

The Syntax and Semantics of Inner Aspect

Class 3: Measuring-out and the syntax-semantics interface,
the syntactic instantiation of telicity 1

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Introduction

- In several earlier analyses, telicity is considered to be a purely semantic phenomenon.
- Today we will start exploring how it has also become interesting for syntacticians based on various ways (a)telic interpretations correlate with syntactic phenomena.

Introduction

- (i) We will begin with a theory where we'll find several arguments for the unique role of the direct internal argument (as opposed to indirect internal arguments and external arguments) in determining aspectual interpretations. On this analysis, lexical semantic properties are still important in determining argument/event structures.
- (ii) Then we turn our attention to a theory where inner aspect/telicity is syntactically represented, primarily based on facts of accusative case assignment, though the lexical semantics of verbs is still grammatically relevant.
- (iii) Finally, we end today's class with a theory where a specific syntactic configuration is responsible for telic interpretations with lexical semantic information associated with verbs and argument(s) playing no role in whether or not these interpretations become available. Support for this comes from polysemy in the verbal domain.

Introduction

Here are the theories for today:

- (i) Tenny's (1994) linking theory: I focus on the grammar of the direct internal argument and the mapping between aspectual roles and argument positions discussed in Chapter 1 in Tenny (1994).
- (ii) Kratzer's (2004) syntax: I briefly illustrate the relationship between case and inner aspect and see how it is captured in this theory.
- (iii) Borer's (2005) syntax: I outline the basic ingredients of this syntax based on Chapter 3 in Borer (2005).

Tenny's linking theory: central idea

- Tenny (1987, 1994) is primarily interested in what lexical semantic properties determine the kinds of argument structure patterns verbs appear in.
- The main idea in this work is that it is only aspectual properties like delimitedness that have a role in the mapping between lexical semantics and syntax.
- This is formulated in the Aspectual Interface Hypothesis (AIH) in (1).

Tenny's linking theory: the AIH

(1) **The Aspectual Interface Hypothesis:** The universal principles of mapping between thematic structure and syntactic argument structure are governed by aspectual properties. Constraints on the aspectual properties associated with direct internal arguments, indirect internal arguments, and external arguments in syntactic structure constrain the kinds of event participants that can occupy these positions. Only the aspectual part of thematic structure is visible to the universal linking principles (Tenny 1994: 2).

- Tenny (1994: 105) aims to provide an alternative to theories of thematic roles, which turn out to suffer from several weaknesses including the lack of reliable diagnostics of the role types (for a good overview of these problems, see Chapter 2 in Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005).

Tenny's linking theory: three linking constraints

- Three linking constraints are proposed regarding the realization of the external argument, the direct internal argument and the indirect internal argument:
 - (i) the Measuring-Out Constraint on direct internal arguments,
 - (ii) The Terminus Constraint on indirect internal arguments, and
 - (iii) the Non-Measuring Constraint on external arguments.
- Today we focus on (i) and (ii).

Tenny's linking theory: the MOC

(2) The Measuring-Out Constraint (MOC) on Direct Internal Arguments:

- (i) The direct internal argument of a simple verb is constrained so that it undergoes no necessary internal motion or change, unless it is motion or change which 'measures out the event' over time.
- (ii) Direct internal arguments are the only overt arguments which can 'measure out the event'.
- (iii) There can be no more than one measuring-out for any event described by a verb.

Tenny's linking theory: three kinds of measuring-out

Three kinds of measuring-out:

- (i) incremental-theme verbs: eat an apple, build a house
- (ii) change-of-state verbs: ripen the fruit, crack the glass
- (iii) path-object verbs: walk the Appalachian Trail, play a sonata
- Tenny (1994: 18) also notes that these verbs may well not be truly distinct from one another, but they do provide a typology of how internal arguments measure out events.
- Providing a unified analysis of these different types becomes an important goal in work on inner aspect. For more on this, see, for example, scalar semantic analyses like Hay *et al.* (1999), an early example, and Beavers (2012), who builds on Krifka's work, discussed in class 2, and more recent scalar analyses like Kennedy and Levin (2008).

Tenny's linking theory: direct internal arguments vs. external arguments and indirect internal arguments

(i) the case of *halfway*

(3) a. Mary ate an apple halfway.

b. Susan walked the Appalachian Trail halfway.

(4) a. *Martha danced halfway.

b. *Thomas ate halfway.

- The adverb *halfway* modifies the measure provided by the direct internal argument.

Tenny's linking theory: direct internal arguments vs. external arguments and indirect internal arguments

- Tenny (1994: 126): *I ate halfway* is an odd sentence, but we could imagine it to mean that 'I ate half of some prototypical meal'. If *halfway* modified the action of eating, this sentence would work, but since it modifies the measure, it sounds unnatural. (For a different pattern in Hungarian, see class 5.)
- External arguments cannot measure out events.
- It is also expected that modification with the adverbial *halfway* will work with unaccusatives, as well.

(5) a. The lake froze halfway.

b. The candle melted halfway.

Tenny's linking theory: direct internal arguments vs. external arguments and indirect internal arguments

(ii) **Mass/count distinctions:** The mass/count properties of an external or an indirect internal argument cannot alter the delimitedness of the entire predicate:

- (6) a. Mary killed the rosebush in a day/*for a day.
b. Snow killed the rosebush in a day/*for a day.
- (7) a. John melted the ice cube with a candle in a minute/*for a minute.
b. John melted the ice cube with hot coal in a minute/*for a minute.

Tenny's linking theory: further evidence for the measuring role of direct internal arguments

(iii) **Cognate objects:**

- (8) a. Josie danced (for an hour/*in an hour).
b. Josie danced a silly dance (in five minutes/for five minutes).

(iv) **Reflexives:**

- (9) a. John shaved (for an hour/in an hour).
b. John shaved himself (*for an hour/in an hour).

(v) **Object drop:**

- (10) a. Brian ate a pizza (in five minutes/*for five minutes).
b. Brian ate (*?in five minutes/for five minutes).

Tenny's linking theory: further evidence for the measuring role of direct internal arguments

(vi) **The conative:**

- (11) a. eat the apple in an hour
 b. *eat at the apple in an hour

- (12) a. eat the apple up
 b. *eat at the apple up

(vii) **Resultatives:**

- (13) a. paint the wall blue
 b. *paint on the wall blue

- (14) a. pull the door open
 b. *pull on the door open

Tenny's linking theory: further evidence for the measuring role of direct internal arguments

(viii) **The locative alternation:**

- (15) a. ??Jeremiah sprayed the paint on the wall (in five minutes) and there was half a can left over.
- b. Jeremiah sprayed the wall with the paint (in five minutes) and there was half a can left over.
- Only when the paint is the direct internal argument is there a reading in which it must be completely consumed in the event.

Tenny's linking theory: the Terminus Constraint

(16) **The Terminus Constraint** on Indirect Internal Arguments:

- (i) An indirect internal argument can only participate in aspectual structure by providing a terminus for the event described by the verb. The terminus causes the event to be delimited.
- (ii) If the event has a terminus, it also has a path, either implicit or overt.
- (iii) An event as described by a verb can have only one terminus.

Tenny's linking theory: the Terminus Constraint

- Sentences with path-object verbs are often ambiguous.

(17) a. walk the trail for an hour/in an hour

b. climb the ladder for an hour/in an hour

- The presence of an event terminus disambiguates expressions like (17a) and (17b).

(18) a. walk the trail to its end *for an hour/in an hour

b. climb the ladder to the top *for an hour/in an hour

- With incremental-theme verbs like *eat*, the direct internal argument measures out the event, an additional goal only further specifies the endpoint of the event.

(19) eat an apple to the core

Tenny's linking theory: the aspectual roles and the mapping principles

- There are two possible aspectual role grids for non-stative verbs:
 - (i) [MEASURE] associated, for example, with the theme in incremental-theme verbs or the object undergoing change in change-of-state verbs
 - (ii) [PATH, TERMINUS] generally associated with verbs of motion
- Tenny (1994: 128) argues that the difference between the two aspectual grids reflects Krifka's (1992) distinction between quantized predicates and predicates with set terminal points. See, for example, the predicate *walk to the bank*, which is not quantized, but has a set terminal point.
- Specific principles are formulated regarding the mapping of argument roles to argument positions: a MEASURE must be an internal direct object, a TERMINUS must be an internal indirect argument and a PATH is either implicit or an internal argument.

Tenny's linking theory: the Single Delimiting Constraint

Tenny also combines the third clause of the MOC and that of the Terminus Constraint into a single condition:

(20) **The Single Delimiting Constraint:** The event described by a verb may only have one measuring-out and be delimited only once.

- An important prediction is the unavailability of the structures in (21), where in each example the verb appears with more than one resultative or verb particle:

(21) a. *Martha wiped the table dry clean.

b. *The sun dried the grass up out.

Tenny's linking theory: the Single Delimiting Constraint

- The validity of this constraint has been challenged by various authors. See, for instance, the following examples from Ausensi and Bigolin (2021) for a recent challenge:

- (22) a. The Indians were laying for them and shot them **dead off their horses**.
b. Schumacher's forearm connected with Battiston's face, removing two teeth and knocking him **unconscious to the ground**.

(Ausensi and Bigolin 2021: 576, (4a) and (4b))

- In (22a) the AP *dead* and the PP *off their horses* express result states with respect to the same entity in the event of the clause, whereas in (22b) it is the AP *unconscious* and the PP *to the ground* that serve this function.
- So, the event is delimited twice, which is a violation of the Single Delimiting Constraint.

Tenny's linking theory: the Single Delimiting Constraint

- Also, the following examples from Hungarian also seem to pose a challenge for this constraint:

(23) a. Juli **elegáns-an** **rövid-re** vágta Béla haját.

Juli elegant-ly short-SUBL cut Béla his.hair.ACC

'Juli elegantly cut Béla's hair short.'

b. Kati **foltmentes-en** **tisztá-ra** súrolt egy kádat.

Kati spotless-ly clean-SUBL scrubbed a tub.ACC

'Kati scrubbed a tub spotless and clean.'

Tenny's linking theory: the Single Delimiting Constraint

- Ausensi and Bigolin (2021: 575) argue that the Single Delimiting Constraint, or the Unique Path Constraint, as they call it after Goldberg (1991), can be saved if it is understood as a syntactic constraint, and not a semantic one.
- On this analysis, this constraint restricts the number of syntactic results in a single clause: There can only be one syntactic result in the sentence: "the verbalizing little *v* head can only select for one result predicate as its complement".
- In (22a) and (22b), the APs *dead* and *unconscious* are argued to be syntactic results, whereas the PPs *off their horses* and *to the group* are analyzed as modifiers, which they call low depictives, using the terminology of Acedo-Matellán et al. (forthcoming). For a different view, see Ausensi et al. (2024).

Tenny's linking theory: the Single Delimiting Constraint

- The Hungarian facts in (23) are accounted for in a somewhat similar fashion in Kardos (2026) in the sense that the two result-denoting expressions in a single clause are associated with different syntactic functions: expressions like *elegánsan* 'elegantly' are argued to modify inner aspectual AspP in the Hungarian event domain, whereas resultative expressions ending in the sublative case suffix *-ra/-re* occupy [Spec, AspP], thereby creating telic structures. For more on the structure of the Hungarian event domain, see class 4.

Tenny's linking theory: summary

- The aspectual constraints on syntactic arguments, the principles regarding the mapping between aspectual roles and argument positions, together with the Single Delimiting Constraint, constitute the set of conditions linking aspectual structure and syntactic structure.
- The generalization that direct internal arguments can measure out events is a central generalization in inner aspect research captured in various ways in both semantic and syntactic analyses, though measuring-out is left unaccounted for in some analyses (see Dowty 1979).
- The analyses we discuss next both pay special attention to the measuring role of direct objects. Kratzer (2004) captures that in the semantics of a [telic] feature, whereas Borer (2005) associates direct objects like *the apple* in *eat the apple* with an indirect range assigning role.

Kratzer (2004): central claims

- There is a connection between telicity and accusative case not only in Finnish, where it's quite transparent, but also in German, and probably in English as well. Consider (24) from Finnish.

(24) a. Ammu-i-n		karhu-a.	Partitive – unbounded VP
shoot-PAST-1SG		bear-PART	
'I shot at a bear.'			
'I shot at the bear.'			
b. Ammu-i-n		karhu-n.	Accusative – bounded VP
shoot-PAST-1SG		bear-ACC	
'I shot the bear.'			
'I shot a bear.'			

(Kratzer 2004: 389), see also Kiparsky (1998)

Kratzer (2004): central claims

- On minimalist views, this connection might be provided as feature-checking, where verbal inflectional features might be the interpretable counterparts of uninterpretable case features.
- If there are verbal inflectional heads corresponding to telicity, the relation between objective case and telicity is agreement.
- An uninterpretable feature [acc] on DPs agrees with its interpretable counterpart, a verbal inflectional feature [acc] (= [telic]) linked to telicity.
- Telicity is thus syntactically instantiated (in the case of a large class of verbs).

Kratzer (2004): some background to this analysis

- Although Kratzer is critical of the notion of quantization in determining telicity, she also builds on Krifka (1989, 1992) by integrating algebraic properties like Mapping to Events into her analysis.
- Here is how Kratzer (2004: 393) describes this property: Suppose R is the relation denoted by some transitive verb and R holds between an individual x and an event e . The event e culminates with respect to x just in case for every part x' of x there is a part e' of e such that R holds between x' and e' .

Kratzer (2004): denotations for verbs and [telic]

(25) climb- $\lambda x \lambda e$ climb-up(x)(e)

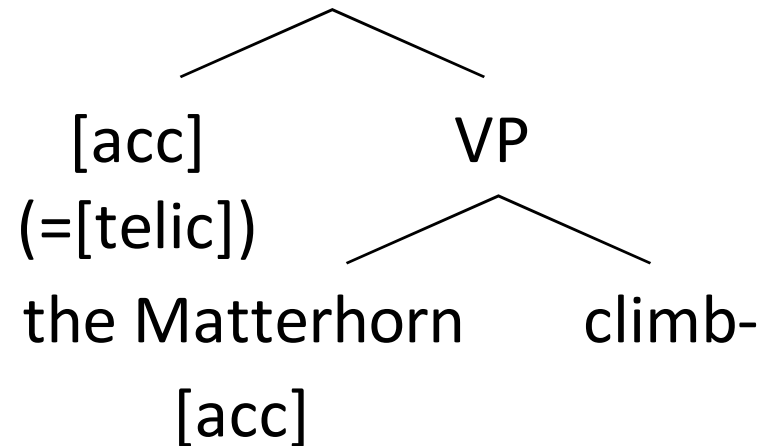
[telic] $\lambda R \lambda x \lambda e$ [$R(x)(e)$ & $\exists f$ [measure(f) & $\forall x' [x' \leq f(x) \rightarrow \exists e'$
 $[e' \leq e \text{ \& } R(x')(e')]]]$]]

- *climb* expresses a relation between an individual x in an event e just in case e is an event of climbing up x .
- [telic] applies to the denotations of verbs like *climb*. It turns atelic stems into telic ones: Its only job is to require that the events described by the verb culminate with respect to the referent of the direct object argument.
- f is a function that maps referents of direct objects into measuring rods.
- This is necessary since not all verb stems that should be able to combine with [telic] readily suggest a nontrivial part structure for the referents of their direct objects. Consider *shoot the bear*.

Kratzer (2004): telicity constructed in syntax

Kratzer's simplified tree representing *climb the Matterhorn*:

(26)



- The DP *the Matterhorn* eventually ends up in a higher position since in its original position it would only denote a property of events rather than the required relation between individuals and events.

Kratzer (2004): telicity constructed in syntax

- What Kratzer wishes to show in this work is that the syntactic construction of telicity is desirable and feasible: An uninterpretable nominal feature [acc] can be checked by a matching interpretable verbal feature that requires the events described to culminate with respect to the direct object referent.
- As mentioned at the outset, the lexical semantics of verbs still matters, though. Verbs are lexically telic or atelic on this view.

Kratzer (2004): lexical semantics still matters

- Kratzer distinguishes between three verb types:
 - (i) Eventive verbs associated with telicity. These are traditionally called achievement verbs. Verbs like *win* and *lose* belong to this group. These verbs combine with [telic] for case-assignment reasons only.
 - (ii) Eventive verbs that are primarily atelic: Culmination conditions for such verbs can be inferred using general cognitive principles. Any such verb can combine with [telic], as long as suitable measures for the success of the events described could be associated with the verb's direct object, often in interaction with contextually provided information. Such transitive verbs alternate between telic and atelic uses.

Kratzer (2004): three types of verbs

(27) a. The doctor examined the patient in/for an hour.

b. We cooked the egg in/for five minutes.

c. We milked the cow in/for ten minutes.

d. She cleaned the house in/for two hours.

(iii) Stative verbs like *love*, *admire* and *hate* are unambiguously atelic. These verbs describe processes or states that do not affect the referents of their direct objects directly. So the referents can't provide bounds for scales measuring the success of the events described.

Borer's (2005) syntax: central claims

- In contrast to much prior literature, Borer (2005) denies that telicity is compositionally calculated from lexical properties of the verb and its argument(s).
- Telicity on this view is derived from a specific syntactic configuration: Telic structures are quantity (i.e. non-homogeneous) structures instantiated by an aspectual functional projection headed by AspQ.
- The central operation responsible for the creation of telic structures is range assignment, where range is assigned to an open value associated with AspQ.
- Atelicity is the absence of telicity.
- Cross-linguistic variation arises because of the different types of range-assigning options available within and across languages.

Borer's (2005) syntax: some basic assumptions

- Lexical entries do not contain information about the projection of arguments, contra what is assumed on lexicalist/projectionist (cf. Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998) or, in Borer's terminology, endo-skeletal approaches, nor are there any specified links between the lexical semantics of individual lexical items and syntactic positions.
- On Borer's exo-skeletal approach, or the XS-approach, "the structure is independent of the properties of specific listemes" (Borer 2005: 6).
- The assignment of roles to arguments is accomplished primarily by the syntax of those arguments, which is based on event structure.
- Listemes are modifiers of structures, with their syntactic properties determined by the hierarchical syntactic and morphological structure dominating them. → Verbs and nouns come about in the syntax.

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

- Support for the XS-approach comes from the polysemy of verbs: verbs are free to appear in a range of constructions restricted by the compatibility of the core meaning of the verb with the semantics of the construction.
- The existence of variable-behavior verbs is an illustration of this freedom.

(28) a. Jan heeft gesprongen. (Dutch)

Jan has jumped

b. Jan is in de sloot gesprongen.

Jan is in the ditch jumped

'Jan jumped into the ditch.'

(Borer 2005: 32)

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

(29) a. Gianni ha corso.

(Italian)

Gianni has run

b. Gianni e corso a casa.

Gianni is run to home

(Borer 2005: 32)

Here is what Borer's (2005: 31-32) argument looks like:

- The systematic syntactic patterning of arguments of unaccusatives with direct objects vs. the systematic syntactic patterning of arguments of unergatives with the subjects of transitives is argued to provide support for the projectionist approach.
- The class of unaccusatives and unergatives is typically the same across different languages. → Information regarding argument realization seems to be encoded in the lexical semantics.

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

- However, the unaccusative-unergative alternation is not as lexical-entry dependent as it is often argued to be. The examples in (28) and (29) illustrate this.
- But see Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995, Ch. 5) for arguments regarding the claim that agentive verbs of manner of motion are unaccusative in the presence of a directional phrase.

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

- Here is some further illustration of verbs appearing in a wide range of environments:

- (30) a. The fire stations sirened throughout the raid.
b. The factory sirened midday and everyone stopped for lunch.
c. The police sirened the Porsche to a stop.
d. The police car sirened up to the accident.
e. The police car sirened the daylights out of me. (Borer 2005: 69)

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

- Borer (2005: 69-70) observes that, while there is a shared meaning between all occurrences of the verb *siren*, this shared meaning does not correlate with any commonality in argument structure projection.
- On the projectionist view, we would have to assume that the verb *siren* has five lexical entries, each with a somewhat different meaning, and each with a different argument structure specification, ensured by at least four lexical mapping operations, determining its five distinct syntactic projection environments.

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

- On the XS-approach, five different syntactic templates are needed, but there need only be a single item, *siren*, meaning the emission of a siren noise, together with whatever world knowledge and connotations are associated specifically with sirens.
- By Occam's razor, the winning hypothesis is the exo-skeletal one: The particular event in which *siren* is embedded is determined by the syntax it finds itself in, and not by *siren* itself.

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

Yet another argument against the role of lexical semantics in structure building is provided in (31).

(31) a. Kim pushed the button/lever.

b. Kim pulled the rope/the lever. (Borer 2005: 128)

- These examples are ambiguous: The predicate *push the button*, for instance, is atelic if it describes a situation without a well-defined endpoint, but it can also get a telic reading if it expresses a situation associated with a clear result (e.g. a bell ringing). This is bad news for approaches associating *push* and *pull* with some lexical semantic property ensuring one specific aspectual reading (see the standard judgement that *push the cart* is atelic).

Borer's (2005) syntax: support for the XS-approach

- On the XS-approach, the ambiguity in (31) follows from the syntactic structure associated with specific utterances, similarly to what we see in Finnish, where telic interpretations arise in the context of accusative case, whereas atelic interpretations arise in the context of partitive case.
- That *push the cart* is atelic follows from world knowledge: Given a grammatical event structure, "common sense and world knowledge are called upon to render the meaning of the individual concepts involved compatible with it" (see also Borer's claim that the string *the book read Anna* can be generated but odd).

Borer's (2005) syntax: atelicity is the absence of telicity

- Borer assumes that, similarly to what characterizes the nominal domain, in the verbal domain quantity is syntactically realized in the form of a functional head associated with an open value $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$ in need of range assignment.
- The basic atelicity of verbal expressions follows from the fact that items within the conceptual array have no grammatical properties. → There is no specific functional projection responsible for atelic interpretations.
- If verbal stems are unstructured stuff, then in the absence of syntactic structuring they will remain so.

Borer's (2005) syntax: direct vs. indirect range assignment

- The verb stem, inherently without quantity, is embedded within a quantity phrase, which will potentially assign quantity to the event, i.e. make it telic.
- Such a quantity phrase is headed by an open value in need of range assignment.
- Range assignment can be direct or indirect: Direct range assignment occurs where there is, for example, a head feature or an f-morph which can assign range to the open value $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$ associated with AspQ.
- In the verbal domain, English typically does not provide dedicated range assigners to this open value: there is neither a head feature nor an f-morph which can assign range to the open value of the aspectual head.

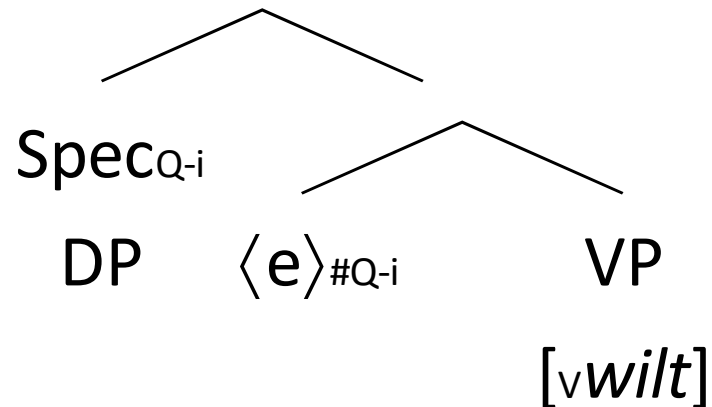
Borer's (2005) syntax: direct vs. indirect range assignment

- Instead, in the case of expressions like *eat the apple*, indirect range assignment occurs, which is mediated through specifier-head agreement between the DP in the specifier of Asp_Q and its head.
- Indirect range assignment becomes possible because of the presence of quantity DPs like *the apple* and so in their environment telicity emerges.
- Borer thus derives Verkuyl's Generalization from range assignment to an open value associated with Asp_Q , through specifier-head agreement, together with the absence of a direct range assigner to the open value of Asp_Q .

Borer's (2005) syntax: unaccusative structures

Here is Borer's (2005: 77) simplified tree representation of the string *The flower wilted* and the Neo-Davidsonian interpretation of this example.

(32) a. Asp_{QMAX}



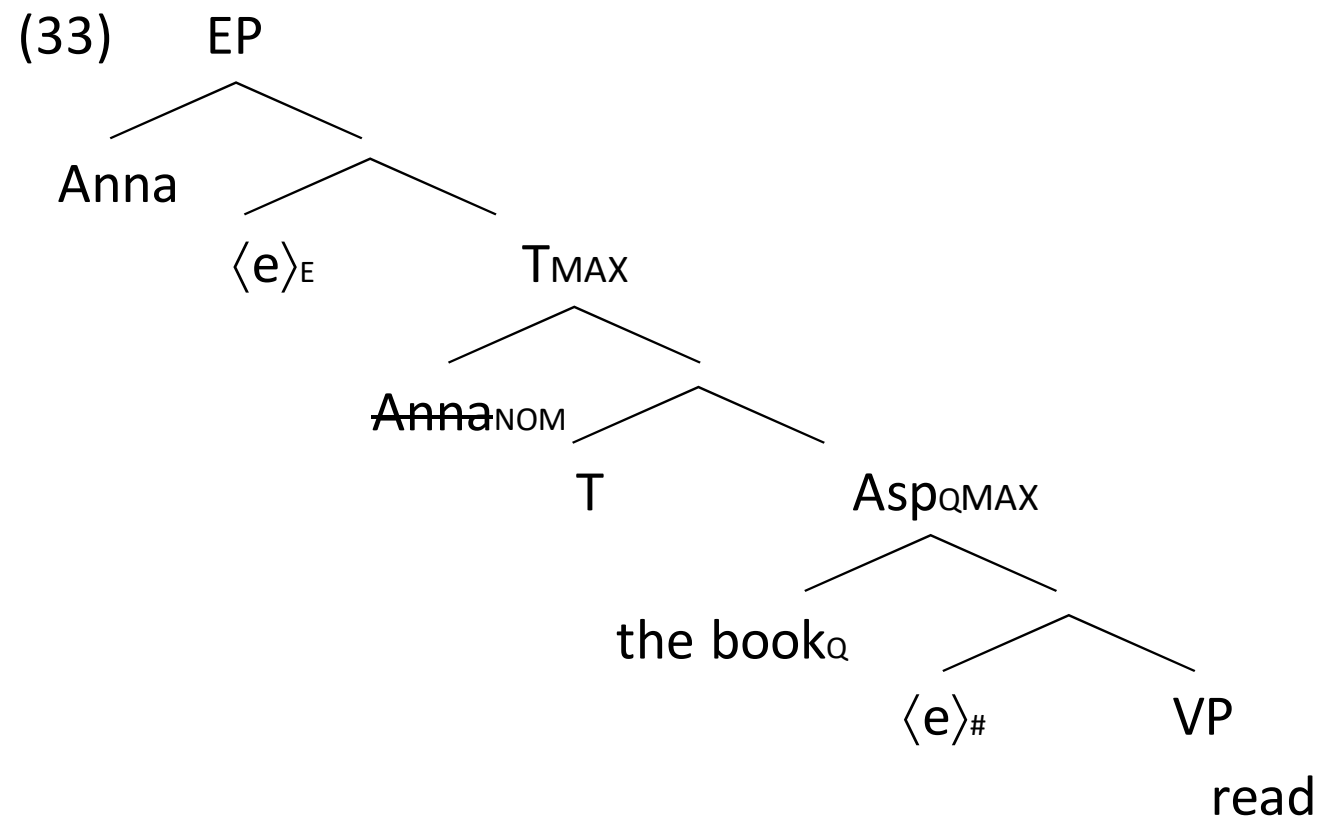
b. $\text{Wilt}(e)$ & subject-of-quantity (*the flower*, e)

Borer's (2005) syntax: culminations are not necessarily final

- (32) illustrates an unaccusative structure, where the DP in [Spec, AspQ] assigns range to the Asp head, and then moves to [Spec, TP], where it receives nominative case (this is not represented in (32)).
- The quantity DP, interpreted as subject-of-quantity, "selects a reticule, a webbing network with a fixed number of divisions, which it superimposes on the event, thereby giving rise to a quantity event" (Borer 2005: 76).
- The quantity DP may be interpreted in conjunction with various types of culmination: intermediate culminations or final culminations with respect to the event.
- Telicity is thus independent from a well-defined end/result state.

Borer's (2005) syntax: quantity transitive structures

And here is a quantity transitive structure, associated with the string *Anna read the book*:



(Borer 2005: 85)

Borer's (2005) syntax: quantity transitive structures

- The Quantity DPs also receives accusative case in [Spec, AspQ] in (33), which reflects the direct relationship between case and inner aspect (see (24)).
- Borer assumes that there is an event node, which hosts the event argument (cf. Davidson 1967).
- This event node is called EP (Event Phrase). Range assignment to the head of EP is responsible for establishing a mapping from event predicates to the event argument.
- When the predicate under consideration is AspQ, the event is interpreted as a quantity event.
- Any event participant in [Spec,EP] which is not, for example, subject-of-quantity, is interpreted as the originator of the process denoted by EP.

Borer's (2005) syntax: the role of world knowledge

Here is the interpretation of (33):

(34) $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & originator (Anna, e) & subject-of-quantity (the book, e) & read (e)]

- Importantly, this system predicts that *the book read Anna* can be generated, along with the expression *Anna read the book*.
- The interpretation of the string is predicted to be such that the book is the reader and Anna is being read.
- According to Borer, the oddity should be attributed to conflicts with world knowledge and not to grammatical principles.

Borer's (2005) syntax: accomplishments are not decomposed into process + result state

- Borer (2005: 86) does not assume that the reading event in *Anna read the book* is semantically decomposed into a process subevent and a result state.
- AspQ and a quantity predicate together are indicative of events with some internal quantifiable divisions.
- The argument in such event divisions is interpreted as the subject of structured change.
- If one of the event divisions culminates, the subject-of-quantity is interpreted with such a culmination.

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