown in (13).

(13) Hungarian

- a. ?? *Sára ki-kalapált vaslemezeket.*
Sára PRT-hammer.PST.3SG iron_plates.ACC
'Sára hammered iron plates.'
- b. ?? *Sára laposra kalapált vaslemezeket.*
Sára flat.SUBL hammer.PST.3SG iron_plates.ACC
'Sára hammered iron plates flat.'

- c. *Sára {ki-kalapált/ laposra kalapált} három*
 Sára PRT-hammer.PST.3SG / flat.SUBL hammer.PST.3SG three
vaslemezt.
 iron_plate.ACC
 ‘Sára hammered three iron plates (flat).’

The examples in (13a) and (13b), where there is an event-maximizing particle or resultative predicate in the sentence, sound quite unnatural with the bare plural *vaslemezeket* ‘iron plates’, which has cumulative reference. By contrast, in (13c), the theme *három vaslemezt* ‘three iron plates’ with quantized reference gives rise to an acceptable sentence with either the particle *ki* ‘out’ or the resultative predicate *laposra* ‘lit. onto flat’.

Halm (2015) also argues for the quantificational force of verbal particles in Hungarian. In particular, he proposes that verbal particles can carry a generic operator which allows them to license free choice items (FCIs) like *bármilyen* ‘anything’ in examples such as (14) and (15).

(14) Hungarian

- a. *?A sertések esznek bármit.*
 the pigs eat anything.ACC
 Intended: ‘Pigs eat anything.’ (generic)
- b. *A sertések meg-esznek bármit.*
 the pigs PRT-eat anything.ACC
 ‘Pigs eat anything.’ (generic)

(15) Hungarian

- a. *???A vendégek nyírnak bármit.*
 the guests shear/mow anything.ACC
 Intended: ‘Guests mow anything.’ (generic)
- b. *A vendégek meg-nyírnak bármit.*
 the guests PRT-shear/mow anything.ACC
 ‘Guests mow anything.’ (generic)
 (Halm 2015: 177–178)

As shown above, the (a) examples, which are intended to be generic statements about pigs and guests, are degraded with the particleless verbs *esznek* ‘eat’ and *nyírnak* ‘shear/mow’. According to Halm, the difference in acceptability between (14a) and (15a) lies in the fact that “pigs are known for their indiscriminate feeding habits”, whereas “guests as a kind have no known propensity for indiscriminate mowing/shearing of things” (Halm 2015: 178). In the presence of the particle *meg*, however, these examples become fully acceptable with the FCI *bármit* ‘anything’ in them, as is clear from (14b) and (15b).

Cross-linguistically, similarly to Hungarian resultative expressions, Finnish expressions like *litteäksi* ‘lit. onto flat’ are also responsible for encoding the result component outside the primary verb in the sentence. This is shown in (16), taken from Levinson (2010).

(16) Finnish

Mari hakkasi metallin litteäksi.
 Mari hammered metal.ACC flat.TRANSL
 ‘Mari hammered the metal flat.’
 (Levinson 2010: 144)

A rarely noted but important property with respect to which Hungarian is different from Finnish and also from English is that the resultative predicate may not exert its aspectual functions in a postverbal position within the VP in neutral sentences, but must precede the verb, as in (17)–(19).

(17) Hungarian

- a. *Evelin véresre vert egy szomszédot.*
 Evelin bloody.SUBL beat.PST.3SG a neighbor.ACC
 ‘Evelin beat a neighbor bloody.’
- b. **Evelin vert egy szomszédot véresre.*
 Evelin beat.PST.3SG a neighbor.ACC bloody.SUBL
 Intended: ‘Evelin beat a neighbor bloody.’

(18) Hungarian

- a. *Kati laposra kalapált egy vaslemezt.*
 Kati flat.SUBL hammer.PST.3SG an iron_plate.ACC
 ‘Kati hammered an iron plate flat.’
- b. **Kati kalapált egy vaslemezt laposra.*
 Kati hammer.PST.3G an iron_plate.ACC flat.SUBL
 Intended: ‘Kati hammered an iron plate flat.’

(19) Hungarian

- a. *Bálint simára fésülte Lilla haját.*
 Bálint smooth.SUBL comb.PST.3SG Lilla hair.POSS.ACC
 ‘Bálint combed Lilla’s hair smooth.’
- b. **Bálint fésülte Lilla haját simára.*
 Bálint comb.PST.3SG Lilla hair.POSS.ACC smooth.SUBL
 Intended: ‘Bálint combed Lilla’s hair smooth.’

The strings in (17b), (18b) and (19b) are rendered ungrammatical if the intended reading is a perfective reading and *Evelin*, *Kati* and *Bálint* are not focused. It is the postverbal position of *véresre* ‘lit. onto bloody’, *laposra* ‘lit. onto flat’ and *simára* ‘lit. onto smooth’ that causes ungrammaticality in these examples. As pointed out by Surányi and Hegedűs (2013), this constraint applies to strong resultatives such as *rekedtre kiabálta magát* ‘shouted himself/herself hoarse’, weak resultatives such as *pirosra festett egy kerítést* ‘painted a fence red’ and spurious resultatives like *vékonyra szeletelte a húst* ‘sliced the meat thin’, as well. For more on these classes of resultatives across languages, see Washio (1997) and Levinson (2010). For more on these classes in Hungarian, see Kardos (2023a).

In this work we aim to provide an account of these and some other event lexicalization facts of Hungarian by arguing that in this language there is a syntactic requirement such that result-encoding elements occupy a VP-external position in the sentence. We wish to show that Hungarian is different from English and other similar languages, where result-denoting particles and resultative APs or PPs exert their event aspectual functions low in the VP as complements, and, at the same time, it turns out to be similar to Slavic languages in that results must eventually be expressed in a functional projection above VP. This restriction is motivated by scope, as discussed below.

4 Revisiting the lexicalization of change of state/location events

In this section we wish to show that event lexicalization in the Hungarian sentence is determined by scopal factors. Although result components are expressed by pre-categorized constituents, as is often the case in English-type languages, such constituents in Hungarian function as event-maximizing elements, which must take scope over the domain they c-command in visible syntax, similarly to quantifiers and adverbs on the left periphery of the sentence (cf. É. Kiss 1984, 2009). This is demonstrated in (20), where the goal-denoting PPs *a kertbe* ‘into the garden’ and *ki* ‘out’ in (20a) and (20b) are in a preverbal position.

- (20) Hungarian
- a. *János a kertbe rohant.*
 János the garden.ILL rush.PST.3SG
 ‘János rushed into the garden.’
- b. *János ki-rohant.*
 János PRT-rush.PST.3SG
 ‘János rushed out.’

An important consequence of the requirement above is that Hungarian complex resultative constructions are often built on particle verbs. Crucially, when the resultative PP occupies a postverbal position in neutral sentences, the particle is obligatory, as illustrated below.

- (21) Hungarian
- a. *János *(ki-)rohant a kertbe.*
 János PRT-rush.PST.3SG the garden.ILL
 ‘János rushed (out) into the garden.’
- b. *Lilla *(be-)úszott a barlangba.*
 Lilla PRT-swim.PST.3SG the cave.ILL
 ‘Lilla swam into the cave.’
- c. *A légy *(be-)repült a házba.*
 the fly PRT-fly.PST.3SG the house.ILL
 ‘The fly flew into the house.’
- d. *Miklós *(meg-)sütött egy csirkét ropogósra.*
 Miklós PRT-roast.PST.3SG a chicken.ACC crispy.SUBL
 ‘Miklós roasted a chicken crispy.’

- e. *Mari *(le-)festett egy kerítést pirosra.*
 Mari PRT-paint.PST.3SG a fence.ACC red.SUBL
 ‘Mari painted a fence red.’

In each example in (21), the absence of the verbal particle gives rise to ungrammaticality with the resultative predicate in a postverbal position. With a particle attached to the primary verbal predicate, however, each sentence becomes fully grammatical.

This constraint is also observable with surface contact verbs such as *seper* ‘sweep’ with the additional requirement that when this verb appears with the theme as direct object, as in (22), the endpoint to the denoted event must be expressed in the sentence.

(22) Hungarian

- a. *Klára *(bele-)sepert néhány érmét az üvegbe.*
 Klára PRT-sweep.PST.3SG some coin.ACC the jar.ILL
 Klára swept some coins into the jar.
- b. *Béla *(le-)sepert egy újságot a földre.*
 Béla PRT-sweep.PST.3SG a newspaper the ground.SUBL
 ‘Béla swept a newspaper onto the ground.’

(23) Hungarian

- a. **Klára sepert néhány érmét.*
 Klára sweep.PST.3SG some coin.ACC
- b. **Béla sepert egy újságot.*
 Béla sweep.PST.3SG a newspaper.ACC

As discussed by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2022), English has a similar requirement with transitive *sweep*, which must appear with an endpoint-denoting PP secondary predicate in the presence of a theme direct object.

- (24) a. *She swept the card *(through the electronic device).*
 b. *She swept a net *(through the weeds).*
 c. *She swept the coins *(off the counter).*
 d. *She swept the crumbs *(into an empty jar).*

(adapted from Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2022: 14)

The data above show that transitive *sweep* requires the presence of a PP resultative with theme direct objects like *the card* and *the coins* and in each case an accomplishment structure arises.

The requirement that a prefix must appear on the primary verb in the presence of a postverbal resultative secondary predicate is also at work in Slavic languages and Latin, as discussed by Gehrke (2008) and Acedo-Matellán (2016: 175). Here we illustrate this with Gehrke’s (2008) examples illustrating change-of-location verbs from Russian:

(25) Russian

- a. *On pri-exal v Moskvu.*
 he to-drove.PF in Moscow.ACC
 ‘He arrived in Moscow.’
- b. *On u-exal iz Moskvu.*
 he away-drove.PF out Moscow.GEN
 ‘He left Moscow.’
- c. *On pere-šel (čerez) ulicu.*
 he across-went.PF (via) street.ACC
 ‘He crossed the street.’
 (Gehrke 2008: 202–203)

Gehrke (2008) argues that it is essential for the prefix to appear on the primary verbal predicate so that this predicate can combine with the secondary resultative predicate. She also suggests that instead of focusing on whether paths are encoded in the verb or elsewhere, as in Talmy’s typology, we should examine whether or not accomplishment/achievement structures can be built from an activity-denoting primary verb and a non-verbal secondary resultative predicate in a given language. If there is such a shift in our perspective, we can conclude that Slavic languages such as Russian and Czech behave like verb-framed languages since “there seems to be some morphological requirement to express resultativity on the verb in these languages” (Gehrke 2008: 203). She further stresses that these languages lack English-type AP resultatives such as *hammer the metal flat*, since it is always an accomplishment/achievement verb carrying a prefix and co-occurring with a PP resultative that describes events expressed in English by *hammer the metal flat*-type resultatives. Crucially, Hungarian also lacks AP resultatives. Instead, it is always a case-marked PP resultative that appears in accomplishment/achievement structures in a postverbal position with particle verbs or in a preverbal position with particleless verbs (see (20a)), which is a pattern not found in Slavic languages.

By contrast, English resultative expressions are productive in the environment of purely manner-denoting verbs, where the result-encoding expression (e.g. a resultative AP as in *hammer the metal flat*, or a verbal particle, as in *look the information up*) sits low in the VP in a complement position, as argued by Travis (2010) or advocates of small-clause analyses (Hoekstra 1988; Den Dikken 1995). See also the discussion about some more recent analyses of satellite-framed structures in Section 2.

Likewise, Finnish “also does not seem to require the appearance of a Path-signaling affix in resultative constructions based on PPs” (Acedo-Matellán 2016: 231). This is illustrated in (26), taken from Heinämäki (1983), where the translative case-marked expressions in (26b) and (26c) co-occur with the base verb *ampui* ‘shot’.

(26) Finnish

- a. *Metsästäjä ampui lehmän.*
 hunter shot cow.ACC
 ‘The hunter shot the cow.’
- b. *Metsästäjä ampui lehmän kuoliaaksi.*
 hunter shot cow.ACC dead.TRANSL

‘The hunter shot the cow dead.’

- c. *Metsästäjä ampui lehmän silmäpuoleksi.*
hunter shot cow.ACC eye-half.TRANSL
‘The hunter shot and blinded the cow in one eye.’
(adapted from Heinämäki 1983: 157)

Heinämäki (1983) argues that the predicate in (26a) associated with the accusative-marked direct object *lehmän* ‘cow’ entails that the event description has an unspecified bound. A specific endpoint, e.g. the death of the cow, may only be inferred here. By contrast, the verbal predicates in (26b) and (26c) are supplied with specific endpoints due to the result phrases *kuoliaaksi* ‘to death’ and *silmäpuoleksi* ‘lit. to half-eyed’, respectively. In other words, although all three examples express bounded eventualities, only (26b) and (26c) are specific about the final state of the referent of the theme participant.

Hungarian shows a different behavior. That the change-of-state shooting event is associated with an inherent bound must be expressed with a particle verb, as shown in (27).

(27) Hungarian

- a. *A vadász lőtt egy tehenet (valakinek).*
the hunter shoot.PST.3SG a cow.ACC (someone.DAT)
‘The hunter shot a cow for someone.’
(available on a creation reading only)
- b. *A vadász le-lőtt egy tehenet.*
the hunter PRT-shoot.PST.3SG a cow.ACC
‘The hunter shot a cow and the cow became dead.’

Unlike in Finnish, the accusative-marked object in (27a) will not ensure event boundedness in the environment of the verb *lőtt* ‘shot’ if the sentence is meant to receive a change-of-state reading. The particle *le* must be attached to the verb so that a telic change-of-state reading can become available. Without a particle, telicity arises only on the (creation) reading that the cow becomes available for someone at the culmination of the shooting event. Interestingly, the result predicate *halálra* ‘to death’ seems somewhat unnatural to our ears with this verb, as shown by the question mark in (28a), despite the fact that it can be combined with at least some manner verbs such as *kínoz* ‘torture’ and *tapos* ‘trample’, as evidenced by (28b) and (28c).

(28) Hungarian

- a. ?*A vadász halálra lőtt egy tehenet.*
the hunter death.SUBL shoot.PST.3SG a cow.ACC
Intended: ‘The hunter shot a cow to death.’
- b. *János halálra kínozta Pétert.*
János death.SUBL torture.PST.3SG Peter.ACC
‘János tortured Peter to death.’
- c. *Az elefánt halálra taposta az orvvadászt.*
the elephant death.SUBL trample.PST.3SG the poacher.ACC

‘The elephant trampled the poacher to death.’

For some reason, the appearance of the result predicate *halálra* ‘to death’ is more restricted than that of its counterparts in other languages such as English. Compare and contrast the following examples from Hungarian and English:

- (29) Hungarian
 ?*János halálra ölte / fojtotta / mérgezte Józsefet*
 János death.SUBL kill.PST.3SG / strangle.PST.3SG / poison .PST.3SG Joseph.ACC

- (30) a. *John killed Joseph dead.*
 b. *John strangled/poisoned Joseph to death.*

As will also be discussed in Section 5, Hungarian verbs of killing such as *fojt* ‘strangle’ and *mérgez* ‘poison’ must appear with a verbal particle in the sentence; the absence of a particle results in ungrammaticality. The presence of the resultative PP *halálra* ‘to death’ with these verbs also yields a somewhat unusual string, as shown by (29). The English counterparts of the examples in (29), where each verb appears with a result AP or PP, are all possible.

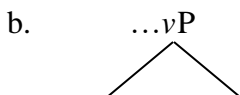
Returning to how Hungarian compares to Latin and Slavic languages, we must also note that, in addition to the similarities already discussed above, Latin and Slavic languages are also different from Hungarian in that in the former the verb stem and the prefix must form a word, whereas in Hungarian there is no such requirement. According to Acedo-Matellán (2016: 208), in Latin and Slavic languages, the Path head and *v* undergo univerbation, which is achieved through successive Raising from Compl-Place to *v*.

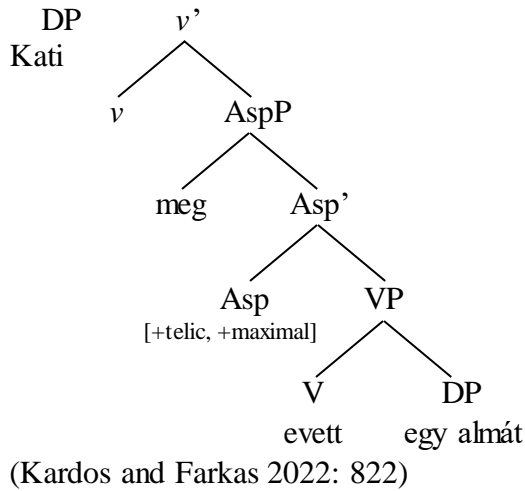
In Hungarian, telicizing particles like *fel* ‘up’ in (31) are separable from the verb, as shown below:

- (31) Hungarian
Fel kell, hogy hívjam Marit ma este.
 PRT have-to COMP call.SUBJ.1SG Mari.ACC today evening
 ‘I have to call Mari tonight.’
 (adapted from É. Kiss 2008: 46)

Such particles, which we assume are PPs following Hegedűs (2013), have recently been argued by Kardos and Farkas (2022) to exert an event-maximizing function in [Spec, AspP], along with resultative PPs, where AspP is sandwiched between VP and *v*P as follows (see also Surányi 2014):

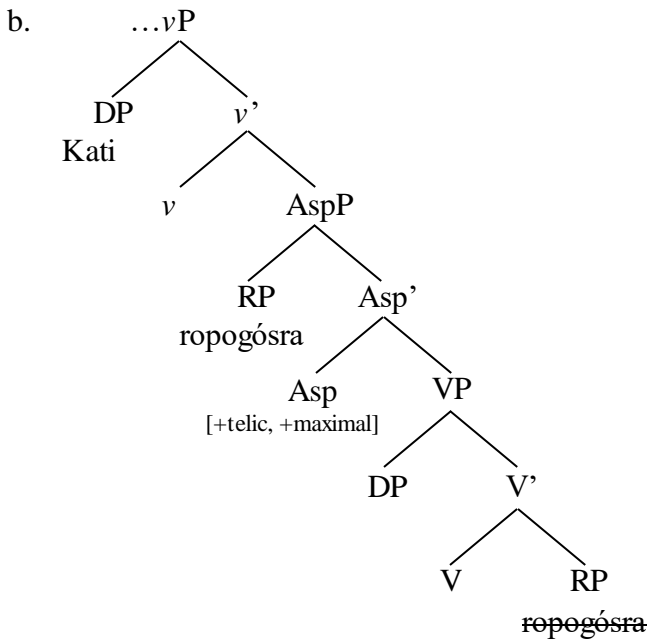
- (32) Hungarian
 a. *Kati meg-evett egy almát.*
 Kati PRT-ate an apple
 ‘Kati ate an apple.’





(33) Hungarian

- a. *Kati ropogósra sütött egy csirkét.*
 Kati crispy.SUBL roasted a chicken.ACC
 ‘Kati roasted a chicken crispy.’



As shown above, *meg*-type particles and resultative PPs like *ropogósra* ‘lit. onto crispy’ are similar in that they are assumed to be associated with a [+telic] and [+maximal] feature, thereby giving rise to telic and maximal events by virtue of checking the relevant features of the Asp head above

VP. Telicizing particles are argued to be base-generated in [Spec, AspP], whereas PPs like *ropogósra* ‘lit. onto crispy’ are merged as complements of V.⁴

As far as the semantics of these phrasal categories is concerned, it is assumed here that they encode an event maximalization operator, MAX_E , which is a monadic operator applying to predicates of events and yielding sets of maximal events (Filip 2008) given that specific homomorphic relations, so-called figure-path relations, hold between the referent of a theme DP that has quantized reference and that of a path/scale argument that is bounded (Beavers 2012a; Kardos 2012, 2016).

An important consequence of MAX_E is that particle verbs like *fel-vág* ‘PRT-cut’ and *meg-talál* ‘PRT-find’ are not compatible with cumulative themes, as shown in (34) from É. Kiss (2008).

- (34) Hungarian
- a. **Éva fel-vágott tortát.*
 Éva PRT-cut cake.ACC
- b. **János meg-talált gyűrűket.*
 János PRT-found ring.PL.ACC
 (É. Kiss 2008: 21)

The examples in (34a) and (34b) are ruled out since an event-measuring device cannot be identified in the presence of themes such as *tortát* ‘cake’ and *gyűrűket* ‘rings’ and thus the determination of maximal events becomes impossible. For more on how the interpretation of the theme is restricted in the presence of MAX_E , see Filip (2008).

Telicizing particles and resultative PPs are different from telicizing pseudo-objects like *egyét* ‘one.ACC’ in *futott egyet* ‘went for a run’ in that the latter are associated with the features [+telic] and [-maximal] and assumed to be base-generated in [Spec, AspP], thereby giving rise to telic predicates associated with a non-maximal interpretation, as demonstrated in (35).⁵

⁴ A reviewer reminds us that we could also posit parallel structures for examples with telicizing particles and those with resultative PPs. The main reason why Kardos and Farkas (2022: 828) assume different base-generation sites for particles and resultative PPs is that, in addition to the examples discussed in this chapter, it is also possible to create structures that contain both a particle and a resultative PP. This is illustrated by the string *Kati megsütött egy csirkét ropogósra* ‘Kati roasted a chicken crispy’, where telicizing *meg* occupies a preverbal position, whereas *ropogósra* ‘lit. onto crispy’ is postverbal. The authors further argue that given that the two constituents are associated with information about the same endpoint, they do not pose a challenge for the constraint that events can be delimited only once (Tenny 1994).

⁵ A reviewer asks why pseudo-objects like *egyét* ‘one.ACC’ appear in a postverbal position in examples like (35) despite having a telicizing effect with respect to the verbal predicate in the sentence. We respond to this question as follows: As discussed in more detail in Section 4.2 in Kardos and Farkas (2022), the quantificational effects of *egyét*-type pseudo-objects are different from those of telicizing verbal particles and resultative PPs in that *egyét* ‘one.ACC’ and other similar pseudo-objects give rise to non-maximal events in the denotation of verbal predicates. This is, for example, evidenced by the fact that strings such as *szárított egyet a haján* ‘dried his/her hair a bit’ are not compatible with adverbials such as *teljesen/egészen* ‘completely’ or *maximálisan* ‘maximally’. Further, it is also important to note that, unlike structures with verbal particles and resultative PPs, predicates with *egyét*-type pseudo-objects are not associated with a prominent result state despite the fact they give rise to telicity. This is shown by the fact that strings like *János futott egyet anélkül, hogy elért volna valahova* ‘János went for a run without getting anywhere’ are felicitous (Kardos and Farkas 2022: 832). We believe these differences may give rise to the fact that, although the telicity of predicates is arguably achieved in the event domain in a way that particles, resultative PPs and pseudo-objects exert their aspectual functions in [Spec, AspP] above VP, the predicates will eventually have different word

(35) Hungarian

Anna szárított egyet a haján, de még lehet rajta szárítani
Anna dried one.ACC the hair.POSS.SUP but still possible it.SUP dry.INF
'Anna dried her hair a bit, but it could still use some drying.'
(Kardos and Farkas 2022: 831)

As discussed by Kardos and Farkas (2022), another important consequence of the hypotheses above is that where there is AspP (i.e. the grammar signals telicity), telicity is an entailment. By contrast, in the absence of AspP, there is atelicity (i.e. atelicity is lack of telicity as in Borer (2005)) or telicity that arises as an implicature, as with creation/consumption predicates. Consider (36) from Kardos (2019).

(36) Hungarian

a. *Péter egy év alatt épített egy házat.*
Péter a year under built a house.ACC
'Peter built a house in a year.'
b. *Péter egy év-ig épített egy házat.*
Péter a year-for built a house.ACC
(lit.) 'Péter built a house for a year.'
(Kardos 2019: 493–494)

The telicity of *épített egy házat* 'built a house' is argued to be available due to the unique homomorphic relation that holds between the referent of the scalar argument of the verb and that of the theme, where the structure of the scale is specifically determined by the structure of the theme. This is also assumed to characterize English creation/consumption predicates. The logical representation of *eat two pears* is given in (37).

(37) a. *Peter ate two pears.*

b. $\exists s \exists x \exists e [eat(\mathbf{peter}, x, s, e) \wedge SOURCE(s, s, e) \wedge GOAL(f'(x), s, e) \wedge 2pears'(x)]$
(Kardos 2019: 515)

The goal point on consumption scale s can be specifically identified in the presence of a theme DP with quantized reference, i.e. *two pears*, with function f' picking out the final subpart of the scale

order properties depending on whether they are associated with maximalizing particles or resultative PPs, on the one hand, or *egyed*-type pseudo-objects, on the other. In the first case, we derive the surface word order by positing that the verb raises to T via head-movement, whereas particles and resultative PPs move to the specifier of TP to check the EPP feature of T (for more on this, see Surányi 2009). With pseudo-objects, the assumption that *egyed* 'one.ACC' moves to a position in a νP -external functional projection cannot be upheld when it comes to examples like that in (35). Finally, as also discussed in footnote 14 in Kardos and Farkas (2022), it must also be noted that native speaker judgments vary when it comes to structures with *egyed* 'one.ACC'. Whereas speakers within Hungary have a clear preference for the word order *V-egyed*, speakers of the *székely* dialect in Transylvania prefer the word order *egyed-V*. Such differences are also observable when sentences with *egyed* 'one.ACC' are examined diachronically (Kardos and Farkas 2022: 834). We leave a more in-depth analysis of these word-order variations for further research.

associated with the predicate and so telicity arises. This is not possible with non-creation/non-consumption predicates in Hungarian, as further discussed in the next section.

5 Some further consequences

Here we consider more empirical consequences of the hypothesis that result-encoding elements must be VP-external as dictated by scopal considerations, by further discussing possible and impossible structures from the domain of change-of-state and change-of-location verbal predicates. First, we demonstrate that situations inherently associated with an endpoint are typically obligatorily expressed by particle verbs or base verbs preceded by a resultative predicate, as in (38) (for more examples, see É. Kiss 2008: 21). Put differently, Hungarian does not seem to have path-encoding verbs of the English type similarly to Russian.⁶

(38) Hungarian

- a. *János {el-tört/ darabokra tört} egy vázát.*
 János {PRT-break.PST.3SG / pieces.SUBL break.PST.3SG} a vase.ACC
 ‘János {broke a vase / broke a vase into pieces}.’
- a’. **János tört egy vázát*
 János break.PST.3SG a vase.ACC
 Intended: ‘János broke a vase.’
- b. *Róbert meg-halt.*
 Róbert PRT-die.PST.3SG
 ‘Róbert died.’
- b’. **Róbert halt.*
 Róbert die.PST.3SG
 Intended: ‘Róbert died.’
- c. *Sára át-szelt egy folyót.*
 Sára PRT-cross.PST.3SG a river.ACC
 ‘Sara crossed a river.’
- c’. **Sára szelt egy folyót.*
 Sára cross.PST.3SG a river.ACC
 Intended: ‘Sára crossed a river.’
- d. *Juli át-hágott egy szabályt.*
 Juli PRT-violate.PST.3SG a rule.ACC
 ‘Juli violated a rule.’
- d’. **Juli hágott egy szabályt*
 Juli violate.PST.3SG a rule.ACC
 Intended: ‘Juli violated a rule.’

The English counterparts of the verbs in (38a)–(38d) are all base verbs, whereas the Hungarian verbs expressing inherently bounded situations are not available on their own. Verb stems such as *tör* in *eltör* ‘break’ and *hal* in *meghal* ‘die’ are arguably responsible for the expression of a specific

⁶ For some exceptions to this generalization and a brief discussion about these exceptions, see Hegedűs (2018) and Kardos and Farkas (2022).

result, but that the referent of the theme ends up in that result state at the culmination of the denoted event is attributed to the particles co-occurring with these stems.

Furthermore, activities typically carried out in some manner and also associated with some result state are obligatorily expressed by a combination of a base verb and a result-denoting element. This is different in English, where, for example, some verb stems expressing killing events can easily describe how the killing activity is carried out and also that some result obtains at the termination of the eventuality (Husband 2018; Ausensi 2021). Compare and contrast the English and Hungarian examples below:

(39) *Joseph strangled/hanged/crucified/beheaded/poisoned/quartered Tom.*

(40) Hungarian

*József *(meg-)fojtotta/ *(fel-)akasztotta/ *(meg-)feszítette/
 József PRT-strangle.PST.3SG PRT-hang.PST.3SG PRT-stretch.PST.3SG
 *(le-)fejezte/ *(meg-)mérgezte/ *(fel-)négyelte Tamást.
 PRT-behead.PST.3SG PRT-poison.PST.3SG PRT-quarter.PST.3SG Tamás.ACC
 ‘József strangled / hanged / crucified / beheaded / poisoned / quartered Tamás.’*

As argued by Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020), English manner of killing verbs form a special class in that they can encode both a manner and a result component, thereby posing a challenge to the Manner/Result Complementarity Hypothesis advocated by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010), at least in a truth-conditional sense. As shown in (40), the Hungarian counterparts of the English manner of killing verbs in (39) are all particle verbs; the absence of a particle with these verbs results in ungrammaticality. In other words, Hungarian manner of killing verbs quite transparently seem to show manner/result complementarity: the verb stem is associated with the manner component, whereas the particle in its preverbal position ensures that the referent of the theme ends up in a specific result state.⁷

Also, if result-encoding constituents such as verbal particles and resultative predicates are directly responsible for telicity in Hungarian and they must take scope over their domain in visible syntax, activity-denoting predicates other than creation/consumption predicates should not express telic eventualities in the presence of theme DPs with quantized reference (see Kardos 2019; Kardos and Farkas 2022), which is contra what we often see in English and other languages (both satellite-framed and verb-framed languages). Compare and contrast (41) and (42).

(41) Hungarian

- a. *Sára kalapált egy vaslemezt.* (strictly atelic)
 Sára hammer.PST.3SG an iron_plate.ACC
 ‘Sára hammered an iron plate.’
- b. *Péter takarított egy szobát.* (strictly atelic)

⁷ It is worth pointing out, as noted by a reviewer, that the data in (39) do not pose a challenge for the Manner/Result Complementarity Hypothesis understood as a structural constraint, as proposed by Mateu and Acedo-Matellán (2012), whereas the data in (40) seem to exhibit manner/result complementarity both in a truth-conditional and a structural sense. For more on manner/result complementarity in Hungarian, see Kardos (2023b).

- Péter clean.PST.3SG a room.ACC
 ‘Péter cleaned a room.’
- c. *Richárd festett egy kerítést.* (strictly atelic on a non-creation reading)
 Richárd paint. PST.3SG a fence.ACC
 ‘Richárd painted a fence.’

- (42) a. *Sara hammered an iron plate.* (telic or atelic)
 b. *Peter cleaned a room.* (telic)
 c. *Richard painted a room.* (telic or atelic)

The Hungarian examples above are all strictly atelic in the absence of a result-encoding element, whereas the English counterparts of the verb stems can clearly give rise to telic eventualities with bounded objects in the sentence (Beavers 2012b).

With English manner of motion verbs such as *climb*, *walk* and *swim* in (43), which can take a path as direct object, there is also “a strong inference that the entire understood path of motion is traversed” (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2022: 20), which means that an endpoint can easily be identified. In other words, the object DP serves as an incremental theme in these examples, as well.

- (43) a. *Claire climbed the hill.*
 b. *Jason walked the South West Coast Path.*
 c. *Susan swam the full length of the river.*

In Hungarian, when appearing with a measuring-out path object, the counterparts of *climb the hill*-type predicates must appear with an independent result-encoding element before the verb such as a verbal particle in the neutral sentence.

- (44) Hungarian
- a. *Bálint *(meg)-mászta a hegyet.*
 Bálint PRT-climb.PST.3SG the hill.ACC
 ‘Bálint climbed the hill.’
- b. *Ili *(be)-járta az erdőt/ a tanösvényt.*⁸
 Ili PRT-walk.PST.3SG the forest.ACC the trail.ACC
 ‘Ili walked {all over the forest / the trail}.’
- c. *Jácint *(be)-gyalogolta a várost.*
 Jácint PRT-walk.PST.3SG the city.ACC
 ‘Jácint walked all over the city.’
- d. *Gabi *(be)-táncolta a színpadot.*
 Gabi PRT-dance.PST.3SG the stage.ACC
 ‘Gabi danced all over the stage.’

⁸ This example illustrates synecdoche with the forest being interpreted as the path of the walking event.

The predicates above are all obligatorily associated with a particle and that the path has been traversed in its entirety is entailed by each example, as shown by the anomaly caused by the second clause in (45a), (45b) and (45c).

(45) Hungarian

- a. *Bálint meg-mászta a hegyet, #de a hegy tetejére*
 Bálint PRT-climb.PST.3SG the hill.ACC but the hill top.POSS.SUBL
nem ért el.
 not reach.PST.3SG PRT
 #‘Bálint climbed the hill but did not reach the hilltop.’
- b. *Gabi be-táncolta a színpadot, #de nem minden részén*
 Gabi PRT-dance.PST.3SG the stage.ACC but not every part.POSS.SUP
táncolt a színpadnak.
 dance.PST.3SG the stage.DAT
 #‘Gabi danced all over the stage but did not dance on every part of the stage.’
- c. *Gergely be-járta a tanösvényt, #de nem jutott*
 Gergely PRT-walk.PST.3SG the trail.ACC, but not reach.PST.3SG
a végére.
 the end.POSS.SUBL
 #‘Gergely walked the trail but didn’t get to the end of it’.

Whereas in English the complete traversal of the path is argued in the literature to be only an inference (see, for example, the quote from Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2022) above), in Hungarian it is not cancellable due to the presence of the verbal particle.⁹ We believe that this has to do with the fact that English and Hungarian have vastly different result-encoding elements. Results in Hungarian are expressed by verbal particles and resultative predicates, which, by virtue of having a quantificational force, impose specific semantic restrictions on the VP from their VP-external aspectual position. The English counterparts of these elements seem to simply express the final state of an entity in a VP-internal complement position without being associated with an operator quantifying over events.

6 Conclusion

We conclude that the typology of languages in terms of how they lexicalize different components of change-of-state and change-of-location events appears to be more complex than previously thought. English and Hungarian, which have both been argued to belong to the same Talmyan class, seem to have quite different event lexicalization strategies. Result-denoting elements such as result APs, PPs and verbal particles in English tend to exert their aspectual functions *in situ* in the VP as complements, while in Hungarian this is not allowed. Result-denoting elements in this latter language, similarly to languages such as Latin and Slavic languages and even Romance, must merge/re-merge in the functional domain above VP to make their verbal predicates telic. Further variation may also be found across languages regarding where exactly result-encoding elements exert their endpoint-denoting functions in the functional domain. There is evidence that in

⁹ For more on cancellable and non-cancellable telicity in Hungarian, see Kardos and Farkas (2022).

Hungarian it is [Spec, AspP] above VP that hosts result-denoting expressions, whereas in Spanish results form a complex head with *v*. This has the consequence that the great majority of Hungarian verbs are pure manner verbs, whereas verbs in Spanish-like languages are mainly path verbs. English is also known to have a sizeable class of manner verbs in its lexicon similarly to Hungarian, but the two languages have been argued here to ultimately employ quite different strategies when it comes to the expression of events associated with some result given the different means they have to express results.

It is also possible according to some scholars that language variation may arise due to the absence or presence of AspP encoding inner aspect. This is the position taken by MacDonald (2010), who argues that while English has AspP in the event domain, Russian does not, which is why there is no object-to-event mapping in the latter and PPs on their own cannot turn atelic predicates into telic ones. A larger question, of course, is why languages use different positions in the event domain to express results and what specific consequences the location of Path/Res has with respect to which structures are possible and which ones are impossible in a given language. In this chapter, we have proposed that the structure of the event domain in Hungarian is determined by scope. Result-encoding elements associated with a quantificational force must take scope over their domain in their VP-external position in visible syntax, similarly to quantifiers, adverbs and adverbial adjuncts in the higher functional domain in the sentence.

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Abstract

This chapter is concerned with event lexicalization strategies across languages with a special focus on Hungarian. We argue for the need for a more nuanced analysis of languages that lexicalize the result component in a change-of-state/location event outside the primary verbal predicate. Building on Kardos and Farkas (2022), we discuss a syntactic constraint in Hungarian that ensures that the result component be expressed outside the VP and also motivate this constraint by further proposing that result-encoding elements such as verbal particles and resultative predicates must take scope over the domain that they c-command in visible syntax. In this way, we draw a parallel between the grammar of quantifiers and adverbs on the left periphery of the sentence and quantificational verbal particles and resultative predicates in the event domain by arguing that the structure of both the left periphery and that of the event domain is determined by scope. Contra previous claims in the literature (Acedo-Matellán 2016; Hegedűs 2019), we will argue that

Hungarian exhibits similarities with Slavic languages rather than English when it comes to the location of results in the sentence.

Keywords: event lexicalization, resultatives, verbal particles, scope, Talmy's typology, Hungarian