Telicity, particles and variable scales

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1 Introduction

2 Telicity, verbs and particles in Hungarian

3 Degree achievements and scales

4 Same verb, different scales

5 Particles

6 Summary
Scales of adjectives (or adjectival cores) do not necessarily map directly to derived degree achievements (DAs)

Hungarian: particles yield telic interpretation (for DAs as well as for other verbs)

Types of adjectival scales can still be distinguished among Hungarian DAs

For some DAs, different arguments can be scales (different arguments can be homomorphous with the event)
Roadmap

- Telicity, verbs and particles in Hungarian
- Degree achievements and scales
- Same verb, different scales
- Particles
- Summary
1 Introduction

2 Telicity, verbs and particles in Hungarian

3 Degree achievements and scales

4 Same verb, different scales

5 Particles

6 Summary
Encoding telicity

- Compositional
- Partly encoded in the lexical entry of a verb

(1) a. He ran (activity)
    b. He escaped (achievement)
    c. He slept (state)
Limited lexical telicity

- Telicity is *not* always encoded in the lexical entry of verbs
- Telicity is lexically encoded at least for some verbs
  - Lexical telicity for verbs that are associated with two-point scales (Rappaport Hovav 2008)
Lexical telicity in Hungarian

- No telicity specified in the lexical entry for most verbs
- Event description can be telic if a particle or a PP is present (particles are highlighted throughout)
- Particles / PPs must be present even with telic verbs that are associated with ‘two-point scales’
Lexical telicity in Hungarian

(2) a. Feri *(meg) hal-t
   F.nom meg die-past.3sg
   ‘Feri died’ (telic)

b. Feri hal-dok-lott
   F.nom die-iterative-past.3sg
   ‘Feri was dying’ (atelic)

(3) Feri *(el) érte a csúcsot
    F.nom away reach-past.3sg the peak.acc
    ‘Feri reached the peak’
For English predicates with multi-point scales, telicity is an implicature
Telicity as an implicature

(4)  a. Feri mowed the lawn, but not all of it
     b. The sun dried the shirt for two hours
Tellicity cannot be cancelled

- In Hungarian, particles or PPs can yield a telic interpretation
- Telicity cannot be cancelled
Telicity cannot be cancelled

(5) a. Feri le nyírta a füvet, (# de nem az F.nom down cut the grass.acc but not the egészet) whole.acc

‘Feri mowed the lawn (but not all of it’

b. A nap (# két óráig) meg szárította az the sun.nom two hour.until meg dried the inget shirt.acc

‘The sun dried the shirt (for two hours)’
Telicity in Hungarian

- Telicity arises from a maximality presupposition introduced by the particle

- Presupposition: the event in question lacks a continuation in the actual world and in all accessible worlds

- Piñón 2006
(6) a. Feri le nyírta a füvet
   F.nom down cut the grass.acc
   ‘Feri mowed the grass’ (telic, perfective)

b. Feri (éppen) nyírta le a füvet, (amikor ...)
   F.nom then cut down the grass.acc when
   ‘Feri was (just) mowing the grass, when...’
   (telic, imperfective)
Particles and telicity in Hungarian

- Particles (and PPs) introduce a maximality presupposition, yielding a telic interpretation
- Particles introduce telicity, not perfectivity (unlike some Slavic languages, where the perfective verb form encodes telicity (Filip 2008))
- Telicity is not an implicature; it cannot be cancelled
1 Introduction

2 Telicity, verbs and particles in Hungarian

3 Degree achievements and scales

4 Same verb, different scales

5 Particles

6 Summary
Scales

- Closed scales (maximal endpoint / conventional standard)
- Open scales (no maximal endpoint)
Scales in English

- Closed scales
  dry, empty, ripe, warm, cool, ...

- Open scales
  wide, deep, large, ...
Degree achievements

- Derived from scalar adjectives
- Properties of adjectival scales affect telicity of DAs
Degree achievements

(7) a. The shirt \textit{dried} \{in half an hour / for half an hour\} (closed scale)
b. The pool \textit{emptied} \{in half an hour / for half an hour\} (closed scale)
c. The gap between the boats \textit{widened} \{for ten minutes / ?? in ten minutes\} (open scale)
Telicity of DAs

- DA can be telic if the adjectival scale is closed
- Maximal element / conventional standard of the scale is relevant

Adjectival scales in Hungarian

- Scales are open or closed
- Distinction among scales is as in English
Closed scales

(8) Az út teljesen üres (# de lehetne még üresebb) emptier
‘The road is completely empty, # but it could still be emptier’

(9) Az út teljesen egyenes (# de lehetne még egyenessebb) straighter
‘The road is completely straight, # but it could still be straighter’
Open scales

(10) # Az út teljesen széles
    the road.nom completely wide
    #‘The road is completely wide’

(11) # Az árok teljesen mély
    the trench.nom completely deep
    #‘The trench is completely deep’
Telicity of DAs

- A DA with a particle is telic
- A DA without a particle is atelic
- The nature of the adjectival scale is not relevant for telicity
Closed scale DA

(12)  a. Az ing két óra alatt *(meg) száradt
the shirt.nom two hour under meg dried
   ‘The shirt dried in two hours’ (telic)

   b. Az ing két órán át (*meg) száradt
the shirt.nom two hour-on across meg dried
   ‘The shirt dried for two hours’ (atelic)
Open scale DA

(13) a. Az utat két hónap alatt *(ki) szélesítették
   the road.acc two month under out widened
   ‘The road was widened in two months’ (telic)

b. Az utat két hónapon át (*ki) szélesítették
   the road.acc two month-on across out widened
   ‘The road was widened for two months’ (atelic)
Scales are relevant for DAs

- Telic closed scale DAs
  - Maximal degree on the scale is reached
  - Affected argument has the property denoted by the positive form of the adjective

- Telic open scale DAs
  - Minimal change along the scale (or reaching a contextually determined maximum)
  - Affected argument does not necessarily have the property denoted by the adjective
Closed scale DAs

- Affected argument has the property denoted by the adjective

(14) A póló meg száradt, ...
the shirt.nom meg dried
‘The shirt dried. ...’

a. ?? de még mindig elég vizes
   but yet always enough wet
   ‘but it’s still a bit wet’

b. ?? de még nem elég száraz
   but yet not enough dry
   ‘but it’s still not dry enough’
Closed scale DAs

- Maximal endpoint is reached

(15) ?? A póló kicsit meg száradt
   the shirt.nom small.acc meg dried
   ‘The shirt dried a bit’
Open scale DAs

- Affected argument does not necessarily have the property denoted by the adjective

(16) Az út ki szélesedett, ...
the road.nom out widened
‘The road widened, …’

a. de még mindig eléggé keskeny
but yet always enough narrow
‘but it’s still a bit narrow’

b. de még nem eléggé széles
but yet not enough wide
‘but it’s still not wide enough’
Open scale DAs

- There is no maximal endpoint to be reached

(17) Az út kicsit ki szélesedett  
the road.nom little.acc out widened  
‘The road widened a bit’
1. Introduction

2. Telicity, verbs and particles in Hungarian

3. Degree achievements and scales

4. Same verb, different scales

5. Particles

6. Summary
Particle choice

- Particles with closed scale DAs: variable interpretation

1. Scale: adjectival scale
2. Scale: affected argument
Dry

- Scale of dryness (of the entire argument)
- Argument that is drying
(18) A szivacs félig meg száradt
the sponge.nom halfway meg dried
‘The sponge dried halfway’ (the entire sponge is half dry)

(19) A szivacs félig ki száradt
the sponge.nom halfway out dried
‘The sponge dried halfway’ (half of the sponge is completely dry)
Cool

- Scale of temperature (of the entire argument)
- Argument that cools
(20) Feri egy kicsit \{??ki / le\} hűtötte a levest
Feri.nom a little.acc up / down cooled the soup.acc
‘Feri cooled the soup a bit’
Cool

(21) Feri \{ki / le\} hútötte a levest
Feri.nom out / down cooled the soup.acc
‘Feri cooled the soup’

- \textit{ki}: the soup is cool
- \textit{le}: the soup may still be warm
Particle choice

(22) Ripen

meg érik
meg ripen

‘ripen’

(23) Warm

a. meg melegít
   meg warm
   ‘warm’ (temperature)

b. fel melegít
   up warm
   ‘warm’ (object warmed)
Particle choice

- *meg* measures event along the adjectival scale
- Other particles may measure the event along some other scale (e.g. the affected argument)
Dry 2

- Argument itself does not dry
- No *meg* particle is possible
(24) A pocsolya {??meg / ki} száradt
the puddle.nom meg / out dried
‘The puddle dried’ (completely)

(25) a {?? száraz / ki száradt} pocsolya
the dry / out dried puddle
‘the puddle that dried out’
Multiple scales for events

(26) Bu etek islak / kuru
    this skirt wet / dry

‘This skirt is wet / dry’ (Güven 2009)
Multiple scales for events

- Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2005

- Lee scrubbed the tub
  - surface of the tub (atelic)
  - scale of cleanliness (with an appropriate standard) (telic)
Different scales do not (necessarily) correspond to different telicity values
1 Introduction

2 Telicity, verbs and particles in Hungarian

3 Degree achievements and scales

4 Same verb, different scales

5 Particles

6 Summary
Particles introduce a maximality presupposition
Hungarian DAs

- Different scales do not (necessarily) correspond to different telicity values
Particle *meg* appears with closed scale DAs only

Presupposition$_1$: the adjectival scale of the DA is closed

Presupposition$_2$: There is a homomorphic mapping between the adjectival scale and the event

(cf. Piñón 2006 for *meg* with creation verbs.)
Scales

- Particles other than *meg*

- Presupposition$_1$: the adjectival scale of the DA is closed (Particles with closed scale DAs: *be feketedik* (in + blacken))

- Presupposition$_2$: There is a homomorphic mapping between the affected argument and the event
A particle may vary in how it maps the event

- *ki* ‘out’ with open scale DA
  - *ki* szélesedik (out + widen)
  - Scale: possibly adjectival scale
    - the road as a whole grows in width
    - NOT: all parts of the road can be ordered according to increasing width

- *ki* ‘out’ with closed scale DA
  - *ki* szárad (out + dry)
  - Scale: affected argument
Locative alternation

- Particles differ in accordance with the specific argument structure realization
- The direct object (highlighted below) is homomorphic with the event
Locative alternation

(27) Feri \textit{meg} kente vajjal \textit{a} kenyeret
Feri.nom \textit{meg} smeared butter.with the bread.acc
‘Feri smeared the bread with butter’

(28) Feri \textit{rá} kente \textit{a} vajat \textit{a} kenyérre
Feri.nom onto smeared the butter.acc the bread.onto
‘Feri smeared the butter onto the bread’
Locative alternation

(29) Feri \textit{meg} pakolta az autót \textit{bútorokkal}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
Feri & \textit{meg} loaded \textit{the car. acc} furniture.\textit{with} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{quote}
‘Feri loaded the car with furniture’
\end{quote}

(30) Feri \textit{rá} pakolta a \textit{bútorokat} az autóra
\begin{tabular}{ll}
Feri & \textit{onto} loaded \textit{the furniture. acc} the car.\textit{onto} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{quote}
‘Feri loaded the furniture onto the car’
\end{quote}
1 Introduction

2 Telicity, verbs and particles in Hungarian

3 Degree achievements and scales

4 Same verb, different scales

5 Particles

6 Summary
Adjectival scales

- Uniform in English and Hungarian
Degree achievements

- English: telicity is directly affected by properties of the adjectival scale
- Hungarian: particles yield telic interpretation
- Specific interpretation of telic predicate varies according to the type of adjectival scale
- Different particles can yield different homomorphic arguments for a predicate (adjectival scale or affected argument)
Resultative phrases in Japanese

- Telic expressions with resultatives in Japanese (Uegaki 2009)
  - Open scale RPs: true iff resultant state of the theme reaches the contextual threshold of the RP scale
  - Maximally closed scale RPs: true iff the resultant state of the theme reaches the maximal degree of the RP scale

- Telic degree achievements in Hungarian
  - Open scale DAs: true if (a) there is a minimal change along the scale or (b) a contextual threshold is reached
  - Closed scale DAs: true iff the maximal degree is reached
References

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