On the diversity of event structural elements across languages

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1. Introduction

- In this talk I examine the grammatical status of the following event structural elements: internal DP arguments, verbal particles, goal PPs and resultative PPs/APs. These are illustrated with the English examples in (1).

(1) a. Kim cleaned **the floor**.

b. Sara warmed **up** the soup.

c. Bill pushed a rock **to the fence**.

d. Kate hammered the metal **into a horseshoe**.

e. Sam hammered the metal **flat**.

- I discuss data from English, Hungarian and Slavic languages such as Polish and Russian and show that the counterparts of the elements illustrated above differ in these languages with respect to how they interact with event structure.

1. Introduction

- I will provide novel support for two main claims, which have already been explicitly argued for in prior literature such as Borer (2005):

(i) The class of event structural elements is heterogeneous: Some are directly responsible for creating event structure, while others only modify it.

(ii) Result states are orthogonal to telic interpretations.

Outline of the talk

2. Two approaches to event structure

2.1 The result-state model

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

5. Towards a novel typology of event structural elements

6. Conclusion

2.1 The result-state model

- The examples in (1) are all telic, as shown by the temporal adverbial test below.

(2) a. Kim cleaned the floor in/?for an hour.

b. Sara warmed up the soup in/*for 10 minutes.

c. Bill pushed a rock to the fence in/*for 10 minutes.

d. Kate hammered the metal into a horseshoe in/*for 10 minutes.

e. Sam hammered the metal flat in/*for 10 minutes.

2.1 The result-state model

- On one influential view, the result-state view, the verbal predicates in these examples receive a causative analysis: they are associated with a causing subevent and a caused result state in an event decomposition (see Dowty 1979, Parsons 1990, Pustejovsky 1991, 1995, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998, Rapoport 1999, Higginbotham 2000, and Ramchand 2008, among others). This analysis is illustrated in (3).

(3) a. Mary shakes John awake.

b. [shake'(*m*,*j*) CAUSE BECOME awake'(*j*)]

(Dowty 1979, 221: (46))

2.1 The result-state model

The telicity of causative transitive pedicates like *open the door* is also directly linked to the presence of the result state in the complex event structure below:

(4) [[x ACT] CAUSE [y BECOME <OPENED>]]

(Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 109)

2.1 The result-state model

- However, data like that in (5) from English show that telic readings are actually possible without the availability of a prominent result state.

(5) Kim ran around the corner. (Higginbotham 2000)

- The predicate in this example is telic if telicity is defined as lack of homogeneity, as in Borer (2005: 147), where homogeneous predicates are characterized as cumulative and divisive. Borer (*ibid*.) defines cumulative and divisive predicates as follows:

(6) a. P is cumulative iff $\forall x[\mathrm{P}(x) \wedge \mathrm{P}(y) \rightarrow \mathrm{P}(x \cup y]]$.

b. P is divisive iff $\forall x\ [\mathrm{P}(x) \rightarrow \exists y\ (\mathrm{P}(y) \wedge y<x)] \wedge \forall x,y\ [\mathrm{P}(x) \wedge \mathrm{P}(y) \wedge y<x \rightarrow \mathrm{P}(x-y)]$.

2.1 The result-state model

- Although the PP *around the corner* expresses the trajectory rather than a specific goal (a kind of result state) that is obtained in the course of the running eventuality in (5), the verbal predicate is clearly non-homogeneous and thus telic.
- The opposite pattern to the one in (5) is also possible: The verbal predicate in the sentence below encodes some result state, but an atelic interpretation is nonetheless available.

(7) The soup cooled in an hour/for an hour.

(Hay et al. 1999, 138: (34))

2.1 The result-state model

- In the example above, although the predicate encodes that the soup undergoes a change of state and thus ends up in a new state, an atelic reading is easily available, as shown by the compatibility of the durative adverbial *for an hour* with the predicate.
- Overall, then, data like those in (5) and (7) pose a challenge for models that assume a direct link between result state and telicity. See also Filip (2012: 735) for some remarks on how the result-state model makes incorrect predictions regarding the telicity of predicates like *run for an hour* and *smile for an hour*.

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

- A prominent alternative to the result-state analysis is the exoskeletal theory of Borer (2005), who explicitly argues against decompositional analyses of resultative structures and particle verbs as structures expressing events divided into an activity subevent and a result state.
- More specifically, Borer (2005: Chs 7-8) argues that **English resultative APs** like ***flat*** in *hammer the metal flat* and **particles** like ***up*** in *write the letters up* are just **modifiers**, i.e. they do not induce in and of themselves telic interpretations. Consider Borer's examples, where (9a) is not possible on a single-event interpretation.

(8) a. Kate hammered metal flat. (for-T/*in-T)

b. Kate hammered the metal flat. (in-T/*for-T)

(9) a. *Kate wrote letters up.

b. Kate wrote the letters up. (in-T/*for-T)

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

- In *write the letters up*, the particle *up* modifies Borer's aspectual projection Asp_Q immediately above VP in a quantity (i.e. non-homogeneous and thus telic) structure and consequently strings containing a non-quantized direct object like **write letters up* are expected to be ungrammatical.
- Particles like *up*, along with resultative APs like *flat* in *hammer the metal flat,* do not assign range to an open value associated with Asp_Q, where **range assignment** is the **operation directly responsible for the creation of telic structures**. Resultatives do not even require the presence of Asp_Q on this analysis.

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

- When resultatives do get a telic interpretation, as in *hammer the metal flat*, **the telicity of the structure** is **directly linked to the quantity object DP** illustrating what Borer calls Verkuyl's generalization formulated as follows: "Telic interpretation can only emerge in the context of a direct argument with property α" (Borer 2005: 73), with α corresponding to specified quantity in Verkuyl's (1972, 1993) works, whereas in Borer (2005) it refers to the notion of quantity: "P is quantity iff P is not homogeneous" (*ibid*. 74).
- On Borer's analysis, where telicity becomes available in the presence of a quantity direct object, range assignment occurs through specifier-head agreement between the quantity object in [Spec, Asp_Q] and the Asp_Q head.

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

- In contrast to English resultatives and verbal particles like *up* in *write the letters up*, **Slavic perfective prefixes** like Russian *v* in *vstatj* 'stand up' (Svenonius 2004: 238) are argued to be **directly responsible** for **the creation of telic structures**. Such prefixes are not dependent on the presence of a quantity DP to yield a telic interpretation, as also illustrated by the example in (10).

(10) Petja po-zavtrakal za dve minuty.
Petja PERF-breakfast.PST.SG.MASC in two minutes
'Peter had breakfast in two minutes.'

Russian (Borik 2006: 189, (6.46b))

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

- Some English verb-particle combinations also illustrate this pattern. Consider (11).

(11) a. Robin took off (in two seconds).

b. The army took over (in two hours).

(Borer 2005: 203, (39c) and (40a))

- The predicates in (11) receive **a telic interpretation despite lacking a quantity object**. The telicity of these examples is argued to be due to the **range-assigning ability** of ***off*** and ***over*** in (11a) and (11b), respectively. A similar analysis is provided regarding goal PPs like *to the store* in *John ran to the store* (*ibid*. 208).
- In light of the data below, it is also plausible to assume that the perfective prefixes of the type in (10) are also range-assigners.

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

- Consider the examples from Polish in (12), illustrating how Slavic languages generally express situations encoded in English structures associated with a resultative AP/PP or goal PP.

(12) a. Adam wytarł stół do czysta.
Adam wiped table.ACC.S.M DO clean
'Adam wiped the table clean.'

b. Piotr przy-ciął patyk.
Peter shorter.cut.PA stick
'Peter cut the stick shorter.' Polish (Szajbel-Keck 2015: 39, (1.52) and (1.50))

c. Dzieci w-skoczyly do wody
children in-jump.PST.3SG to water
'The children jumped into the water.' Polish (Lindvall 2001: 158)

2.2 Borer's (2005) exoskeletal theory

- What is, however, generally disallowed in Slavic, or only available with an imperfective and atelic interpretation if possible at all, are predicates that contain a non-prefixed verb and a goal/resultative PP. These two options are shown by the ungrammatical string in (13) and the imperfective, atelic examples in (14).

(13) *On pilsja (p'janyj / p'janym).
he.NOM got drunk.IMPF (drunk.NOM / INST)

Russian (Madariaga 2024: 398, (26))

(14) a. Malarz malował dom na czerwono przez godzinę / *w godzinę. (atelic)
painter painted house on red for hour in hour
'The painter was painting the house red for an hour.'

b. Statek płynął do Ameryki przez tydzień / *w tydzień.
ship sailed to America for week in week

Polish (Gulgowski 2013: 5, (6b) and (7b))

2.2 Borer’s (2005) exoskeletal theory

- In light of the data above, it seems that, whereas most English verbal particles and resultative APs/PPs are only modifiers of event structure, Slavic perfective prefixes of the type discussed so far create event structure.
- Against this background, a central claim in this talk is that compared to their English and Slavic counterparts, **Hungarian verbal particles, goal PPs and resultative PPs** generally serve as **event-structure building elements** associated with a specific inner aspectual functional structure. They are all range-assigners on Borer’s (2005) analysis.
- By contrast, **internal object arguments in Hungarian do not generally participate in the creation of telic structures** associated with entailed telicity (Kardos 2016, Kardos and Farkas 2022).
- This dovetails nicely with a recent observation by MacDonald and Glodstaf (2025: 17) according to which "the contribution of the direct object noun contrasts with the contribution of other elements, like certain telicity inducing particles and goal phrases, which more robustly ensure telicity”.

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

- In this section I use Hungarian verbs of impact and surface contact to illustrate that verbal particles and resultatives in Hungarian generally create event structure.
- By contrast, quantity objects generally do not give rise to quantity structures associated with entailed telicity, unlike what we often see in English (see Verkuyl's generalization above). (But see also Section 5, where several examples will show that the relationship between quantity objects and telicity is less direct than previously thought even in English.)
- However, a quantity object must be used in the environment of telicizing particles and resultatives (cf. É. Kiss 2006, Kardos 2016, Kardos & Farkas 2022), as shown below with the impact verb *kalapál* 'hammer' in each string.

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

(15) a. János 10 percig / *10 perc alatt kalapált egy vaslemezt.
János for / *in 10 minutes hammered an ironsheet.ACC
'János was hammering/hammered an ironsheet for / *in 10 minutes.'
(atelic without particle, with quantity object)

b. János 10 percig / *10 perc alatt fémet kalapált.
János for / *in 10 minutes metal.ACC hammered
'János was hammering/hammered flat for / *in 10 minutes.'
(atelic without particle, with non-quantity object)

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

(16) a. János 10 perc alatt / *10 percig meg/ki-kalapált egy lemezt.
János in / *for 10 minutes PRT-hammered a sheet.ACC
'János hammered a sheet in / *for 10 minutes.'
(telic with particle and quantity object)

b. János 10 perc alatt / *10 percig lapos-ra kalapált egy lemezt.
János in / *for 10 minutes flat-onto hammered a sheet.ACC
'János hammered a sheet flat in / *for 10 minutes.'
(telic with result PP and quantity object)

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

(17) a. *János meg-kalapált/ki-kalapált fémet.
János PRT-hammered/PRT-hammered metal.ACC
(unacceptable with particle and non-quantity object)

b. * János lapos-ra kalapált fémet.
János flat-onto hammered metal.ACC
(unacceptable with result PP and non-quantity object)

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

- These data suggest that both verb particles like *meg* and *ki* and resultatives like *laposra* 'lit. onto flat' are only compatible with a quantity/telic interpretation. Atelicity obtains in their absence.
- We can thus hypothesise that these elements are directly responsible for the creation of event structures. This is also illustrated by the behaviour of another impact verb *simogat* 'pet' in (18).

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

(18) a. Juli 10 perc-ig/*10 perc alatt simogatott egy macskát.
Juli 10 minute-for/*10 minute under petted a cat.ACC
'Juli petted a cat for 10 minutes.'

b. Juli *10 perc-ig meg-simogatott egy macskát.
Juli 10 minute-for PRT-petted a cat.ACC
Literally: 'Juli petted a cat in 10 minutes.'

c. Juli 10 perc alatt/*10 perc-ig fényes-re simogatta
Juli 10 minute under/*10 minute-for shiny-onto petted
egy macska szőrét
a cat his/her.hair.ACC
'Juli petted a cat’s hair shiny in 10 minutes.'

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

Similarly to *kalapál* 'hammer', the particleless verb *simogat* 'pet' is compatible with a quantity or non-quantity object, whereas the particle verb only tolerates a quantity DP. Compare and contrast (19) and (20).

(19) a. János simogatott egy macskát.
János petted a cat.ACC
'János petted a cat.'

b. János macskát simogatott.
János cat.ACC petted
'János petted cats.'

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

(20) a. János meg-simogatott egy macskát.
János PRT-petted a cat.ACC
'János petted a cat.'

b. *János macskát simogatott meg.
János cat.ACC petted PRT

c. *János meg-simogatott macskát.
János PRT-petted cat.ACC

3. Event structure creation in Hungarian

- In Kardos & Farkas (2022), the clear contrast between telic and atelic strings like those above is reflected in the syntax of the Hungarian event domain. Telic structures are associated with an inner aspectual functional projection, AspP, flanked by VP and vP, (as inspired by previous work by Travis 1991, 2010, Borer 2005, and MacDonald 2008), whereas atelic structures are not characterized by such a projection.
- Semantically, telicizing verbal particles and result PPs are argued to be overt instantiations of the maximalization operator of Filip and Rothstein (2005) and Filip (2008) in the specifier of this aspectual projection.

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- Another important property of verbal predicates of impact and surface contact is that they are often not associated with the attainment of a specific result state with respect to the referent of the internal argument (see also Kardos 2024, 2025).

(21) a. János 10 perc alatt ki-mosott egy inget,
János 10 min under PRT-washed a shirt.ACC
de az nem változott semmit.
but that not changed nothing.ACC
'János washed a shirt, but the shirt didn’t change.'

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

b. Balázs 10 perc alatt ki-súrolt egy edényt,
Balázs 10 min under PRT-completed a dish.ACC
de az nem változott semmit.
but that not changed nothing.ACC
'Balázs scrubbed a dish, but the dish didn’t change.'

c. Erika 10 perc alatt ki-takarított egy szobát,
Erika 10 min under PRT-cleaned a room.ACC
de az nem lett tiszta.
but that not became clean
Literally: 'Erika cleaned a room, but it didn't become clean.'

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- Further evidence for the claim that the event structures associated with *kisúrol egy edényt* 'scrub a dish' and other similar examples do not include a result state comes from the fact that such predicates receive only a repetitive interpretation in the presence of the adverb *újra* 'again'.

(22) Péter újra ki-súrolt egy edényt.
Péter again PRT-scrubbed a dish.ACC
'Péter scrubbed a dish again.'

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- The truth of the sentence above requires multiple scrubbing eventualities. This follows if we assume that the adverb *újra* 'again' scopes over the entire scrubbing event. A narrow scope reading, where *újra* 'again' scopes over a result state, is not available.
- By contrast, the use of *újra* 'again' in sentences associated with result verbs like *felmelegít* 'warm (telic)' is compatible with two readings, as shown in (22).

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

(23) Juli újra fel-melegítette a levest.
Juli again PRT-warmed the soup.ACC
'Juli warmed the soup again.'

- The string above can be interpreted in two ways: On one reading, Juli warmed the soup multiple times (repetitive reading), whereas on the other interpretation, the soup became warm again as a result of Juli's warming it (narrow scope reading). This ambiguity signals the presence of a result state in the verbal predicate.
- That a narrow scope reading requires a result state or location in addition to a causative event structure has recently been argued by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2024: 20-21) in their analysis of the verb *sweep* in English. For more on the *again*-test, see von Stechow (1995, 1996).

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- Yet another piece of evidence for the lack of result states in predicates like *kimos egy inget* 'wash a shirt (telic)' comes from the interpretation of such predicates in the presence of measure adverbs like *félig* 'halfway'.

(24) a. Réka fél-ig ki-mosott egy inget.
Réka half-to PRT-washed a shirt.ACC
'Réka completed half of the process of washing a shirt.'

b. Enikő fél-ig ki-takarított egy garázst.
Enikő half-to PRT-cleaned a garage.ACC
'Enikő completed half of the process of cleaning a garage.'

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- Crucially, the sentences above cannot mean that the shirt and the garage became half clean at the end of the washing and cleaning activities, as also discussed in Kardos (2025: 80).
- In other words, the measure adverb *félig* 'halfway' does not pertain to a result state in (24a) and (24b). Instead, the only interpretation available with these examples is that the washing and cleaning processes have been half finished.
- Crucially, measure adverbs behave differently in English since adverbs like *partly* "modify the endstate of the core event in the verb's lexical meaning". For example, one possible interpretation of the English predicate *half cleaned a garage* is that the garage became half clean. For more on this, see Tenny (2000: 296).

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- But then the question arises: how are result states expressed with predicates like *kimos egy inget* ‘wash a shirt (telic)’ and *kisúrol egy kádat* 'scrub a tub (telic)'?
- Two main strategies for the expression of result states:

(25) a. Réka **foltmentes-re** (?ki-)súrolt egy kádat.
Réka spotless-SUBL (PRT-)scrubbed a tub.ACC
'Réka scrubbed a tub spotless.'
(res PP + base verb or less typically particle verb)

b. Réka **foltmentes-en** ki-súrolt egy kádat.
Réka spotless-ly PRT-scrubbed a tub.ACC
'Réka scrubbed a tub spotlessly.' (res adverbial PP + particle verb)

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- Telicity in the examples in (25) is ensured by the result PP *foltmentesre* 'lit. onto spotless' or the verbal particle *ki*. As discussed above, on the analysis of Kardos & Farkas (2022), this is captured by the assumption that both result PPs and verbal particles occupy [Spec, AspP]. Their co-occurrence thus is expected to yield unnatural strings, which is borne out in (26).

(26) ??János laposra ki-kalapált egy vaslemezt.

János flat-SUBL PRT-hammered an iron sheet.ACC

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- A quick comparison of the Hungarian facts with the facts of Slavic languages shows that the expression of results and telicity is different in the latter type of languages.
- As mentioned earlier, when resultatives are possible, an imperfective and atelic interpretation will be available, as in (27a) from Russian.

(27) a. Ona molotkom delala list metalla ploskim.
she hammer.INST made sheet metal.of flat.INST
'She was making the metal flat with a hammer.' (imperf. and atelic)

b. Ona molotkom s-delala list metalla ploskim.
she hammer.INST PF-made sheet metal.of flat.INST
'She made the metal flat with a hammer.' (perf. and telic)

(Russian, confirmed by Irina Burukina, p.c.)

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- In contrast to what is observable in Slavic languages regarding the appearance of resultative PPs, we see a different pattern in Hungarian. Resultative PPs are generally acceptable with manner verbs, with or without a particle, as shown below:

(28) a. János 10 perc alatt/*10 perc-ig **tisztá-ra** mosta az asztalt.
János 10 min under/*10 min-for clean-SUBL washed the table.ACC
'János washed the table clean in 10 minutes.'

b. János 10 perc alatt/*10 perc-ig **le**-mosta az asztalt **tisztá-ra**
János 10 min under/*10 min-for PRT-washed the table.ACC clean-SUBL
'János washed the table clean in 10 minutes.'

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- Finally, that results are independent from telicity is also confirmed by the following data, where the presence or absence of a result state is evidenced by the interpretation of adverbials like *csúnyán* ‘uglily’ in the sentence, as shown in (29).

(29) a. Anna 10 perc-ig/*10 perc alatt csúnyá-n rajzolt.
Anna 10 minute-for/*10 minute under ugli-ly drew
'Anna drew something that was ugly for 10 minutes.'

b. Anna csúnyá-n evett.
Anna ugli-ly ate
'Anna ate in an ugly manner.'

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- In (29a), the adverbial can be interpreted as a result adverbial in that it applies to the state of the drawing that came about in the course of the drawing activity.
- This is not possible in (29b), where only a manner adverbial interpretation is available, i.e. the way the eating activity was carried out was ugly.
- At the same time, the predicate in (29a) is strictly atelic, as diagnosed by the temporal adverbial test. This serves as further evidence for the independence of result from telicity.

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

- That the predicate in (29a) expresses a simple activity is also suggested by the optionality of the direct object with such examples involving result adverbials, assuming a direct correlation between event complexity and argument structure, as per, for example, the argument-per-subevent condition, which says that there must be one argument in the syntax per subevent in the event structure (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2001). Compare and contrast (30a) and (30b).

4. Results are orthogonal to telicity

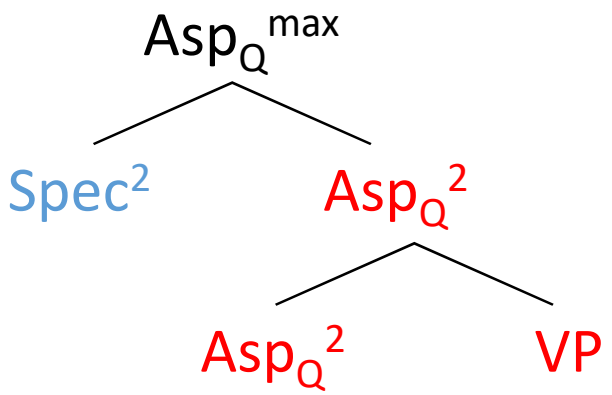
(30) a. Anna csúnyá-n rajzolt (egy házat).
Anna ugli-ly drew (a house.ACC)
'Anna drew ugly pictures/an ugly picture (of a house).'

b. Anna nagy-ra rajzolt *(egy házat).
Anna big-SUBL drew *(a house.ACC)
'Anna drew a house big.'

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- In this section I finally address how the syntax of event structural elements varies across English, Slavic languages such as Russian and Polish and Hungarian. In line with Borer (2005: 72), the following simplified (and partial) sentence structure is posited:

(31)



- Red indicates the quantity predicate,whereas blue shows subject-of-quantity in Borer (*ibid*.). The superscript 2 indicates the relation between subject-of-quantity and the quantity predicate in a specifier-head configuration.

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- Cross-linguistic differences arise thanks to differences regarding range assignment to an open value <e># associated with the Asp_Q head. In light of the data discussed so far, the following typology emerges:

	internal DP	verbal particle/prefix	goal PP	resultative phrase
English	yes (Borer 2005) no (MacDonald & Glodstaf 2025)	usually no (particle modifies VP or Asp_Q), but see *off* in *take off*	yes (Borer 2005, MacDonald & Glodstaf 2025)	no
Polish, Russian	no	yes (Borer 2005)	no	no
Hungarian	no	yes	yes (Kardos and Farkas 2022)	yes

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- As originally proposed in Borer (2005), in English, verbal particles like *off* in *take off* and goal PPs assign range to the Asp_Q head; i.e. they are directly responsible for the creation of event structure.
- By contrast, English resultatives and other verbal particles are just modifiers in a telic or atelic structure.
- In Slavic, it is prefixes that assign range to Asp_Q by virtue of being phonological instantiations of a quantificational head feature (Borer 2005: Chs 6-7). Bare internal object nominals in [Spec, Asp_Q] receive their quantity reading from (quantificational) prefixes. The quantity value of the Asp_Q head is copied onto the specifier by agreement.

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- In Hungarian, the element that assigns range is always a phrase (a PP, or less frequently an AdvP): a resultative PP or a goal PP or a verb particle.
- This is supported by the fact that the morphology of resultative and goal PPs in this language is complex, they are suffixed nouns or adjectives.
- As for verb particles, some are clearly PPs since they are morphologically complex, consisting of a P followed by an overt pronoun (e.g. *rá+m* 'onto me') or a noun and a case suffix (e.g. *hely+re* 'lit. onto place').
- Some verb particles look like bare adverbs (e.g. *ide* 'here + goal',) or bare Ps (e.g. *keresztül* 'through'), so no direct evidence of phrasal status, but these have exactly the same distribution as the above-mentioned phrasal particles, so presumably phrasal nonetheless (see also Kardos & Pethő 2024 for more examples).

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- In contrast to Slavic prefixes, Hungarian resultative and goal PPs as well as verb particles, being phrases, arguably occupy [Spec, Asp_Q]. On Borer's (2005) account, the open value <e># in the Asp_Q head is assigned range from this position through specifier-head agreement.
- Hungarian internal DPs are either quantity or homogeneous independently of the (non-)quantity status of the verbal predicate in contrast to Slavic.

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- How is it best to characterize direct objects in English?
- According to Borer (2005), quantity objects are indirect range assigners, giving rise to telic interpretations by virtue of being in a specifier-head agreement relation with Asp_Q. This means that they are responsible for creating event structure by virtue of being associated with aspectually relevant syntactic properties.
- In a recent paper, MacDonald and Glodstaf (2025: 5) argue against this view. Two important assumptions in this work are that (i) "grammatical/syntactic information is rigid while conceptual information is flexible" (see also Borer 2005) and that (ii) once grammatical information is specified in the syntax, it should not be removed (as captured, for example, by Koontz-Garboden's 2009 structure preserving notion of monotonicity).

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- They show how quantity objects with or without conceptual content are often compatible with atelic readings, and bare nouns or verb phrases without an object can give rise to telic readings.

(31) a. They lengthened the rope. (quantity object and atelic reading)

b. The tailor lengthened my pants. (quantity object and telic reading)

(32) Pat drank it for 10 minutes/in 10 minutes.

(object without conceptual content and aspectual variability)

(33) Dana ate breakfast/lunch/dinner for/in 10 minutes.

(bare object and aspectual variability)

(34) Dana ate in 10 minutes. (no object and telicity is possible)

(MacDonald & Glodstaf 2025: 12)

5. A novel typology of event structural elements

- An important conclusion the authors draw based on these data and some others is that "nouns do not have any grammatical/syntactic features/functional projection dedicated to their inner aspectual contribution" in the grammar of English and other languages such as Korean, Mandarin and Japanese (*ibid*. 14).

(35) a. John-wa sanjikan tegami-o kak-ta.
John-NOM three.hours.for letter-ACC write-PST
'John wrote the letter for three hours.'

b. John-wa sanjikan-de tegami-o kak-ta.
John-NOM three.hours-in letter-ACC write-PST
'John wrote the letter in three hours.'

Japanese (Travis 2010: 126, (65a) and (65b))

6. Conclusion

- The data discussed in this talk indicate that event structural elements such as internal DPs, verbal particles/prefixes, resultative PPs and goal PPs have different grammatical effects in the event domain of the sentence both within and across languages.
- Some create event structure and thus turn atelic predicates into telic ones, while others serve as modifiers of telic or atelic predicates.
- Data from languages such as English, Hungarian, and Slavic languages like Russian and Polish also lead us to conclude that results states are just an epiphenomenon to telicity.

Thank you!

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