

Tanulmány

Imola-Ágnes Farkas & Éva Kardos

Non-maximal event delimitation in Hungarian

Abstract

In this paper we aim to provide an analysis of the Hungarian pseudo-object *egyed* ‘one.ACC’ and its adjectivized versions such as (*egy*) *jót* ‘(one) good.ACC’, *jókat* ‘good.PL.ACC’, (*egy*) *nagyot* ‘(one) big.ACC’, *egy jó nagyot* ‘one good big.ACC’, *nagyokat* ‘big.PL.ACC’, (*egy*) *hatalmasat* ‘(one) huge.ACC’ and *hatalmasakat* ‘huge.PL.ACC’, which have been shown to have a delimiting function similarly to verbal particles and result predicates (Piñón 2001; Csirmaz 2008; Farkas 2017b). We show that pseudo-objects also differ from particles and result predicates when delimiting events. Whereas the latter are responsible for a maximal-event interpretation (Kardos 2012, 2016), *egyed* and other similar elements give rise to non-maximal delimitation. The paper also explores the syntax of *egyed*-delimiters arguing that these elements are merged in the derived object position, in [Spec, AspP] within *vP* (MacDonald 2008; Travis 2010).

Keywords: pseudo-objects, telic, situation delimiters, AspP, Hungarian

1 Introduction

In this paper, we investigate the semantics and syntax of verbal expressions containing pseudo-objects like *egyed* ‘one.ACC’ and its adjectivized versions such as (*egy*) *jót* ‘(one) good.ACC’, *jókat* ‘good.PL.ACC’, (*egy*) *nagyot* ‘(one) big.ACC’, *egy jó nagyot* ‘one good big.ACC’, *nagyokat* ‘big.PL.ACC’, (*egy*) *hatalmasat* ‘(one) huge.ACC’ and *hatalmasakat* ‘huge.PL.ACC’. To this end, we take a close look at VPs where typically an activity or a semelfactive verb (Halm 2012) such as *biciklizik* ‘ride a bike’, *alszik* ‘sleep’, *táncol* ‘dance’ or *rúg* ‘kick’ is followed by the Accusative-marked pseudo-object and they form VPs of the type *biciklizik egyed* ‘go on a bike-ride’, *alszik egy jót* ‘take a good nap’, *táncol egy nagyot* ‘do a lot of dancing’ and *rúg egyed* ‘kick once’, as illustrated in the sentences below:

- (1) a. János biciklizett egyed délután.
 John ride.a.bike.PST one.ACC afternoon
 ‘John went on a bike-ride in the afternoon.’
 b. Mari aludt egy jót délután.
 Mary sleep.PST one good.ACC afternoon
 ‘Mary took a good nap in the afternoon.’
 c. Péter táncolt egy nagyot a lakodalomban.
 Peter dance.PST one big.ACC the wedding.in
 ‘Peter did a lot of dancing at the wedding.’

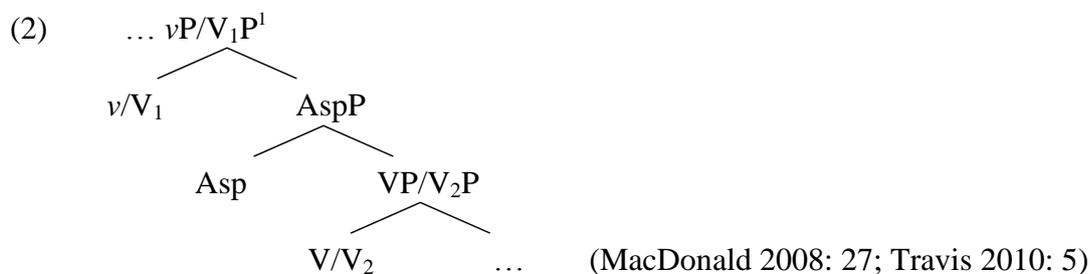
- d. A ló rúgott egyet.
 the horse kick.PST one.ACC
 ‘The horse kicked once.’

An important property of the pseudo-objects mentioned above is that they turn atelic predicates into unambiguously telic ones; they are situation delimiters similarly to verbal particles and resultative predicates (Piñón 2001, Csirmaz 2008, Farkas 2017b). However, as will be shown below, pseudo-objects delimit events in ways significantly different from what is observable in the case of verbal particles and resultative predicates. Whereas the latter expressions are responsible for a maximal-event interpretation (Kardos 2012, 2016), *egyed* and other similar elements give rise to non-maximal delimitation. We also stress that *egyed*-delimiters give rise to an interpretation that corresponds to the generation or introduction of an event (É. Kiss 2004: 34; É. Kiss p.c.), the spatial and temporal extent of which is context-dependent. We argue that *egyed*-delimiters are merged in the derived object position in [Spec, AspP] within *v*P, which has been shown to be responsible for event delimitation across languages (MacDonald 2008; Travis 2010).

The structure of this paper is as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical framework of the analysis. Section 3 gives a brief overview of the semantic properties of *egyed*-type delimiters, whereas section 4 discusses their syntactic properties and, more specifically, their structural position. Section 5 concludes.

2 Theoretical framework

There is considerable literature and extensive work bearing on the idea that there are at least two possible object positions: the logical object position, where the internal argument is first merged into the sentence structure, and a derived object position. While syntacticians generally agree that there is a derived object position, there is less agreement on the details of the landing site. In most accounts, there is a position below the launching site of the external argument in [Spec, *v*P], to which movement of a maximal projection is possible. Generally this is a position to which objects move, as also argued in Ramchand (1993a, 1993b), Ritter & Rosen (2005), Borer (2005), MacDonald (2008), Travis (1991, 2010) and others, who propose that there is an articulated VP structure, with an aspectual phrase (AspP) within the verbal domain, more precisely between *v*P and VP, which is implicated in the aspectual interpretation of the predicate and determines a domain of aspectual interpretation, as in (2):



¹ *v*P/VP are the labels used in MacDonald (2008) and *V*₁P/*V*₂P are preferred in Travis (2010). In the present paper we use the former labels.

Despite the minor differences between the individual proposals concerning, for instance, the relationship between Accusative case and aspect, the accounts all agree on the idea that the properties of inner aspect are manifested only inside the VP as this is a syntactic space within which elements must be located in order to contribute to the aspectual interpretation of the predicate. On these analyses, for instance, telicity can arise if a subcategorized internal theme argument with quantized reference occupies the derived object position.²

It is the articulated VP structure proposed in the works cited above that is assumed in the present paper. However, before proposing a syntactic analysis of the telicity-marking pseudo-object *egyét* ‘one.ACC’ and other similar objects, in Section 3 we briefly discuss the semantic properties of these delimiters.

3 The function of *egyét*-type delimiters³

As mentioned at the outset of this paper, a crucial property of *egyét*-type expressions is that they turn unbounded, atelic activities like *biciklizik* ‘ride a bike’, *alszik* ‘sleep’, and *táncol* ‘dance’ into unambiguously telic predicates. The telicity of these predicates is evidenced by the conjunction test in (3) (cf. Csirmaz 2008: 178-179):

- (3) a. János délelőtt is és délután is biciklizett egyet.
 John morning too and afternoon too ride.a.bike.PST one.ACC
 ‘John went for a bike-ride both in the morning and in the afternoon.’
- b. Mari délelőtt is és délután is aludt egy jót.
 Mary morning too and after too sleep.PST one good.ACC
 ‘Mary took a good nap both in the morning and in the afternoon.’
- c. Péter délután is és este is táncolt egy nagyot
 Peter afternoon too and evening too dance.PST one big.ACC
 a lakodalomban.
 the wedding.in
 ‘Peter did a lot of dancing at the wedding both in the afternoon and in the evening.’

The sentences in (3a)-(3c) can only be interpreted to describe two distinct bike-riding events, sleeping events and dancing events, respectively. This interpretation is associated with telic event descriptions (see Verkuyl 1993; Kiefer 1992, 2006; Csirmaz 2008). Conjoined atelic event descriptions, on the other hand, can also be interpreted as expressing a single eventuality, as evidenced by (4):

- (4) a. János délelőtt is és délután is biciklizett.
 John morning too and afternoon too ride.a.bike.PST
 ‘John rode a bike both in the morning and in the afternoon.’
- b. Mari délelőtt is és délután is aludt.
 Mary morning too and afternoon too sleep.PST
 ‘Mary slept both in the morning and in the afternoon.’

² Telicity can arise via other marking elements (such as verbal particles and result phrases) occupying positions different from the derived object position (see, for example, Travis 2010). In this paper we do not discuss these telicity-marking strategies.

³ This section is based on a poster that the authors presented at the *Endpoints, scales, and results in the decomposition of verbal predicates* workshop in Berlin on January 30, 2018 (cf. Farkas & Kardos 2018).

- c. Péter délután is és este is táncolt a lakodalomban.
 Peter afternoon too and evening too dance.PST the wedding.in
 ‘Peter danced at the wedding both in the afternoon and in the evening.’

A possible interpretation of (4a) is that the bike-riding eventuality holds during both temporal intervals (i.e. both in the morning and in the afternoon) as a single eventuality. Likewise, the sleeping and dancing events in (4b) and (4c) can also be interpreted as single events occurring during the two different intervals.

Interestingly, *egyed*-type elements are associated with delimitedness without contributing the meaning that the event denoted by the verb is finished and cannot be continued. This is shown in (5a) and (5b):

- (5) a. Szárított egyed a haján, de még lehet rajta szárítani.
 dry.3SG.PST one.ACC the hair.POSS.on but still possible on.it to.dry
 ‘S/he dried his/her hair to some contextually specified extent, but there is more drying s/he can possibly do on his/her hair.’
- b. A munkások szélesítettek egyed a hídon, de még lehet rajta szélesíteni.
 the workers widen.PST one.ACC the bridge.on, but still possible on.it to.widen
 ‘The workers widened the bridge to some contextually specified extent, but they can still widen it.’

As we will see in the subsequent discussion, the property illustrated above is what sets *egyed*-type expressions apart from verbal particles and result predicates, which have been shown to give rise to event maximality (Kardos 2012, 2016). Contrast (5) with (6) below:

- (6) a. #Meg-szárította a haját, de még lehet rajta szárítani.
 PRT-dry.3SG.PST the hair.POSS.ACC but still possible on.it to.dry
 ‘S/he dried his/her hair, but there is more drying that can be performed on his/her hair.’
- b. #Ki-szélesítették a hidat, de még lehet rajta szélesíteni.
 PRT-widen.3PL.PST the bridge.ACC but still possible on.it to.widen
 ‘They widened the bridge, but there is more widening that can be performed on it.’

As is clear from (6a) and (6b), once a particle like *meg* or *ki* appears in the sentence, continuations negating the attainment of a final result state yield a semantic anomaly.

In this paper we argue that pseudo-objects like *egyed* ‘one.ACC’ encode an aspectual operator that picks out a contextually specified non-maximal subpart of the events in the denotation of the head verb.⁴ Crucially, however, there is also a minimum amount of hair-drying/running/dancing, etc. that needs to occur for the truth of sentences containing *egyed* ‘one.ACC’. This is illustrated below:

⁴ An alternative semantic analysis is provided by Piñón (2001: 194), who proposes that the pseudo-object *egyed* ‘one.ACC’ modifies an event *e* of type *R* whose runtime is a proper part of some time interval *t*, where *t* is contextually determined. Crucially, there is no other *e'* within *t* that is larger than *e* or distinct from *e*. These two conditions ensure that event descriptions containing *egyed* ‘one.ACC’ are telic.

Context #1: John goes for a run in the forest but after ten meters he stops running and dies of a heart attack.

- (7) a. János futott egyet, aztán meghalt. FALSE
 John run.PST one.ACC then die.PST
 ‘John went for a run and then he died.’
- b. János futott, aztán meghalt TRUE
 John run.PST then die.PST
 ‘John ran and then he died.’

Context #2: Kate starts dancing at a wedding but after a minute she stops dancing and dies of a heart attack.

- (8) a. Kati táncolt egyet, aztán meghalt. FALSE
 Kate dance.PST one.ACC then die.PST
 ‘Kate did some dancing and then she died.’
- b. Kati táncolt, aztán meghalt. TRUE
 Kate dance.PST then die.PST
 ‘Kate danced and then she died.’

Any amount of running will not satisfy the truth conditions of (7a). Thus, the sentence is rendered false when taken to characterize the situation described above the example. Likewise, any amount of dancing will not satisfy the truth conditions of (8a). A possible situation which can be described by (7a) is one in which John runs six laps, which is the usual number of laps he runs as part of his daily/weekly routine, and then he dies of a heart attack. Likewise, (8a) can be truthfully uttered if, for example, Kate dances to a song, from beginning to end, and then she dies of a heart attack. No such restriction characterizes the activity predicates in the (b) examples. Any amount of running and dancing will satisfy the truth conditions of the respective examples.

That maximality is not associated with *egyed*-type delimiters is also evidenced by their incompatibility with adverbials like *teljesen* ‘completely’. Consider (9) below:

- (9) a. #Anna teljesen szárított egyet a haján.
 Ann completely dry.PST one.ACC the hair.POSS.on
- b. #A munkások teljesen szélesítettek egyet a hídon.
 the workers completely widen.PST one.ACC the bridge.on

In addition, in line with the non-maximality requirement, *egyed*-expressions are not associated with a prominent result state or *telos*, unlike verbal particles or resultative predicates. Thus, clauses containing *egyed* are compatible with continuations that express that no specific endpoint has been reached at the termination of the event described by the verbal predicate.

- (10) Futott egyed nélkül, hogy elért volna valahova.
 run.3SG.PST one.ACC without that reach.3SG.PST would somewhere
 ‘S/he went for a run without reaching a goal.’

Alternatively, the predicate *futott egyet* ‘ran one.ACC’, together with other motion predicates, can also be augmented with a PP, which is responsible for lexicalizing the telos. Consider the examples in (11) below:

- (11) a. Futott egyet az egyetemig.
 run.3SG.PST one.ACC the university.to
 ‘S/he went for a run to the university.’
 b. Sétált egyet a bankig.
 walk.3SG.PST one.ACC the bank.to
 ‘S/he took/went for a walk to the bank.’

Furthermore, predicates encoding an open scale can appear with *egyed* ‘one.ACC’, but those encoding a closed scale – where maximality is encoded in the verb (Wechsler 2005) – cannot:

- (12) a. Szélesítettek egyet a hídon. (V encodes an open-scale)
 widen.3PL.PST one.ACC the bridge.on
 ‘They widened the bridge to some contextually specified extent.’
 b. *Ürített egyet a szobán. (V encodes a closed-scale)
 empty.3SG.PST one.ACC the room.on

Finally, *egyed* ‘one.ACC’ cannot appear with achievements, which are associated with maximal events (see also Csirmaz 2008: 179) and which require a telicizing element (see Komlósy 1994; Szili 2001; É. Kiss 2005, 2008; Dékány 2008; Kardos 2012, 2016; Hegedűs 2017). Contrast the (a) examples with the (b) sentences below:

- (13) a. *János érkezett egyet.
 John arrive.PST one.ACC
 b. János meg-érkezett.
 John PRT-arrive.PST
 ‘John arrived.’
 (14) a. *A gyerek született egyet.
 the child be.born.PST one.ACC
 b. A gyerek meg-született.
 the child PRT-be.born.PST
 ‘The child was born.’

Overall, then, it is clear that *egyed*-type markers are associated with non-maximal event delimitation. The next question that needs to be answered is where in the sentence structure *egyed*-delimiters exert this function. This is explored in the following section.

4 The syntax of *egyed*-type delimiters

The most fundamental syntactic question that this section tries to find an answer to is which structural position is occupied by the pseudo-object *egyed* in the Hungarian sentence. Our analysis is based on the assumption that aspect is syntactically represented. Given the semantic effects of these and similar pseudo-objects (see the previous section), we propose that the aspectual role that they play in the interpretation of the sentence is a direct

- (17) a. János be-zárta az ajtót.
 John PRT-close.PST the door.ACC
 ‘John closed the door.’
 b. Az ajtó be van zárva.
 the door PRT is.PRS closed
 ‘The door is closed.’
- (18) a. János oda ütött egy nagyot.
 John there hit.PST one big.ACC
 ‘John hit it (once).’
 b. *Egy nagy oda van ütve.
 One big there is.PRS hit
- (19) a. János rajzolta az elefántot.
 John draw.PST the elephant.ACC
 ‘John drew/was drawing the elephant.’
 b. János rajzolta azt.
 John draw.PST that.ACC
 ‘John drew/was drawing that.’
- (20) a. János rajzolt egyet.
 John draw.PST one.ACC
 ‘John performed a drawing event.’
 b. *János rajzolt azt.⁵
 John draw.PST that.ACC
 ‘John drew/was drawing that.’
- (21) a. Ebédet MARI főzött, vacsorát pedig PÉTER.
 lunch.ACC Mary cook.PST dinner.ACC in turn Peter
 ‘It is Mary who cooked lunch and, in turn, it is Peter who cooked dinner.’
 b. *Egyet JÁNOS futott, kettőt pedig MARI.
 one.ACC John run.PST two.ACC in turn Mary
 ‘It is John who performed one, and it is Mary who performed two running events.’
- (22) a. Mari EBÉDET főzött (és nem vacsorát).
 Mary lunch.ACC cook.PST and not dinner.ACC
 ‘It is lunch that Mary cooked (and not dinner).’
 b. *Mari EGYET sétált (és nem kettőt).
 Mary one.ACC walk.PST and not two.ACC
 ‘It is one walking event that Mary performed (and not two).’
- (23) a. Mari rajzolt egy házat. Mit rajzolt Mari? Egy házat.
 Mary draw.PST a house.ACC what.ACC draw.PST Mary a house.ACC
 ‘Mary drew a house.’ ‘What did Mary draw? A house.’
 b. Mari rajzolt egyet. Mit rajzolt Mari? *Egyet.
 Mary draw.PST one.ACC what.ACC draw.PST Mary one.ACC
 ‘Mary performed a drawing event.’ ‘What did Mary draw? One.’

An important caveat is in order here: one may argue that these pseudo-objects, however, bear (Accusative) case. If case-assignment presupposes a verb–argument relation, then the pseudo-objects must be generated in a postverbal position, among the arguments/ complements of the

⁵ As we will see later, although it is impossible for *egy* ‘one.ACC’ and its modified versions to be resumed with a pronoun, pronominalization is possible in cases of event anaphora.

verb and this seems problematic on our account. We might hypothesize that they are indexed lexical items of the lexicon that enter the derivation fully formed. In minimalist terms, when the derivation accesses Numeration, it selects *egyét* ‘one.ACC’ and not *egy* ‘one’. Evidence to support this comes from the fact that the former can appear in the (Nominative) subject position as in *az egyet kiméri az ige cselekvését* ‘one.ACC delimits the event of the verb’; it can have the Accusative case feature checked by the verb as in *egyetet* ‘one.ACC.ACC’ (cf. *az egyetet nem tudjuk fókusz pozícióba tenni* ‘we cannot insert one.ACC.ACC in the focus position’); or it can receive other case suffixes as well such as the Dative in *egyetnek* ‘one.ACC.DAT’ (vs. **egynek* ‘one.DAT’) as in *az egyetnek a szerepe* ‘the role of *egyét*’ or the Delative in *egyetről* ‘one.ACC.DEL’ (vs. **egyről* ‘one.DEL’) as in *írni egy tanulmányt az egyetről* ‘write an article about *egyét*’. However, all these instances can be considered elliptic phrases, where, in the absence of the head N *áltárgy* ‘pseudo-object’, for instance, as in *az egyet áltárgyat* ‘the pseudo-object.ACC one.ACC’, the Accusative case suffix is attached to *egyét* itself giving rise to *egyetet* ‘one.ACC.ACC’.⁶

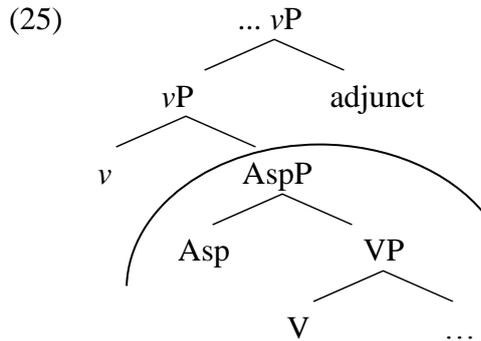
Although the following piece of evidence may lend a certain degree of plausibility to the former syntactic tree, the proposal put forth in this paper will hopefully offer a better solution to this conundrum without relying on the argument status of the pseudo-object. Namely, optionally transitive verbs such as *énekel* ‘sing’ can take either a subcategorized, thematic and referential object (e.g. *egy éneket* ‘a song.ACC’) or a non-subcategorized, non-thematic and non-referential (un)modified pseudo-object but not both at the same time, which means that they are in complementary distribution and compete for the same syntactic position:

- (24) *Énekeltünk egy éneket /énekeltünk egyet /*énekeltünk egy éneket egyet.*
 sing.1PL.PST a song.ACC sing.1PL.PST one.ACC sing.1PL.PST a song.ACC one.ACC
 ‘We sang a song/performed a singing event.’

As we will see below, our proposal will predict such and similar co-occurrence restrictions but not by arguing that the two are merged in the same syntactic position but by claiming that the competition for the same syntactic position is a direct consequence of the movement of the referential direct object to the derived object position in [Spec, AspP] and, in addition, of the base-generation of the pseudo-object in the same position. In this way, the two Accusative-marked constituents will indeed exclude each other.

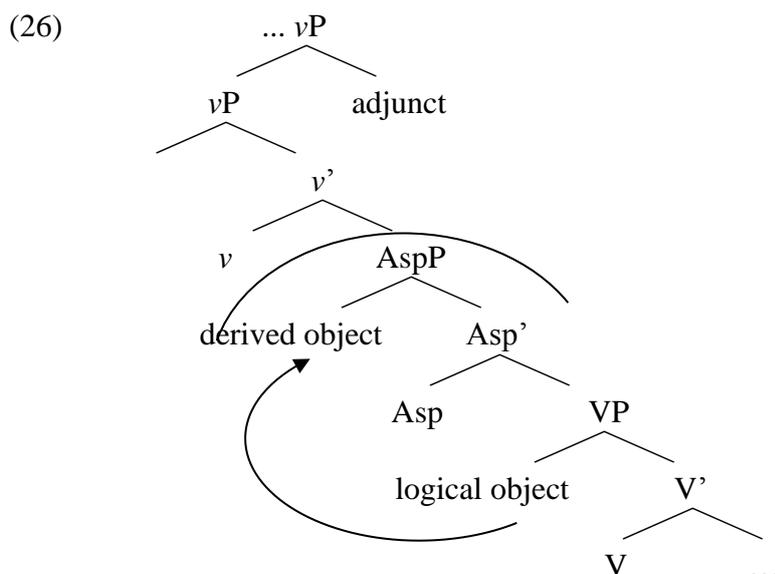
On the other hand, there are syntactic reasons why we should not consider the adjunct proposal to be on the right track either. Adjuncts, which are more loosely related to V and do not complete its meaning, are outside the domain of aspectual interpretation defined by AspP (cf. (25) below) as they do not influence the aspectual interpretation of the predicate:

⁶ This issue remains to be further explored as it raises other problems. For instance, according to Chomsky’s (1995) Bare Phrase Structure, if α is selected from the numeration, α is a minimal projection (i.e. head), and this would be problematic on our proposal, which claims that the pseudo-object is base-generated in a specifier position; see below.



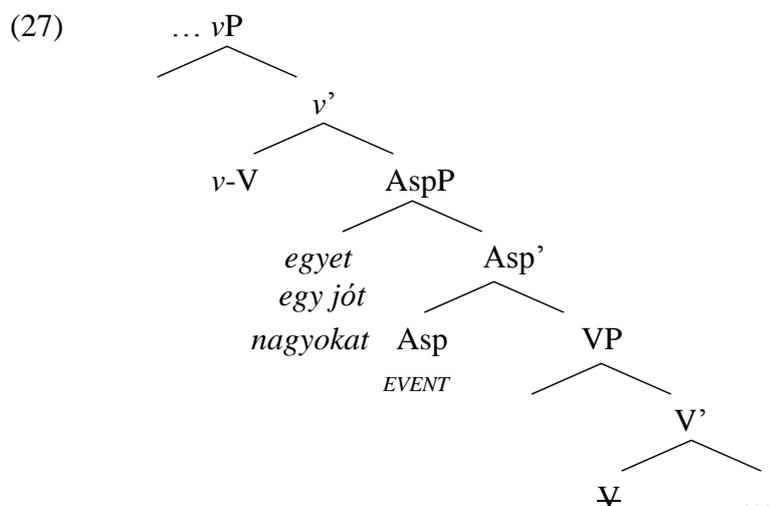
As it is a generally accepted fact that the pseudo-object *egyét* and its adjectivized versions contribute to the aspectual interpretation of the sentence, they cannot be base-generated outside VP. They must be more closely related to V and complete its meaning, being inside the domain of aspectual interpretation defined by AspP as they induce a telic interpretation on it.

Keeping in mind the theoretical framework presented in Section 2, let us now turn to our proposal. In Ramchand (1993a, 1993b), Ritter & Rosen (2005), Borer (2005), MacDonald (2008), Travis (1991, 2010) and others it is assumed that telicity must be syntactically represented. To this end, the newly-coined functional phrase AspP is implicated in the aspectual interpretation of the predicate and determines a domain of aspectual interpretation, and, in addition, its specifier position serves as the landing site for derived objects. That is, internal argument DPs affecting the aspectual interpretation of the predicate are merged in a lower specifier position ([Spec, VP]) but they move to a higher specifier position ([Spec, Asp]) if they delimit the event of the verb. To be more precise, it is the Agree relation with this aspectual projection that is the syntactic instantiation of the telic interpretation. Given the nature of Agree, only the nominal that is the closest to Asp can Agree with Asp. Thus, it is only the direct internal argument of the verb that can Agree with Asp and it is the direct internal argument that can affect the telicity of the predicate (MacDonald 2008: 43-45); see the more detailed version of the tree diagram presented in (25) above:



Hence, a delimiting internal argument is merged in the logical object position and, in addition, it moves to the derived object position.

In sharp contrast to subcategorized, thematic and referential internal arguments affecting the structure of the event of V, we claim that the pseudo-objects under investigation in this paper do not undergo movement to the specifier of this higher functional phrase but they are base-generated in that position right at the beginning of the derivation, with the main verb undergoing head movement from V (at least) to *v*. We further claim that Asp has an interpretable *EVENT* feature, which is not cancelled via feature checking. Being interpretable, it contributes to meaning, hence, as mentioned in the Introduction as well, *egyed*-VPs are often associated with an interpretation that corresponds to the generation or introduction of an event (see also É. Kiss 2004: 34; É. Kiss p.c.). More precisely, a VP such as *sétál egyed* ‘take/go for a walk’ expresses that the agent brings about a walking event.



In other words, the (un)modified pseudo-object is within the domain of aspectual interpretation defined by AspP, hence it acts as a situation delimiter and aspectualizer, and contributes to the aspectual interpretation of a predicate. However, based on the evidence listed above, we cannot claim that it is merged in the logical object position (that is, it is an argument in Csirmaz’s terms) and, leaving the VP, undergoes movement to the specifier of AspP. Instead, we must assume that it is base-generated in that position at the beginning of the derivation.

As mentioned in footnote 5, an important argument in favour of the eventive interpretation of *egyed* ‘one.ACC’ and its modified versions comes from the fact that they can serve as a pronoun’s antecedent if they are interpreted as eventive (Mittwoch 1998: 310). This means that in the examples below the antecedents of the Nominative *ami* (a) and the Accusative *amit* (b) are events:

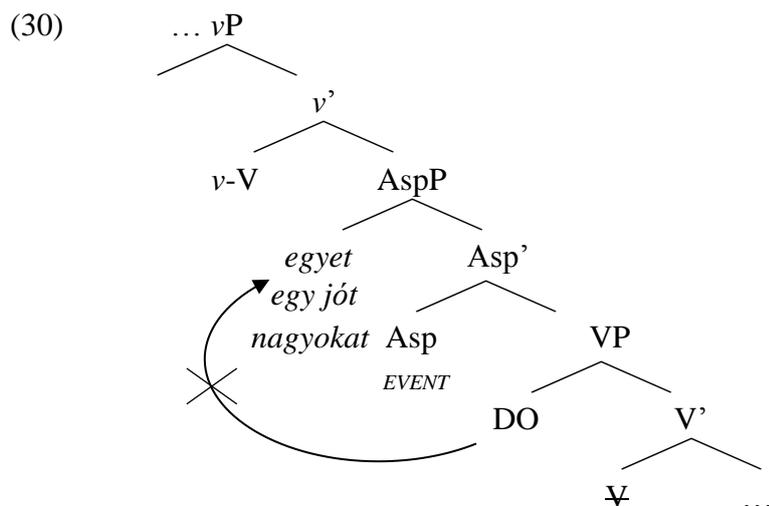
(28) a. Futottak egyed minden nap, ami jót tett az egészségüknek.
 run.3PL.PST one.ACC every day which good.ACC do.3SG.PST the health.POSS.to
 ‘They went for a run every day, which was good for their health.’

b. Korcsolyáztunk egy jót a tavon, amit később nagyon megbántunk.
 skate.1PL.PST one good.ACC the lake.on which later very regret.1PL.PST
 ‘We performed a pleasant skating event on the lake, which we later regretted.’

In these examples, *egyed* and *egy jót* do not refer to entities but to events.

A significant consequence of this proposal, as shown in the examples and the tree diagram below, is the co-occurrence restriction between referential DOs delimiting the event of V and (non-)adjectivized pseudo-objects inducing a telic interpretation on the same V:

- (29) a. *Itta egyet a sört.
 drink.3SG.PST one.ACC the beer.ACC
 b. *Ette egy jót az almát.
 eat.3SG.PST one good.ACC the apple.ACC



Although subcategorized, thematic and referential internal arguments affecting the structure of the event of V are merged in [Spec, VP] and move to [Spec, AspP] if they induce a telic interpretation on the predicate (MacDonald 2008; Travis 1991, 2010), in this case this movement would be blocked by the pseudo-object, which is merged in the same syntactic position.

Alternatively, when such a subcategorized internal argument does accompany the pseudo-object, it must be recategorized into a postpositional phrase denoting a non-directly affected entity, hence making the DO position vacant for the pseudo-object; see the grammatical counterparts of the previous sentences, and some additional examples given in (32):

- (31) a. Ivott egyet a sörből.
 drink.3SG.PST one.ACC the beer.from
 ‘S/he drank a certain amount of beer.’
 b. Evett egy jót az almából.
 eat.3SG.PST one good.ACC the apple.from
 ‘S/he ate a bit from the apple.’
- (32) a. Szárított egyet a haján.
 dry.3SG.PST one.ACC the hair.POSS.on
 ‘S/he dried his/her hair to some contextually specified extent.’
 b. Igazított egyet a nyakkendőjén.
 adjust.3SG.PST one.ACC the tie.POSS.on
 ‘S/he made an adjustment on his/her tie.’

Thus we can account for two crucial facts regarding pseudo-objects and referential objects. On the one hand, the aspectual effect of referential internal arguments delimiting the event of V and that of pseudo-objects is attributed to the ν P-internal structural position in which they are either base-generated or to which they move. On the other hand, their status of being or not being subcategorized for by the matrix verb is captured by the two different ν P-internal positions they are base-generated in.⁷

5 Conclusions

In this paper, we have focused on the semantics and syntax of the pseudo-object *egy* ‘one.ACC’ and its adjectivized versions such as *(egy) jót* ‘(one) good.ACC’, *jókat* ‘good.PL.ACC’ *(egy) nagyot* ‘(one) big.ACC’, *egy jó nagyot* ‘one good big.ACC’, *nagyokat* ‘big.PL.ACC’ *(egy) hatalmasat* ‘(one) huge.ACC’ and *hatalmasakat* ‘huge.PL.ACC’. As for the function of these objects, we argued for their being responsible for non-maximal event delimitation, in which respect they contrast with verbal particles and result predicates, which induce a maximal event interpretation. We addressed the argument–adjunct problem put forward in Csirmaz (2008) and argued that these pseudo-objects are neither arguments nor adjuncts. Following some more recent proposals in the syntax of inner aspect, we argued that they are base-generated in the derived object position in [Spec, AspP] at the beginning of the derivation in contrast to subcategorized and theta-marked internal objects. Although we have touched upon the co-occurrence restriction between pseudo-objects and subcategorized internal arguments delimiting the event of V, a more detailed analysis of the relationship between pseudo-objects and these and other delimiters in Hungarian remains to be explored in future studies.

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⁷ As pointed out by a reviewer, this can perhaps also predict that the telicity that subcategorized measuring-out objects give rise to is different from the telicity associated with pseudo-objects like *egy* ‘one.ACC’. As noted in Farkas and Kardos (under review), the former are characterized by variable telicity, whereas the latter yield invariable telicity.

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Imola-Ágnes Farkas
 Babeş-Bolyai University
 400202 Kolozsvár
 Horea 31
 farkas.imola.agnes@gmail.com

Éva Kardos
 University of Debrecen
 4032 Debrecen
 Egyetem tér 1
 kardoseva@unideb.hu